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# From Document to History

*Epigraphic Insights into the Greco-Roman World*

*Edited by*

Carlos F. Noreña  
Nikolaos Papazarkadas



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# From Document to History: Introduction

*Carlos F. Noreña and Nikolaos Papazarkadas*

The First North American Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy was held in 2011, in San Antonio, Texas, in conjunction with the joint Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) and the American Philological Association (as it was then called). As the first conference sponsored by the American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (ASGLE), which had been formed in 1996, it featured 27 papers over two days, including keynote addresses in both Greek and Latin epigraphy, delivered by Stephen Tracy and Werner Eck, respectively. A selection of papers was subsequently published, under the editorship of John Bodel and Nora Dimitrova, as *Ancient Documents and their Contexts. First North American Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (2011)*. Brill Studies in Greek and Roman Epigraphy, volume 5 (Brill, 2014), which has met with positive reviews.<sup>1</sup>

Following the success of this First North American Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, it was resolved to hold further conferences on a quadrennial basis. But a proposal to host the Second Congress not in 2015, but rather in 2016, at the University of California, Berkeley, in association with the AIA and Society for Classical Studies (SCS) joint Annual Meeting in San Francisco, California, was put forward by one of the editors of the current volume, Nikolaos Papazarkadas, at the 2013 Business Meeting of ASGLE at the AIA/SCS Annual Meeting in Seattle, Washington. After deliberation, this proposal was unanimously endorsed by the Executive Committee of ASGLE. An *ad hoc* planning committee for the congress was then established, consisting of four members from ASGLE's Executive Committee (John Bodel, Paul Iversen, John Morgan, and James Sickinger), and three local representatives from UC Berkeley (Emily Mackil, Carlos Noreña, and Nikolaos Papazarkadas).

The decision to host the Second Congress in 2016, at Berkeley, reflects the university's role as a hub of epigraphical studies in North America, with a long tradition of research in both Greek and Latin epigraphy, and the use of epigraphic evidence for broader work in the political, economic, and social history of the ancient Mediterranean world.

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<sup>1</sup> For details about the formation and early history of ASGLE, and planning for the First Congress, see the Introduction to *Ancient Documents and their Contexts*, 1–9. Reviews: E. Meyer, *sehепункte* 16 (2016), Nr. 9; B. Raynor, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 136 (2016), 249–50.

## 1 Epigraphy at Berkeley

At Berkeley, the major figure on the Latin side was Arthur E. Gordon (1902–1989). He taught in the Department of Classics for forty years, from his appointment as assistant professor of Latin in 1930 to his retirement as professor emeritus in 1970. Together with his wife, Joyce Gordon (*n. Stiefbold*), he produced a series of seminal reference works in Latin epigraphy. The Gordons' most important contribution, of course, is their seven-volume *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1958–65), covering 365 inscriptions from Rome and its environs from the early first to the early sixth century CE. Universally lauded as “masterful” and “magisterial,” these handsome volumes placed the study of Latin epigraphic chronology on an entirely new footing. Its underlying methodological principles are summarized in an important companion study, “Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions,” *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* 3.3 (1957), xii + 65–242, which is still a standard work in the field. What every user of the *Album* cherishes is the fundamental reliability of the Gordons' readings and their expert judgment in what is a very slippery field. As Mortimer Chambers put it in his appreciative review of the first volume, “Let it be said that no previous editors match the Gordons in accuracy” (*Classical Philology* 54 [1959], 190). The volumes are characterized, too, by their beautiful plates and striking images—especially lovely to consult in this age of digital humanities. Gordon also published a series of important articles in Latin epigraphy, including “On the First Appearance of the Cognomen in Latin Inscriptions of Freedmen,” *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* 1.4 [1935], 151–8, and “Letter Names of the Latin Alphabet,” *University of California Publications in Classical Antiquity* 9 [1973], i–ix, 1–70. But he is probably best known to students of Latin inscriptions for his *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy* (Berkeley, 1983), an authoritative guide from which even the veteran epigrapher can still benefit.

On the Greek side, Berkeley's epigraphic tradition goes back to the prolific W. Kendrick Pritchett, the founding father of Berkeley's Graduate Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology (AHMA). The author of thirty books and hundreds of articles, Pritchett started his epigraphic forays in collaboration with the patriarch of Greek epigraphical studies in North America, Benjamin D. Meritt. Their co-authored *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Cambridge, MA, 1940) was followed by the seminal *Calendars of Athens* (Cambridge, MA, 1947), which this time Pritchett co-authored with a leading historian of ancient science, Otto Neugebauer. Ironically, this publication

created a scholarly rift between Pritchett and Meritt. This disagreement never took a nasty turn, but it has nevertheless had long-standing repercussions on the chronology of Attic inscriptions, which still remains a notoriously difficult issue to tackle. Undoubtedly, within Pritchett's voluminous epigraphical work, pride of place goes to his gigantic *Hesperia* articles on the so-called *Attic Stelai*,<sup>2</sup> the records of the confiscated properties of Alcibiades and his associates, convicted of sacrilege (and treason) in Athens in 414 BCE.

The other pillar of Greek epigraphy at Berkeley has been Pritchett's student and successor, Ronald S. Stroud. He has had a long and distinguished career at the university (1965–2006), both as a member of the Department of Classics and, along with Erich Gruen (another founding member of AHMA), of the 'Group.' Stroud's epigraphic research has been trailblazing right from the beginning. His first book, *Drakon's Law on Homicide* (Berkeley, 1968), not only presented a new (and definitive) text of the document upon which we reconstruct the law in question, but also established beyond reasonable doubt the basic historicity of the traditional (Aristotelian) account of Athenian politics in the second half of the seventh century BCE. Another fundamental work, undertaken with Nancy Bookides, was his 1997 volume, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Topography and Architecture* (Princeton), recently followed by *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Inscriptions* (Princeton, 2013). Part of the Corinth series published by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, these volumes stand as exemplary scholarly presentations of the material and epigraphic record from a fascinating (but challenging) site. A host of other publications have made significant contributions to our understanding of Athenian history, above all his *Athenian Grain-Tax Law of 374/3* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 29) (Princeton, 1998), an *editio princeps* of a text that shed considerable new light on the complex structures by which Athens maintained its grain supply, and his *Athenian Empire on Stone* (Athens, 2006), the publication of his David M. Lewis Memorial Lecture at Oxford, in which he questioned anew many longstanding verities about the Athenian *archē*. And somehow, through all of this very considerable work, he managed to serve, for over 35 years (1976–2012), as one of the principal editors of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (*SEG*), helping to make a profusion of new texts accessible to scholars year after year. In recognition of this remarkable career spanning over 50 years, he was honored in 2015 with a well deserved Festschrift, with a

2 W.K. Pritchett, "The Attic Stelai, part I," *Hesperia* 22 (1953), 225–299; "The Attic Stelai, part II," *Hesperia* 25 (1956), 178–328; "Five New Fragments of the Attic Stelai," *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 23–29.



focus on epigraphic topics, *AΕΩΝ. Studies in Honor of Ronald S. Stroud* (Greek Epigraphic Society: Athens), edited by Angelos P. Matthaiou and Nikolaos Papazarkadas.

Epigraphic work at Berkeley, in both Greek and Latin, has continued apace. Robert Knapp, for example, longtime member of Classics and AHMA (1974–2006), published a series of studies on the history of Roman Spain, many based on the rich epigraphic evidence from the Iberian peninsula. Assigned the editorship of one of the fascicles of the second edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* for Spain, he developed the project into its own monograph, *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain*, University of California Publications in Classical Studies, vol. 34 (Berkeley, 1992). As a major new edition of over 300 texts from this region, with full apparatus, historical and topographical discussion, photographs, and line drawings (produced by Alison Futrell, a Berkeley alumna), it has become a key reference work for this relatively understudied region.

On the Greek side, Leslie L. Threatte, another longtime member of Classics (1970–2002), is the author of the monumental *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions. Volume I: Phonology* (Berlin, 1980), and *Volume II: Morphology* (Berlin, 1996). Based on the study of thousands of epigraphical texts from Athens, Threatte's *magnum opus*, more than 1,500 pages long, has become an indispensable tool and the first point of reference for any epigraphist grappling with the numerous problems of grammar frequently posed by Greek inscriptions.

Berkeley is still one of the editorial homes of *SEG*, the work now overseen by Nikolaos Papazarkadas, one of the senior editors, in collaboration with Ron Stroud, who continues to contribute in his capacity as advisory editor. Berkeley is also home to the Sarah B. Aleshire Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy, founded in 1999 on a bequest from the late Dr. Aleshire, an alumna of the Graduate Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology at Berkeley, prominent scholar of Greek epigraphy, and author of two meticulous epigraphically-informed monographs, *The Athenian Asklepieion: the People, their Dedications, and the Inventories*, and *Asklepios at Athens: Epigraphic and Prosopographic Essays on the Athenian Healing Cults*, published in Amsterdam in 1989 and 1991, respectively. The Center, which supports faculty and student research, houses a research library, an archive of photographs of Greek of inscriptions, and an extensive collection of squeezes of (mainly) Attic, Peloponnesian, Boeotian, and Cycladic inscriptions (all searchable via an on-line database).<sup>3</sup>

3 Further information (and the databases) can be accessed from the Center's website: <http://aleshire.berkeley.edu/>.

## 2 NACGLE2: Conference Program

The Second North American Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy took place on the Berkeley campus over three days, January 3–5, 2016. It was attended by over 120 registered participants, from North America, Europe, and Australia, and featured 53 papers in a mix of plenary, parallel, and poster sessions, with a keynote address in Greek epigraphy, by Angelos Chaniotis (Institute for Advanced Study), and one in Latin epigraphy, by Alison Cooley (Warwick University). Speakers ranged from senior scholars to advanced graduate students. The awards for the best paper by a graduate student were given to Riccardo Bertolazzi (University of Calgary), in Latin epigraphy, and Michael Zellmann-Rohrer (UC Berkeley), in Greek. Expenses for the Second North American Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy were covered almost entirely by UC Berkeley. Funding came primarily from the Sarah B. Aleshire Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy, with important contributions from other campus units, including AHMA, the Departments of Classics and History, and the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities. Brill Publishers also offered invaluable financial support.

A summary of the program follows.

### **Keynote Lecture in Greek Epigraphy.** The Epigraphy of the Night.

Angelos Chaniotis, Institute for Advanced Study

### **Keynote Lecture in Latin Epigraphy.** Fresh Insight into Latin Inscriptions in the Ashmolean Museum.

Alison Cooley, University of Warwick.

### **Greek Epigraphy 1: Attic Epigraphy.** Session Chair: Nikolaos Papazarkadas, UC Berkeley

Zeus Herkeios and the Eleusinian Cults in Painia (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 250)

Kazuhiro Takeuchi, University of Athens

The Decree of Theozotides on Orphans of War and Orphans of Democracy in Classical Athens

Sviatoslav Dmitriev, Ball State University

New Attic Inscriptions

Angelos P. Matthaiou, Greek Epigraphic Society

Stone on Stone. The Organization of the Building-Stone Industry in Classical Athens through the Epigraphic Evidence

Cristina Carusi, University of Texas, Austin

An Inventory List from the Brauronion found in Oropos

Yannis Kalliontzis, Ecole française d'Athènes

**Roman Epigraphy I: Graffiti.** Session Chair: J. Theodore Peña, UC Berkeley

Wall Inscriptions in the Ancient City: The Herculaneum Graffiti Project

Rebecca Benefiel, Washington & Lee University; Holly Sypniewski, Millsaps

College; and Erika Zimmermann Damer, University of Richmond

Casting a Wide Net: Searching for Networks of Gladiators and Game-givers in Campania

Virginia L. Campbell, University of Oxford

Public in Private: The Distribution and Content of Graffiti in Pompeian *domus* and *hospitia*

Jacqueline DiBiasie, The University of the South: Sewanee

*In guria rocamus*: Identifying the Herculanean Curia

Stephanie Ann Frampton, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Inside Out: Private Graffiti in Public Contexts

Fanny Opdenhoff, University of Heidelberg

**Epigraphy and Calendars.** Session Chair: John Morgan, University of Delaware

An Ancient Astronomical Device Explains Itself: The Inscriptions of the Antikythera Mechanism

Alexander Jones, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University

The Additions to the Calendar of Praeneste

J. Bert Lott, Vassar College

Astrology, Astral Beliefs, and the Planetary Week in the Inscriptions of the Western Roman Empire

Ilaria Bultrighini, University College London

**Digital Epigraphy.** Session Chair: Duncan MacRae, UC Berkeley

From Stone to Screen to Database

Gwynnaeth McIntyre, University of British Columbia, and Chelsea Gardner, University of British Columbia

Visible Words: Research and Training in Digital Contextual Epigraphy

Michèle Brunet, Université Lyon 2, HiSoMA, and Marie-Claire Beaulieu, Tufts University and Perseus Digital Library

*I.Sicily*: A Digital Corpus of the Stone Inscriptions of Ancient Sicily

Jonathan Prag, University of Oxford

**Plenary Session I: Greek Epigraphy: New Texts.** Session Chair: Ronald Stroud, UC Berkeley

New Inscriptions from Phigaleia (Arcadia)

Athanassios A. Themos, Epigraphical Museum, Athens

Four Unpublished Inscriptions (and One Neglected Epigrapher) from the World Museum, Liverpool

Peter Liddel, University of Manchester, and Polly Low, University of Manchester

New Inscriptions from Messene Honoring Victorious Athletes

Andronike Makres, Greek Epigraphic Society

*Inscriptiones Graecae XII* 6, pars 3; Work in Progress: New Inscriptions from Chios

Georgia E. Malouchou, Archaeological Society at Athens

A New Hellenistic Decree from Olbasa

Thomas Corsten, Universität Wien

**Greek Epigraphy II: Hellenistic Epigraphy.** Session Chair: Erich Gruen, UC Berkeley

*IG XII* 4,1 no. 132: The Settlement of Koan Foreign Judges for the Telians

Adele Scafuro, Brown University

Anomalous Grants of *Isopoliteia* and Diplomatic Discourse in Hellenistic Greek Inscriptions

Randall Souza, SUNY Binghamton

Larisaeans on Roman Manumission and Greek Citizenship: *IG IX* 2, 517

Tristan K. Husby, The Graduate Center, CUNY

Writing on the Wall: The Epigraphy of Fortification and Social History

Noah Kaye, University of Indiana

The *horologion* of Dexippos: Fresh Insight into Hellenistic Lemnos

Francesca Rocca, Università degli Studi di Torino

**Roman Epigraphy II: The Epigraphy of the Roman West.** Session Chair: Carlos Noreña, UC Berkeley

*Servi* and *liberti publici* in the Public Archives in the Roman Cities of the Western Provinces

Franco Luciani, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia

Civic Relations: Honorific Statues and Patterns of Dedication in Africa Proconsularis, 100–300 CE

Chris Dawson, York University

Carving a Professional Identity. The Occupational Epigraphy of the Roman Latin West

Rada Varga, Babes-Bolyai University

Roman Weddings: A New Look on Remarriage, an Underestimated Phenomenon through Epigraphy

Anthony Alvarez Melero, Universidad de Sevilla

Puppy Magic in Roman Aquitania and the Question of Magic-Religion  
 Gil Renberg, Harvard University

**Plenary Session II: Epigraphic Enigmas.** Session Chair: James Sickinger,  
 Florida State University

An Illegible Classical Decree from Aigina in the Light of RTI

Irene Polinskaya, King's College London

Greek Sculptors' Signatures, Homonyms, and Ockham's Razor

Catherine M. Keesling, Georgetown University

On the Meaning of τὸν νεμητὸν ἀγῶνα in the Victory Lists for the Homoloia at  
 Orchomenos (*IG VII 3196* and *3197*)

Mali Skotheim, Princeton University

Encrypted Inscriptions: A Paradoxical Practice

Patricia Rosenmeyer, University of Wisconsin, Madison

**Plenary Session III: Roman Epigraphy: New Texts.** Session Chair: John Bodel,  
 Brown University

Local Elites and Civic Euergetism in Julio-Claudian Valeria (*Hispania Citerior*):  
 A New Opisthographic Inscription

Jonathan Edmondson, York University, and Helena Gimeno Pascual, Univer-  
 sity of Alcalá de Henares

From the *CIL* Archives: a New Statue Base of Septimius Severus from Lambaesis

Riccardo Bertolazzi, University of Calgary

New Inscribed Statue Bases from Roman Athens

Dimitrios Sourlas, Greek Archaeological Service

**Plenary Session IV: Greek Epigraphy and Religion, in Memory of  
 Sara B. Aleshire.**

Session Chairs: Emily Mackil, UC Berkeley; Nikolaos Papazarkadas, UC  
 Berkeley; Paul Iversen, Case Western Reserve University

Epigraphic Corpora and Greek Religion: What's *Sacrae* about *Leges Sacrae*?

Laura Gawlinksy, Loyola University, Chicago

Toward a Deep Map of Archaic and Classical Burial Grounds and Sanctuaries:  
 The Case Study of Thasos

Donald E. Lavigne, Texas Tech University; Evan Levine, Texas Tech Univer-  
 sity; and Andrej Petrovic, Durham University

The Epigraphy of Greek Sacrificial Butchery

Mat Carbon, Saxo Institute, University of Copenhagen

An Esthetic of Greek Religious Practices

Jon Mikalson, University of Virginia

### Dedications from the Dead? The Strange Case of Hermes Chthonios

Maria Mili, British School at Athens, and Jenny Wallensten, Swedish Institute at Athens

### Divine Utterances. Answers in the Oracular Tablets from Dodona

Elena Martin Gonzalez, National Hellenic Research Center, Athens

### The Self-Definition of Alexander the Great

Fred Naiden, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

### A Prosopography of Athenian Priests and Priestesses during the Roman Imperial Period

Francesco Camia, Sapienza: University of Rome

### Inscribed Incantations for Bleeding: A Hematite Gem and its Tradition

Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, UC Berkeley

## Poster Sessions

### Immigration Epigraphy: The *Hispani* in Roman Europe

Cristina de la Escosura Balbás, Complutense University of Madrid

### Labour Mobility in the Roman World: A Case Study of Mines in Iberia

Clare Holleran, University of Exeter

### Contextualizing Greek *defixiones* in the Latin West

Celia Sánchez Natalias, Basque Country University/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

## 3 This Volume

The 23 papers published here represent a selection of those delivered at the conference; a companion volume, with papers on Greek epigraphy and religion in honor of Sara Aleshire, is currently being prepared by Emily Mackil and Nikolaos Papazarkadas.<sup>4</sup> The papers examine texts ranging chronologically from the sixth century BCE to the fifth century CE, and geographically from Egypt and Asia Minor to the west European continent and British isles. Some focus on the great urban centers of the ancient world, while others turn their attention to less intensively studied areas.<sup>5</sup> A number of salient themes

<sup>4</sup> This volume is also slated to appear in the Brill Studies in Greek and Roman Epigraphy series.

<sup>5</sup> In his review of *Ancient Documents and their Contexts* (above, n. 1), Raynor notes (250) the geographical focus on Attica, amongst the Greek papers, and the chronological focus on the first two centuries CE, amongst the Latin. He contrasts these foci with what he sees in the European epigraphic scholarship, with its “intense epigraphic investigation of relatively small and obscure polities.” “Perhaps the shadow of Louis Robert,” he concludes, “casts a shorter shadow west of the Atlantic.” Whether or not this is an accurate characterization of

emerge from the collection as a whole. We see Greek and Roman epigraphies of time (Chaniotis, Rocca), and space (Carusi, Kaye, Rocca). There are Latin inscriptions from the Greek East (Cooley) and Greek inscriptions from the Roman West (Sánchez Natalías). Individuals and social groups appearing in our texts run the whole gamut from Roman emperors (Frampton, Bertolazzi, Sourlas) and imperial elites (Dawson, Álvarez Melero) to orphans (Dmitriev), laborers (Carusi), and slaves (Luciani). We also find artists (Keesling), gladiators (Campbell), and immigrants (Escosura Balbás). Characteristic ancient social and political practices abound in these inscriptions, including diplomacy (Souza), benefaction and honorific practice (Dmitriev, Sourlas, Bertolazzi, Dawson), magic (Sánchez Natalías), and spectacle entertainment (Campbell, Sheppard). The papers also shed new light on epigraphic habits in antiquity (Chaniotis, Kaye, Keesling, Rosenmeyer), the use and function(s) of graffiti (Frampton, Benefiel, Sypniewski, Damer, DiBiasie Sammons), and the collection and display of inscriptions in the modern period (Liddel and Low, Cooley). Several papers, especially those dealing with the Pompeian graffiti, highlight the new technologies that are transforming our understanding of ancient inscriptions. And there are also, of course, a handful of new texts published here for the first time (Themos and Zavvou, Liddel and Low, Sourlas, Bertolazzi, Cooley).

In light of this spectacular abundance of topics, we have chosen to organize our papers not thematically, but rather chronologically and regionally, with the two keynote papers serving as “bookends” to the collection as a whole. We would also like to draw attention to an organizing principle that departs from that of the proceedings of the First Congress, which is the division between Greek and Roman, as opposed to Greek and Latin, epigraphies. A typology based on the language of the inscriptions is perfectly valid, of course, but we are especially keen here to draw out the historical significance of these texts—hence the title of the volume—and given that the ancient Mediterranean, especially during the centuries of Roman imperial ascendancy, was a polyglot world, we felt that an historical and regional division, as opposed to a linguistic one, was most appropriate.<sup>6</sup>

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the North-American and European epigraphic traditions (there is probably some truth to it), we like to believe that Robert would have approved of the geographical and chronological range of the papers in this volume!

6 Readers should note, therefore, that there are several papers in Parts II (The Roman West) and III (The Roman East) that feature inscriptions in Greek. The overall balance of papers by ancient language is eleven (Greek) and twelve (Latin).