

Marcin Kotyl

A Notebook Roll and a Fiscal Codex from the Giessen Papyrus Collection (P.Giss. II)

Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete

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To my wife Aleksandra

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Preface

It is necessary at the outset to provide a word of explanation regarding the numbers assigned to the papyri. The first and only volume of *Papyri Gissenses* was issued in three fascicles by Otto Eger, Ernst Kornemann, and Paul M. Meyer, under the title *Griechische Papyri im Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Gießen: Band I: Urkunden Nos. 1–126*, Leipzig-Berlin 1910–1912. The series was discontinued shortly thereafter and never resumed. The present volume may thus be considered a direct continuation of *P.Giss.* I of 1910–1912, which ended with 126. The edition, which is numbered II and begins with **127**, represents the first step towards an edition of the Giessen papyri in volumes after a break of more than a century, and it is hoped that the series will be continued with further publications.

The editions which appear in this volume were prepared initially for my 2017 dissertation in Classics at the University of Wrocław, and were written as part of two research projects: Preludium 7 (UMO-2014/13/N/HS3/04616) and Etiuda 4 (UMO-2016/20/T/HS3/00476) both awarded by the National Science Center in Poland. I am indebted to a number of individuals and institutions for their support during this time. Tomasz Derda, head of the Department of Papyrology of the University of Warsaw, acted as academic advisor on this project, and I am grateful for his help and advice, his critical comments, and for providing motivation at crucial moments. I also wish to thank Fabian Reiter (University of Trier, now University of Bologna) and Adam Łajtar (University of Warsaw), who served as examiners and whose comments on the original manuscript contributed greatly to the present version.

During my visits to the Giessen University Library I received kind hospitality from the researchers and librarians. I am grateful especially to Olaf Schneider, head of the Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections in Giessen, who provided me with originals, assisted my exploration of the Giessen archives with great patience, and unearthed the invaluable archival photocopy of the lost plate *P.Giss. inv. 59F*. He also commented upon the introduction to this edition.

As a visiting doctoral student at the Faculty of History of the University of Warsaw I attended the Papyrology and Epigraphy seminar conducted by Tomasz Derda and Adam Łajtar, where I was able to present early versions of the research included in this book. I wish to thank all the participants, in particular Constantinos Balamoshev for his readings and suggestions.

In the final stages of preparing the manuscript I was awarded a DAAD scholarship and was fortunate to enjoy the gracious hospitality of the Institut für Papyrologie in Heidelberg. I would like to thank in particular Elke Fuchs for the preparation and digital processing of the images included in the Plates and Appendices, and Jörg Graf (Leipzig) who contributed to discussions on the state of preservation of the papyri and the possibility of restoration. I am also grateful to Marta Momot (Warsaw) who drafted figures which made the publication more readable in some points. Special thanks must also be extended to Dieter Hagedorn, who contributed to the readings of both texts, as well as Roger Bagnall and Gilles Bransbourg, who read and commented on various aspects of the codex.

Finally, I wish to extend my sincerest gratitude to the editorial board of the series *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete – Beihefte*, especially Fabian Reiter, and to Jesse Simon who carefully proofread and improved my English.

Warsaw, November 2019

Marcin Kotyl

Note on the Method of Publication

The editorial signs used in this edition follow generally the Leiden Conventions given below for the convenience of the reader:

αβγ	Letters damaged and read with some uncertainty
(αβγ)	Resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol
[αβγ]	Letters restored by the editor
⟨αβγ⟩	Letters omitted by the scribe
{αβγ}	Letters erroneously written by the scribe
[αβγ]	Letters written and then deleted by the scribe
`αβγ´	Letters inserted above the line by the scribe
[±num]	Amount of letters assumed to be lost
...	Letters whose remains cannot be read
→/↑	Fibers running horizontally/vertically
[- - -]	Text broken that cannot be restored

Introduction

The two papyri edited in this volume belong to the lot of *Papyri Gissenses* housed since 1930 in the Giessen University Library (Universitätsbibliothek Gießen).¹ They were acquired separately on the antiquities market: P.Giss. inv. 216A–C (=127) was acquired in Cairo on July 20, 1912 from Maurice Nahman through the German Papyrus Cartel;² P.Giss. inv. 59A–F (=128) was purchased by Ludwig Borchard on May 2, 1902 from a local dealer named Abd el'Al in El-Ashmunein.³ The papyri were subsequently restored and inventoried by Hugo Ibscher at the Staatliche Museen in Berlin⁴ and were mounted between two layers of glass fixed to each other with blue paper tape as was the standard practice before the Second World War.⁵ Each plate of the papyrus was assigned its own inventory number, P.59A through P.59F and P.216A to P.216C, type-written in the distinctive “Berlin font,” and placed in the upper right corner of

¹ Between 1902 and 1930, the collection was located in the Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins from which it took the name “Papyri des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins” or “Papyri im Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins.” On January 21, 1930 the papyri were moved to the Manuscripts Room of the Old University Library Building in Keplerstraße 2 (later Bismarckstraße 37), where they remained until 1939. In November 1939 the papyri were removed to the basement of the library for reasons of safety. As a further precaution, they were stored in the treasury of the Dresdner Bank in Johannesstraße 1 during the Second World War. In 1946 the papyri were returned to the now-ruined old library, and were placed in the papyrus room of the rebuilt library in 1958. In 1984 they were moved to the newly built university library on the campus for the Humanities in Otto-Behaghel-Straße 8, where they remain, together with two other Giessen collections (P.Iand. and P.B.U.G), in more space and better conditions. For further details, see Gundel, *Papyri Gissenses* 11–17 and Gundel, *Gießener Papyrussammlungen* 3–12.

² See Gundel, *Papyri Gissenses* 9.

³ Essler/Hermes-Wladarch, “Zur Erwerbung” 442–446 and 454–462 argues (contra Gundel, *Papyri Gissenses* 7–8) that the first lot was not bought by Ernst Kornemann himself during his trip to Egypt. Indeed the collection owes its inception to the initiative of Kornemann who, in January 1902, asked Ludwig Borchard to purchase the first lot of papyri for Giessen (covering P.Giss. inv. 1–152) with funds donated by Giessen industrialist Wilhelm Gail. Subsequent purchases occurred under the auspices of the German Papyrus Cartel after Kornemann became a member in 1908 (see Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde* 210–211; Primavesi, “Deutsches Papyruskartell” 176).

⁴ All the papyri of the first purchases (P.Giss. inv. 1–299) were restored by Hugo Ibscher with the financial support of Gail: cf. Gundel, *Papyri Gissenses* 9–10 and 12; Gundel, *Papyruskonservierung* 24–25; see also Essler/Hermes-Wladarch, “Zur Erwerbung” 460–462.

⁵ For a short history of papyrus conservation and old techniques, see e.g. Ibscher, “Wandlungen” 249–257.

the front side. In the course of being digitized between 1999 and 2001,⁶ the glass plates received an additional paper pressmark Pap. C 127-V/R to Pap. C 129-V/R for P.Giss. inv. 216A–C and Pap. C 053-V/R to Pap. C 058-V/R for P.Giss. inv. 59A–F pasted on the top center of both sides, referring to front and back respectively.

The story of the present papyri begins in the 1930s, when they⁷ were considered for initial publication in the second volume of the series *Griechische Papyri im Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Gießen*.⁸ The publication, which never appeared, seems to have been abandoned by 1935 when Ernst Kornemann, the intended editor, left Breslau. At the time, he was consumed with other responsibilities⁹ and lacked the time to make the final preparations for the long-awaited edition.¹⁰ A final unsuccessful attempt took place in 1930 when Kornemann hoped to complete the edition during his five-year stay in Breslau.¹¹ It is likely that he made a handwritten transcription of these papyri, but the majority of his notes and documents were destroyed along with his house during an air raid in the Second World War.¹²

A handwritten transcription of plate B of P.Giss. inv. 59 made in 1939 by Karl Kalbfleisch with a note on its content added as a heading (App. 2 Fol. 41r) was recently found in the archives of Kalbfleisch in the Giessen University Library. The fact that Kalbfleisch was familiar with the papyrus is also confirmed in his letter of December 29, 1939 to Ibscher,¹³ where he explained that plate B of P.Giss. inv. 59, which had been missing for years, had finally been found. After

⁶ The project was conducted from 1999 to 2001 under the sponsorship of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft: see more in Dreyling/Kalok, “Papyrusdigitalisierung” 327–339.

⁷ That P.Giss. inv. 59A–F was certainly destined to be published in the second volume of the series is explicitly stated in a letter of May 13, 1934 from Kornemann to Kalbfleisch: “Ich habe immer die Hoffnung gehabt, dass alle zu 59 gehörigen Platten nie von Giessen wegbewegt worden sind, vielmehr zu demjenigen Bestand gehört haben, die für Bd II zurückgelegt worden waren” (App. 2 Fol. 42r). It is not entirely clear if he also intended to publish P.Giss. inv. 216A–C, but as the papyrus was in Breslau (see n. 11) it seems probable.

⁸ The first volume of the series was published between 1910–1912 by O. Eger, E. Kornemann, P. M. Meyer under the title *Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Gießen: Band I: Urkunden No. 1–126*. The papyri were also known as “Gail’sche Papyri” and “Papyri- und Ostrakasammlung des Oberhessischen Museums und der Gail’schen Sammlungen” after Gail, the benefactor of the collection (see n. 3).

⁹ He was absorbed in his work on *Römische Geschichte* which was published in 1938–1939 in two volumes in Stuttgart.

¹⁰ There are numerous references suggesting that the second volume was imminent, see e.g. Gundel, *Katalog und Bibliographie* 13 and Gundel, *Überblick und Bibliographie* 107 and 121.

¹¹ The majority of the papyri to be published in the second volume were located in Breslau between 1918 and 1935, and are mostly listed in Gundel, *Papyri Gissenses* 15. When the project fell through in 1935, the papyri were returned to Giessen.

¹² See Gundel, *Papyri Gissenses* 16–17.

¹³ The letter is reprinted in Gundel, *Briefwechsel* 35–36.

a quick glance, he made a brief mention of the contents, reporting that it was a poorly preserved part of an extensive list of names from the Byzantine period. He also mentioned the content in a handwritten note on an order form, in which the individual plates are labeled as “Namenliste” (App. 2 Fol. 35r/v).

There was renewed interest in the papyri when Dutch papyrologists, Pieter Sijpesteijn and Ernst Boswinkel, were involved in the editing of new Giessen material.¹⁴ The latter even made a short written report regarding the papyrological collaboration between Giessen and Leiden,¹⁵ but did not mention the papyri in question. Yet handwritten entries recorded in the inventory book of the *Papyri Gissenses*¹⁶ reveal that images of the papyri were provided to Leiden on July 15, 1960 at the request of Boswinkel himself. This is corroborated in a letter of September 7, 1960 to Hans G. Gundel (App. 3 Fig. 3) in which Boswinkel expressed thanks for the images he had received in August 1960. Moreover, during a visit to Giessen in the summer of 1960,¹⁷ he no doubt examined the originals in person, as is suggested in the “Hinweise für Herrn Dr. E. Boswinkel” (App. 3 Fig. 4) prepared on this occasion. Among the general instructions, there is a request in point five to check certain papyri, especially if an edition of the “Papyrus-Buch” (as no. 59 was called), was possible due to its fragmentary character.

Boswinkel’s notes, discovered in the Leiden Papyrological Institute,¹⁸ prove that the papyri received preliminary study; transcripts were made of sheets A (→ and ↑) and B (→) of P.Giss. inv. 59, and there were a few minor comments on the others (App. 4 Figs. 1–4). These comments, however, are limited to brief

¹⁴ The list of the Giessen papyri edited by Pieter Sijpesteijn is published in Gundel, *Katalog und Bibliographie* 23–26.

¹⁵ Boswinkel, *Texte aus Gießen*.

¹⁶ See App. 1 Figs. 1–5 where some pages with the inventory information for numbers 59 and 216 were reprinted from Gundel, *Angelegt und mit Vorbemerkungen* (unpublished). The introductory part of the inventory book was published in Gundel, *Das Inventar*.

¹⁷ In a letter sent on May 22, 1960 Hans G. Gundel invited Ernst Boswinkel to Giessen (App. 3 Fig. 1). In his reply of June 3, 1960 Boswinkel specified the period of the planned visit in the Giessen collections, i.e. June 11 to 16, 1960 (App. 3 Fig. 2). It is possible that Boswinkel examined originals of many papyri during his visit and then ordered photos, among which were P.Giss. inv. 59 and P.Giss. inv. 216 as referred to in the text.

¹⁸ Many thanks to Franscisca Hoogendijk of the Leiden Papyrological Institute who shared the folder of Boswinkel’s original notes relating to the papyri via e-mail. In a message of March 5, 2014 she wrote: “I did find a transcript, but it is a very fast preliminary draft which may not be helpful at all. It looks like they were made on the originals, because of the heading of 59B: ‘Very damaged. Photograph is somewhat better.’ [...] Most of it says ‘unclear’ or ‘difficult to read’ or ‘not much writing.’ I also scanned a handwritten inventory, which seems to say that text 59 had already been destined by Kornemann for vol. II (?). Between the photographs I only found those of 59 B Ro and Vo, of which I copied the information on the back of the verso-photo.” And then also, at my request for a possible transcription of P.Giss. inv. 216C made by Boswinkel, she wrote again on September 10, 2015 saying that “I did find the photo, but there was no transcription with it.”

remarks concerning the physical state of the sheets and some generalities on the content, and are of little value to the present study. Plans for publication, in any event, came to naught. In the absence of papyrological studies in Giessen, the papyri received no further attention after Boswinkel's last documented work in the 1960s, and have remained unedited until today.

Editions of Texts
(P.Giss. II)

127. A Notebook Roll from Philadelphia

P.Giss. inv. 216A–C

A: 20 x 9 cm

Philadelphia

Plates I–XI

B: 19 x 38 cm

72/73–76/77 CE

C: 19.6 x 36.5 cm

1. Physical Description and Reconstruction

The present roll has survived in three pieces. The reasons for the division are unknown, but as it was inventoried in three plates (A to C) the division must have happened before or during the conservation (see Introduction, p. 1). It is possible that the roll was acquired or even unearthed in pieces, or that it was split by Hugo Ibscher for restoration and mounting purposes. There is no positive evidence for either hypothesis except that Fr. C appears to have been detached from Fr. B with the use of a sharp tool, suggesting it was done intentionally and not torn off accidentally. Whatever the case, both the physical criteria and the textual continuity (see especially col. ix), suggest that Fr. B continues to Fr. C, and that Fr. A could possibly be mounted to the left edge of Fr. B as viewed from the recto side. This order is suggested primarily by matching the shape of the cut break on the joining edges (Fr. B+C), but also by the presence of mirror damages (especially the recurrent central holes extended across the upper part and the folding cracks) which demonstrate that Fr. A must have been nearer Fr. B (Fr. A was originally rolled up on Fr. B) than Fr. C, which suffered the least as it was closest to the middle of the roll. The alphabetical designation given during the conservation works¹ offers further evidence for our proposed layout.

When the components are merged (as sketched in the Figs. 1–2), the total horizontal length of the roll is ca. 83.5 cm and the height ca. 19 to 20 cm, although these figures do not take into account the possible extent of damage to the margins. The common dimensions of other rolls from this period suggest that its original height could have ranged from 22 to 24 cm, preferable in my

¹ Although there is no explicit evidence, it is reasonable to suppose that Hugo Ibscher marked the fragments as they appeared in the original or at least as he imagined them to have been originally arranged. Evidence of this approach is found in other artifacts restored by him around the same time, including **128** edited below (see especially n. 4).

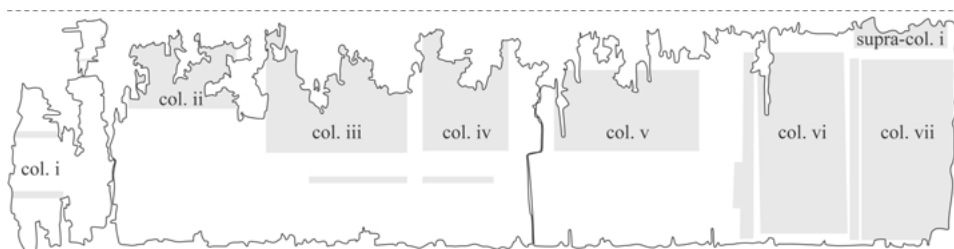


Fig. 1: The recto side (→)

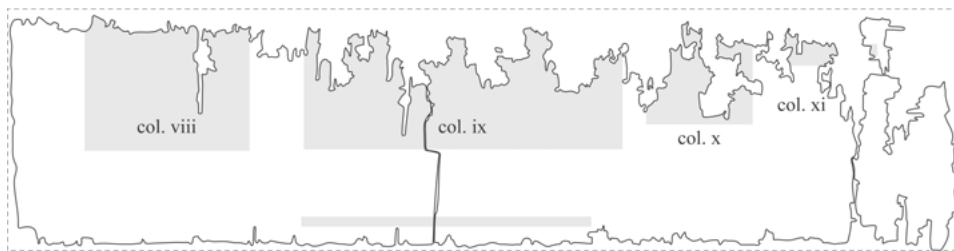


Fig. 2: The verso side (↑)

----- reconstructed margins
 ■ text

opinion to the lower 22 cm.² It is impossible to determinate the original length. The distances between the joins of the *kollemata* from which the roll was constructed are ca. 14.5–15, with one as long as 16.5 cm; the sheets on the right are inserted under the preceding sheets on the left, and they overlap by anywhere from 1.6 to 2 cm.

The roll has not been preserved intact; it is marred by numerous holes, and severe damage to the upper edge has removed a part of text on either side of the roll. The lower and lateral margins are in better condition but not completely untouched. In some places the writing surface has been abraded, and in others there is moisture-induced darkening which renders the text difficult to read. This is especially noticeable in Fr. B, which was exposed to more moisture than the other pieces while in storage,³ and its poor condition severely limits the quality of new documents (especially col. ii, iii, iv, ix, x, and xi) that can be recovered.⁴

² This is the last group in Turner, *Typology* 51, which includes the rolls of 22–24 height. See also Johnson, “Standardized Roll Heights” 47 and 49–50.

³ Most of the *Papyri Gissenses* collection became wet through contact with groundwater in the basement of the Dresdner Bank (see Introduction, n. 1) which was flooded in March/April 1945: see Gundel, *Papyri Gissenses* 18 and Gundel, *Papyruskonservierung* 9.

⁴ I discussed the piece with two papyrus conservators Jörg Graf (Leipzig) and Elke Fuchs (Heidelberg), who agreed that the restoration of the papyrus poses at least one major problem: due to the length of time since it was exposed to water, the papyrus appears to be permanently glued to the glass, and opening it carries the risk of further damage. The risk may be greater than the possi-

The roll was broken and cracked in the course of rolling, and it was presumably also flattened resulting in vertical folds spaced approximately 2.1–2.4 cm apart. The right/left bottom corner on the recto/verso side is missing, most probably worn away by the touch of fingers during its times of use. On the other hand, the roll seems to be complete at the right end edge of the recto/left initial edge of the verso as the margin is sufficiently preserved to ensure that no line of col. vii is mutilated. The scribe made his writing progressively smaller and cramped at the end of col. vi and in the whole of col. vii, perhaps realizing that he was nearing the end of the roll and would not have sufficient space to finish his entry.

2. The Notebook Character of the Roll

The roll exhibits some peculiarities which raise the possibility that it was a rough draft. In addition to obvious textual characteristics (especially corrected and uncorrected errors in col. vi–vii), it has several physical features common to worksheet papyri, including the state of the writing material as well as the arrangement and spacing of the text. The fragment was apparently a blank piece that had been detached from a much larger roll (probably prior to writing) and intended specifically for use as a notebook.⁵ Contrary to many other draft papyri, however, the surface of the papyrus is surprisingly smooth (some *kolleseis* are not easily identifiable). There are some noticeable pre-existing damages,⁶ but this may be because the notebook piece was a flawed section detached from a well-kept official register made of a better quality papyrus.

It is also notable that the scribe did not regularize the alignment of the texts and margins. The columns are not uniform and they vary dramatically both in shape and dimension, and the spaces between them are equally capricious. One may note the extreme divergence of margins: some are large, while others are extremely narrow or completely absent. It is worth noting that the roll has consistently wide margins on either edge, ca. 6.5–7 cm on the verso and ca. 9 cm on the recto, if Fr. A is properly mounted. Certain areas have been left blank: the empty laterals and lower parts of the roll are especially conspicuous, as they account for more than one-half of the total writing surface. At the bottom on the recto the scribe left an unoccupied space of ca. 62 cm long and 9–12 cm high on

ble benefits, as was the case of the famous *Constitutio Antoniniana* (P.Giss. inv. 15 belonging to the same lot and suffering the same damage) the restoration of which was recently undertaken by Graf.

⁵ There are known instances in which both sides of the initial part of a roll including *protokollon* + first sheets were reused, but this does not apply to our fragment, unless the lost part contained the *protokollon*; see Maltomini, “Use and Reuse” 1100–1104 (especially n. 10 and 14).

⁶ For the phenomenon of pre-existing imperfection in papyri, see Jones, “Avoiding Imperfections” 371–383.