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TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

HOLZHAUSEN
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Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

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Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

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CSABA A. LÁDA
AMPHILOCHIOS PAPATHOMAS

Enteuxis Concerning Illegal Sale of *Cedria**

Plate 13

P.Vindob. G 60501 12 × 13.4 cm mid-II cent. BC?
Arsinoite nome (Oxyrhyncha?) plate 13

The light brown papyrus fragment, acquired by the Vienna Papyrus Collection in 2003, is badly damaged. It obviously comes from papyrus cartonnage, as indicated by the white traces of plaster on the right-hand side of the verso. The right-hand and bottom parts of the text are missing. The left and top margins are preserved, which measure 1.6 and 2.9 cm respectively. Three vertical folds are clearly visible, along which some fibres are missing. There are indications that the sheet was also folded horizontally, but this is less clear than the vertical folds. Numerous small holes dot the surface probably due to damage caused by worms. The writing is in black ink and, contrary to what is characteristic of 3rd c. BC *enteuxeis*, runs along the fibres. There are traces of black ink at several places on the verso, at least some of which might be imprints from papyri lying next to ours in the cartonnage. A string of traces running though the middle of the verso at 90 degrees to the text on the recto probably comes from an address written in large letters. However, the traces are so faint that no letters can be identified with certainty. The document was written in a practised professional hand of the middle of the second century BC. However, a later date in the second half of the second century or even in the first half of the first century BC cannot be ruled out completely. For comparable hands, cf. UPZ I 60 (Seider, *Pal. Gr.* III.1, II Abb. 93, pp. 362–364; 179 or 168 BC); UPZ I 41 (= P.Par. 29; Seider, *ibid.*, III.1, II Abb. 81, pp. 331–333; 161–160 BC) and P.Diosk. 6, Taf. VIII–X (146 BC). The use of the *iota* adscript in the body of the *enteuxis* (see l. 4: τῶι νομῶι; l. 5: τῆι) would also support an earlier date; cf. W. Clarysse, *Notes on the Use of the iota adscript in the third Century B.C.*, CdÉ 51 (1976) 150–166. This seems to be further confirmed by the use of the extremely rare compound verb διακολπιδεύω, which occurs in only one other text from the middle of the second century BC (see comm. on l. 6). Finally, the problem of illegal sale of products falling under the Ptolemaic state monopoly system appears to have been an acute one in the Arsinoite nome in the middle of the 2nd century BC, as demonstrated by P.Tebt. III.1 709 (159 BC), which seems to provide a further confirmation of our dating. As for the provenance of this papyrus, the fact that it clearly comes from cartonnage suggests the Fayyum or Middle

* The authors wish to thank the Austrian Science Foundation (FWF) for financial support for research on this papyrus (C. A. Láda in the framework of P 27781-G21 and A. Papathomas in the framework of Lise-Meitner-Programme M 1677-G21). All dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

Egypt. A Fayyumic origin is preferred by the geographical designation Ἀρσινοΐτης found in l. 2. A further, external, indication is found in the inventory journal of the Vienna papyrus collection, which mentions Oxyrhyncha as the provenance of this papyrus. Given the poor state of preservation of the papyrus, our translation at a number of places is uncertain.

- 1 Βασ[ιλει] Πτολεμα[ίω] καὶ βασι[λί]σσηι Κλε[οπάτραι - - -]
 2 χαί[ρει]ν. Πεεπ . . . ης Π[1-2] . κέους Ἀρσι[νοΐτης, ἐξειληφῶς (*vel sim.*)
 τὴν διάθεσιν]
 3 καὶ τ[ὸ] τέλος τῆ[ς] . . . ισσης κεδρίας . [- - - ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ (?) - - -]
 4 τινῶν τῶν ἐν τῶι νομῶι ἰβιστάφω[ν - - -]
 5 μένων τῆι μ[ὲν] πλείστας τὰφὰς συν[- - -]
 6 τῶν διακολπ[ι]τευόντων καὶ κατ[- - -]
 7 ἱερῶν τινῶν [τ]ε καὶ ἑτέροις διατιθε[- - - ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ (?)]
 8 πρατηρίου μη[θὲ]ν ἀπλῶς συνηγο[ρα- - - - ἕως / μέχρι]
 9 τοῦ νῦν [ο]ῦ [συ]μβαίνει κολούε[ιν - - -]
 10 καὶ διάφορα μο[ι οὔ]τε τὰ τυχόντα γίν[εται (?) - - -]
 11 ἰβιστάφους συ[κοφ]αντεῖν τοὺς π[- - -]
 12 [. . .] εἰς στε . [- - -]
-

Verso

- 13 [- - -] . κ . ε [- - -]

“To King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra ... greetings. I, Peep...es, son of P...kes, Arsinoite, ... the contractor for the retailing and the tax upon the ... juniper resin ..., am being wronged by (?) some ibis-buriers in the nome ... who, on the one hand, ... numerous burials ... of those selling illegally and ... of some temples (sacred things?) and distribute to others ... they purchased nothing at all from the royal (?) place of sale ... until now it has not happened that they are punished ... and the damage to me is not inconsiderable ... accuse the ibis-buriers falsely ...”

Our text preserves the upper left portion of a petition to a king Ptolemy and a queen Cleopatra who could be identified with Ptolemy VI Philometor and Cleopatra II (see introd. and comm. on l. 1). The name of the petitioner is preserved only fragmentarily. Nevertheless, it is highly likely that both the personal name and the patronymic are Egyptian and that therefore our petitioner was most probably of a native Egyptian ethnic background. He was apparently a tax farmer from the Arsinoite nome who won the state concession for the distribution of and tax upon *cedria* (and perhaps other, related, substances) presumably for the Arsinoite nome for the then current year. The subject of the *enteuxis* consists of a complaint by the petitioner against some unidentified ibis-buriers from the Arsinoite nome who appear to have violated his officially approved concession by obtaining *cedria* from other sources un-

authorised by the state. The complainant seems to allege that they undertook numerous burials by going behind his back and that they also supplied others with this product. Apparently, they have not bought any amount at all from the royal shop which he probably managed. He appears to be complaining of a lack of curtailment of or punishment for these illegal activities, which led to “not inconsiderable” financial damage to his business. In the penultimate line of the fragment, he seems to emphasise that his petition is not motivated by malice against the ibis-buriers. In the lost part of the *enteuxis*, he probably requested action from the authorities to pressurise the ibis-buriers into ceasing their illegal practices damaging his financial interests.¹

A particular interest of our text is that it supplies a new attestation of the τέλος κεδρίας (“juniper resin tax”), which so far occurs in only a small number of texts. By this, it provides important new information on a hitherto little known aspect of the extensive Ptolemaic monopoly and tax farming system. For this tax and sales monopoly, see comm. on l. 3 where both the attestations and references to the secondary literature are provided.

1. καὶ βασι[λί]σσηι Κλε[ο]πάτραι: Since the width of the column is unknown, the precise wording of the address formula cannot be established with any certainty. Two or three rulers may have been addressed in the formula. Since during most of the second and first centuries a Ptolemy and one or two Cleopatras sat on Egypt’s throne, a large number of joint reigns is possible. Given the palaeographical features of this text, which point towards the middle of the second century BC, a joint reign between Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II appears to be the likeliest. However, the joint reign between Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I, that between Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II (164/163) and later joint reigns in the second half of the second and in the first centuries cannot be ruled out. For these possibilities, see CPR XXVIII, pp. 199–200, with references; P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d’après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. – 453 ap. J.-C.)*, Pap.Lugd.Bat. 15, Leiden 1967, 40–84 and W. Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit. 332–30 v. Chr.*, München 2001, 514–757. If indeed the papyrus comes from the reign of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II, we could consider either the supplement τῆ ἀδελφῆι, θεοῖς Φιλομήτορσι or the shorter θεοῖς Φιλομήτορσι in the lost part of l. 1. For the longer supplement, cf., for example, UPZ I 10.1–2 (160): Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Κλεοπάτραι | τῆ ἀδελφῆι θεοῖς Φιλομήτορσι χαίρειν and P.Erasm. I 1.1–2 (148/147): Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Κλεοπάτραι | τῆ ἀδελφῆι θεοῖς Φιλομήτορσι χαίρειν. To the best of our knowledge, the only papyrological parallel for the shorter supplement is UPZ I 20.1 (163): [Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Κλεοπάτραι θεοῖς Φιλομήτορσι χαίρειν. Therefore, the first possibility appears far more likely statistically and also because otherwise the width of the column would be insufficient for the thematic changes suggested by the preserved parts of the subsequent lines in the main body of the petition. If this hypothesis is indeed correct, the exact half of the width of the column (33 out of 66 letters in l. 1) would have been lost. In this case, the papyrus seems to have been broken along a vertical fold running through the middle of the sheet. This is consistent with the folding of the sheet into the narrow portions of approximately

¹ Cf. B. C. McGing, *Illegal salt in the Lycopolite nome*, APF 48 (2002) 42–66 and M. Depauw, *Controlling the Perfume Monopoly. A Demotic letter in Macquarie referring to a proxy in Duke*, ZPE 171 (2009) 201–208.

equal size clearly shown by the three vertical folds running through our fragment.

2. Πεεπ . . . ης: The reading of the second π is uncertain. Palaeographically, the traces would suit a π best, but the alternative reading of a τ followed by another letter cannot be ruled out completely. The traces of the third letter from the end could suit a θ or an ο. To date no personal names beginning with Πεεπ- or Πεετ- are attested in the papyrological and epigraphic evidence from Graeco-Roman Egypt. Nevertheless, no alternative reading of these traces seems possible. The name is obviously Egyptian. For personal names beginning with Πεε-, see *Trismegistos.People* (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/>). Unfortunately, none of the 32 names listed by this research tool suit the traces after the second ε.

Π[1–2] κέους: The first letter after the lacuna might be an ε, but other readings (e.g. an ο) might also be possible. No personal name starting with a π, ending in -κέους in the genitive and filling the available space is to date attested in the papyrological and epigraphic sources from Graeco-Roman Egypt.

Ἀρσι[νοΐτης: This adjectival form is infrequent in reference to individuals but is attested in Ptolemaic papyri, among others in an *enteuxis*: P.Tebt. III.1 770.1–2 (210): [Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω] χαίρειν Ἀσκληπι[ι]άδης Ἀρθούτου Ἀρσινοΐ[της τῶν κατοικο]ύντων ἐγ Κροκοδίλων πό[λει] τοῦ Ἀρ(σινοΐτου) νο[μοῦ].

2. [- - - ἐξειληφώς (*vel sim.*) τὴν διάθεσιν]: For this reconstruction, cf. P.Giss.Univ. I 10 col. i.4–6 (145–116; see PP VIII 4702): [7] τοῦ ἐξειληφότος | [τὴν διάθ]εσιν καὶ τὸ τέλος | [- - -]; P.Tebt. I 39.2–4 (114/113): παρ' Ἀπολλοδώρου ἐξειληφότος τὴν | διάθεσιν καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἐλαίου τῆς αὐτῆς | τὸ δ (ἔτος); P.Tebt. IV 1094 (= P.Tebt. I 125) 1–2 (114/113): παρ' Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ ἐξειληφότ[ος] τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ | [τὸ τέλος τοῦ] ἐλαίου τῆς αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ δ (ἔτος); P.Tebt. I 38 (= W.Chr. 303) 10–11 (113): παρ' Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ ἐξειληφότος τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἐλαίου | τῆς αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ δ (ἔτος). This supplement seems to be confirmed by the use of a form of διατίθημι at the end of the preserved part of l. 7 and is also suggested by the context, which implies that the fundamental reason for the petition was the *ibiotaphoi*'s violation of the petitioner's exclusive right to distribute *cedria* in the Arsinoite nome.

3. τ[ὸ] τέλος τῆ[ς] . . . ἰσης κεδρίας[: The ο in τ[ὸ] was probably a large one to fill the available space, which tends to be the case in this hand in the combination τo; cf. τοῦ in l. 9 and τούς in l. 11.

For the phrase τὸ τέλος τῆς κεδρίας in conjunction with ἐξειληφώς, supplemented at the end of l. 2, cf. the unpublished four Leuven papyri described by W. Clarysse, *A Bilingual Archive from the Cynopolite Nome*, in: J. Frösén et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1–7 August, 2004. Volume I*, Helsinki 2007, 185–189 (esp. 185), tentatively dated to 93/92, and SB XX 14426 (93?; see Clarysse, *ibid.*), ll. 1–5: Πλέμομρις Ὠρου καὶ Κολλοῦθ' ος' | Νεφερώτος οἱ ἐξειληφότες τὸ τέλ(ος) | τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ τῆς κεδρίας | τοῦ Κυνοπολίτου <εἰς> τὸ ἔ[ν] {ος} καὶ | εικοστὸν ἔτος and ll. 7–9: ἀπ[έ]σχομεν | παρ' ὑμῶν τὸ τέλος τοῦ φαρμάκου | καὶ τῆς κεδρίας κτλ. In these parallels, a tax on both φάρμακον and κεδρία is mentioned. On this tax and monopoly, see W. Huß, *Die Verwaltung des Ptolemäischen Reichs* (Münchener Beiträge 104), München 2011, 226; *id.*, *Die Wirtschaft Ägyptens in hellenistischer Zeit* (Münchener Beiträge 105), München 2012, 55–56; W. Clarysse, *ibid.*; A. Hanafi, *A Tax on Drug and Cedar Oil*, in: L. Criscuolo, G. Geraci, *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba. Bilancio di un confronto*, Bologna 1989, 421–428 (ed. pr. of SB XX 14426; esp. 422–424) and, most recently, Ch. Armoni, P.Tarich., pp. 20–21. However, in our text φάρμακον does not seem to be mentioned (see below). On the Ptolemaic monopoly and tax farming system in general, see Huß, *ibid.* (*Wirtschaft*) 50–65 and W. Habermann, B. Tenger, *Ptolemäer*, in: B. Schefold (ed.), *Wirtschaftssysteme im historischen Vergleich*, Stuttgart 2004, 298–318, with the earlier literature cited in these works.

τῆ[ς] . . . ἰσης: The most often attested words with this genitival ending in the papyro-

logical and epigraphic sources from Ptolemaic Egypt are βασιλίσσα and πίσσα. Of these, the first is obviously ruled out by the context, whereas the second would suit the thematic context well: πίσσα and κεδρία are often mentioned together in literary sources, especially in medical authors such as Galenus, Oribasius, Soranus, Paulus, Aetius and Dioscorides, and also in documentary papyri; for the latter, cf. P.Lond. III 1171 (pp. 177–180) recto 11–12 (after 2 Sep. 8): πίσσης ὑγρᾶς (δρ.) λβ | νίτρου καὶ κεδρίας (δρ.) ιδ and P.Oxy. XIV 1727.28–31 (late 2nd or early 3rd c. AD): Ἀνθεστ[ί]ας πίσσης [. . .] | ... | Ὀρίωνος κεδρίας [. . .] | Ἀμμωνίου κεδρίας [. . .]. However, this word is unlikely here for two reasons (on the assumption that three substances were listed here rather than two, in which latter case a καί would be needed before κεδρίας): a) the space would be too long for this word (and too short for πίσσης ὑγρᾶς, attested in later sources, in the reverse order); b) there is no indication at all that πίσσα was included in the tax-farming or monopoly system in Ptolemaic Egypt. For these reasons, an adjective before κεδρίας defining its semantic field would seem the likeliest construction, which appears to be supported by the definite article τῆ[ς]. However, no such adjective is to date attested with κεδρία in the documentary or literary sources.

κεδρία: For the meaning of κεδρία (cf. κεδρίον; lat. *cedria*, *cedrium*), see LSJ⁹ s.v.; OLD s.v. and W. E. H. Cockle, *Restoring and Conserving Papyri*, BICS 30 (1983) 147–165 (esp. 157 with note 132 on pp. 163–164); cf. also R. Ast, P.Jena II 37.16 n. (p. 152). It is now clear that this product was extracted from the juniper tree rather than the famous cedar (*Cedrus Libani*); see e.g. A. Lucas, “Cedar”-Tree Products Employed in Mummification, JEA 17 (1931) 13–21 (esp. 14) and A. Lucas, J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, London⁴1962, 309 and 432. The literature is divided as to which species of juniper κεδρία was extracted from: LSJ⁹, OLD and Cockle (p. 164) mention *Juniperus excelsa* (Syrian cedar), whereas Cockle mentions also *Juniperus oxycedrus* (p. 157). On these two species of juniper, neither of which was native to ancient Egypt, see R. Gale et al., ‘Wood’, in: P. T. Nicholson, I. Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge 2000, 334; 351; M. Serpico, R. White, ‘Resins, amber and bitumen’, *ibid.*, 432–433; R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (SDAIK 14), Mainz am Rhein 1985, 6–7, 10–12; ead., *Die Heilpflanzen der Ägypter*, Düsseldorf, Zürich 2002, 51–55, 63–66 and ead., *Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen* (Philippika 21), Wiesbaden 2008, 51–53 and 276–278. For the use of κεδρία and related products in the process of human mummification in ancient Egypt, see Lucas, *ibid.*; A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia. Recherches de Papyrologie et d’Épigraphie grecques sur la Nécropole de la Thèbes d’Égypte aux époques hellénistique et romaine*, Caire 1952, 209; Lucas and Harris, *ibid.*, 299, 302–303, 309, 311–312. Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt confirm these observations: cf. P.Amh. II 125.1–3 (late 1st c. AD): λόγο(ς) δαπάνη(ς) ταφῆς. | ὦν ἐγὼ ἐδαπάνη(σα)· | κεδρέας [(δραχμαῖ)] δ and SB XX 15066.7–8 (4th c. AD): τιμ(ῆς) κητριάς κε [- - -] | τοῖς νεκροτάφοις [- - -]. The process of mummifying animals was essentially similar (Lucas and Harris, *ibid.*, 302–303), which is probably why κεδρία figures in our text in connection with the *ibiotaphoi*. This is explicitly confirmed by historiographic and documentary sources; see Diod. Sic. I 83.5: ὅταν δ’ ἀποθάνῃ τι τῶν εἰρημένων (sc. ζῴων; among them also ἴβεις), σινδόνη κατακαλύψαντες καὶ μετ’ οἰωμῆς τὰ στήθη καταπληξάμενοι φέρουσιν εἰς τὰς ταριχείας· ἔπειτα θεραπευθέντων αὐτῶν κεδρία καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις εὐωδίαν παρέχεσθαι καὶ πολυχρόνιον τοῦ σώματος τήρησιν θάπτουσιν ἐν ἱεραῖς θήκαις², as well as the following papyri from both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods: P.Tebt. I 88 (= W.Chr. 67) 10–

² For this passage, cf. A. Burton, Diodorus Siculus. Book I. A Commentary (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire romain 29), Leiden 1972, 240–241.

13 (after 7 Nov. 115): δίδοσθαι δὲ εἰς τὸ κορκοδι<λο>ταφίον | [[πρὸς τη . κροκί]] παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς | βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν εἰς τε τὰς θυσίας ... καὶ κεδρία κτλ. and SB XX 15157 (= P.Cairo Cat. 10532 descr.) 6–8 (1st half of the 1st c. AD): τὸν στατήρα καιδρίας | ὁμολόγησεν Ἀ'λ.ε'ξᾶς «ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἔχω». δέδωκα | εἰς τὴν ταφὴν τῶν κορκοδύλων; cf. also J. D. Ray, *The Complaint of Herieu*, RdÉ 29 (1977) 97–116 (esp. 107–111) with K.-Th. Zauzich, *Einige Bemerkungen zu den demotischen Papyri Louvre E. 3333 und E. 3334*, *Enchoria* 9 (1979) 121–124 and BL Dem. B 686–688. For the meaning of κεδρία, cf. also the Demotic words *syf* and *sfy* “fir resin, oil”, which occur in similar contexts to κεδρία (e.g. P.Louvre Dem. E. 3334.9, translated by the editor as “juniper oil”: Ray, *ibid.*, 110–111, n. g), *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* s.v.v.; Erichsen, *Glossar*, 408, 429; A. Erman, H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, Leipzig 1925–1953, IV 114 (*šff*) and 118 (*šft*); Crum, *Dict.* 379a (κ1ϵ) (cf. also 317a [cei]); H. von Deines, H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogenamen* (Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter 6), Berlin 1959, 436–437; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1965/1977 (= 2008) 209 (κ1ϵ) (cf. also 174 [cei]); J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, Cambridge 1976, 171 (κ1ϵ); W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1983, 204 (κ1ϵ); K. Sethe, ‘Der Name des Gottes Suchos’, ZÄS 50 (1912) 80; A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Oxford 1947, 8–9, n. 1; R. A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, London 1954, 212; W. R. Dawson, in: J. W. B. Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, Oxford 1956, who “believes it to be refined juniper resin” (our emphasis); W. Vycichl, *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleihung*, MDAIK 16 (1958) 401, no. 75; W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches I–VI* (AbhMainz 1961–1969), Wiesbaden 1961–1969, IV 702; Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte* (Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires, Collection in-8°, Deuxième série, Tome LVIII, fasc. 1a), Bruxelles 1965, 137, 143–144, 148–149; J. Vergote, *De verhouding van het Egyptisch tot de Semietische talen* (MAWBL XXVII, Nr. 4), Brussel 1965, 61; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Band 5), Wiesbaden 1971, 28, 35, 397–398; E. A. E. Reymond, P.Ashm., p. 64; R. Germer, *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, Diss. Hamburg 1979, 14–19, 29, 171; ead., *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (SDAIK 14), Mainz am Rhein 1985, 6–7; ead., *Die Heilpflanzen der Ägypter*, Düsseldorf, Zürich 2002, 63–66; M. Smith, *Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7)*, Oxford 2005, 53, 127–128 n. d, 340 and R. Germer, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen* (Philippika 21), Wiesbaden 2008, 47–49, 115, 233, 374. For papyrologists, an interesting ancient use of *cedrium* was for protecting papyri from damage by bookworms; see B. Leach, J. Tait, ‘Papyrus’, in: Nicholson, Shaw, *ibid.*, 240 and Cockle, *ibid.*, 157.

In the papyrological literature κεδρία and κεδρίον (*cedria*, *cedrium*) are usually translated with “cedar oil”; we deliberately avoid this expression in our translation for two reasons: as it is clear from our discussion above, first, this substance has nothing to do with the cedar tree; secondly, it is doubtful whether this product had a similar composition to oil in our common sense of the word. In our translation, we follow the interpretation provided by Lucas, Harris and Cockle in their works cited above; cf. also H. Cadell, P.Sorb. I 34.1 n. (p. 106). However, we are fully aware that the word κεδρία was associated with the cedar tree by the ancients who wrote and read this papyrus.

It is unclear what followed after κεδρίας. The supplement τ[οῦ Ἀρσινότου νομοῦ could be considered on the basis of passages like the above-mentioned Leuven papyri and SB XX 14426.1–5. Although the word φάρμακον is to date attested together with κεδρία in two published documents and in up to four unpublished Leuven papyri (see above), the reconstruction κ[αὶ φαρμάκου in our text is far less likely for several reasons. First, the reading of a κ

is unlikely before the lacuna. Secondly, both published parallels, i.e. SB XX 14426.1–5 and P.Harr. I 89.4–5 with BL III 80 (115 AD; see R. Ziegler, *Bemerkungen zu verschiedenen Urkunden*, ZPE 106 [1995] 194): διάγραφε διὰ ὄρου καὶ μετόχων | φαρμάκ(ων) καὶ κεδρίας συνα(γομένας) (δραχμάς) τ, δ (ὀβολούς), as well as the unpublished ones from Leuven, are later than our preferred date for our papyrus. Finally, the order of these two words in the published parallels is the reverse of what we would have with this hypothetical supplement (as far as the four unpublished Leuven papyri are concerned, Clarysse mentions the “tax on the kedria and the pharmakon” [p. 185], but this does not necessarily have to be the precise word order found in the Greek texts of the Leuven papyri).

3–4. ἀδικούμαι ὑπὸ (?) - - - | τινῶν: For a similar writing of τῖ in τινῶν, cf. the same letters in διατιθεῖ in l. 7; for the ι, cf. τῶι in l. 4. Τινῶν seems to suit the context well, especially towards the beginning of a petition where we should probably reconstruct ἀδικούμαι ὑπό + genitive. For the reconstruction, two possibilities offer themselves: either [- - - ἀδικούμαι ὑπό] | τινῶν κτλ., assuming that the complaint was made against individuals whose specific names were unknown, or [- - - ἀδικούμαι ὑπὸ PN καὶ (or μετ’) ἄλλων] | τινῶν κτλ. where unknown individuals are also complained against. For a parallel petition concerning the illegal sale of two different kinds of oil by an unknown person, see P.Tebt. I 38 (= W.Chr. 303) 11–14 (113): τῆς ἐγλήμψεως εἰς τέλος καταλελ[ειμμέν]ης χάριν τῶν | παρεισφερόντων εἰς τὴν κόμην καὶ παραπωλούντων κολ[πι]τικὸν ἔλαιον καὶ κίκι, ὄθεν | τῆι ια τοῦ Μεχεῖρ προσαγγελέντες μοι Θραϊκά τινα οὐ τὸ {ν} | ὄνομα ἀγνωοῖ τῶν ἐκ Κερκε[σί]φωως παρεισσηνοχότα ἔλαιον κτλ.

4. ἰβιοτάφω[ν]: The ἰβιοτάφοι were the ‘buriers of ibises’, an animal sacred to Thot in Egyptian religion. The ibis cult was widespread in Hellenistic Egypt; see W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus*, Leipzig, Berlin 1905–1908, vol. I 109–10, 247–50, 268 and vol. II 40, 72; A. Traversa, *Ibiotáphoi, ibioboskoí, e un cartonnage inedito della collezione Osloense*, SymbOslo 36 (1960) 49–64; J. D. Ray, O.Hor., pp. 136–144; K. A. D. Smelik, *The Cult of the Ibis in the Graeco-Roman Period. With Special Attention to the Data from the Papyri*, in: M. J. Vermaseren (ed.), *Studies in Hellenistic Religions* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire romain 78), Leiden 1979, 225–243; W. Clarysse, J. Quaegebeur, *Ibion, Isieion and Tharresteion in Two Oslo Papyri*, SymbOslo 57 (1982) 69–85 (esp. 71–72); H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp. 100–102; K. Vandorpe, *Les villages des Ibis dans la toponymie tardive*, Enchoria 18 (1991) 115–122; H. Koskenniemi, *Neue Texte zum Ibiskult aus dem 2. Jh. v. Chr.*, in: A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists. Copenhagen, 23–29 August 1992*, Copenhagen 1994, 245–257. For the ibis cult specifically in the Fayyum, see W. J. R. RübSam, *Götter und Kulte in Faiyum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit*, Bonn 1974, 39–40, 57, 86–87, 113–114, 120, 169, 186, 215; see also pp. 37–38, 77, 97, 168–169, 185, 199, 223, where the cult of Thot is discussed; D. J. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris. An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period*, Cambridge 1971, 87–89, 93, 101–102, 169–180, 194–196; cf. also M. Zecchi, *Geografia religiosa del Fayyum. Dalle origini al IV secolo a.C.*, Imola 2001, passim (see index, p. 287).

Despite the widespread nature of the ibis cult, there are to date only a handful of attestations of the word ἰβιοτάφος in Greek papyri and inscriptions from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, which nevertheless cover virtually the whole of the Ptolemaic period: SB XVI 12551.2 (227/226?; see BL IX 286–287): Στοτοῦτ[ι]ς ἰβιοτάφος; P.Count 3.42 (229): ἰβιοτάφοι δ ε β (γίνεται) ια; P.Tebt. III.2 963.1–2 (early 2nd c.): [. συ]γγενῆι παρὰ | [9 ο]υ ἰβιοτάφου; P.Grenf. II 15 col. ii.6–7 (139): ἐπρίατο Ψενθώτης Κελήτος | τῶν ἐκ Π[αθ]ύ[ρ]εως ἰβιοτάφων ὡς (ἐτῶν) ἕ; P.Stras. II 91.3–6 (86?): παρ’ Ἀρμιύσιος τοῦ Φ[α]τρειῦς | καὶ τῶν μετόχω[ν] ἰβιοτάφω[ν] | καὶ [ἰ]ερ[α]κοτάφω[ν] τοῦ ἐν Τεβ[ε]τόνι Ἑρμαίου; P.Fouad 16.2–4 (68; s. BL VI 40): παρὰ Τεῶ[τος] τοῦ Ἀρπαῆ[σι]ος ἰβιοβος[κο]ῦ καὶ | ἰβ<ι>στάφου τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀζυρύχων

πόλει | Σαραπιείου. On ἰβιστάφοι, see also PP III 6925, 7027, IX 7006a, 7017 and P.Count I, p. 60 (note on ll. 81–84), p. 111 (note on l. 42). Cf. also P.Tebt. III.2 1002.9–10 (2nd c.): [- - - ἰβι]οταφίου [- - -] | [- - - ἰβί]ων τροφῆ[ς - - -], which seems to attest the ibis cult and a burial place of sacred ibises in Oxyrhyncha, and therefore fits in neatly with the assumed provenance of our papyrus provided by the inventory journal of the Vienna Papyrus Collection (for this text, cf. Smelik, *ibid.*, 229).

5. τῆι μ[έν]: In the lost parts of the subsequent lines τῆι δέ is to be expected. The clause with τῆι μέν would tell the reader what the *ibiotaphoi* being complained against did themselves (numerous burials using κεδρία), whereas the following clause with τῆι δέ would say what they did in addition to it, together with others (cf. l. 7: ἱερῶν τινῶν [τ]ε καὶ ἑτέροις διατιθε[ι]).

συν[]: Given the context, the most likely supplement appears to be a verb starting with συν of which πλείστας ταφάς would be the object, but of course a preposition introducing the possible associates of the subject(s) cannot be ruled out.

6. διακοπ[ι]τευόντων: Hitherto only a single text has been known attesting this verb in the papyrological documentation (which text is relevant to other aspects of our papyrus as well): P.Tebt. III.1 709.6–14 (159): ἔν[εστι (?) δέ] | αὐτῶι λαμβάνειν χειρογραφίας ὄρκου βασιλικοῦ παρὰ τῶν | μονογράφων περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρῆσθαι ἰδιωτικοῖς φορτίοις | τῶν τῆι ὄνῃ συνκυρόντων μηδὲ παρὰ τῶν δ[ια]κοπιτευόντων συναγορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν βα[σ]ιλικῶν | πρατηρίων. ἐν οἷς ἂν οὖν ὑμῶν χρεῖαν ἔχηι τῶν πρὸς[] | ταῦτα ἀνηκόντων, καλῶς ποιήσετε ἀντιλαμ[β]ανόμενοι προθύμως, καὶ ἐάν τις ὑμῖν παραδ[ί]δωι ἀντιπωλοῦντάς τι ἢ διακοπιτευόντας. Our papyrus clearly confirms the existence of this compound verb. Although there is no entry for διακοπιτεύω in LSJ⁹, see the Rev. Suppl. s.v. and DGE s.v., where the only attestation mentioned is this Tebtunis papyrus. A TLG online search for διακοπιτεύω has yielded no results, suggesting that this word is not attested in the literary sources. However, the simple form κοπιτεύω occurs in the *Etymologicum Magnum* but with no explanation; see *ibid.*, 521.23 (ed. Th. Gaisford, *Etymologicum magnum seu verius Lexicon saepissime vocabulorum origines indagans*, Oxford 1948): Κλοπιτεύειν: Κολπιτεύειν, υπερθέσει τοῦ λ. In the papyrological sources three attestations of the simple form of this verb exist; see (1) SB XVI 12671.4–5 (236 or 211): Πετοπῶρον ἔτον κοπιτεύοντα ἔλα<ι>α καὶ ὄπια (alternatively ἐλαῖκᾶ φορτία) ἔτον φονεύσαντά μου τὸν | υἱόν (cf. also the short discussion of this participle in the first edition of the text by H. Harrauer, K. A. Worp, *Mord und Schmuggel in Oxyrhyncha*, ZPE 40 [1980] 139–144, esp. 141); (2) P.Diosk. 5.8–14 (146?): εὐρόντ[ε]ς βύρσας ὄνεας | ἐννεά παρεδώκαμεν | Ἀπολλωνίωι καὶ Ἐπιμάχωι | τοῖς π[α]ρὰ σοῦ καὶ | σοὶ δὲ Δίδυμον | τὸν κεκοπιτευεῦκῶτα | αὐτά; (3) P.Phil. 35.22–24 (late 2nd c. AD): τάχα ἡμῖν ἐνπέση τι κοπιτευόμενον μὴ πως ἐπερία (l. ἐπερία?) μοι | γένηται κτλ. See also the adjective κοπιτικός attested in three papyri: P.Rain.Cent. 51.3–9 (1st half of the 1st c.): Ἀνομπεὺς καὶ Πεταλίῶν τῶν | ἐκ Θερύθωος λινεψῶν, μὴ καθηκόντως | εἰς Σῆστιν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις | ἡμῶν τόποις μεταβεβηκότες, | τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐπανεῖρηται κοπιτικῶι | τρόποι καὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα ἡμῖν | βασιλικά καταλέλυκαν; P.Tebt. I 38 (= W.Chr. 303) 11–12 with BL III 240 and IX 354 (113): τῆς ἐγλήμψεως εἰς τέλος καταλελ[ειμμέν]ης χάριν τῶν | παρεισφερόντων εἰς τὴν κόμην καὶ παραπωλούντων κολ[πι]τικὸν ἔλαιον καὶ κίκι κτλ.; P.Tebt. IV 1094 (= P.Tebt. I 125 descr.) 2–3 (114–113): τῆ[ς] ἐγλήμψεως ἐν οὐ τ[ῆ]ι τ[υ]χοῦσ[η] ἐνδεῖαι - - - | [χάριν τῶν παρ]εῖσφ[ε]ρόντων εἰς τὴν κόμην καὶ παραπωλούντων κοπιτικὸν [ἔλαιον καὶ κίκι - - -]. On the meaning of the adjective κοπιτικός, see D. B. Sandy, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt* (BASP Suppl. 6), Atlanta 1989, 25–26 and LSJ⁹ Rev. Suppl. s.v.

The verb διακοπιτεύω is translated with ‘smuggle’ in LSJ⁹ Rev. Suppl. s.v. and ‘hacer contrabando’ in DGE s.v. However, for a more nuanced interpretation of the meaning of this verb, which we follow in our translation, namely ‘sell under the counter’, i.e. without state authorisation, see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*, Oxford 1974, 126 with n. 16. The

verb (δια)κολπιτεύω obviously originates from the noun κόλπος meaning ‘busom, lap’, ‘fold of a garment’ (cf. B. Olsson, *Κολπιτεύω »faire de la contrebande«*, *Eranos* 48 [1950] 157). The original literal meaning of this verb must have been ‘buy or sell under the cloak’ (i.e. illegally), as identified correctly by J. G. Keenan in P.Tebt. IV 1094.3 n. (p. 21).

κατ[] : κατ[] cannot be ruled out completely.

7. [τ]ε: The lacuna is wide enough for only one letter, on the right-hand side of which the right end of a horizontal stroke is visible, which suggests an ε. Since [δ]ξ would be difficult to accommodate in the sentence structure, [τ]ε seems to be the likelier supplement.

διατιθε[] : The reading of the ε is virtually certain. A number of alternatives are possible, for example: διατιθε[]σθαι, διατιθε[]νται and διατιθέ[]μενοι (*vel sim.*).

ἀπό τοῦ βασιλικοῦ: For this supplement, cf. P.Tebt. III.1 709.10–11 (159) mentioned above (comm. on l. 6).

8. πρατηρίου: Apart from P.Tebt. III.1 709.11 (see comm. on l. 6), there are only two attestations of this word in Ptolemaic papyri: P.Tebt. III.1 701a.7 (139/138 or 132/131; cf. HG.V): [- - -] ἐὰν ἀγοράζωμεν βασιλικῶν πρατηρίων ἐα[- - -] and UPZ I 112 col. iii.14–16 (204; see BL IX 363): τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις ὑπερβάλλειν μετὰ τὸν | θαλλὸν δοθῆναι, ἐξέσται ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρατηρίῳ, οὐκ ἐ[]λάσ[]σονος δὲ τῶν ἐπιδεκάτων.

μη[θ]ε[]ν ἀπλῶς: At first sight, the space for μη[θ]ε[]ν appears to be too narrow for five letters, but see the tightly written preceding word πρατηρίου where six letters in the latter part of the word are accommodated in the same amount of space. The phrase μηθὲν / μηδὲν ἀπλῶς is extremely rare in Ptolemaic papyri and only attested in five texts: SB XXIV 15973.4 (132): μηδ' εἰς τὸ ἐγκύκλιον τέλος μηδ' ἄλλο μηθὲν ἀπλῶς; SB XXIV 15974.7–8 (132): μηδ' εἰς τὸ ἐγκύκλιον τέλος μηδ' ἄλλο μηθὲν | ἀπλῶς; W.Chr. 331 (= P.Tebt. I 27 cols. i–iii) 79–80 (113): ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἥγησαι τοῦ μηθὲν ἀπ[λ]ῶς τῶ[ν] | χρησίμων παραλειφθῆναι; P.Tebt. II 490.2–3 (92 or 59): μὴ κατεγγύα μηδὲν τὸν Κόμωνος | τοῦ Κόμωνος ἔπρος' μηδὲν ἀπλῶς; BGU VIII 1821.19–20 (after 1 Jan. 57; see C. Bennett, M. Depauw, *The Reign of Berenike IV.*, ZPE 160 [2007] 211–214): ἔμοῦ μηδὲν ἀπλῶς βασιλικῶν | ὀφείλοντος. We have preferred the supplement μη[θ]ε[]ν in the main text because it is slightly more frequent than μηδὲν and because its attestations are chronologically closer to the likely date of our papyrus.

συνηγο[ρ]α-: The traces and the context suggest a form of συναγοράζω. The context is insufficient to reconstruct the precise form of the verb. For this verb in a similar context to our text, cf. P.Tebt. III.1 709.10 (see comm. on l. 6 above).

8–9. [- - - ἕως / μέχρι] | τοῦ νῦν: The last word of l. 8 could have been ἀπό, ἕως or μέχρι. We prefer ἕως or μέχρι as they would suit the sense of l. 9 better. The petitioner seems to request that the authorities from now on curtail or punish the activities of the ibis-buriers and probably also of those supplying them illegally.

9. ο]ϐ: The reading is far from certain. The ο seems to have been rubbed off the surface. The fibres at the edge of the lacuna are badly damaged and the ink is smudged. It is also possible that some alien ink was imprinted in this area from another papyrus in the cartonnage. What makes the reading of the ϐ difficult is the faint curving traces towards the bottom of the line, which seem to be too low for a normal ϐ in this hand. However, it is not impossible that an unusually large ϐ was written by the scribe here, for which cf. the ϐ in τοῦ at the beginning of the line. Both the available space and the sense seem to require οῦ here.

[σ]υμβάινει: For the writing of the first ι connected to the following letter, cf. the ι in τινω and τῶι in l. 4 and in διατιθε[] in l. 7.

κολούε[]ν: The only possibility of interpreting this string of letters seems to be to understand it as a form of the verb κολούω (‘cut short, dock, curtail, put down, abase, check, chastise, punish’), which meanings seem to suit the context well. This verb is to date unattested in the documentary evidence from Graeco-Roman Egypt, but it is well documented in the literary sources.

10. καὶ διάφορά μοι οὐ] τε τὰ τυχόντα γίν[εται (?) - - -]: P.Cair.Zen. III 59355.109–110 (after 6 July 244; cf. HGV): καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγη] | [[τα] [δ]ιάφορα γέ[γρονε]ν seems to offer the best parallel to our passage; further cf. W.Chr. 11 B fr. a.8–9 (after 25 Sep. 123; cf. HGV): καὶ διάφορα [[τ] οὐκ ὀλί[γ]α τῶι βασιλεῖ καὶ τῶι ἱερωῖ | ἀναφέρεσθαι; P.Enteux. 92.11 (221): [- - -]. ἰν τὰ γενόμεν]ά μοι διάφ[ορ]α; P.Tarich. 5 fr. g, col. ii.6 (189?): εἰς τὸ τῶι βασιλεῖ διάφορα γίνεσθαι.

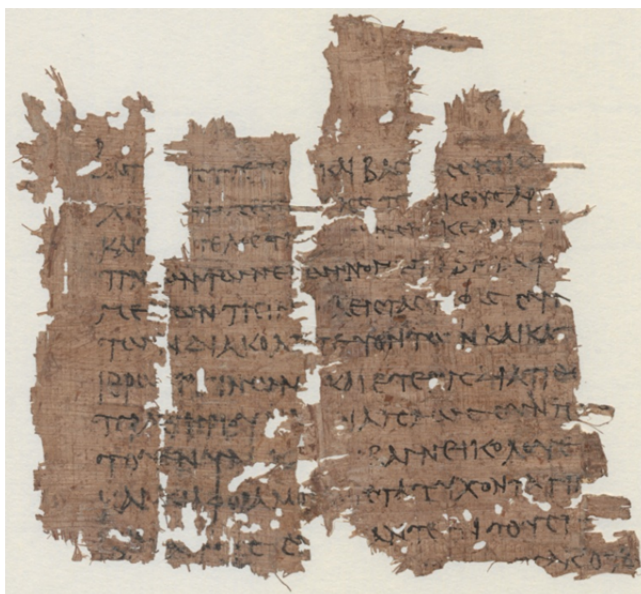
11. ἰβιότ[α]φορος συ[κοφ]αντεῖν: The subject of this infinitive could be the petitioner, who is trying to assure the authorities that he is not accusing the ibis-buriers falsely. It is possible that he is trying to preempt potential counter-accusations by the *ibiotaphoi* of him acting maliciously against them. As UPZ I 112 col. i.3–6 (204; see BL IX 363): ἀ[γ]οράζετε δὲ | [τὰς ὄνας δικαίως καὶ] μέλλετε μη[θ]ένα συκοφαντήσιν | [τῶν ὑποτελῶν (?) μηδὲ] δ[ι]αβαλ[η]εῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου | [πραγματεύσεσθαι] κατὰ τοὺς νόμους shows, the state tried to protect tax-payers from oppression by tax-farmers (on this passage, cf. C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939, 457). It is possible that our petitioner had a document like UPZ I 112 in mind when he formulated this *enteuxis*.

12.] . . [. .]εῦαῖς: Possible supplements could include κ[α]τ[α]σ[κ]εῦαῖς or ἀπ[ο]σ[κ]εῦαῖς, which the traces at the beginning of the word seem to allow; for the former, cf., for example, P.Dion. 10.7 (109) and for the latter, UPZ I 110.199–200 (164) with comm. on p. 489.

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