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John Wallrodt, Andrew Connor, and Kyle Helms provided assistance with the production of this volume.

Silvia Strassi, *L'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis*. Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Beiheft 26). Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008. xlix + 194 pages. ISBN 978-3-11-020119-2.

This volume presents and argues for significant reinterpretations of an archive of letters from second-century Karanis, discovered together in a niche under the stairs of a large house. The archive is bound together by the person of Claudius Tiberianus, a *speculator* in the Roman army and very likely the occupant of the house where the papyri were found, although the author of most of the letters is Claudius Terentianus, first a sailor in the Alexandrian fleet and then a soldier in an unnamed legion. At first glance the book appears to be intended as a republication of the archive, but that is not exactly the case. Except for a few readings (discussed below), the text is taken from earlier editions, and there are no line notes. Moreover, as Strassi points out, there are unpublished papyri from the same find still awaiting editing (Arthur Verhoogt has provided her with information about these, which is cited from time to time). A full papyrological edition of the archive is thus still to be awaited.

The volume consists of a short introduction, a massive bibliography, texts with Italian translation and footnotes, an index to the texts, followed by four chapters with a brief conclusion, an appendix broadly rejecting the connection of SB 6.9636 with the archive, and indexes to the volume (that is, to the introduction and the chapters). The substance of the volume is in the four chapters, in which Strassi considers the *Schreibort* of the letters, their dates, the families of Tiberianus and Terentianus, and their friends. The texts serve mainly to save the reader from having to consult the original publication by H.C. Youtie and J.G. Winter in *P.Mich.* 8 (1951).¹

The archive is well known, because seven of the letters are written in Latin and compose one of the most important and coherent groups of letters in that language.² Strassi's interest in this archive, however, is not linguistic but historical. It began with her work on Sokrates son of Sarapion, the tax collector.³ From that basis it extended more generally to second-century society in Karanis. She found the prevailing interpretations of the letters to Tiberianus, mostly from Terentianus, unsatisfying. That dissatisfaction, as we shall see, centers

¹ Which, as Strassi points out, ignored the archaeological context of the archive, as with the rest of the Karanis papyri in the Michigan collection published in that era.

² The introduction discusses this literature briefly; cf. also the review of Strassi's book by J. Kramer, *APF* 54 (2008) 248-251.

³ "Le carte di Σωκράτης Σαραπίωνος, πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν a Karanis nel II sec. d. C.," *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Florence 2001) 2:1215-1228.

on the relationship of the two men. Tiberianus is consistently addressed by Terentianus as his father, and despite the ambiguities of family terminology in the papyri, most readers of the archive have concluded that the term is to be taken literally here. Not so Strassi, and much of the rest of the book flows from her disagreement with the general consensus on this point.

The Latin texts are drawn from Cugusi's *C.Epist.Lat.*, the Greek avowedly from the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri, or, perhaps more accurately, from the original editions as emended since publication.⁴ The palaeographic descriptions of the Latin texts are drawn from *ChLA*, those of the Greek texts from the first edition. In the reedition of *P.Mich.* 8.476 as no. 11 here (p. 47), new readings are (exceptionally) offered in three lines. One of these involves φοίνικα for φοινίκια in line 7, which, to judge from the digital photo, looks possible (although there is space for Youtie and Winter's iota). The readings in lines 9 and 10 are not convincing. In line 9, Strassi reads χαρταρίου for the editors' μαχαρίου. This runs up against the open space between alpha and rho, and a ductus that is not (to my eyes) compatible with an alpha-rho ligature. In line 10, she suggests παρέσχετο for the editors' έωνείτο. The latter is doubtful, and (as Strassi points out, p. 48, n. 86) Youtie himself called it into question very strongly. But there is clearly a character between epsilon and tau, compatible with iota. This cannot be reconciled with Strassi's proposed reading. The first letter of the word looks like beta to me, but I cannot find a solution.

The dating of the letters is far from easy. The starting point for the editors was an indication that Terentianus was about to be sent to Syria shortly after entering the fleet. The editors suggested that this was ca. 115, in connection with the Jewish revolt. Strassi suggests Trajan's Syrian campaign of 114 as a more likely occasion, largely because there is no evidence for naval involvement in suppression of the Jewish revolt, which in any case was not in Syria. This seems plausible. But the perennial methodological problem of interpret-

⁴ The DDBDP in its current form does not claim to be a critical edition; at best it incorporates corrections from the *BL*. It is a misuse of this indispensable tool to cut and paste its texts as if they were the equivalent of a critical edition. See P. van Minnen in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford and New York 2009) 650-651. It is also disconcerting to find the DDBDP and APIS cited as "sources" or "authorities" for provenance and date; the information there comes in most cases from the published editions, occasionally from later scholarship. More importantly, these tools are not stable referents, being subject to updating. At a minimum, one must cite the date of consultation of digital works. Another doubtful use of digital technology occurs at p. 39, n. 68, where a long list of patristic passages concerning the Biblical story of the resuscitation of Tabitha by Peter (Acts 9:36-40) is given. It is hard to see the point of what looks like a dump of hits in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. It contributes nothing to the discussion of the name *Tabethus*.

ing letters must be recognized. They almost always operate at a different level from the history of politics and wars, and it is rare that we can really be sure what they refer to. Terentianus' ship might have been dispatched to Syria for some far less momentous reason that we will never recover.⁵ On the other hand, two of the letters speak of Terentianus' involvement in trying to restore order to Alexandria, and connecting this with the Jewish revolt is likely to be right. Two papyri (14 and 15) mention the procuratorial *dioiketes* and thus are not likely to be earlier than the accession of Hadrian. Overall, Strassi thinks, the letters date roughly to the period 110-115 and the following years, when Tiberianus lived probably in Karanis. It is possible that 16 dates after his death.

Much of the discussion of the family is devoted, as has already been mentioned, to attempting to undermine the view that Terentianus was the son of Tiberianus, in favor of the Ptolemaios mentioned in two letters also with the term "father." The argument has been analyzed in detail by J. Kramer (above, n. 2), who rejects it. I will not repeat Kramer's points (with which I agree) here, but it is worth stressing two points in the debate. First, Strassi argues essentially that Terentianus was an upwardly mobile Greek of Egypt, for whom Latin was not his first language, and that he was not a Roman citizen by birth. The latter may well have been true, but her view that he would have acquired citizenship at or after entry into the legion, through grant of it to him as a soldier, is doubtful. Where would he have acquired the *nomen* Claudius in this period? Much more likely, his citizenship stems ultimately from an action taken to the benefit of an ancestor under Claudius or Nero. It thus seems perverse to deny that Tiberianus is likely to be the source. Certainly Terentianus may have used his *nomen* informally, before actual grant of citizenship, in these letters, and he might have become a citizen only when Tiberianus was discharged and obtained retrospective *conubium* and the citizenship for his children. The other point, however, which may cut against this, even if inconclusively, is the use of $\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ in the address of *P.Mich.* 8.479 (14). All but two letters are dotted, to be sure, but it is not easy to find a better reading. The word is not often used in family letters, but it is not unknown in connection with terms of relationship.⁶

The remainder of the family discussion explores other possible connections, all to some degree through the lens of the hypothesis that Tiberianus is

⁵ The other major chronological pillar has been the appearance of a newly-veteran Terentianus in *SB* 6.9636 (here no. 18), from 136 CE. But there are reasons, as Strassi argues, to be doubtful that this is the Claudius Terentianus of the Tiberianus archive, and if so, that pointer to an enlistment date around 111 vanishes.

⁶ Already in H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (Helsinki 1956) 102-103, noting the absence of $\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ from family letters, but citing exceptions to that rule.

not the father of Terentianus. Much of this is helpful regardless of one's view of that question, but at times the will to identify individuals is taken too far. An example is Tais, the author of *P.Mich.* 8.510. Strassi suggests identification of this person with a woman mentioned in the will of Marcus Sempronius Priscus, *ChLA* 10.412. But this refers to the woman as *Thaisan*, the accusative of *Thaisas* (the hypocoristic of *Thaisarion*). It is idle to speculate "Che la stessa Thais fosse l'autrice della lettera trovata nell'archivio di Tiberianus, resta un' ipotesi che non si può dimostrare né negare precisamente date le scarse attestazioni del nome et l'identità dell'ambiente sociale di Karanis in cui i documenti si collocano."

The discussion of extra-familial friends mentioned in the correspondence is, of necessity, still less conclusive. Probably the most valuable discussion is that of Longinus Priscus, who appears in *P.Mich.* 8.472, from Tiberius to Priscus (it is doubtful that this is a copy, as Strassi claims; it has an address on the verso). She notes the presence of a C. Longinus Priscus in the second-century Arsinoite in various documents, including the will of M. Sempronius Priscus. One of these attestations is of a person who became an Antinoite citizen. She is attracted by the possibility of identifying at least some of these with one another and with the figure in the Tiberianus archive. On the other hand, her speculations on language in this section are more than dubious. "Se il greco fosse stato, come pare probabile, la prima lingua di Tiberianus, si potrebbe supporre che avesse avuto in mente l'espressione 'κύριος μου ἡγεμών' e l'avesse semplicemente voluta riprodurre in latino" (154). She is referring to the Latin *domin[o] et regi suo* in the opening greetings of this letter. On the contrary: these expressions in Greek are derived from Latin usage,⁷ and it is nothing short of perverse to use such an expression as an argument in favor of the priority of Greek in Tiberianus' linguistic background.

The appendix on *SB* 6.9636 argues that it was attributed to Karanis only on the basis of the supposed identity of the Terentianus mentioned there with Claudius Terentianus. That is perhaps an exaggeration; many papyri acquired by the papyrus "cartel" led by H.I. Bell in the early 1920s in fact came from Karanis. Curiously, in discussing attestations of the name Terentianus, Strassi does not mention the Iulius Terentianus στρατιώτης of *P.Mich.* 8.464 (AD 99, Karanis), who is a good deal more germane to the question than the documents she does cite. (This papyrus does not appear at all in the index of sources.)

The greatest value of this book, in my view, is in its attempts to open up the possibility of reconstructing family archives from the second-century Karanis papyri that do not come from the Michigan excavations but through the

⁷ See E. Dickey, "Κύριε, δέσποτα, 'domine': Greek politeness in the Roman Empire," *JHS* 121 (2001) 1-11.

antiquities trade. This is a difficult art, involving many uncertainties and often a hint of possibilities rather than the satisfying interlocking of pieces of secure evidence. A lot more museum archaeology lies before the practitioner of this art. But the combination of the securely provenanced papyri from the excavations with these unprovenanced texts can yield progress. As will be obvious, I am not persuaded by some of the interpretations put forward in this book, but I hope it will be a fruitful opening up of a large area of research.

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