

Constantinos Balamoshev
W. Graham Claytor

**FROM SOKNOPAIΟΥ NESOS TO WARSAW:
A GREEK ACCOUNT ON THE BACK OF THE DEMOTIC
TEMPLE INVENTORY P. BEROL. INV. 6848***

THIS PAPYRUS HOUSED IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM in Warsaw has had an adventurous existence, and by ‘turning the page,’ we highlight here its secondary use in the hands of Pakysis son of Tesenouphis, a priest and estate manager in early third century Soknopaiou Nesos.

The earliest information places the papyrus in the context of the ‘Fayum Find’ of the late 1880s and early 90s, which brought massive quantities of Roman-period documents to the Egyptian antiquities market.¹

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¹ Sometimes called the ‘second Fayum Find’ to distinguish this progressive but concentrated series of finds of Roman-period papyri in the outlying Fayum villages c. 1887–1894

The Königlische Museen zu Berlin were among the most acquisitory institutions, and this piece was part of a large lot of papyri purchased in 1891 from Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch, who was actively channelling the new finds to the German capital with the financial support of publisher and philanthropist Rudolph Mosse.² It was registered in the inventory books of the Ägyptische Abteilung as papyrus number 6848 under the title ‘demotisch-griechischer Papyrus’, with an accurate transcription of two lines of Greek on the back. A later note adds that the back is ‘von derselb(en) Hand wie 6843’, and another places it ‘bei den demot(ischen) Pap(yri)’.³

Thus, despite the known connection to another papyrus through the Greek handwriting, the object was housed with the Demotic papyri, which would condition its study in an Egyptological context. Indeed, when it was first presented in Wilhelm Spiegelberg’s monumental 1902 catalogue of Berlin’s Demotic papyri (*P. Berl. Spieg.*, p. 24; pls. 63–64), which he made ‘nur auf Grund der Photographieen’ (p. 1 n. 1), there is no word of the Greek text on the back. Photographs were again the basis of the first edition of this challenging text just over a century later

(for this timeframe, cf. B. P. GRENFELL & A. S. HUNT in *P. Fay.*, pp. 18–19) from the first Fayum Find of Byzantine documents at Kiman Faris (the site of ancient Arsinoe) beginning in 1877. These general ‘finds’ should not be conflated with those specific to the collection of the Austrian National Library, on which see H. LOEBENSTEIN, ‘Vom “Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer” zur Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. 100 Jahre Sammeln, Bewahren, Edieren’, [in:] *P. Rain. Cent.*, pp. 3–39.

² On Mosse and Brugsch and their contributions to the Egyptian collection of the Berlin Museums, see J. HELMBOLD-DOYÉ & T. L. GERTZEN, *Mosse im Museum. Die Stiftungstätigkeit des Berliner Verlegers Rudolf Mosse (1843–1920) für das Ägyptische Museum Berlin*, Berlin 2017, in particular T. L. GERTZEN, ‘Einleitung’, pp. 10–20; J. HELMBOLD-DOYÉ, ‘Erwerbungsgeschichte der durch Rudolf Mosse an das Ägyptische Museum Berlin gestifteten Objekte’, pp. 21–36; and H. C. SCHMIDT, ‘Die Rolle der Gebrüder Brugsch im ägyptischen Antikenhandel’, pp. 44–58.

³ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inventar P. 6068–7516, sub P. 6848. Most of the Erwerbungsbücher have been digitized and made available online at <<https://www.smb.museum/museen-einrichtungen/aegyptisches-museum-und-papyrussammlung/sammeln-forschen/erwerbungsbaeuecher/>> (accessed 2 October 2022).

(P. *Zauzich* 12),⁴ which is likewise silent about the other side of the papyrus.

Nor was the papyrus still in Berlin, as reported by the editors of P. *Zauzich* 12 (p. 139). A reflection of this fact is found in the inventory book, where the entry for P. 6848 lacks the stamps and notes from inventories taken in 1958, 1988, and 2012. It was therefore almost certainly among those that went missing as a result of the Second World War, when the Berlin papyrus collection was split up and sheltered in various locations, including a large part transported to the Soviet Union in 1945–1946 and mostly returned in 1958.⁵ Many missing papyri were diligently tracked down in Poland, first by Jerzy Manteuffel in the immediate post-war years, later by Zbigniew Borkowski and others, who ensured their safe-keeping in public institutions.⁶ P. 6848 only reappeared in the early 1990s and was eventually purchased with twelve other Berlin papyri in 1998 by the National Museum in Warsaw, where all pieces have remained since

⁴ T. DOUSA, F. GAUDARD, & J. H. JOHNSON, 'P. Berlin 6848, a Roman period temple inventory', [in:] F. HOFFMANN & H. J. THISSEN, *Res severa verum gaudium. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004* [= *Studia Demotica* 6], Leuven 2004, pp. 139–222.

⁵ W. MÜLLER, 'Die Berliner Papyrussammlung in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart,' *Das Altertum* 29 (1983), pp. 139–140. The papyri sent east were part of a massive transfer of cultural goods from Germany to the Soviet Union conducted by Stalin's trophy brigades, on which see K. AKINSHA & G. KOZLOV, with S. HOCHFIELD, *Beautiful Loot: The Soviet Plunder of Europe's Art Treasures*, New York 1995 (cf. p. 168 for the arrival of 'Greek papyri of the Alexandrian period' at Moscow's State Historical Museum in the spring of 1946) and B. KAISER-SCHUSTER (ed.), *Kulturelles Gedächtnis. Kriegsverluste deutscher Museen. Wege und Biografien* [= *Studien zu kriegsbedingt verlagerten Kulturgütern* 3], Cologne 2021. The return of the papyri was likewise part of a larger series of restitutions undertaken in the context of the Khrushchev Thaw. A group of 272 Berlin papyri between P. Berol. inv. 16081–17485, however, remained in Moscow, as reported in E. CHEPEL & E. UKHANOVA, 'Berlin papyri in Moscow: The lost and found collection at the State Historical Museum', presented by Chepel at the 30th International Congress of Papyrology, 25–30 July 2022, Paris.

⁶ See E. WIPSYCKA, T. DERDA, T. MARKIEWICZ, & J. URBANIK, 'Papyri and ostraca kept in the Department of Papyrology of Warsaw University', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 30 (2000), p. 266. An earlier notice of the appearance of Berlin papyri in Poland and Manteuffel's role can be found in A. ŚWIDERKÓWNA, 'Katedra Papirologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1946–1973', *Roczniki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* 13 (1973), p. 119.

(on the details of this acquisition see the Appendix).⁷ The reappearance of this document now allows us to pick up where the Berlin curators left off in the late nineteenth century and finally present the other side of this well-travelled papyrus.

As the Berlin inventory noted, the Greek account is written in a known hand, which Andrea Jördens has recognized as that of Pakysis son of Tesenouphis, a priest and estate manager from Soknopaïou Nesos, whose archive is housed in the Louvre and Berlin (TM Arch 165). The Louvre holds some eighteen accounts ranging from multi-column rolls to thin strips, all written in the same large, ungainly hand.⁸ The Berlin collection contains more accounts, all unpublished.⁹ The identity of the writer of these accounts comes from four signed copies of the same petition addressed respectively to the *strategos* and a centurion.¹⁰ The backs of

⁷ In total, the National Museum contains about 90 papyri and hundreds of ostraca, mostly from the same sources as those held in the Chair of Epigraphy and Papyrology, formerly Department of Papyrology (see previous note and cf. T. DERDA in *BGU XX* 2862, introduction). The authors are preparing an inventory of these and other papyrological holdings in Poland, along the lines of A. ŁAJTAR, 'Greek inscriptions in Polish collections. A checklist', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 125 (1999), pp. 147–172. For Berlin papyri that remained slightly longer in private custody (but whose transfer to a public institution was trouble-free), see W. APPEL, 'Drei Berliner Papyri in Toruń', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 47 (2001), p. 101.

⁸ *P. Louvre* I 48–65, with the editor's overview of the archive on pp. 219–227.

⁹ Besides those found on the backs of Pakysis' petitions (below) and on the front and back of *BGU III* 889+890 (= *P.* 7259+9110 and 7184a & b; cf. *P. Louvre* I, p. 221), we have identified the following pieces with the help of cross-references in the inventory and a visit to the collection: *P. Berol. inv.* 6843, 6844, 6973 v°, 7059 v°, 7411+8967, and 8338+8339 v°. Through discussion with Sandra Lippert about *P.* 7059, we later learned that further parts of this manuscript contain Greek accounts on the back, which we could confirm through images were likewise written in Pakysis' hand: *P. Berol. inv.* 15654 v°, 23877+23878 v°, 23880 v°, 30017 v°, 30018 v°. We have made preliminary use of these accounts in the edition below and are preparing them for publication.

¹⁰ *Strategos*: *BGU I* 321 (= *P.* 6850 r°) and *P.* 7081 r°; centurion: *BGU I* 322 (= *P.* 6882 r°) and *P. Louvre* I 3. See the reconstruction of J. WHITEHORNE, 'Strategus, centurion, or neither: *BGU I* 321 and 322 (= *M. Chrest.* 114 and 124) and their duplicates', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 40 (2003), pp. 201–211.

all four documents were reused for accounts¹¹ whose hand and orthography match that of the petitioner's subscription: *Αὐρηλίου Πακυσίς ἐπιδέδοκα*. Further, *P. Louvre* I 50, the account on the back of *P. Louvre* I 3, is entitled *λόγος Πακύσιος*. There can thus be no doubt that the petitioner and the account keeper are the same man, 'Aurelius Pakysis son of Tesenouphis, priest and *stolistes* of the first-rank temple of Soknopaiou Nesos', as he is styled in the petition.¹²

Pakysis' papers consist mostly of reused documents, some of which were originally his own petitions, as we have seen, while others comprise archival material from various sources, including official documents from the nome capital (*P. Louvre* I, pp. 220–223). Pakysis also made use of Demotic material: the Louvre papyri already included four documents originally written in Demotic,¹³ to which can be added the temple inventory on the front of P. 6848 and a series of priestly agreements from years 10 and 11 of Domitian.¹⁴

¹¹ Only the Louvre account has been published (*P. Louvre* I 50). The Berlin accounts were first reported by WHITEHORNE, 'Strategus' (cit. n. 10), p. 209, but Zbigniew Borkowski studied P. 6882 v^o (along with P. 6843 and 6973) in the late 1960s to 70s when these papyri were on loan to Warsaw (his draft transcriptions and commentary are housed in the Chair of Epigraphy and Papyrology).

¹² A. JÖRDENS in *P. Louvre* I, p. 223 and EADEM, 'Papyri und private Archive. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur papyrologischen Terminologie', [in:] E. CANTARELLA & G. THÜR (eds.), *Symposion 1997. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte*, Cologne 2001, p. 255. Cf. EADEM, 'Griechische Papyri in Soknopaiou Nesos', [in:] S. L. LIPPERT & M. SCHENTULEIT (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 11. bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*, Wiesbaden 2005, p. 52, responding to doubts raised by F. Mitthof in his review of *P. Louvre* I, in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung* 118 (2001), p. 412.

¹³ See the description of K.-Th. ZAUZICH in *P. Louvre* I, p. 222.

¹⁴ P. 7059 and the others listed in n. 9: these are being edited by Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit for publication in *P. Dime* IV. For an overview of these agreements, see S. L. LIPPERT, 'Die Abmachungen der Priester. Einblicke in das Leben und Arbeiten in Soknopaiou Nesos', [in:] M. CAPASSO & P. DAVOLI (eds.), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum: Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology, Lecce, June 8th–10th 2005* [= *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 15], Lecce 2007, pp. 145–155, and S. L. LIPPERT & M. SCHENTULEIT, 'Agreements and accounts. On-going research on economic

P. 6848 consists of two non-joining fragments, which Spiegelberg labelled A and B. Both are of roughly the same height, and their even top and bottom edges, combined with the layout of text on both sides, confirm that the original height is preserved. B, the larger of the two fragments, measures 30.5 × 24.2 cm and is divided into five tall, thin panels 4.5 to 5 cm in width, whose brittleness has caused almost complete breaks between them.¹⁵ Fragment A (30.2 × 5.1 cm) is the size of one of these panels, which led the editors of *P. Zauzich* 12 to rightly see it as ‘another such segment which has become detached from its neighbors’ (p. 140). The editors ‘provisionally adopted Spiegelberg’s sequence’ of the fragments, with A to the right of B, which is confirmed by the Greek account (see below).

The form and contents of the recto can be briefly summarized based on the comprehensive edition in *P. Zauzich* and recent textual improvements.¹⁶ The document contains three columns, of which the first (on fragm. A) is missing line beginnings and the ends of longer lines, the second lacks line beginnings, and the third is complete. The editors assigned a date in the late first or early second century based on the handwriting, a suggestion that is not contradicted by the discovery of its reuse in the early third century, since Pakysis is known to have made use of papyri as old as the first century (*P. Louvre* I 74, reused for *P. Louvre* I 65). This dating is now supported by the identification of the scribe, who wrote documents dating to the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, and the first year(s) of Trajan (Sandra Lippert, *per litteras*).

The document contains a detailed inventory of objects belonging to two chapels, the ‘h₃-chapel’ of Isis (col. i – col. iii, l. 5) and ‘the chamber of the lionesses’ (col. iii, ll. 6–16). Because of the gap between fragments

activities of the temple of Soknopaiou Nesos according to the Demotic texts’, [in:] A. JÖRDENS & U. YIFTACH (eds.), *Accounts and Bookkeeping in the Ancient World* [= *Philippika* 55/2], Wiesbaden 2020, pp. 141–157.

¹⁵ A photo taken by Constantinos Balamoshev before restoration and transfer to a new frame shows the displacement of the second panel from the left.

¹⁶ G. VITTMANN, Berlin P. 6848 in *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, online at <<https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html>>, and J. KORTE, P. Berlin P. 6848 in the *Demotic Palaeographical Database Project* (DPDP), online at <<http://129.206.5.162/beta/index.html>> (both accessed 1 October 2022).

A and B, it was unclear to the editors whether all the items listed through col. iii, 5 belonged to the first chapel, but the confirmed positioning of fragments now renders this certain. Recently, Sandra Lippert has shown that these chapels were located in the temple precinct of Dionysias,¹⁷ where the priests of Soknopaiou Nesos had longstanding interests. Pakysis himself was also active there: *P. Louvre* I 48, col. v, l. 95 is entitled ‘my account in Dionysias’, one of the few references to known villages in the archive.

After the inventory was drawn up, the papyrus roll presumably lay in the archives of the main temple in Soknopaiou Nesos. Eventually, in the early third century the roll (or part of it) came into the hands of the priest Pakysis, who found its blank verso a convenient support for his accounts.

The papyrus was flipped upside down to receive these accounts, written against the fibres. Two complete columns are preserved, along with a fragmentary third that is split in the middle by the loss of probably one panel. It is not clear whether the account is otherwise complete or originally contained further columns that are now lost. Pakysis left small margins of 1.2–1.5 cm at the top and c. 1 cm at left. His handwriting is large, with letter heights of around 0.75 cm. Discolorations along the top and bottom of the verso are possibly remnants of modern mounting.

As in Pakysis’ other accounts, the document gives the impression of an aide-mémoire, with idiosyncratic and elliptical entries that are often challenging to follow. His shaky command of cases adds to the interpretive difficulties, while inconsistent marking of abbreviation presents editorial challenges.

The first column is entitled the ‘account of Kapanouphis’ and covers the period from Pharmouthi 16 to Pachon 10 of an unknown year probably in the second decade of the third century.¹⁸ The account relates to the

¹⁷ S. L. LIPPERT, ‘Chapels, chambers and gateways: The religious architecture of Soknopaiou Nesos according to the Demotic documentary papyri’, [in:] M. CAPASSO & P. DAVOLI (eds.), *Soknopaios. The Temple and Worship. Proceedings of the First Round Table of the Centro di Studi Papirologici di Università del Salento Lecce – October 9th 2013* [= *Edaphos* 1], Lecce 2015, pp. 161–162. Cf. LIPPERT & SCHENTULEIT, ‘Agreements’ (cit. n. 14), pp. 149–151.

¹⁸ The only precisely assignable dates in the archive are found at *P. Louvre* I 48, l. 2 (6 November 212), the petition in four copies (7 April 216) and the petition *BGU* I 159

‘receipt’ (ἐλαβε, l. 4) of payments but does not track the payments themselves; instead, we find individuals associated with numbers of ἐργ() (or in one case παιδ()) and numbers following ἀρκία (l. ἀργία), ‘idleness’. The only other published work accounts from the archive are the small strips *P. Louvre* I 53, 56, 62, and 65, but the unedited Berlin material contains much more of this genre. Unlike many records of work (including *P. Louvre* I 56 r^o), col. i of P. 6848 v^o is not a day-by-day account, but rather a summary covering the period mentioned.

The most obvious expansion of ἐργ() is ἐργ(άτης / -αι), ‘worker(s)’, which finds support in the unpublished accounts¹⁹ and would be parallel to παιδ(), however expanded (see l. 6 n.). But if ἐργ(άται) are interpreted literally as individual workers (and παιδ() as workers of a lower status), then a key variable is missing, namely the number of days worked in the said period. A simple solution to this problem, of course, is to assume that the ἐργάται worked all twenty-five days (counting inclusively) from Pharmouthi 16 to Pachon 10.

The unpublished accounts and external parallels, however, suggest that the entries for ἐργ() are not tracking individual workers, but rather days worked, as found in the Heroninos archive and elsewhere.²⁰ This is an issue that we will explore more fully in the edition of the Berlin accounts, but one example can be cited here for illustration (P. Berol. inv. 6843 r^o, ll. 1–6):

λόγος Ἑρμῆτι ἀπὸ Χυακ
 κθ̄ ἕως Μεχίρ κᾱ
 ἀρκία Ἑρμῆτι ἡμ(έραι) ῑ
 4 Ἀμμουνα ἡμ(έραι) θ, Κρατορ ἡ̄
 Τιτουη ιζ̄
 λυπ() ἐργ() ρκγ, (δρ.) ρρς (ὀβ.) η

(5 June 216). The year two of *P. Louvre* I 57, l. 1, could correspond to 217/8, 218/9, or 222/3, while the year 4 of *P. Louvre* I 52, l. 11 could be 220/1 or 224/5 (if not year [2]4: 215/6).

¹⁹ E.g. ἀντλιταί (l. ἀντληταί) ἐργ(άται) and θερισταί ἐργ(άται) (P. Berol. inv. 6973 v^o, ll. 22–23).

²⁰ See D. RATHBONE, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt. The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 351–352, and C. FREU, *Les salariés de l'Égypte romano-byzantine. Essai d'histoire économique* [= *Studia papyrologica et Aegyptiaca Parisiana* 3], Paris 2022, pp. 56–57 and 80–81. Cf. also G. MESSERI, ‘Scampoli V’, *Aegyptus* 96 (2016), p. 32 ad *P. Flor.* I 81 v^o, l. 9.

The account covers a 53-day period (again counting inclusively) in which the non-work days associated with four men are individually recorded. Then, in line 6 Pakysis calculates the remaining ἐργ(), which is implicitly multiplied by a daily wage of a little over 1 ½ drachmas to arrive at an overall payment. Now, assuming every day was a possible work day, the calculation does not add up,²¹ but this excerpt nevertheless demonstrates that ἐργ() are days worked rather than workers. One might therefore wish to expand line 6 as λυπ(αι) ἐργ(άσιμαι) (sc. ἡμέραι) ρκγ and to understand the examples of ἐργ() in P. 6848 v^o the same way, but the adjective ἐργάσιμος is rare in the papyri (cf. *O. Claud.* IV, p. 101), and the entries cited in n. 19 show that Pakysis was using the term ἐργάται in the same sense as Heroninos.

We can also compare SB XXVI 16551 (Arsinoite, 1st half of 3rd cent. CE), a fragment of a leather notebook, whose first line should be read and restored as follows: [λόγος] ἐργατῶν χοματιζ[ό(ντων)].²² The first entry (ll. 2–4) runs: Σαπρίωνος αἴως (l. εἰς) 5 ἐργ(άται)²³ ιβ | τούτων αἶλαβη (l. εἰλαβε) μέτρα β κριθῆς(ς) χαλκοῦ (δραχμὰς) η ὁμοί(ως) κριθῆς μέτρα 5. The heading shows that this is an account of dike work, with the first entry covering work up to or through the sixth day of an unstated month. Again, if ἐργ(άται) (expanded on the basis of the heading) were taken literally as workers, we would be missing the number of days worked. Instead, ἐργ(άται) has the meaning ‘work days’, for which (τούτων) Sapri- on received the stated wages in kind and money. Other work records that are not day-by-day accounts, such as *P. Poethke* 16, are susceptible to the same interpretation.

To summarize our understanding of column one: these are Pakysis’ notes regarding the working and non-working days associated with certain individuals, which he would use to calculate payments (not recorded) in a similar manner to P. Berol. inv. 6843 r^o.

²¹ 4 workers × 53 days = 212 work days, but the sum of off days (44) and remaining days (123) is only 167, a difference of 45 days from the theoretical total.

²² [ἐ]ργα τῶν χοματικ[ῶν] *ed. pr.*, but there is clearly room for another word at the beginning of the line.

²³ ἐργ(α) *ed. pr.*, also in ll. 5, 7, and 10; in l. 8, read ἐργά(ται).

The next column of text is narrower, with most of the entries fitting within one panel of the papyrus. The entries here are divided into four discrete blocks, some of which involve drachmas, others of which relate to quantities of bitter vetch, wheat, barley, and lentils. The date Pachon 24 (l. 21) postdates the timespan of the account in the next column, which suggests to us that these notes were later intercolumnar additions. For the ease of reference and visualization, however, we have followed the order of columns on the papyrus and labelled it col. ii.

The last column of the larger fragment B has the same number and spacing of lines as that of fragment A, so it is clear that they are parts of the same third column. One or perhaps two panels may be missing between the fragments, depending on how line 30 is supplemented: either the end of Kapanouphis' name fills out the lacuna or the beginning of the date range is included too, as in col. i. On the whole, we prefer to see one panel missing for two reasons: (1) at c. 14 cm, this would already be a wide column by Pakysis' standards; (2) Pakysis frequently begins or resumes his accounts with *ἔως* + month without a beginning date.²⁴ We have accordingly estimated about seven characters missing between the fragments, though one must keep in mind possible spaces and abbreviated words.

Although this column follows chronologically on col. i, it is of a different nature, with most entries devoted to amounts of drachmas and obols, with baskets of salt and *choinikes* also mentioned. Lines 30–38 cover Kapanouphis' receipts (*ἐλαβε*, l. 31), while the remaining lines appear to cover expenses (see l. 39 n.).

²⁴ Cf., e.g., *P Louvre* I 48, ll. 1–3, and 51 *passim*.

P. Berol. inv. 6848 = MNW 237618

fragm. B: 30.5 × 24.2 cm

early 3rd cent. CE

fragm. A: 30.2 × 5.1 cm

Soknopaiou Nesos

col. i

λόγος Καπάνουφης

ἀπὸ Φαρμουθ(ι) ις̄

ἕως Παχων ῑ

4 ἔλαβε Ἑρμῆτι

βατ(ανίζοντες) φακὸς ἐργ(άται) θ

καὶ παιδ() γ̄

Σενθες βατ(ανίζοντες) ἐργ(άται) γ

8 ποτίζ(οντες) ἐργ(άται) β

ἀρκία Τιτουη β̄

Ἑρμῆ ἐργ(άται) ιᾱ

ἀρκία Παβου βελ() ἐργ(άται) ε̄

12 Σώτας ἄλ(λοι) ε̄

ἀρκία Ἀνχωπισ ιζ̄

υἱοῦ αὐτο(ῦ) ἐργ(άται) ιβ̄

Πάκυσι βελλ() ἐργ(άται) ιβ̄

16 λόγος ἀβρόχου ἐργ(άται) σ̄

παιδ() γ αρ() δ χο() β̄

*Account of Kapanouphis:**from Pharmouthi 16**to Pachon 10**received, Hermes,**weeding lentils, 9 work days**and 3 child work days**Senthes, weeding, 3 work days**watering, 2 work days**idle, Titoue, 2 (days)**Hermes, 11 work days**idle, Pabous, ..., 5 work days**Sotas, an(other) 5 (days)**idle, Anchopis, 17 (days)**his son, 12 work days**Pakysis, ..., 12 work days**account of unwatered (land), 6 work days**3 child work days, 4 ar(), 2 cho()*

1. corr. ex καπανουφς, 1. Καπανούφιος || 4 ε̄ 10. 1. Ἑρμῆς || 5 ε̄ 7. 1. βοτανίζοντες || 5. 1. φακόν ||
9, 11, ε̄ 13. 1. ἀργία || 9. τιτουη corr. ex τουουη || 11. π corr. ex β || 14. 1. υἱός

col. ii

Πιηου ἀλοῦν

(δρ.) δ

*Pieou, threshing**4 drachmas*

20 Καπανουφ

Παχων κδ̄

ὀρύβ(ου) ἀρτ(αβ-)

ζ̄

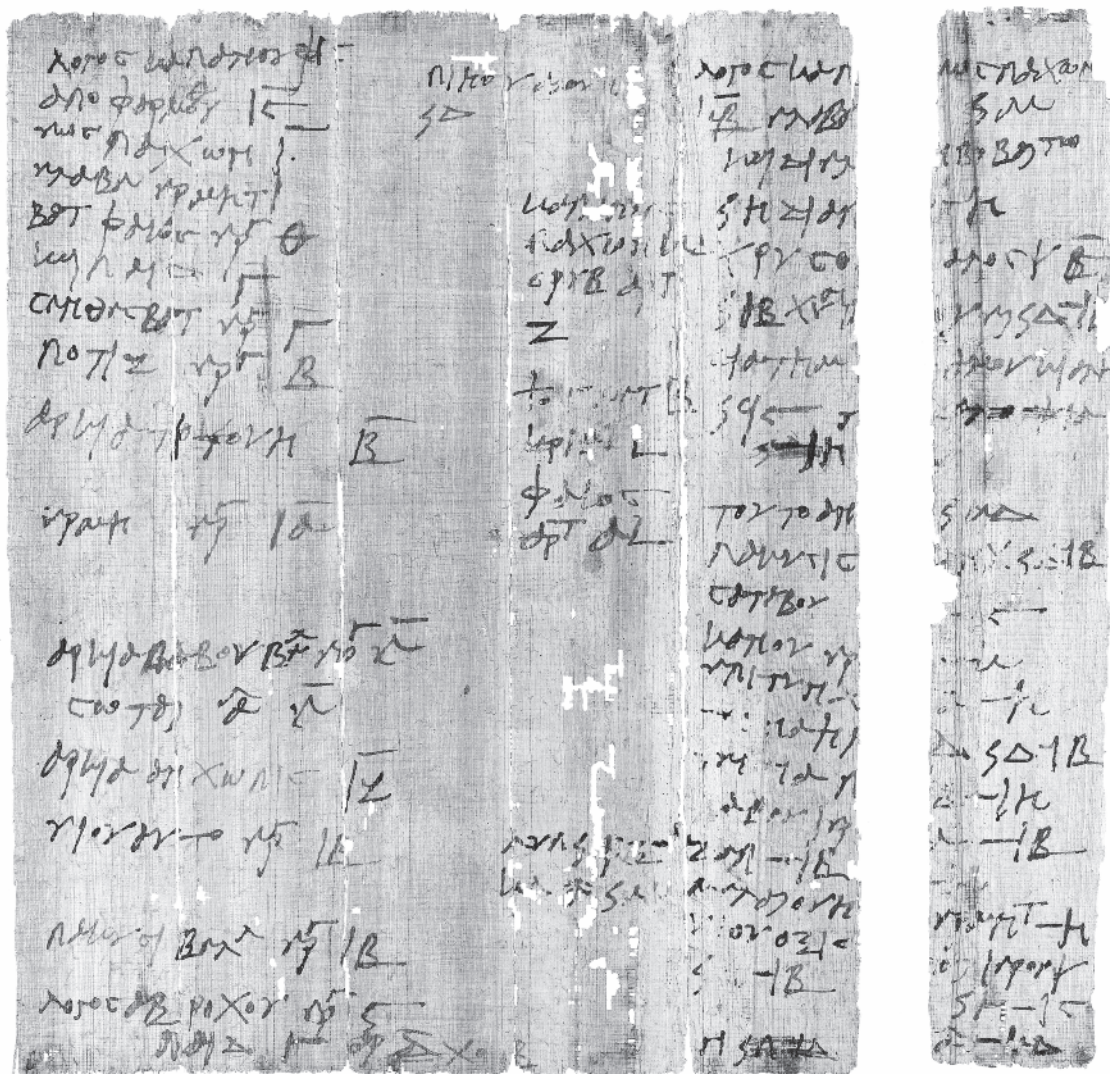
*Kapanouph**Pachon 24**artabas of bitter vetch**7*

- 24 (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) γ μέτ(ρα) β
κριθ(ῆς) L
φακὸς
ἀρτ(αβ-) α L
*3 artabas of wheat, 2 measures
1/2 of barley
lentils
1 1/2 artaba.*
- 28 λυπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ρξ ᾿(ὀβ.) κ'
κδ ἄλ(λαι) (δρ.) μ
*Remaining 160 drachmas, 20 obols.
On the 24th, another 40 drachmas.*

18. 1. ἀλοῶν || 22. 1. ὀρόβου || 28. 1. λοιπαί

col. iii

- λόγος Καπ[άνουφισ] ἕως Παχων
κβ ἔλαβε [c. 7] (δρ.) μ
22. He received [---] 40 drachmas
καὶ δι' ἐμ[οῦ vac.? ἐ]ν Βοβάστῳ
(δρ.) η διὰ Π[c. 7] (ὀβ.) η
and through me [---] in Boubastos
(δρ.) η διὰ Π[c. 7] (ὀβ.) η
8 drachmas, through P[---] 8 obols
χρυσο[c. 7] ἀλὸς ψ(ίαθου) β
gold [---] 2 baskets of salt
(δρ.) ιβ χυν(ικ-) . [c. 6 β] ουες (δρ.) δ
12 drachmas, choinikes [---] cattle, 4 drachmas,
(ὀβ.) ιβ
12 obols
36 διὰ Τημ[c. 7] . αμου Κιαλη
through Tem[---] amou (son of?) Kiale
(δρ.) ρς . [c. 7] . [[ἀλὸς ψία(θ-)]]
96 drachmas [---] [[basket(s) of salt]]
(ὀβ.) ιη [c. 7] .
18 obols [---]
- τοῦτο ἀν[c. 7] (δρ.) κδ
from which, for expenses (?) [---] 24 drachmas
40 Πάκυσις [c. 7] υνχ (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) ιβ
Pakysis [---] 4 drachmas, 12 obols
- Σαταβου [c. 7] (ὀβ.) ς
Satabou [---] 6 obols
Κανου ἐρ[c. 7] (ὀβ.) κ
Kanou [---] 20 obols
Ἐπιτυνχ[άνων c. 7] α (ὀβ.) η
Epitynchanon [---] 8 obols
44 τέκνα Ἡρ[c. 7] δ (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) ιβ
children of Her[---] 4 drachmas, 18 obols
τέκνα π[c. 7] β (ὀβ.) ιη
children [---] 18 obols
[Π]αβου ἱερ[c. 7] α (ὀβ.) ιβ
Pabou, temple-[---] 12 obols
δαπ(άνης) (ὀβ.) ιβ [c. 7] (ὀβ.) η
for expenses, 12 obols [---] 8 obols
48 Μέλας ονη[c. 7] Ἑρμῆτ() (ὀβ.) η
Melas [---] Hermes, 8 obols
υἱοῦ Ὀξίς [c. 7] . os ἱερουψ(άλτ-)
son of Oxis [---] temple singer
(δρ.) . (ὀβ.) ιβ [c. 7] (δρ.) η (ὀβ.) ις
x drachmas, 12 obols [---] 8 drachmas, 16 obols



P. Berol. inv. 6848 = MNW 237618 v^o
(courtesy of Warsaw National Museum; photo Jakub Płoszaj)

γί(νονται) [(δρ.) π (ὀβ.) ιδ [] c. 7] αλ() total: [80 drachmas, 14 obols] [---]
(ὀβ.) κδ 24 obols

30. I. Καπανούφιος || 32. βοβαστω corr. ex βοβαστο, I. Βουβάστω || 34. β corr. ex γ || 35. I. χωικ-, βοῶν (?) ||
38. corr. ex (δρ.) δ || 39. I. τούτου vel τούτων || 49. I. ιεροφάλτ-

Col. i

1. *Καπάνουφης*. Again in col. ii, l. 20 and at the head of the account in the third column (col. iii, l. 30). The name Kapanouphis can now be recognized in *P. Louvre* I 48, l. 17 and 54, l. 6 (where *Καπανουφ* should be read for *κα Πανοῦφ*). He appears frequently in the Berlin accounts (e.g. P. Berol. inv. 6850 v^o, l. 1, and P. 7081 v^o, l. 8). The name is otherwise unattested, unless it is found in the Arsinoite letter *BGU* III 714 (2nd cent. CE), ll. 5–6, where *διὰ Κα|πανου...* is printed, followed by an uncertain passage (the reading cannot be checked, as BerIPap reports the papyrus as ‘vermisst seit 1958 [möglichlicherweise in Münster]’). Kapanouphis is conceivably an alternative name for Panouphis, Pakysis’ ‘Faktotum’, who is often found in the accounts (cf. *P. Louvre* I, p. 225 and l. 33 n. below).

4. *ἔλαβε Ἐρμῆτι*. The object of the verb is not stated, nor is the subject perfectly clear, given Pakysis’ irregular use of cases (cf. P. Berol. inv. 6843, l. 1, which opens *λόγος Ἐρμῆτι*; Hermes appears frequently in the unpublished accounts). Since this is the account of Kapanouphis (l. 1), and only the date range has intervened, we might consider him to be the subject; cf., for instance, *P. Louvre* I 54, ll. 4–5: *λόγος Σους ἕως Παχῶν | ιζ. ἔλαβε εἰς λόγον*, which is followed (unlike here) by amounts in drachmas and artabas. As for *Ἐρμῆτι*, comparison with the rest of the account suggests that he stands at the head of the following *βατ(ανίζοντες) φακὸς ἐργ(άται) θ | καὶ παιδ() γ*. The verb *ἔλαβε* thus likely indicates that Kapanouphis received funds related to the work detailed (e.g. to pay the individual workers or for payments already made).

5. *βατ(ανίζοντες) φακὸς* (l. *βοτανίζοντες φακόν*). Expanded as a participle on the basis of *ποτίζ(οντες)* in line 8 and other examples in Pakysis’ accounts (e.g. *τίλον(τες) δησμόν*, l. *τίλλοντες δεσμόν*, P. Berol. inv. 6973 v^o, l. 21), although P. Berol. inv. 6973 v^o, l. 25 appears to have *βατανισμ(οῦ)*. The plural participle agrees with *ἐργ(άται)*. For attestations of *βοτανίζω*, see *P. Poethke* 16, ll. 4, 6, 8, 10 n.

The lentils were perhaps the newly-planted second crop, which also had the benefit of resupplying the soil with nitrogen: E. Köstner, ‘Anbau und Konsum von Linsen in der Antike’, [in:] J. Drauschke, R. Prien, & A. Reis (eds.), *Küche und Keller in Antike und Frühmittelalter. Tagungsbeiträge der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, 7: *Produktion, Vorratshaltung und Konsum in Antike und Frühmittelalter* (Friedrichshafen, 30. Mai – 1. Juni 2012) [= *Studien zu Spätantike und Frühmittelalter* 6], Hamburg 2014, p. 160, and M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Munich 1925, p. 191.

ἐργ(άται). See above for the interpretation as ‘work days’.

6. *καὶ παιδ() γ*. Possible expansions include *παῖδ(ες)*, *παιδ(ία)*, and *παιδ(άρια)*, but with the meaning of three work days performed by an unnamed worker or workers of this status (see above). On the issue of determining the age and legal status of such workers, see M. Mirković, ‘Child labour and taxes in the agriculture of Roman Egypt: *παῖς* and *ἀφῆλιξ*’, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 24 (2005), pp. 139–149,

and Freu, *Les salariés* (cit. n. 20), p. 165, n. 358. The translation adopted here, ‘child work days’, is based on etymology, but the term may denote work performed by adults of inferior status (including slaves). Another reference to three ‘children’ and/or their working days in Pakysis’ accounts can be found in *P. Louvre* I 53 v^o, l. 19, where παιδ(α)γ(ωγῶ) (ὀβολ-) κδ̄ should be corrected to παιδ() γ: three workers of this status received a total of 24 obols, or 8 obols each (cf. already F. Reiter in *P. Köln* X 414, l. 3 n.). Unpublished accounts of Pakysis show that work performed by those in the παιδ() category received a lower wage than ἐργάται (e.g. *P. Berol. inv.* 6973 v^o, l. 24).

7. Σενθες. Cf. Σενθ̄. [at *P. Louvre* I 58, l. 8. The editor tentatively includes Σενθ̄ [among the place names (p. 225), but we see a person here, in parallel position to Ἐρμητι in line 4 and comparable to the other individuals in col. i, whose work or non-work days are recorded. The name is presumably a variant of Semtheus (TM Nam 1044).

8. ποτίζ(οντες). On the term, see D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l’eau du Nil dans l’Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* [= *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 8], Leiden 1993, pp. 210–211.

9. ἀρκία (l. ἀργία) Τιτουη β̄. Pakysis presumably used this entry to deduct wages from Titoue or otherwise calculate his working days. On the tracking of non-working days, see now Freu, *Les salariés* (cit. n. 20), pp. 85–89.

Pakysis wrote τουουη, then corrected to Τιτουη by adding a dark, wobbly *iota* touching the first *omicron* and a *tau* below but partially covering the first *upsilon*. For this variation of the theophoric name Tutu (TM Nam 1436), see TM NamVar 14851. The name is found with the spelling Τιτουη at *P. Louvre* I 53 r^o, l. 6 (not a toponym; cf. l. 7 n. above) and frequently in the unpublished accounts (cf. *P. Berol. inv.* 6843, l. 5, cited above).

11. ἀρκία Παβου βελ() ἐργ(άται) ε̄. Cf. βελλ() in line 15. We have considered the name Βελλῆς in both places, although the account contains only two other possible patronymics (col. iii, ll. 36 and 48), which are rare in the archive in general. Otherwise, given the position before ἐργ(άται), we might consider an abbreviated participle along the lines of βατ(ανίζοντες) and ποτίζ(οντες). In this case, the verb would be βάλλω, but *epsilon* for *alpha* in stressed position is not common (Gignac, *Grammar* II, p. 281), and, while compounds of βάλλω are frequent in accounts, we have found only one parallel for the simple verb in a comparable context: *O. Strasb.* I 754 (Theban or Hermonthite, 2nd cent. CE), l. 6. Another possibility is to seek different solutions for the two abbreviations, recommended both by the different forms of abbreviation (here βελ, in l. 15 βελ^λ) and the difficulty of parsing line 11 as an entry for both ἀρκία and ἐργ(άται). One could separate β from ελ and read ἀρκία Παβου β̄ ἔλ(λοι) (l. ἄλλοι) ἐργ(άται) ε̄, although this solution also relies on *epsilon* for stressed *alpha*.

12. ἄλ(λοι). Sc. ἐργ(άται); cf. *P. Louvre* I 56, ll. 1–6 and 65, l. 5.

16. λόγος ἀβρόχου. Cf. *P. Louvre* I 59, l. 1, which seems to be entitled λ]όγος ἀβρόχ[ου.

17. παιδ() γ αρ() δ χο() β. For child work days, cf. l. 6 with n. The combination of αρ() and χο() might suggest artabas and *choinikes*, although Pakysis' normal abbreviations are respectively ἀρτ(άβαι) and χύν(ικες). ἀρ(τάβας) is found at *P. Louvre* I 48, ll. 46 and 50, but Pakysis seems consistent with χύν(ικες) (cf. l. 35 n.). Other options include ἀρ(γία) or ἀρ(δείας) / ἀρ(δεύοντες) and for the second word χο(ματίζοντες) (l. χωματίζοντες).

Col. ii

18. Πιηου ἀλοῦν. Pieou is found at *P. Louvre* I 48, col. iii, ll. 71 and 79, and 51, col. ii, l. 34. For ἀλοῦν (l. ἀλωῶν), cf. *SB* III 7013, col. ii, l. 4 (3rd cent. CE), an account of work with some of the same crops mentioned below.

22. ὀρύβ(ου). Pakysis is consistent in the spelling with upsilon: cf. *P. Louvre* I index, s.v. On ὄροβος, 'bitter vetch', see Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft* (cit. comm. to l. 5), pp. 190–191.

28. (δρ.) ρξ '(ὀβ.) κ'. Throughout his accounts Pakysis reckons with a tetradrachma of 28–30 obols: cf. *P. Louvre* I, p. 226 and 54, l. 37 n., with K. Maresch, *Bronze und Silber. Papyrologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Währung im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* [= *Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 25], Wiesbaden 1996, pp. 110–133.

Col. iii

32. Βοβάστω. Boubastos is also mentioned in P. Berol. inv. 8338+8339 v^o, col. i, l. 10: Τιτουη Βουβάστων. These are among the few references to known villages in Pakysis' accounts, next to Dionysias (*P. Louvre* I 48, l. 94) and Soknopaïou Nesos itself (*P. Louvre* I 48, ll. 57, 60, 110, and 60, l. 4; along with a few unpublished examples): cf. *P. Louvre* I, p. 225. Boubastos of the Herakleides meris (TM Geo 463) appears in several texts connected to Soknopaïou Nesos: cf., e.g., *P. Hoogen-dijk* 28, l. 7 (2nd–3rd cent. CE).

33. διὰ Π[. Possibly διὰ Π[ανουφι, a figure who appears frequently in the accounts (also with the spellings Πανου and Πανουφ): see the list at *P. Louvre* I, p. 225 (but note that *P. Louvre* I 48, l. 17, and 54, l. 6 actually refer to Kapanouphis: cf. above col. i, l. 1 n.).

34. ἄλς ψ(ίαθου) β. Cf. l. 37. In P. Berol. inv. 6844 r^o, l. 6, the term is written out as ψίαθος, rather than the diminutive ψιάθιον, which guides our expansion here. For these 'baskets of salt', see *P. Louvre* I 51, l. 4 n.

35. χυν(ικ-). The abbreviation is also found in the published accounts at *P. Louvre* I 48, l. 4, and 49, ll. 4, 5, 7, 10.

β]ουες. We read final *sigma*, rather than *iota*, also at *P. Louvre* I 51, col. v, l. 105, where the editor printed βύρσης βουεί(ας), and 55, l. 14, βουει(κὰ) ζεύγ(η). If βουες

is accepted in the Louvre passages, it can either be seen as a corrupt form of the appropriate adjective or nominative for genitive βοῶν; the same may apply here.

36. Τημ[. Probably a variant of Δημᾶς/Δημέας: cf. Τεμᾶς in contemporary Soknopaiou Nesos (TM NamVar 14695).

Κιαλη. The name (TM Nam 391) is found as the patronymic of Pabous at *P. Louvre* I 49, l. 2.

39. τοῦτο αν[. Pakysis uses the form τοῦτο throughout the accounts, resolved as τοῦτο(ν) in *P. Louvre* I, although τοῦτο(ν)/τοῦτο(ν) (l. τοῦτων) is also possible. αν[might be introducing expenses: cf. λόγος ἀνηλ(ωμάτων) at *P. Louvre* I 48, col. iii, l. 58, and two instances of ἀνηλ(ώματα) in more fragmentary contexts (*P. Louvre* I 55, l. 11, and 58, l. 2), as well as δαπ(άνης) below in line 47. Pakysis also uses the form ἀναλομα- at P. Berol. inv. 6973 v^o, l. 2.

42. Κανου. The name is paralleled in Soknopaiou Nesos in the form Κανουῆς (*CPR* XV 52, l. 12). Cf. also the name Κᾶνις (TM Nam 6986).

43. Ἐπιτυγχ[άνων. In the context of this account, we take this to be a name (TM Nam 21677), rather than a form of ἐπιτυγχάνω.

46. ἱερ[. Possibly ἱερ[ουψ(άλτ-)], Pakysis' spelling of ἱεροψάλτης; cf. l. 49 n.

48. Μέλας ουη[. Possibly a patronymic: cf. Οὔητιπᾶ κόφος at *P. Louvre* I 48, col. iii, l. 75. The name was susceptible to various spellings (see TM Nam 10917).

49. Ὀξίς. The name is known at Soknopaiou Nesos: *CPR* XV 31 r^o, col. iii, l. 4, and *P. Lond.* III 929 (p. 40), col. i, l. 2 and col. ii, l. 55.

ἱεροψ(άλτ-) (l. ἱεροψάλτ-). A 'temple singer' is also found in Pakysis' accounts at P. Berol. inv. 8967+7411, fragm. 1, l. 7, and in Soknopaiou Nesos at *BGU* II 630, col. iv, ll. 14 and 26 (c. 200 CE; cf. the τυμπανιστής in col. iv, l. 1), and *SPP* XXII 57, l. 6 (2nd–3rd cent. CE). The term is rare, appearing in documents elsewhere at *OGIS* II 737, l. 16 (Memphis, 112/1 BCE), *I. Herm.* 6, l. 40 (78 BCE), *P. Princ.* II 62, l. 5 (3rd cent. CE), and *PSI* IX 1039, l. 5 (Oxyrhynchite, 3rd cent. CE), before its transformation in a Christian context.

APPENDIX

THE BERLIN PAPYRI ACQUIRED BY THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN WARSAW IN 1998

On 15 June 1998, the National Museum in Warsaw purchased thirteen papyri from Wojciech Wiśniewski of Łódź.²⁵

²⁵ MNW = Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie.

- P. 6848 (recto: *P. Zauzich* 12; verso: edition above; MNW 237618)
 P. 10034 (Hieratic letter from Lahun;²⁶ MNW 237619)
 P. 11606 (*BGU VII* 1670; MNW 237620)
 P. 11607 (*BGU VII* 1685; MNW 237621)
 P. 11608 (*BGU VII* 1679; MNW 237622)
 P. 11609 (*BGU VII* 1688; MNW 237623)
 P. 11610 (*BGU VII* 1605; MNW 237624)
 P. 11707 (*P. Berl. Möller* 1; MNW 237625)
 P. 11867 (*BGU VI* 1303; MNW 237626)
 P. 11883A (*BGU VI* 1216 fragm. A; MNW 237627)²⁷
 P. 13051 (*BGU IV* 1134 and 1168; MNW 237628)
 P. 13057 (recto: *SB XXII* 15538; verso: *BGU IV* 1052; MNW 237629)
 P. 15998, Plate 5 (Mani's *Epistles* [TM 108139]; MNW 237630; in much deteriorated condition)²⁸

The purchase concluded six years of uncertainty regarding the fate of the papyri, involving negotiations, ministerial appeals, cold case investigations, and eventually press attention. The developments are documented in a dossier held in the National Museum in Warsaw, originally collected by the late curator Jadwiga Lipińska and made available to us by her current successor, Aleksandra Sulikowska-Bełczowska. These documents

²⁶ See U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, vol. I, Wiesbaden 1971, p. xvi and Anhang II, p. 4, and U. LUFT, 'Šhm-S-n-wsr.t m3'-hrw versus Htp-S-n-wsr.t m3'-hrw: Remarks on arguments pro and contra the denomination of the pyramid town at El-Lāhūn', [in:] J. BUDKA, R. GUNDACKER, & G. PIEKE (eds.), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum. Eine wissenschaftliche Blütenlese von Schülern und Freunden für Helmut Satzinger zum 75. Geburtstag am 21. Jänner 2013*, Göttingen 2013, p. 239 n. 48, where its current location and plans for publication are mentioned.

²⁷ The National Museum is also in possession of the other part of this papyrus, P. 11883B, which was acquired from the Regional Museum in Brodnica in 1976 (MNW 200618).

²⁸ In document 1 below, it is described as 'broken and damaged', but the 'main part of the text (is) well preserved', a description corroborated by a photo made by W.-P. Funk before 1995. By the time of the 1998 purchase, however, it was hardly legible: I. GARDNER, *Mani's Epistles: The Surviving Parts of the Coptic Codex Berlin P. 15998* [= *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin* 2], Stuttgart 2022, p. 10, nn. 32 and 33, and p. 22. See below for concerns about the condition of the papyri voiced before the 1998 purchase.

could be supplemented by others supplied by Tomasz Derda. The contents of this combined dossier are listed at the end of the appendix, a copy of which can be consulted in the Chair of Epigraphy and Papyrology of the University of Warsaw.

In May of 1992, Wojciech Wiśniewski approached the National Museum offering to sell thirteen papyri in his possession,²⁹ which he is said to have acquired from his father.³⁰ Upon recognizing their provenance and securing temporary deposit in the Museum,³¹ Jadwiga Lipińska contacted Dietrich Wildung, then director of the Egyptian Museum of Berlin, informing him of the papyri and offering to ‘help you by any legal means to recover the above papyri and to serve as intermediaries in their purchase and obtaining the necessary permits to “re-patriate” them’ (doc. 1). Arrangements were soon made for Günter Poethke, archivist of the Papyrussammlung, to visit Warsaw to confirm the identification of the papyri, and upon his return, Wildung proposed a starting price to open negotiations. Wiśniewski, for his part, was apparently not happy with the initial offer, but following a January 1993 meeting in the National Museum in Warsaw, an agreement was reached for the sum of 15,000 Deutschmarks.³²

After some delay, National Museum director Włodzimierz Godlewski applied on 29 April to the State Service for the Protection of Cultural Property to request permission for permanent export of the papyri (doc. 9). The head of the State Service was the General Conservator in the Ministry of

²⁹ Their earliest ‘sighting’ appears to have been just before: Adam Łajtar recalls that in 1991 or 1992 he saw Berlin papyri on commission from a man from Łódź in a basement antique shop in Warsaw’s Palace of Culture and Science.

³⁰ Such is the story told in the documents from 1992 and 1993, but in the 1996 article, Wiśniewski is quoted as saying it was his grandfather who acquired the papyri (see below).

³¹ It is unclear exactly how long the papyri remained on deposit in the National Museum. Presumably they remained there until Poethke’s visit at the beginning of July, but by the end of the month Wiśniewski is said to ‘want them back’, with plans to retrieve them the following week (doc. 6 below). Whether he did so then is uncertain, as is their physical location during the January 1993 negotiations in the Museum (below), but by May 1993, Lipińska writes of the deposit in the past tense (doc. 10). In the 1996 article (doc. 21), she is quoted as saying in reference to the condition of the papyri, ‘we will be happy to store them. We can take them on deposit’.

³² The final agreed sum is revealed only in the newspaper article of 1996 (doc. 21).

Culture and Art, who had broad powers to decide on matters of cultural property, defined as ‘any object, movable or immovable, old or modern, which has significance for cultural heritage and development due to its historical, scientific, or artistic value’, according to the applicable 1962 law.³³ Accordingly, in their appeals to the Ministry, both Godlewski and Lipińska downplay the value of the already-published and decontextualized papyri and stress their established provenance, while Godlewski adds that their return would ‘contribute to overcoming the negative effects of the war and serve as a useful precedent for further cultural cooperation between the museums’,³⁴ which he hoped would be ‘an important element of the new European reality’ (doc. 9).

In contrast to the Museum’s position, the General Conservator consistently emphasises the ‘value and meaning of these papyri for world cultural heritage’ (doc. 16). Citing the need to establish legal title and presumably having learned of the break-in story told below, he turned first to National Police Headquarters (doc. 11*, doc. 19), who opened a criminal investigation. When the police were unable to make a determination in the case (cf. their visit to the Museum in doc. 12), the General Conservator turned next to the Director of the Prosecutor’s Office in the Ministry of Justice for guidance (doc. 16). In this letter of 14 September 1993, the General Conservator stated that the ‘papyri originate from one of the Berlin museums (it is currently not known from which)’, despite the information provided in Godlewski’s April application for export.

This prompted a detailed response from Lipińska to the Director of the Prosecutor’s Office (doc. 17), wherein she reiterated the Museum’s position and provided the full name and address of Berlin’s Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection for good measure. Conservation of the papyri is mentioned here for the first time, presented parenthetically as

³³ Dz. U. 1962 nr 10 poz. 48, Art. 2: ‘Dobrem kultury w rozumieniu ustawy jest każdy przedmiot ruchomy lub nieruchomy, dawny lub współczesny, mający znaczenie dla dziedzictwa i rozwoju kulturalnego ze względu na jego wartość historyczną, naukową lub artystyczną’. The 1962 law has since been replaced by Dz. U. 2003 nr 162 poz. 1568.

³⁴ Already in his letter of 9 July 1992 (doc. 5), Wildung broached the idea of long-term loans to the National Museum in exchange for the Berlin papyri already in the Museum’s possession, an idea received favourably by Lipińska in her reply of 30 July (doc. 6).

an expense that ought to be borne by the rightful owners, that is, the Berlin collection. Lipińska also gives the most detailed account of the initial acquisition of Berlin papyri in Poland, indicating that the criminal activity in question took place immediately following the war and at the hands of Soviet soldiers:

During the transport of the Berlin collections to the USSR in 1945, while on Polish territory (near Brodnica), one of the wagons was broken into, and artefacts (mainly papyri) were sold by Soviet soldiers to willing buyers.³⁵ In the National Museum and the University of Warsaw (Institute of Papyrology) there has long been located a certain number of these papyri, obtained through donations in the post-war years. The examples in the possession of Mr. Wiśniewski come from the same source – according to his information, his father bought them from Soviet soldiers for vodka.³⁶

³⁵ Cf. WIPSYZKA *et alii*, 'Papyri and ostraca' (cit. n. 6), pp. 265–266, and ŁAJTAR, 'Greek inscriptions' (cit. n. 7), p. 151. The only alternative to this story we have found is related in J. M. ROBINSON, *The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi*, Eugene 2013, p. 33, based on a 1986 interview with Lothar Berfelde (later identifying as Charlotte von Mahlsdorf), who 'reported that a friend since childhood, who worked for the German railroads, told him that in the countryside Poles would stop these trains, disconnect the engine, and make the German crews drive away in the engine, leaving the freight cars in the fields unattended, for the Poles to loot' (the story is repeated with further commentary on p. 141). The trains of the Soviet trophy brigades, however, were military transports guarded by soldiers and under the command of Soviet officers. For lists of the military trains carrying cultural goods, see W. RITTER, 'The Soviet spoils commissions: On the removal of works of art from German museums and collections', *International Journal of Cultural Property* 7 (1998), pp. 446–455, and KAISER-SCHUSTER (ed.), *Kulturelles Gedächtnis* (cit. n. 5), p. 545. For an eyewitness description of one train's military escort, including 'guards (...) posted at the front, the middle, and the end of the train' and 'submachine gunners (...) on duty 24 hours a day', see K. AKINSHA & G. KOZLOV, 'Spoils of war: The Soviet Union's hidden art treasures', *ARTnews* 90/4 (April 1991), pp. 130–141 (accessed 21 January 2023 at <<https://www.artnews.com/artnews/news/top-ten-artnews-stories-tracking-the-trophy-brigade-186/>>).

³⁶ 'W czasie wywożenia zbiorów berlińskich do ZSRR w 1945 r. na terenie Polski (koło Brodnicy) zostało dokonane włamanie do jednego z wagonów i zabytki (głównie papirusy) zostały sprzedane przez żołnierzy radzieckich chętnym na nie kupcom. W Muzeum Narodowym i na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim (Instytut Papirologii) już od dawna znajduje się pewna ilość tych papirusów, pozyskana drogą darowizn w latach powojennych. Egzemplarze w posiadaniu p. Wiśniewskiego pochodzą z tego samego źródła – wg jego informacji, ojciec kupił je od żołnierzy radzieckich za wódkę' (doc. 17, p. 1).

Finally, on 17 November 1993 the General Conservator reached a decision (doc. 19): he ruled to suspend the proceedings concerning permission for permanent export, citing the ongoing criminal investigation (now being conducted by the Prosecutor's Office of the Toruń Voivodeship), the conclusion of which was a necessary condition for further consideration of the case. The final document before a nearly three-year gap in the dossier is a letter from the District Prosecutor of Brodnica to the Director of the Regional Museum in Brodnica asking for information about the case (doc. 20; any further course of the investigation is not known to us).

The decision of the General Conservator produced a stalemate, with no legal recourse for Berlin and Wiśniewski to conclude their agreement. According to Lipińska, Berlin considered the case closed.

Three years later, Wiśniewski went public with the case, with a story appearing in Warsaw's *Gazeta Wyborcza* on 11 October 1996 under the headline '(Pa)pyrusowy zarobek', or, '(Pa)pyrrhic Profit', referring to his inability to sell the papyri (doc. 21). Based on interviews with Wiśniewski and Lipińska, the article summarizes the events to date and the impasse the parties found themselves in. Given the earlier consistency, it is surprising to read here that it was not Wiśniewski's father who acquired the papyri, but his grandfather.³⁷ The origin of this glaring discrepancy is unclear. Even more concerning, however, is the report of the papyri's poor state of conservation, emphasized in the lede: 'Papyri salvaged from Soviet contraband are disintegrating'. Wiśniewski is quoted as saying that the papyri require urgent care, 'or else what threatened them in the hands of the drunken Red Army soldier will happen'.

In an internal memo to the Directorate of the National Museum (doc. 22), Lipińska introduces the article, along with earlier documentation of the case. She stresses that the papyri are indeed deteriorating and require conservation. She notes that, while Berlin considers the case closed, it might be possible to renegotiate with Wiśniewski and acquire the papyri

³⁷ He is quoted as saying, 'I received a rather strange present from my grandfather. He worked on the railroad. Trains carrying Soviet war booty, ranging from industrial goods to antiques and works of art, would pass through his town. A large part of them were irreparably destroyed. My grandfather bought thirteen papyri from a Russian soldier'.

for less, with the view of eventually recovering the price through exchange with Berlin down the line. Evidently, the National Museum did indeed reopen negotiations with Wiśniewski, before concluding the purchase on 15 June 1998.

Unfortunately, the fears about the condition of the papyri proved all too true in at least one case: the leaf from the Mani codex, a unique page of the *Epistles*, had been reduced to ‘a number of eroding patches of papyrus fibre in total disarray’.³⁸ P. 6848, however, and the other papyri seem to have survived the war and a half century of private custody more-or-less unscathed.³⁹

Key figures

Wojciech Wiśniewski private holder of thirteen Berlin papyri

National Museum in Warsaw:

Włodzimierz Godlewski Director

Jadwiga Lipińska Curator of the Gallery of Ancient Art

Egyptian Museum of Berlin:

Dietrich Wildung Director

Günter Poethke Archivist of the Papyrus Collection

Polish government offices and officials:

Tadeusz Zielniewicz General Conservator of Cultural Property
in the Ministry of Culture and Art, head
of the State Service for the Protection of
Cultural Property

Waldemar Smardzewski Director of the Prosecutor’s Office in the
Ministry of Justice

National Police Headquarters

³⁸ GARDNER, *Mani’s Epistles* (cit. n. 28), p. 22.

³⁹ Pre-war photos exist of P. 6848 r^o and P. 10034. The relative condition of the other papyri can be inferred by reference to their published editions.

*Dossier of supporting documents*⁴⁰

1) 29 May 1992. Letter from Lipińska to Wildung (English, one page, original to be faxed). Lipińska gives notices of Berlin papyri in the hands of a 'private owner' who inherited them from his father and offers to help Berlin acquire them. The list she provides nearly matches the thirteen papyri eventually acquired in 1998 (doc. 10 makes it clear that the same papyri were meant).⁴¹

2) 17 June 1992. Letter in reply from Wildung to Lipińska (English, one page, original letter). Wildung proposes that Poethke travel to Warsaw to identify the papyri.

3) 22 June 1992. Letter from Poethke to Lipińska (English, one page, fax). Poethke proposes dates for the visit and asks to meet Krzysztof Winnicki.

4) 22 June 1992. Letter in reply from Lipińska to Poethke (English, one page, original to be faxed). Confirmation of accommodations for the visit from 1 to 2 July.

5) 9 July 1992. Letter from Wildung to Lipińska (English, one page, original letter). Follow-up after Poethke's visit, in which Wildung proposes an initial price for the papyri 'as a basis for future negotiations'. Wildung also writes that he 'was very interested to hear about further Berlin papyri in your museum', broaching the idea of long-term loans to Warsaw in exchange for the papyri.

6) 30 July 1992. Letter in reply from Lipińska to Wildung (English, one page, original to be faxed). Lipińska reports that the 'owner' is not satis-

⁴⁰ * = document referred to but not preserved in the dossier.

⁴¹ The list duplicates P. 11867 and omits P. 10034. Doc. 10 breaks down the thirteen papyri by language and includes one Hieratic papyrus, so it is clear that P. 10034 was omitted in error and was likewise in Wiśniewski's possession in 1992. It is curious that several documents from 1993 speak of fourteen papyri. This inconsistency can likely be explained by the separate counting of two fragments under one inventory number/glass frame: the first mention of fourteen papyri (doc. 9), for instance, adds 'or fragments of papyri,' while the present letter describes P. 6848 as 'two fragments'. It cannot be absolutely ruled out, however, that Wiśniewski had an additional papyrus in his possession in 1993 that was not made known in 1992 and not transferred to the Museum in 1998.

fied with the price, as he 'expected at least ten times more'. She suspects that 'he will try to negotiate the price by himself', despite the legal barriers to export of the papyri 'without our help'. She admits that she does not exactly know the owner's intentions, but notes that 'he wants to come for the papyri during the next week'. She also replies favourably to Wildung's proposal of an exchange for the other Berlin papyri in the National Museum.

7) 19 August 1992. Signed declaration of Wiśniewski (Polish, one page, original). Wiśniewski declares that he has been informed of the legal consequences in the event of illegal exportation of the papyri in his possession.

8) 13 March 1993. Letter from Wiśniewski to Wildung (Polish, one page, copy). Wiśniewski asks about Berlin's plans concerning their agreement (made in January according to doc. 13) and notes further delay may necessitate new negotiations.

9) 29 April 1993. Letter from Godlewski to the State Service for the Protection of Cultural Property (MNW D/42/93, Polish, two pages, copy). Godlewski informs the Service of the papyri in Wiśniewski's possession (here, 'fourteen'), their provenance in the Berlin Museum, and an agreement reached between the two parties conditioned on their legal export from Poland. Godlewski gives the opinion of the Museum recommending granting permission for export, noting that 'these objects do not present any significant historical and museum value,⁴² and their established provenance would rather, at present, require them to be returned to their legal owners' and that this step would 'contribute to overcoming the negative effects of the war and serve as a useful precedent for further cultural cooperation between the museums', which he hoped would be 'an important element of the new European reality'.

10) 21 May 1993. Expert opinion prepared by Lipińska (Polish, one page, copy). The thirteen papyri said to be on deposit in the Museum are listed by language. Lipińska states that the papyri were in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin before the war and relates the backstory of their appearance in Poland, namely a burglary from one of the Soviet transports

⁴² As outlined above, Godlewski and Lipińska tailor their characterisation of the papyri in view of the relevant law of cultural property.

in 1945, which resulted in individual or groups of papyri making their way to the Museum in the post-war years. 'In the changed political conditions', she continues, 'the Gallery of Ancient Art has no intention of getting involved in the purchase of stolen cultural property'. She also downplays their scientific and artistic value, citing the fact that they are already published and contain only text. 'They come from various German excavations, e.g. from Elephantine,⁴³ and being mainly economic documents have value only in context, not individually'.

11)* 31 May 1993. Letter from the State Service for the Protection of Cultural Property to National Police Headquarters (cited in doc. 19). The State Service requests an investigation into the legal title of the papyri currently in Wiśniewski's possession.

12) 21 June 1993. Memo of Lipińska for the Directorate of the National Museum (Polish, one page, signed copy). She reports that three policemen appeared in the lobby of the National Museum in search of information about papyri that had become subject of a criminal investigation. They presented a telex from National Headquarters to District Headquarters, including a list (in German) of twelve papyri. The police are informed of the backstory of the papyri and end the visit by saying that the case would be referred back to National Headquarters, who would in turn contact the Director of the National Museum.

13) 22 June 1993. Letter from Wiśniewski to the State Service for the Protection of Cultural Property (Polish, one page, copy registered by MNW). Wiśniewski asks for an update and requests the State Service take a clear position on the export of papyri in his possession.

14)* 8 August 1993. Letter from National Police Headquarters to the State Service for the Protection of Cultural Property (O-II-209/93, cited in doc. 16). The police report that legal title could not be established.

15) 23 August 1993. Letter from Godlewski to the General Conservator of Cultural Property (MNW D/131/93, Polish, one page, copy). Godlewski requests a final position on the matter.

16) 14 September 1993. Letter from the General Conservator of Cultural Property to the Director of the Prosecutor's Office (L. dz. GKZ-I/269/93,

⁴³ The majority do stem from excavations, but none is from Elephantine.

Polish, one page, copy). Since the police were unable to determine the ownership of the papyri, the General Conservator states that sole competency now lies with the Prosecutor's Office (although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was also notified) and requests guidance on any further course of action. The General Conservator emphasises the need to establish title, 'in consideration of international agreements concluded so far in matters of cultural goods, and having particular regard to the value and importance of these papyri for world cultural heritage', which he calls 'priceless cultural goods on a global scale'. Finally, the General Conservator presents the provenance of the papyri as less certain than was the case: they 'come from one of the Berlin museums (although it is not known which one)'.

17) 8 October 1993. Letter from Lipińska to the Director of the Prosecutor's Office (MNW GS/II/93, Polish, two pages, copy). Lipińska supplies the precise pre-war attribution that the General Conservator presented as uncertain and relates the most detailed account of how the Berlin papyri appeared in Poland (quoted above). She again downplays the scientific and artistic value of the objects.

18)* 28 October 1993. Letter from the Director of the Prosecutor's Office to the General Conservator (L. dz. PR I 073/28/93, cited and partially quoted in doc. 19). The national Prosecutor gives notification that the case has been turned over to the Voivodeship Prosecutor in Toruń 'in order to conduct verification proceedings with the goal of clarifying the suspicion that these papyri were the subject of criminal activities', which is said to have been indicated by Lipińska's letter (doc. 17).

19) 17 November 1993. Decision of the General Conservator (L. dz. BODKM-WPO-V/732/554/93, Polish, two pages, copy registered by MNW). The General Conservator rules 'to suspend ex officio the proceedings conducted at the first instance by the supreme state administration body, i.e. the State Service for the Protection of Cultural Property in Warsaw, on the issue of a permit for the permanent export abroad of fourteen historic Berlin papyri, which are now in the private possession of Wojciech Wiśniewski'. A brief history of the case is presented, along with the rationale for turning to the police, then the Director of the Prosecutor's Office, namely 'the doubts arising as to the legality of title to these

objects (of high historic value and importance to the world cultural heritage)'. He informs the parties that the Prosecutor's Office had handed over the case to the Voivodeship Prosecutor in Toruń and notes that according to Article 97 § 1 of the Code of Administrative Procedure, further consideration of the case 'depends on the prior resolution of the aforementioned issue by the Voivodeship Prosecutor in Toruń'.

20) 8 December 1993. Letter from the District Prosecutor in Brodnica to the Director of the Regional Museum in Brodnica (Nr Ds. 1058/93, Polish, one page, copy). The District Prosecutor seeks additional information on the circumstances of the appearance of fourteen papyri in private hands after the alleged break-in to the wagons transporting works of art from Berlin.

21) 11 October 1996. A. Żelazowska, '(Pa)pyrrusowy zarobek', *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Polish, one page, copy). Story of the case with short interviews with Wiśniewski and Lipińska. Wiśniewski is quoted as saying that the thirteen papyri were purchased from a Russian soldier by his grandfather (not his father, as in the documents from 1992–1993). The deteriorating condition of the papyri is highlighted.

22) 16 October 1996. Memo of Lipińska for the Directorate of the National Museum (Polish, one page, signed copy). Internal memo of Lipińska commenting on the article and suggesting that negotiations with Wiśniewski could be relaunched.

Constantinos Balamoshev
W. Graham Claytor

University of Warsaw
Faculty of Archaeology
Chair of Epigraphy and Papyrology
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28
00-927 Warsaw
POLAND

e-mails: *c.balamoshev@uw.edu.pl*
w.claytor-vi@uw.edu.pl