

A PTOLEMAIC LIST OF AROMATA AND HONEY

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P. Mich. Inv. 3243
8.5 cm. × 22 cm.

Early to Middle Third
Cent. B.C.

This list of seven items is written on the upper half of the papyrus sheet: the top margin is four centimeters; the blank space at the bottom is eleven centimeters; at left is a normal two centimeter margin.¹ The individual letters were carefully formed and each item in the list occupies a single line. The hand can be dated, I believe, to the first half of the third century B.C.² Characteristic is the formation of the *mu*, produced by two more or less vertical lines and a shallow curve which joins them; the *nu* (especially in lines 5–6), where the cross stroke moves toward the horizontal and the final stroke extends upward and almost reaches the height of a *kappa*; the *tau*, which is shaped like a backward *gamma*; the *upsilon*, which is similar in form to the *tau*, but whose cross stroke is slightly curved; and the *omega*, which is a raised and wavy stroke. The *alpha* is a capital letter, extremely regular in form, and the examples here resemble those in the earliest papyri. After the list was written on the sheet, it was folded vertically toward the center—twice from left to right and twice from right to left; five long panels of equal size were formed. The document was folded before the ink was dry and traces of offsets of letters appear in the left margin at lines 1, 4, and most conspicuously at line 8. Some time

¹ I wish to thank Professor Herbert C. Youtie for permission to publish this text from the University of Michigan Collection.

² Cf. in particular Schubart, *Gr. Pal.*, p. 28, Abb. 5 (= Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* 55, pp. 182–85); for a description of this hand (the first hand, which is responsible for cols. 1, 4–5) see *P. Hal. (Dikaionmata)* pp. 8–10. Cf. also Schubart, *P. Gr. Berol.* 4a = *P. Eleph.* 3, a contract from 284/83 B.C.

after the papyrus had been folded, a notch two centimeters in length was cut along the right-hand fold, about one centimeter from the top of the papyrus. A small mark (see pap., line 1, <) appears in the second panel of the recto, just to the right of the hole produced by the notch; the purpose of the mark was apparently to show the scribe the probable position of the notch which was to be made and to remind him to start his first line well below that point.³ In view of the haste with which the papyrus was folded so soon after writing, it seems highly likely that the whole process was intended from the beginning. Yet the purpose of such a procedure is not easy to determine. Perhaps a tie was put around the narrow neck formed by the cut-out. By means of such a tie the folded list could be suspended from some other object, possibly a hook; the list could not be read, however, when the papyrus was folded and suspended in such a way.

Although one should be cautious because of the paucity of other evidence, this text may be connected, through the mention of Theangelic honey (lines 5-6), with Zenon and the large number of papyri which have been associated with him.⁴ Not only do the other two specific references in the papyri to honey from Theangela, a coastal town near Halikarnassos, occur in the Zenon papers, but Zenon himself was a native of Kaunos, nearby along the coast. Zenon maintained a number of ties with his homeland and was, as well, part of a circle of acquaintances who were likewise of Karian origin.⁵ In *P. Cair. Zen.* 59012.28 ff. Theangelic honey was imported into Egypt at

³ I owe this interpretation of the mark and notch to Mrs. Louise Youtie.

⁴ Theangela is the Hellenistic form of the name Syangela, member of an oktopolis of Lelegan cities, brought under the control of the Karian dynasty at Halikarnassos in the time of Mausolos. See in particular Wolfgang Radt, *Siedlungen und Bauten auf der Halbinsel von Halikarnassos: Deutsches Archäol. Institut, Istanbul Mitteilungen*, Beiheft 3 (1970), and the two articles by G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, "The Halicarnassus Peninsula," *BSA* 50 (1955) 85-171 (especially 112-15, 145-47) and "The Carian Coast III," *BSA* 52 (1957) 58-146 (especially 89-96). Radt disagrees with Bean and Cook over the location of the pre-Mausolan city.

Pliny mentions a plant called *theangelis*, which, when made into a drink, enables the Magi to prophesy (*qua pota Magi divinent*, NH 24.102.164). However, he associates it geographically with Mount Lebanon in Syria, Mount Dicte in Crete, and with Babylon and Susa in Persia. The name of Pliny's plant was probably derived from its putative effect and hence is without necessary connection with Karian Theangela.

⁵ For references to Zenon's biography, see Edgar, "Selected Papyri from the Archive of Zenon, I," *Annales du Serv.* 18 (1918) 160; M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, 24 and 182-83 and *P. Mich.* I, pp. 16-19.

twelve drachmas the *hemikadion* and was charged a 25% import tax, along with honey from Rhodes, Attica, Lykia, Pamphylia (Korakesiotic honey), and Pontos (Chalybonian honey).⁶ The Rhodian honey was also imported at twelve drachmas the *hemikadion*, but Attic honey was imported by the *stamnos* (one-half of a *hemikadion*) and was over three times as expensive. In *P. Cair. Zen.* 59680.12 one *hemikadion* of Theangelic honey is listed along with other provisions, most of which are imported items. The citizens of Theangela promoted their local product on at least one occasion, when they offered two amphorae of it as a gift to a city benefactor whose name is now lost.⁷

The items are in the accusative case, suggesting that a verb was in the mind of the writer of the list, although he did not record it.⁸ Such an ellipsis is no doubt beyond recovery. "Buy", "Have on hand", or "Mix together" seem likely suggestions, however, in view of the fact that the articles listed here tend to be found together in either a medical or a religious context.⁹ A medical context may be the more likely because it is in this area that one can parallel recommendations for the use of specific kinds of honey.¹⁰

⁶ Compare also lines 47, 83, and 96 in 59012. For the importance of this document for Ptolemaic revenues, see C. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, 373-75; for the interpretation of the measurements used for honey in this document, see A. Segrè, *Metrologia*, 500.

⁷ E. L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Theangela," *CR* 3 (1889) 236-37, inscription 3; cf. W. Ruge in *RE*, 2nd series, 5 (Stuttgart 1934) col. 1373, no. 1. No date is given for this inscription. Cf. as well M. Rostovtzeff, "Trois inscriptions d'époque hellénistique de Théangéla en Caria," *Rev. ét. anc.* 33 (1931) 6, note 3.

⁸ Mayser 2.2.106.b.

⁹ For the religious uses of items in this list, see Vandoni, *Feste Pubbliche* 37.10-11 (= *P. Oxy.* 1211), 2nd cent. A.D., which includes both honey and "every spice except frankincense" for a festival of the Nile; *P. Mich. Abdullatif* (= *Ibrahim Univ. Stud. Pap.* 1, 1952) 8.6, in *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres* 2 (May 1953) 24, which shows beekeepers supplying two *keramia* of honey for the Nile festival (2nd/3rd A.D.); *SB* 9348 (= *P. Lund* 4.11), accounts for a feast honoring the Dioskouroi in 169/170 A.D., line 6, 3 kotyls of honey at 29 drachmas, line 10, myrrh at 8 drachmas, saffron at 8 drachmas; and *P. Teb.* 797.19-20, which is a report of a robbery filed by a priest in the 2nd cent. B.C., who says that thieves made off with his honey and linen cloth worth 2000 drachmas along with other items. Cf. also *SB* 9245.5, *PSI* 391.7 and (b) 23, and *UPZ* 89.8, 15.

¹⁰ Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides* 237: "Pour tel usage médicinal, le miel de telle provenance était requis." In the papyri: *P. Cair. Zen.* 59426.6 (= *Select Pap.* 1.91), a letter from Dromon who asks Zenon to buy him a kotyl of Attic honey in order to comply with a divine command to apply it to his eyes; a recipe in *P. Ryl.* 29a, recto, I 8 and 12 ([μέλιτος] Ἀττικοῦ παλαιού); *P. Mag. Gr.* II n. VII, 185 = *P. Lond.* 121.192 (p. 90, μέλιτος Ἀττικοῦ). In the medical writers: Hippokrates, *Barren Women* 224

The care and concentration which went into the preparation of this list underscore the importance which its owner once attached to it.

TEXT

1. <
2. κασίαν
3. κιννάμωμον
4. νάρδον
5. ζμύρναν
6. μέλι Κρητικόν
7. ἡ Θεαγγελικόν ὄσον
8. κ(οτύλαι) β
9. κρόκο(ν)

1. < (See Introduction). 8. pap. κ^β 9. pap. κροκο⁻

2. For medical uses of cassia, see in particular BGU 953.4 (3rd/4th cent. A.D.), where it appears in "Nikon's prescription." In a recipe for *apsinthites* Dioskurides lists Syrian nard, cinnamon, cassia (5.39 = 3.27.18-19W and cf. 5.54 = 3.31.13-14W); see also his general discussion of cassia, 1.13 (= 1.17.7-20W). Cassia and myrrh appear in a declaration of prices from a perfumers' guild in 329 A.D., *P.Oxy.* 2570.iii.10 and 14. For the common juxtaposition of cassia and cinnamon in classical sources, see J. Innes Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969) 42-47.

3. *P.Oxy.* 1088, a collection of recipes in an early 1st cent. A.D. hand, shows cinnamon, myrrh, and nard in "an especially strong potion for liver patients" (III.56-62); cf. Vittorino Gazza, "Prescrizioni Mediche II," *Aegyptus* 36 (1956) 84, and "Prescrizioni Mediche I," *Aegyptus* 35 (1955) 108. To Gazza's references on cinnamon, now add SB 9860A.21 and C.10 (described more fully below, note 4). For the types of cinnamon available and the specific properties of the types, see Dioskurides 1.14 (1.18.15-20.14W).

4. In addition to the references in Gazza, II.89-90, see now SB 9860A.19 and C.12, where nard, saffron, cinnamon, and myrrh occur together in recipes written in a 3rd cent. B.C. hand.

5. In addition to Gazza, II.97-98, now see SB 9860A.22, C.8, and E.9;

(8.432.12-22 Littré); Dioskurides 2.82 (μέλι πρωτεύει τὸ Ἀττικὸν καὶ τούτου τὸ Ὑμήττιον καλούμενον, εἶτα τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Σικελίας, Ὑβλαῖον καλούμενον, 1.165.16-18 Wellmann); and specific results are obtained by the use of Sardinian honey (1.166.18-20W) and Pontic honey from Heraklea (1.166.21-167.3W).

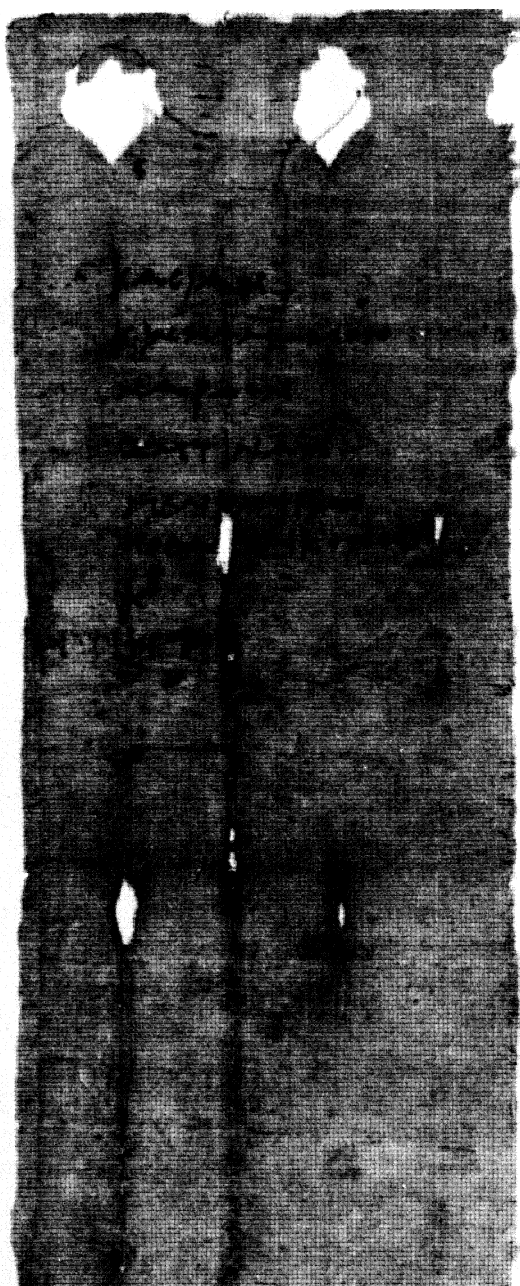
cf. also *PSI Omagg.* 12.13, a list of ingredients including myrrh and saffron, which the editor has assigned to a medical context.

6. For honey in medical preparations, see Gazza, II.108, and compare *P.Cair.Zen.* 59426.6, *P. Ant.* 64.15, and Ditt. *Sylog.*³ 1173.15. Dioskourides mentions the superior quality of Cretan and Pontic wax (2.83 = 1.167.10–12W), but I know of no specific reference to Cretan honey. Cf. Heichelheim, *OCD* s.v. “bee-keeping”: “The best honey came from Attica (Hymettic region), Theangela, Chalybon, Cos, Calymna, Rhodes, Lycia, Coracesium, Thasus, Cyprus, several districts of Syria, Sicily (especially the Hyblean region near Syracuse), Liguria, Noricum, and the south of Spain.”

7. For ὄσος in measurements of quantity without a verb, see Mayser 2.1.18.4, note 2, and cf. *LSJ*⁹ s.v. IV.3. For Theangelic honey, see Introduction.

8. The Zenon and other Ptolemaic papyri show honey measured by the *metretes* (as in *PSI* 512.4), the *hemikadion* (as in *P.Mich.* 2.2.9), the *chous* (as in *PSI* 413.15 [= *Select Pap.* 1.170]); and the *stamnos* (*stamnion*) (as in *P.Cair.Zen.* 59013.30). Less frequently occur notices of honey measured by the *chion* and *hemichion* (*PSI* 535.10, 47; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59014.2); by the *kapsakes* (*PSI* 428.15; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59007, introduction; 59012.85; for the capacity of the *chion* and the *kapsakes* see A. Segrè, *Metrologia*, 500); by the *keramion* (*PSI* 535.14; for the variable capacity of the *keramion*, see O. M. Pearl, “Varia Papyrologica,” *TAPA* 71 [1940] 374 and nl 6); and by the *kotyle* (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59426.6). *Kapsakes* is rarely abbreviated (but *καψακ* in *P.Cair.Zen.* 59007, introduction), while the usual capacity of the *keramion* seems too large for consideration in this context (“often *κε*, *κερ* in monogram” *P.Cair.Zen.* I, p. 171). Several descriptions of the abbreviation *κο* = *κο(τύλη)* by editors of contemporary documents make it clear that the role of the *omicron* in the abbreviation could be minimal, and that the *kappa* in this list is to be interpreted as *κ(οτύλαι)*: (1) *P.Cair.Zen.* 59702, note to lines 4–32, “*κο* = *κοτύλαι*. The *ο* is a mere dot between the arms of the *κ*, and the figures denoting the amount are sometimes written above the line.” (2) *P.Petrie* II. 34B [p. 114], note on line 16: “The *κ* has in every case a little hook at the top, which indicates *κοτύλαι*.” (3) *UPZ* 149, note to line 12: “*κ* (ο oben an die Hasta von *κ* angeschlossen).” For a photograph, see *P.Cornell* I, plate I, p. 9. Ostraca have been interpreted as reading *κ* = *κ(οτύλη)*: *OTait* I, Bodl. 145; *OBrüss.* 19.4. (The discussion in this note relies heavily upon suggestions made by Mrs. Louise Youtie.)

9. To Gazza, II.86, now add *PSI Omagg.* 12.8 and 17; *SB* 9860A.20, c.9, and E.7–8. Note also the commentary on *OTait* 2181 in Préaux, “Les prescriptions médicales des ostraca grecs de la Bibliothèque bodléenne,” *Chron. d'Ég.* 31 (1956) 136–38.



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