

investigation. Matijašić explains in great detail that the limited list of Greek historians we are able to read today has to do with idiosyncratic personal tastes of influential authors as well as vicissitudes in education and cultural requirements in antiquity and beyond (not to mention floods and fires and other natural and man-made disasters). Matijašić's book is valuable less for this conclusion, which will leave the earth calm and unshaken, than for the immensely learned path, strewn with insightful mini-investigations, that he takes to get there.

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Antti Arjava, Jaakko Frösén, and Jorma Kaimio, eds. *The Petra Papyri V*. 2018. 338 pp., 160 black and white plates. Amman: American Society of Oriental Research. ISBN: 978-9957-8543-7-9.

This volume is the culmination of the publication of Petra papyri, with Volumes I (2002), III (2007), IV (2011), and II (2013) having been published previously. This is significant because this fifth volume contains a list of selected articles written about the Petra papyri, a cumulative bibliography, corrigenda to previous volumes, a table of concordance, a detailed introduction to the papyri, a list of Semitic toponyms and oikonyms, an updated synoptic chronological table, re-edited versions of the papyri (nos. 48-87) with an English translation, a cumulative index, and clear black and white plates of the published papyri. In addition, the usual professionalism of this series is evident with the physical presence of the book. It has been meticulously made, with high-quality paper and first-rate plates produced by Maija Holappa. In summary, it is an exquisite book.

As is well-known, around 140 rolls of carbonized papyri were found in 1993 by archaeologist Zbigniew Fiema in a storage room of the fifth/sixth-century CE church of the bishop of Petra during excavation of that church. The papyri were private papers assembled by at least two generations of a family in the sixth century, including the archdeacon Theodoros son of Obodianos, and presumably his heir, plus documents that were probably kept by Theodoros on behalf of the church. The private documents include tax receipts, accounts, settlements of disputes, property divisions and other important documents for the family, dating between around 528/529 and the 590s. These documents are significant for many reasons. They provide information about Petra, an important trade city between Palestine and Arabia, at a critical time just before the rise of Islam when there are few other sources of information. In addition, they provide *comparanda* for the much more plentiful Egyptian documentary papyri, permitting analysis of the legal, social and scribal practices in the sixth century in the greater Eastern Mediterranean area.

The volume starts with a Preface that acknowledges the many people who worked on the Petra papyri. Contributors to this volume, in addition to the editors, include Matias Buchholz, Traianos Gagos (now deceased), Ahmad M. Al-Jallad, Maarit Kaimio, Ludwig Koenen, Marjo Lehtinen (now deceased), Tiina Puroila, and Marja Vierros, plus Maija Holappa, who produced the plates, and Antti Nurminen, Jouni Pekkanen, Jan Vilhonen, R. Henry Cowherd, and Matti Mustonen, who contributed photographs. The work in preparing and transcribing the Petra papyri has been a joint effort of the Universities of Michigan and Helsinki. This volume was completed by the Finnish scholars, with the support of the American Center of Oriental Research, numerous funding organizations and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

Following the Preface and various tables, there is a substantial Introduction, which is divided into several sections. The first section discusses what is known about the archdeacon Theodoros

and members of his family, and other prominent members of the community. It also summarizes the nature of the documents, which generally have a financial purpose, and largely represent tax documents; family financial arrangements such as property divisions; sales, leases and exchanges of important property; settlement of disputes; and a few fragments of letters and accounts. In addition, there are about a dozen documents involving the church. The second section discusses phonological, morphological and syntactic aspects of the Greek used in the documents published in this volume in considerable detail. Generally, those follow the changes to Greek in the Roman and Byzantine period described by the late Francis Gignac,¹ but the editors note some indication of transference from the local Arabic dialect including, for example, a tendency to confuse *eta* and *epsilon* (10-11). This section concludes with a series of tables in which various writers are divided into groups based on their estimated levels of education, considering type of document, hand, title, and role (main writer, declarant, proxy or witness). The consistency of each of these groups with classical orthography and morphology is then analyzed with examples from the Petra documents. The conclusion is that classical spelling standards are met, and there is generally a good command of classical morphology, with greater consistency with the more educated writers (25). The third section discusses the influence of spoken Arabic on phonology and morphology in the area, and on indications of Arabic-Aramaic bilingualism. This is followed by an updated synoptic chronological table.

After the Introduction, documents numbered 48 through 87 are published, followed by a list of single words from fragmentary documents. Each document contains an introduction, transcription, English translation, apparatus and commentary. These documents include real property documents (50 — exchange of land, 51 — emphyteutic lease, 59 — lease of a vineyard, 61 — sale of land, 62 — list of agricultural plots, 71 — agreement of land and other property, 75 — lease, 76 — cession of land), wills and gifts after death (52 — draft of a will, 53 and 54 — purpose unclear but they could be draft charitable donations, 55 — gift after death, 56 — perhaps another gift after death), tax documents (65 — request for transfer of taxation, 66 — request for transfer of taxation, 67 — fragment of a request, 68 — tax receipts, 69 — document on vineyard taxes, 70 — receipt, 81 — fragments probably involving taxes, 86 — fragments probably involving taxes), miscellaneous other agreements and letters (57 — agreement concerning a slave, 58 — agreement concerning slaves, 60 — fragment of a letter from a senior official, 63 — fragments of documents, 72 — fragments of several documents, 73 — fragment, perhaps of a property division, 74 — list of garments, 77 — agreement perhaps for support, 78 — official letter, 79 — official letter, 80 — account of a debt, 82 — agreement on workers, 84 — fragment) and church documents (48 and 49 — agreements or receipts, 64 — agreement on ecclesiastical property, 83 — accounts of a church, 85 — accounts of a church, 87 — fragment). All these documents are fragmentary, and their meaning has been painstakingly developed from matching pieces of papyri.

The document description is followed by a cumulative index to all five volumes of Petra papyri and the plates. Finally, there are photographic plates for most of the documents numbered 50 through 87, with line numbers for the text provided so that the photographs can be compared with the transcription. Plates for documents 48 and 49 are found in Volume IV and documents 81B and 81C do not appear to have plates. Because these papyri were carbonized, the photographs are generally dark, however, great care has been taken to provide as legible a set of pictures as is

¹ Francis T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Vols. I and II (Milan: Cisalpina-Goliardica, 1976-1981).

possible. These copies will be made available for publication through the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS) at Duke University.

Just as with the previous volumes, the materials are meticulously developed and compiled. I saw no typographical errors, and few areas in which I might disagree with the transcriptions or translations. My only regret is that although some editors noted evidence of diaeresis, perhaps in response to a comment in a review of the earlier volume *Petra Papyri II* by Lajos Berkes,² the transcription of diaeresis is still inconsistent. For example, document 77 reflects diaeresis in the word Ioun (line 1) and in the name Thaious to show the pronunciation (line 7), but not in the name Ioannes (line 32), even though the plates for this document show it in the latter location. This inconsistency is common in many publications, requiring the examination of the document or available photographs to see if diaeresis is present, but more consistency would aid in the research of patterns that may help us understand scribal transmission.

On the other hand, it should be noted that this material was compiled from often very small fragments and reconstructed based on the professional judgment of the editors. Those editors, however, have provided clear copies of the evidence from which they are working, and this will provide an opportunity for those who love jigsaw puzzles to search for better ways to reconstruct the fragments. These documents have already provided a significant opportunity to learn more about the liminal areas between the Byzantine Empire and Arabia, and to explore the diffusion of legal, social and scribal norms across the greater Eastern Mediterranean. The generosity of the editors in explaining their judgment in reconstructing these documents and in providing clear plates for comparison must be applauded. This should permit the continued development of information about this critically important area of the world.

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Gesine Manuwald, *Cicero, Agrarian Speeches: Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. iv + 480 pp. ISBN 9780198715405.

Gesine Manuwald's (hereafter G.M.) *Cicero Agrarian Speeches*, offers a revised edition, translation, and commentary of Cicero's three agrarian speeches, the first of a number of speeches Cicero delivered during his consular year, and consequently published. These speeches aim to rebuke a bill which P. Servilius Rullus recently put forward as Tribute of the Plebs. In his speeches Cicero touches upon some of the most crucial issues of late Republican politics, such as agrarian reforms, the transformation of the *tribunica potestas* during the late Republic, legislation, and the Roman voting system. The speeches also offer a unique gaze of Cicero's state of mind, political intentions, and net of allegiances during the early stages of his consulate, and before the Catiline affair. Likewise, as Cicero himself intended the *Agrarian Speeches* to be his *tour de force* (the first was delivered on his first consular day), these texts are invaluable for any study of Ciceronian rhetoric, late Republican rhetoric in general, and the connection between rhetoric and politics during the late Republic. It is therefore surprising that these speeches were so rarely treated in a commentary form in the past. In fact, and as G.M. herself notes, these speeches were

² Lajos Berkes, 'Review of Ludwig Koenen, Jorma Kaimio, Maarit Kaimio, Robert W. Daniel (ed.), *The Petra Papyri II*', *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2014.05.04.