# C S Oxford University A D Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents Newsletter No.11 Winter2004-5

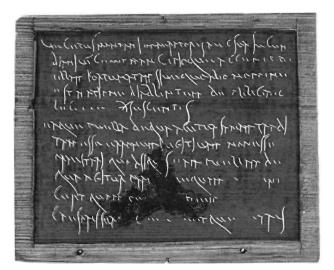
## The Girl in Question

In the heart of the city of London, opposite the Mansion House, archaeologists in 1994 were excavating 1 Poultry. They found a writing-tablet full of human interest, a 'page' of silver fir, 140 by 114 mm, 6 mm thick, recessed on one face to take the black wax in which the text was inscribed with a stilus. It would have been the first of three tied together to take a legal document written in duplicate, and carries the first half of the 'inner' text. The wax has now almost disappeared, but not the scratches left in the wood itself, a shadowy text eleven lines long.

These scratches are worn in places, and inevitably they are incomplete, which may confuse one letter with another. They took some time to read, not by image enhancement, but with a low-power microscope, first photographs and then the original itself, still wet. This process is akin to code-breaking-posing hypotheses and then testing them-but easier, especially when the second paragraph (lines 6-11) turned out to be legalese. Finally the tablet was drawn by tracing a photograph onto drafting film while checking it against the original; reversing this drawing, white on black, gives an impression of what the ancient reader saw. The tablet is now fully published in Britannia 34, 2003, 41-51, but here is a translation: "Vegetus, assistant slave of Montanus the slave of the August Emperor and sometime assistant slave of Secundus, has bought and received by mancipium the girl Fortunata, or by whatever name she is known, by

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Wax writing tablet from 1 Poultry: the writing has been traced from a photograph and inverted to offer a sense of the appearance of the original.

nationality a Diablintian, from [...] for six hundred denarii. And that the girl in question is transferred in good health, that she is warranted not to be liable to wander or run away, but that if anyone lays claim to the girl in question or to any share in her, [...] in the wax tablet which he has written and sworn by the genius of the Emperor Caesar [...]"

This is the first deed of sale of a slave to be found in Britain, the vendor or his surety promising that she is healthy and reliable, and that if anyone does establish a better title to her, the purchaser will be reimbursed. The 'girl in question' who comes from a little-known tribe in northern Gaul, costs the equivalent of two years' pay for a contemporary soldier, but then the purchaser, who is carefully located within the province's financial administration, would have handled large sums of money. There is even the tantalising possibility that he became the 'Marcus Cocceius Vegetus' of the contemporary Vindolanda tablets.

The date has been lost, but various formulas and the handwriting point to c. AD 80-120. The deed is therefore the earliest instance of 'mancipation', the archaic Roman transfer of property, being used by non-citizens; it was evidently becoming a dead letter. The purchaser, who is 'owned' by another slave as part of his peculium, is buying Fortunata for his own peculium. He thus forges a chain of dependence from Fortunata to Vegetus in Britain, then to Montanus, Secundus, and at last the Emperor himself in Rome.

Roger Tomlin

## The Athenian Standards Decree. New Text, New Contexts

Corpus Christi College, 16-18 April 2004

Since the discovery of a second fragment in Siphnos and its publication by Adolf Wilhelm in 1903 the Athenian Standards Decree has played a pivotal role in the study of the Athenian Empire and Greek coinage of the second half of the fifth century BC. On the one hand the problems it presents are representative of the challenges faced in much of the epigraphy of the Athenian Empire. On the restoration and interpretation of its highly fragmentary text depend interpretations of the nature of Athenian imperialism. Its date has been the subject of considerable dispute. On the other hand its survival in multiple copies, with substantial overlap, offers a unique set of challenges to reconstruction. Moreover, the subject matter of the Decree holds out the tantalising possibility of relating one category of evidence for fifth-century history, inscriptions, with another, coinage. Disputes over the date and significance of the Standards Decree have had no less an impact on numismatic than on epigraphic scholarship.

The discovery of a second fragment of the Aphytis copy of the decree, presented by Prof. Miltiades Hatzopoloulos to an international audience for the first time at the Barcelona Epigraphical Congress in 2002, has given fresh impetus to study of the decree, and in April 2004 a colloquium was held at Corpus Christi College under the auspices of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, the Corpus Christi Centre Centre for the Study Of Greek and Roman Antiquity and the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents to re-examine the text of the decree and review its wider context in fifth-century Greek history. Speakers at the Colloquium included Angelos Matthaiou, David Blackman, Miltiades Hatzopoulos, Lisa Kallet, Nikolaos Papazarkadas, Harold Mattingly, John Ma, Charles Crowther, Andrew Meadows, Alain Bresson, Henry Kim, and Emilio Crespo.

After an introductory meeting on 16 April at which the history of epigraphical scholarship on the decree was reviewed, the first full day of the conference consisted of a series of sessions devoted, in sequence of discovery, to the individual copies of the decree. Prof. Hatzopoulos had kindly agreed to renew his presentation of the second Aphytis fragment and Angelos Matthaiou offered the results of a personal re-examination of the Kos copy. The elusive and older Siphnos and Syme fragments were represented by squeezes on loan from the IG archive through the kindness of Prof. Klaus Hallof. N. Papazarkadas offered new perspectives on the discovery and provenance of the Smyrna fragment and a fresh interpretation of its final clauses. The provenance and history of publication of the Odessa copy were



Scanned image of Hiller von Gaertringen's squeeze of the Siphnos fragment of the Standards Decree, on loan from the IG archive of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. The original seems now to be lost.

carefully reviewed by Dr. Blackman on the basis of his own contacts with the museum staff. One of the highlights of the day was Harold Mattingly's brief presentation of the Hamaxitos fragment. Discussion and papers throughout the day reflected a new consensus in support of Professor Mattingly's once heterodox interpretation and dating of the Standards Decree.

In the final paper on the first day, Emilio Crespo discussed the linguistic and dialect characteristics of the various fragments of the decree, and considered their implications for the dating of the document and for its method of dissemination and publication.

The second day of the conference offered an opportunity to reflect on the preceding day's epigraphical discussion, followed by a group of papers devoted to specific questions relating to the decree's interpretation. Henry Kim, Andrew Meadows and Alain Bresson examined the numismatic and economic context of the decree in fifth-century Athenian history; Lisa Kallet provided persuasive arguments for the economic motive as a driving force of Athenian imperial expansion; and John Ma contributed a Hellenistic meditation on the practice and outcomes of fifth-century Athenian epigraphy.

The proceedings of the conference are to be edited as a book, to be jointly edited by Charles Crowther and Andrew Meadows, which it is hoped can be published in the Centre's Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents series.

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## The Inscription Wall at Butrint

During September-October 2002 a programme of conservation and recording of the inscriptions in the theatre and in the so-called "Inscription Wall" at Butrint was undertaken by a small team consisting of P.M. Pearce (British Museum: conservator), C.V. Crowther (CSAD: epigraphist), S. Martin (Institute of World Archaeology) and S. Golemi (University of Gjirokastra), with funding from the J.F. Costopoulos Foundation. The aims of the programme were to assess the condition of the inscriptions; to make paper squeezes and take photographs of the inscriptions before further deterioration ensued; to identify and record the individual inscriptions to support future study of them, pending the publication of P. Cabanes and F. Drini's Corpus of inscriptions of Bouthrotos (Inscriptions de Bouthrôtos - IB).

P.M. Pearce carried out a full conservation assessment: individual blocks were cleaned, photographed and recorded, and minor consolidation undertaken where appropriate. Her judgment that the surface condition of the inscriptions would support the taking of squeezes allowed the second stage of the programme to be undertaken. C. Crowther, assisted by S. Martin and S. Golemi, made paper squeezes of 99 identifiable and accessible inscriptions in the Inscription Wall and 14 inscriptions in the diazoma of the theatre. Two squeezes of each inscription were taken. One set of squeezes was left in Butrint for transmission to Tirana; the other set was taken to the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents in Oxford.

In Oxford further work was undertaken to catalogue, identify and digitise the squeezes by C. Crowther and a graduate assistant, S. Rishoj-Christensen, with further help from S. Golemi. Cataloguing and digitisation of the squeezes were completed during the academic year 2003/4 while S. Golemi was in Oxford as a visiting graduate student.

Printed copies of a catalogue of the inscribed blocks have been deposited at the Butrint Foundation and the Institute for World Archaeology, together with copies of a cd-rom containing scanned images of the paper squeezes and electronic copies of the catalogue.

Although some of the blocks in the Inscription Wall appear to have suffered surface damage during its construction and the current disposition of the blocks has exposed all of them to additional and progressive surface erosion and moss and lichen growth, collation of the identifiable texts against the draft IB Corpus shows that the majority remain for the moment legible. In this respect, the conservation and recording programme seems to have been timely.

With the exception of a dedication to Asklepios and Hygieia, the inscriptions registered in September-October 2002 are all records of manumissions-the freeing of slaves by their owners through a procedure that entrusted them to the custody of one of the city's gods. It is this group of texts, making up two-thirds of the Greek inscriptions found at Bouthrotos and dating for the most part to the second and early first centuries BC, that gives the city's epigraphy its particular character and importance. The inscriptions record large numbers of names: of slaves, of magistrates, and of slave-owners and their immediate families and associates. Many of these names are rare and specific to Bouthrotos and its surrounding region. The conditions in which the inscriptions are currently preserved and have in the past been recorded have not always favoured accurate registration of this important onomastic information. The paper squeezes made in October 2002, which are available for study in Tirana and Oxford and potentially more widely accessible in their digitised form, will provide an invaluable resource for the continuing study of this material.



The Inscription Wall at Butrint covered with paper squeezes

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# Digital Images of Cairo Papyri and the Writing Hands of the Zenon Archive

The imaging of ancient documents is without doubt one of the most exciting recent advances in papyrology and related fields. The 'virtual' collections becoming available on CD ROM and via the Internet make possible types of research previously impractical, and accordingly allow progress toward more comprehensive understanding of the societies which produced the original texts. Another major step in the development of these resources is now being undertaken. A unique collection of slides and photographs of the several thousand published papyri in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo was created in the 1970s and 1980s under the auspices of the Association Internationale de Papyrologues and UNESCO. These photographs are now being digitised at the CSAD as part of its Mellon-funded 'Script, Image and the Culture of Writing in the Ancient World' programme. The images of the Cairo papyri will lend themselves to a wide variety of academic uses. This short article reports on one specific application.

Digital images are a crucial resource for analysis of ancient archives which have been dispersed after modern discovery. The Zenon Archive of the 3rd century BC is perhaps the outstanding example of an ancient bibliographical unit which has had such a fate. In the richness and variety of its contents this is arguably the most important single archive from the Graeco-Roman period yet recovered. It is also one of the largest, amounting to nearly 2,000 documents (two thirds of all published papyri from the third century). Accumulated between ca. 261 and 229 BC (it was no longer in the eponymous Zenon's custody after ca. 239), the Archive was recovered in the 1910s on the site of the ancient village of Philadelphia in the Fayum. It was split up and sold piecemeal, and is now distributed among a number of collections. There are major holdings at Ann Arbor, Florence, Giessen, London, Manchester, and New York, while approximately half of it is in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo. The dispersal has involved certain benefits, but has also retarded systematic study of the Archive.

The difficulty of access to groups of related documents separated in different collections especially inhibits comparison of writing hands and evaluations of authorship. Before the advent of imaging technology photographs were rare. The resulting problems were pinpointed in 1981 by W. Clarysse in the introduction to his 'Prosopography' of the Zenon Archive: 'A serious imperfection in our method derives from the scarcity of available photographs which might have allowed identifications by means of the handwriting. The only scholar who had access to several major collections was C.C. Edgar, but even he had often to rely on his memory for texts which were widely separated. A photographic documentation of all Zenon papyri would not only allow us to make new joins, it would be a fresh source for prosopographical research.' (W.

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Fig. 1: P.Cair.Zen. 1.59129: Zenon's autograph.

Clarysse, P.L.Bat. 21, 273-4).

A full photographic record would open up many further possibilities. The present writer is investigating individual preference and linguistic diversity among the large number of authors whose writing is represented in the Archive. This study focuses on the linguistic habits of both particular individuals and social groups. To take an example, I am interested in the relationship between idiolect and aspectual choice, as manifested in these non-literary texts. The purely linguistic issues are challenging enough, but establishing securely who wrote what and how an author's message found its way onto papyrus is another central concern of the project. Assessing the frequency with which named authors wrote their own documents and evaluating the role of scribes are key problems.

The potential for progress through examination of handwriting is evident in the achievements of earlier generations of Zenon specialists. Edgar, T.C. Skeat, and others have identified a number of probable autographs of named authors among the private documents. Most



Fig. 2: P.Cair.Zen. 2.59148: Hierokles' handwriting.

familiar of all is that of Zenon himself, illustrated by *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59129 (fig. 1). We also have the 'angular, individualistic script' of Hierokles (Skeat, *P.Lond.* 7.1941, introd.). This can be seen in *P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59148 (fig. 2). There is the 'large, untidy hand characteristic of Philinos' (Edgar, *P.Ryl.* 4.568, introd.), illustrated by *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59522, and several more have been isolated as well. Some of these may be the hands of regular amanuenses. We shall never know for certain, though in cases like that of Zenon the preservation of assumed autographs in drafts and dockets leaves little doubt about the identifications. We can at least speak (as does Edgar) of 'characteristic' hands of particular authors. For my purposes these are highly significant, offering a link to an individual writer.

Meanwhile, there are various authors (including all three just mentioned) whose documents are written in more than one hand. This fact demonstrates the employment of scribes-presumably both common and a necessity for illiterate persons. Where scribes are involved, it is necessary to keep an open mind on whose linguistic preferences-the named author's, the scribe's, or those of both-find their way into the text. I shall not pursue this issue here, except to note that linguistic analysis may be able to show that scribes are copying directly from dictation, or perhaps from written drafts. The Latin letters of Claudius Terentianus from the 2nd century AD represent such a case. Written in different hands over a period of years, they show linguistic unity sufficient to prove that Terentianus dictated them (J.N. Adams, The Vulgar Latin of the Letters of Claudius Terentianus (P.Mich. VIII, 467–72), 3, 84).

The implications of handwriting analysis for my exploration of personal written styles in the Archive will already be obvious. A fuller discussion may be found in my paper 'Orality, Greek Literacy, and Early Ptolemaic Papyri', in C.J. Mackie (ed.), *Oral Performance and its Context*, 195-208. In short, examining the range of writing hands and where possible identifying or confirming those hands which are characteristic of particular authors are absolute necessities. They will allow a linguistic analysis with great potential for developing our knowledge of ancient Greek.

Many identifications will remain elusive. Palaeography is not an exact science and handwriting will not offer all the answers we seek. The chancery hands of the finance minister Apollonios' professional scribes used by several of the Archive's authors, for example, all look much the same. These scribes would each have had similar training. We should not expect much distinctive variation among their formal styles. Since more than one author was using the same scribes in Apollonios' offices, their hands may actually hinder accurate identification of authors in particular instances. Edgar's second thoughts about P.Cair.Zen. 1.59032 illustrate the dangers. Damage to the papyrus has mostly obliterated the author's name. Edgar at first suspected on the grounds of handwriting that Amyntas, a frequent correspondent of Zenon through the year 258-257, was the author, but the style seems to point in a different direction. Nevertheless, such obstacles should not cause dismay. Systematic assessment is likely to foster advances. And documents written in informal hands, which have a greater tendency toward 'individualistic' features, are especially promising. While definite proof will remain beyond our reach in many instances, in others we should be able to speak in terms of strong probabilities as to authorship on the basis of writing hands and complementary evidence.

What is certain is that digital imaging of the papyri provides an extremely valuable new research tool. In the specific case of the Zenon Archive significant progress has already been made. For example, the Advanced Papyrological Information System now allows internet-access to almost 250 published Zenon papyri held in North American collections. Similar digitizing initiatives are underway elsewhere. The special importance for Zenon studies of the CSAD's work on the Cairo collection is that it images in one operation almost half of the published documents of the Archive. In combination with the activity of other organizations this means that colleagues worldwide will soon be able to view approximately 90 per cent of the Zenon Archive with previously unimagined ease. Thus, the capacity for the systematic documentation which was advocated by Clarysse twenty years ago is moving much closer to reality. The new challenge then before us will be to exploit fully this remarkable resource.

Trevor Evans (University of Oxford and Macquarie University, Sydney)

## Processes in the Making of Latin Inscriptions

Inscriptions speak of the processes employed in their making. It is not difficult to distinguish the great quantity of informal, roughly-chiselled lettering from that which has been regulated within an ordered plan, accurately constructed and carved. My studies in the measurement and making of Latin inscriptions (*PBSR* Vol. LXX 2002) have been drawn from this comparatively small number of regulated works.

The first and second centuries AD provide the majority of examples of *scriptura monumentalis*, the disciplined style of incised capital now linked inextricably with Trajan through the lettering on his column (*CIL* VI. 960). However, examples of meticulous construction found in the first century BC suggest that a regulated system of letter design, probably Greek in origin, was established some two hundred years before Trajan. Admittedly the early constructed letters were rigid, angular, lacking the fluency of the brush-painted outlines that followed.

A substantial corpus of measured drawings is needed if any useful conclusions are to be drawn about a regulated system of lettering and design. One fine example from the inscriptions studied so far must serve to demonstrate the sequence adopted for all studies. Fragments of CIL VI. 40310=36896=3747

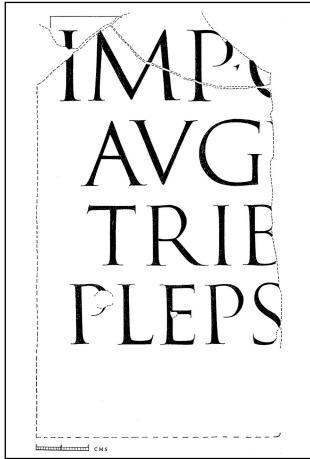
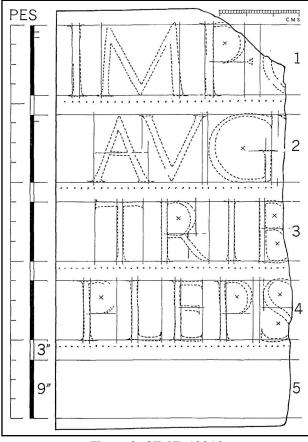


Figure 1: CIL VI. 40310 Fragments drawn by R.D. Grasby



#### Figure 2: CIL VI. 40310 Measurement of fragments and constructed letters

(fig. 1) from the portico of the Basilica Romanum, are dated to 2 BC. The lettering is fully developed *scriptura monumentalis* and of the highest quality in its construction and execution. My half-scale drawing has been assembled from digital images taken through a 10mm line grid. Measurements from the stone are combined with the digital images to determine the value of the *pes* found to be a respectable 297mm. The *pes* division of the lettered field is shown in fig. 2. One interlinear space of three inches has been distributed between lines 1 and 2, an indication of *ordinatio*, the organising or regulating process; the space below line 4, another foot of depth capable of accommodating one line height and one line space, suggests a fifth line of text.

The unit has been deduced from the width of the vertical stem, which has the ratio 1:10, one unit wide to ten high. Many inscriptions in bolder lettering use the ratio of 1:8. Fig. 2 shows clearly the coincidence of the vertical stems and the sides of proportional rectangles with the 'ruler' in units for each line set out below the letters. Fig. 3 brings together in diagrammatic form information obtained from analysis of the fragments of *CIL* VI. 40310 and measurement of the letters.

The sequence followed for this and all other studies starts with an evaluation of the *pes* for the inscription and its application to the fragments (fig. 2). Letters of the restored text and missing letters are given unit

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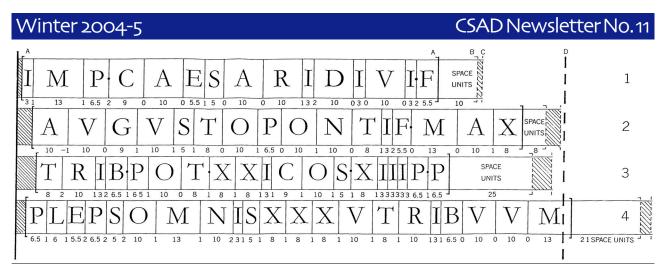


Figure 3: Unit values applied to restored text from CIL VI. 40310

values of width including serifs, and are bunched together without letter spaces (fig. 3). Thus, the square brackets marked AA in line 1 define the minimum space in which it is possible to contain the letters in each line. Space units are not distributed using the fragments as the guide to the generosity or otherwise of letter-spacing. Space units in many inscriptions appear to have been used to equalise line lengths rather than to achieve a pleasing visual effect. Frequently there is no unit of space between letters, serifs collide and two letters share one serif. It is important to state that I applied space units to the text of *CIL* VI. 40310 *before* giving consideration to the possible overall dimensions of the inscription.

Line lengths are proposed and the shaded margins marked BC in line 1 applied to the right-hand end of each line. Line indentation is not necessarily an indication of a centred layout. However, there is evidence for a central position of this inscription on the portico of the Basilica and lines 2 and 3 have the appearance of careful ordering to achieve a centred layout. On the basis of the two near-equal line lengths 2 and 3, a lettered field suggests itself, 5' high by 12'6" long, a rectangle composed of two squares and a halfsquare. When the verticle D is introduced to indicate a right-hand border, letter spacing brings line 2 to within one unit of the proposed border, and line 3 to within three units; even these slight disparities could be resolved by adding one unit for each medial point and, so, equalising the line lengths. CIL VI. 40310, with the analysis contained in fig. 3, may now be offered for an epigraphic review of the text before making a drawn reconstruction of the complete inscription. CIL VI. 36896 restores the title DIVI IVLI F; if this is more probable, then line 1 may be comfortably spaced to the same length as lines 2 and 3.

Constructed capitals in the style *scriptura monumentalis*, found in a variety of inscriptions and from every province of the Roman Empire, reveal a remarkable consistency of proportion and letter outline. It is now possible to predict the forms of those letters which are missing from the fragments but are necessary to a reconstruction. These predictions can be more firmly based on unit values, proportions and minimal structural geometry.

My first concern is for the letters themselves. I seek to identify the tasks facing the *ordinator* in setting out the lines of the 'blue print' over which the brush-letterer painted the final forms to be cut in V-section by the carver. I have made comparative studies of letter forms from each inscription to reveal shared characteristics. Finally reconstruction of a complete inscription from its fragmentary evidence is essential in order to reveal the underlying design; the square grid can be identified behind the arrangement of letters, their disposition on the stone and as an instrument for the regulation of draft text. While there can be no certainties, the recurrence of these grid 'patterns' within inscriptions cannot be easily dismissed.

I use digital photography and computer imaging wherever possible. However, creating full-size images of inscriptions, many over two metres long, and examining large letters, is most easily achieved by traditional methods such as rubbings and tracings, leading to drawings on stable film. Today these traditional methods supported by multiple digital images, give an unparalleled opportunity to study lettering in its finest detail away from the site of the inscription.

I would welcome discussion with others working in this field, where the restoration of text might be usefully combined with a measured survey of an inscription and analysis of its lettering.

Studies of inscriptions completed: measured surveys, reconstructed drawings and letters of: RIB 12, 288, 330; CIL VI. 941, 1823, 24064, 36908, 37077; CIL X. 1063; CIL XII 3261; CIL XIV 83, 86

Studies of inscriptions in progress: digital photographic surveys, measurement and some drawings of letters of: CIL VI. 27959, 31689, 31778, 40210; CIL XIV. 4707; ILS 9505; AE 1952,165; AE 1979, 399

Richard Grasby

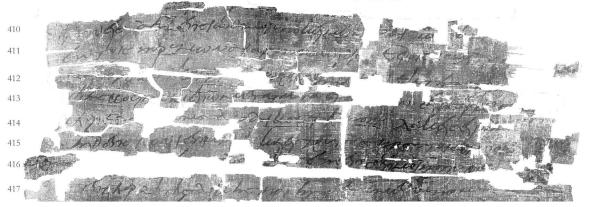
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The Secret of the Koprodocheion: archaeological and papyrological problems in the carbonized papyri from Petra. CSAD, 5th December 2003

The Petra carbonized papyri were discovered in December 1993 when a shelter was built for the protection of the mosaic floor of the Byzantine Church, excavated by the American Center of Oriental Research (ACOR). A rescue team under the leadership of Prof. Jaakko Frösén completed the opening and conservation of the carbonized rolls in 1995. The research and publication work was divided between two teams, one working under the leadership of Prof. Ludwig Koenen in Michigan, U.S.A., the other under Prof. Frösén in Helsinki, Finland. The first volume of the Petra Papyri, containing sixteen documents studied by the Finnish team, was published by ACOR in 2002. the water system of the houses. At the end, the old water rights of both parties are confirmed anew.

A central issue in the dispute is the division of a courtyard and the right to use a koprodocheion. This word is found in Greek sources only in the builder's manual composed by Julian of Ascalon (6th century), where it means a dry toilet. Here, it seems to be an important installation in the house, well worthy of litigation; it is near a street; it is connected with a courtyard; both parties claim to have the right to use it; both have a part of it, and Stephanos has busied himself with building and covering his part while Theodoros does not want to do this nor to let Stephanos go through his part. The exact nature of this installation is still unclear-it may be a large repository for all kinds of domestic garbage also used as a latrine, or perhaps a sewer, or a depository for dried dung to be used as fuel. At the end, the



Part of P.Petra inv. 88

My part in the publication project, papyrus P.Petra inv. 83, contains a document of ca. 500 lines where several disputed matters are settled between Theodoros, son of Obodianos, the central figure of the Petra papyri, and his neighbour Stephanos, son of Leontios, in the village of Zadakatha (modern Sadaqa), ca. 25 km southeast from Petra, probably in A.D. 574. The main body of the document consists of three pairs of speeches by the two parties, presented in the first person singular in a heated tone. At the end, there follows the decision given by two arbitrators and the signatures of all the four people connected with the process.

The matters disputed by the two neighbours contain many details which are interesting both from the point of view of archaeology and of legislation connected with buildings. The rainwater from the roof of Stephanos' house was led to Theodoros' roofs, and Theodoros had of old the right to use it. The water from Theodoros' roofs was led down by a spout (krounos)—built by him—to Stephanos' courtyard, where Stephanos again had the right to use it. New constructions built by Stephanos in his courtyard have led to a dispute over *koprodocheion* is divided between the parties in the ratio of two to one.

Another disputed matter concerns an alleged encroachment into Theodoros' property and theft of building materials from his house. Strong words describing total destruction of the buildings in question are used in the document. One might speculate that they refer to a previous earthquake in the fifties which would make the reuse of building materials understandable. Probably, however, it is merely a question of rhetorical exaggeration.

The fourth point in the decision concerns an old sale of a vineyard. A dispute had arisen some time earlier over a sum of two talents, and the phylarch Abou Cherebos had settled the matter. This probably refers to the Ghassanid Abu Karib, phylarch of Palestine since ca. 530. It is not unnatural that this influential personage would have been asked to play such a role in Kastron Zadakathon where he, as a military leader, would have been well known.

Maarit Kaimio, University of Helsinki

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Epigraphy Summer School 5-15 July 2004 In 2004 a second International Epigraphy Summer School was organised by the Centre in partnership with the British Epigraphy Society. The School ran from 5th to 15th July and was based in the Classics Centre and the Ashmolean Museum. The academic programme was planned by the Summer School Directors John Bodel (Brown University) and Graham Oliver (CSAD/ University of Liverpool) in collaboration with Charles Crowther (CSAD). Accommodation for participants was provided at Christ Church through the mediation of Dirk Obbink. Indispensable administrative support was provided throughout by Maggy Sasanow (CSAD).

28 students, from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Italy, Slovenia, Sweden, Russia, UK and USA, completed the programme. All students were invited to specialise in either Greek (16) or Latin (12) epigraphy. There was a wide range of abilities among the students, from those without epigraphical experience to some with extensive knowledge. The programme made extensive use of the Epigraphical collection of the Ashmolean Museum. Students, working in pairs, were assigned epigraphical material for study purposes either in the basement store or the gallery. The Museum staff, and in particular Michael Vickers and Mark Norman, made possible extensive access to the collection. Students were expected to produce an initial epigraphical 'publication' of their material with description, lemma, transcription, apparatus criticus, translation (where relevant) and a brief commentary. At the end of the programme each student pair presented their findings to the Summer School participants in the Headley Lecture theatre in the Ashmolean Museum. The teaching programme was completed by a series of specialist workshops and evening public lectures. Financial support for the Summer School was provided by the Classics Faculty and the CSAD, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, and the British Epigraphy Society, enabling study bursaries to be



offered to four students.

## Alphabetic Responses to Western Semitic Writing, 1st to 3rd July 2004

In July 2004, an international conference on the emergence of alphabetic Greek writing was organised at St. Hilda's College by Peter Haarer as part of the Centre's Epigraphic Sources for Early Greek Writing project (http://poinikastas.csad.ox.ac.uk). The aim of the conference was to explore how the introduction of alphabetic Greek fitted in with developments in other writing systems across the Mediterranean in the Early Iron Age, from "consonantal" alphabetic systems in the Near East to the Paleo-Hispanic writings of the West. The conference began with a key-note address by Barry Powell (Wisconsin-Madison), followed by a series of papers examining individual writing systems. Speakers included Jo Ann Hackett (Harvard), Alan Millard

(Liverpool), David Hawkins (SOAS), Bonny Bazemore

(South Carolina), Yves Duhoux (Université Catholique

de Louvain), John Bennet (Sheffield), Alan Johnston (UCL), Nino Luraghi (Toronto), Ignacio-J. Adiego (Barcelona), Kathryn Lomas (UCL), Alessandro Naso (Univerita del Molise), Enrico Benelli (ISCIMA), Javier De Hoz (Madrid).

The conference offered a forum in which a wealth of information was exchanged, including much new material. Among the common themes stressed by speakers were the significance of the cultural context in which writing systems are embedded and their role as a means of cultural identification and differentiation. Funding for the conference was provided by the British Academy, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Craven Committee, the Meyerstein Fund, the Pusey and Ellerton Fund, and the Classics Faculty and School of Archaeology at Oxford. It is hoped that the conference papers will be published in the Centre's Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents series.

The Entella Bronze Tablets, 25 January 2003 One of the more fascinating items in the *Nachlass* of the late Professor David Lewis is a dossier recording his encounter as an expert assessor with the bronze tablets from Entella in Sicily when they first came into circulation in the antiquities market in the late 1970s. The dossier contains a crucial set of photographs made prior to cleaning of several of the tablets. The Centre has made this material available to Prof. Carmine Ampolo (SNS, Pisa), who has succeeded the late Prof. G. Nenci as co-ordinator of work on the tablets and the site of Entella. In January 2003 a workshop was organised by Charles Crowther and Jonathan Prag with a view to integrating this new material and bringing both the tablets and Prof. Ampolo's work to a wider audience in Britain.

Presentations at the workshop included an outline of the history of the tablets' travels by Jonathan Prag, surveys of the archaeology and coinage of Entella by Cecilia Parra (Pisa) and Susanne Frey-Kupper (Geneva), and of the lettering of the tablets by Alan Johnston (UCL). The texts of the tablets were examined in detail during the afternoon by Prof. Ampolo and Jonathan Prag, and a final session led by Charles Crowther revisited the still-problematic Nakone settlement text. But the most dramatic moment of the day came before lunch in a presentation by Prof. Ampolo in which the photographs from the Lewis archive and a certain amount of technology were deployed to demonstrate that the tablets constitute a dossier in the full sense. The Lewis photographs reveal that wherever one tablet rested upon another, it left a 'shadow' in the pattern of corrosion. The presence of these shadows makes clear that all the tablets, including the apparently unrelated Nakone document, belong to a single deposit.

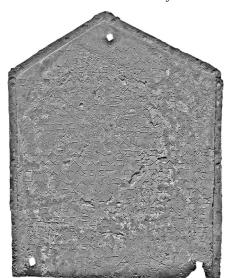
Publication plans are in process and it is hoped that the workshop marks merely the beginning of a wider knowledge and appreciation of a quite remarkable set of documents from Hellenistic Sicily.

#### New research on ancient dockyards and warships

A Fellow of the Centre has been awarded a generous grant by the Leverhulme Trust for a three-year project entitled "Ship-Sheds in the Ancient Mediterranean", which will use the abundant physical evidence on Mediterranean shores to shed light on the navies of major states such as Athens and Carthage and Rome—and to understand how their fleets of warships were built and maintained.

David Blackman has been a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre since October 2002, when he returned to the UK from Athens after six years as Director of the British School at Athens. He has always had a special interest in ancient maritime history and has long studied the literary and archaeological evidence for ancient warships and military ports; this includes the wealth of epigraphic evidence provided by dockyard records (notably of 4th-century Athens) and naval casualty lists and a varied collection of records of ships and dockyard buildings. He has been carrying out and publishing research on ancient shipsheds for 40 years, inspired as a schoolboy by hearing John Morrison lecture and then as a postgraduate student providing an analysis of the then known remains of ancient shipsheds, notably those in Zea harbour in the Piraeus, which were a key element in the design of the Olympias.

In the ancient Mediterranean world, oared warships were regularly hauled out of the water when not in use and kept under cover to protect the hulls from rot and shipworm, and the superstructure from sun and rain. Remains of both built shipsheds and rockcut slipways have been identified at a number of sites on the Greek mainland and islands, as well as on the coasts of North Africa, France, Sicily, mainland Italy,



Entella tablet I = Ampolo C2 = SEG 30, 1117



Shipshed 1 at Sicilian Naxos, 2001 excavation

Turkey and Israel. The sheds provide evidence of the dimensions of ancient warships, of especial significance since no certain wrecks of ancient warships survive from the Mediterranean.

The project builds on the work of the *Olympias* project, which used ancient texts, drawings and artefacts to create a reconstruction of the powerful Athenian oared warship, the trireme. The trireme was powered by 170 oars ranked in three tiers and its principal purpose was to chase and ram its opponents.

The research team, including three postgraduate and postdoctoral researchers (Danish, Greek and Swedish), has now started work: they will describe and catalogue shipshed remains and use the evidence to create computerised reconstructions of them. These structures will in turn provide evidence for the design and dimension of different types of ships, and the ways in which they were built and maintained. We thus hope to carry on the work of John Morrison.

The grant was awarded to Royal Holloway, University of London, where the project will be based. The three co-directors of the project are David Blackman, Dr Boris Rankov (Royal Holloway), who is also Chairman of the Trireme Trust and trained the oarsmen of the Olympias during her sea-trials, and Dr Jari Pakkanen (Royal Holloway; formerly Assistant Director of the Finnish Institute at Athens), who specialises in the reconstruction of ancient buildings. Further specialist input will be provided by John Coates, former Chief Naval Architect and Deputy Director of Ship Design at the Ministry of Defence, and the designer of *Olympias*.

David Blackman, CSAD

#### CSAD News and Events

The BBC's "Top Ten Treasures" Programme

During 2002 Adam Hart-Davis from the BBC asked British Museum staff to select what they considered to be the top ten British treasures in the British Museum for a television programme to be aired on New Year's Day 2003.

The selection of only ten 'treasures' was by no means simple: what makes a treasure priceless is not its monetary value, but what it can reveal about our past. After "much heated discussion" the selection committee made their final choice—a hoard of silver coins found at Cuerdale, a hoard of gold coins from Fishpool, a chest full of gold and silver treasure found at Hoxne, Suffolk, the ivory Chessmen from the isle of Lewis, the Mildenhall silver "dinner service", a gold "cape" found at Mold in Flintshire, a gold cup from a burial mound on Bodmin moor, a collection of gold and silver treasures from the Sutton Hoo ship burial, and the Vindolanda writing tablets. Each item was given a ten-minute focus on the New Years Day BBC programme. The Vindolanda ten minutes featured the Centre's Director Prof. Alan Bowman, and a fleeting appearance by research assistant Dr. John Pearce. The British Museum admitted that "thin slivers of wet wood are not what many people would think of as treasure". However, from amongst the illustrious company of gold, silver and ivory contenders, the Vindolanda writing tablets were voted Number One Treasure by the BM curators, because of the "rarity of examples of writing on wood or paper from Britain's ancient past, and the unique window on life in Roman Britain provided by these tablets from Vindolanda". In the public vote, the tablets slipped to second place behind the spectacular finds from Sutton Hoo.

#### Launch of the Vindolanda Website

On March 20<sup>th</sup> 2003 the launch of the Vindolanda Tablets On-Line website (http://vindolanda.csad. ox.ac.uk) was celebrated with wine and plates of canapés at a party in the new Common Room of the Classics Centre at 65-67 St. Giles.

About 50 classicists and other interested individuals were invited to enjoy a short demonstration by Dr. John Pearce of the site, its format and navigation facilities. Anthony Birley represented the Vindolanda Trust.

The web-site was well received by the guests, and many compliments on its format and content were proffered. The success of the website as a tool for students of Roman Britain of all levels, from school child to expert researcher, has since become apparent from the rising numbers of its visitors and from local and national awards and commendations.

#### Laconia Survey Inscriptions

Between 1983 and 1989 a joint team from the British School at Athens and the Universities of Amsterdam and Nottingham carried out an intensive survey of a 70 sq. km. area of Laconia across the Eurotas river to the east of the ancient site of Sparta. In the course of the survey 24 new and previously-known inscriptions from the Roman Period and earlier were recorded. The results of the survey form two Supplementary Volumes of the Annual of the British School at Athens. A website has been created on the CSAD webserver (http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/Laconia) as the result of a collaboration between Charles Crowther and Prof. Graham Shipley to serve as a complement to Prof. Shipley's catalogue of epigraphical finds in the survey publication by offering digitised images of squeezes and published photographs of the inscriptions.

The Laconia Survey Inscriptions site was designed and created by Frédérique Landuyt; funding was supplied by a British Academy Small Grant and a grant from the University of Leicester's Faculty of Arts to Graham Shipley.

## Epigraphy of the Greek Theatre Colloquium 14-15 July 2003

This event, hosted by the CSAD, was deemed by all who took part to have been a highly successful one, in which new evidence was brought to our attention (including the dramatic discovery of a fragmentary victors' list from Teos by John Ma); and old evidence was sifted to shake some long-held beliefs (concerning the capacity of the classical theatre of Dionysos, for one). It had a truly international range of speakers, including Eric Csapo and William Slater from Canada, Hans Goette and Angelos Chaniotis from Germany, Paola Ceccarelli from Italy and Sophia Aneziri from Greece. The proceedings of the colloquium will be published in the CSAD's Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents series by OUP in 2006.

The colloquium received generous support from the Hellenic Foundation, London, the British Academy, and the Faculty of Classics, Oxford.

#### David Lewis Lecture

The eighth David Lewis Lecture was given by Prof. J.K. Davies (University of Liverpool) on 28 May, 2003. The title of his lecture was "Parallel universes: 'Greek history' and 'Greek economic history'".

The ninth David Lewis Lecture was given by Prof. A. Bresson (Ausonius, Université Bordeaux 3) on 26 May, 2004. The title of his lecture was "The Harpasos valley in Northern Caria: From Ptolemaic to Rhodian and Roman control".

#### Visitors to CSAD

The Centre is able to provide a base for a limited number of visiting scholars working in fields related to its activities. Enquiries concerning admission as Visiting Research Fellow (established scholars) or as Visiting Research Associate should be addressed to the Director. Association with the Centre carries with it membership of the University's Classics Centre.

Visiting members of CSAD during the Academic year 2002/2003 were Prof. V. Kontorini (Ioannina), Prof. B. Leadbetter (Edith Cowan University) (Visiting Research Fellows), and Ms. F. Marchand (Neuchâtel) (Visiting Research Associate). Prof. A. Schachter was made a Senior Visiting Research Fellow to pursue his work on the inscriptions of Thespiai.

2003-4 visitors were Dr. B. Kelly (ANU), Prof. V. Parker (Canterbury, NZ), Dr. Aude Busine (Université Libre de Bruxelles).

## Circulation and Contributions

This is the eleventh issue of the Centre's Newsletter, which now resumes a regular publication cycle after an interval of two years. The Newsletter is also available online in HTML and pdf formats (http:// www.csad.ox.ac.uk/CSAD/Newsletters).

We invite contributions to the Newsletter of news, reports and discussion items from and of interest to scholars working in the fields of the Centre's activities—epigraphy and papyrology understood in the widest sense. Contributions, together with other enquiries and requests to be placed on the Centre's mailing list, should be addressed to the Centre's Administrator, Maggy Sasanow, at the address below.

#### CSAD Staff:

Director Prof. A.K. Bowman MA PhD FBA E-mail: alan.bowman@classics.ox.ac.uk

Assistant Director Dr. Charles Crowther E-mail: charles.crowther@classics.ox.ac.uk

#### Administrator

Ms. Maggy Sasanow E-mail: margaret.sasanow@classics.ox.ac.uk

IT Officer Ms. Jessica Ratcliff E-mail: jessica.ratcliff@mhs.ox.ac.uk

Research Assistants Dr. Peter Haarer E-mail: peter.haarer@balliol.ox.ac.uk Dr. Ida Toth E-mail: ida.toth@wolfson.ox.ac.uk

Management Committee Dr. Lisa Bendall (Keble College) Mrs. E. Matthews (St. Hilda's College); Dr. T. Morgan (Oriel College) Dr. D. Obbink (Christ Church) Dr. R.S.O. Tomlin (Wolfson College)

Publications Officer Dr. A.E. Cooley (Warwick University)

Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Old Boys' School, George Street, Oxford OX1 3LU Tel: (+44) 01865 288180 Fax: (+44) 01865 288262 Web: http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk

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