The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi
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James M. Robinson
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Abbreviations

APF    Archiv für Papyrusforschung
BSAC   Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte
BSFE   Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie
BZNW   Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neustamentliche
        Wissenschaft und die Kunde der alten Kirche
JTS    Journal of Theological Studies
MPER   Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus
        Erzherzog Rainer
WUNT   Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen
        Testament
WZUH   Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther
        Universität-Halle-Wittenberg
ZDMG   Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen
        Gesellschaft
ZPE    Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
Preface

The present work, *The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi*, is primarily a mass of unpublished documentation I excerpted from the Manichaean archives in the main depositories, Berlin and Dublin, in 1984–1986, and from interviews with those directly involved. Copies were given to these two depositories in 1991, as well as to Wolf-Peter Funk of the University of Laval in Québec, Canada, the leading authority in this field, to whom I hence also gave my own Manichaean archives themselves. Hence the present publication does not continue the history of research up to the present, but leaves that for the next generation of scholarship.

The presentation contains very extensive—but often inconclusive—information; this uncertainty is indicated here, lest their publication give them a degree of certainty that is not appropriate. Yet the amount of otherwise inaccessible but reliable information, from interviews, correspondence, and unpublished documents, should not be lost from sight, but should be made available to the scholarship of the future.

To facilitate reading, indeed to keep the reader from being lost in detail, the extensive documentation is preceded by two already published summaries. First is a brief abstract prepared for the 18th International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Moscow, August 8–15, 1991. This then is followed by a more extensive introduction: "The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi, 1929–1989." It was originally published in *International Kongress zum Manichäismus 6.–10. August 1989 St. Augustin/Bonn*, edited by Gernot Wiessner and Hans-Joachim
Preface


The presentation of material is less complete for the material in the Chester Beatty Library, since the sorting and recording had to be done primarily for the scattered Berlin material. Yet the extensive archival material in Dublin makes it clear that considerably more detail could be added to the presentation of the return of the Chester Beatty codices after World War II, to the description of the work of Rolf Ibscher in London and Dublin, and to the analysis of the Dublin holdings.

James M. Robinson
ABSTRACT

The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi

The seven Manichaean papyrus codices of the fourth or fifth century were found in illicit excavation in 1929 in the desert in the ruins of Ṭερενούθις near Medinet Madi at the southern end of the Fayyum. They were acquired in about equal halves by A. Chester Beatty for his library then in London, now in Dublin, and by Carl Schmidt for the Papyrussammlung (papyrus collection) of the Staatliche Museen of Berlin. The status of the seven codices follows:

CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY CODEX A, THE PSALMS

Beatty acquired the front part of the codex from the Cairo dealer Maurice Nahman in 1931, and he had acquired the back part in 1930. The back part was conserved in Berlin by Hugo Ibscher and published by Charles R. C. Allberry in 1938. As Ibscher conserved each leaf of the front part, H. J. Polotsky transcribed each in Berlin. Copies went to both Beatty and W. E. Crum, for use in his Coptic Dictionary. Since the edition was never completed, it was not published, but in 1986/1988, Søren Giversen published a few lines of Psalm 119 he derived by Polotsky. The front part of the codex was put on loan at the Royal Library of Copenhagen in 1984 for Giversen to publish in facsimile and critical editions. He published both parts only in facsimile edition in 1988.
CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY CODEX B,

THE SYNAXEIS

Beatty acquired this codex from a Fayyumic dealer in 1930 (except for 31 residual leaves that Schmidt acquired in 1931, P45995). Beatty turned it over to Ibscher to conserve. By 1939 only thirteen leaves of Beatty’s part had been conserved and returned to London. They moved with the library to Dublin in 1953 and to Copenhagen in 1984. Giversen published a facsimile edition in 1986. Beginning in 1934, the rest of Beatty’s part of the codex was kept in Hugo Ibscher’s home in Kleinmachnow, near Berlin, for conservation. But after Ibscher’s death in 1943, his son Rolf Ibscher reported putting Beatty’s parts of the codex in a reinforced concrete bunker at the Zoo Train Station of Berlin for safekeeping. After the bombing of that bunker in 1944, Rolf Ibscher reported having his assistant P. Seidel remove the codex so that Ibscher could take it to the home of his father-in-law, Wolf Henry Doering, in Schondorf on the Ammersee in Bavaria. From time to time Rolf Ibscher worked at conserving the leaves there. The West German authorities took control of the codex and engaged Carsten Colpe to edit it in 1956–1957. So the codex was taken to Göttingen. When he died in 1967, Rolf Ibscher had conserved only about half this material. When the Egyptian Museum was created in West Berlin in 1967, the material was deposited there. In 1985 the curator of the papyrus collection in that museum, William Brashear, asked me to investigate this material. There are 125 extant unpublished leaves plus the unconserved remainder of the book block. I reported on it to the Fachkommission Byzantinistik of the Historiker-Gesellschaft of the German Democratic Republic in Halle in 1986. Both museums authorized me to organize an edition of all the Manichaean material in Berlin. The transcription of the scarcely legible conserved leaves was begun in 1985. Gesine Schenke Robinson worked on the thirty-one leaves on the Museums-Insel of East Berlin, and others (especially Wolf-Peter Funk and Paul Mirecki) worked on those leaves in West Berlin. The photographing took place in Berlin in preparation for a facsimile edition of all the Manichaean material in Berlin, Vienna, and Warsaw, planned to be published by the Akademie-Verlag of Berlin.
CHES TER BEATTY LIBRARY CODEX C, 
VOLUME TWO OF THE KEPHALAIA

Beatty acquired this codex from the Fayyumic dealer prior to Schmidt’s talking to that dealer in the spring of 1931. It was conserved by Rolf Ibscher after World War II and published in facsimile edition by Giversen in 1986. A committee of Søren Giversen, Rodolphe Kasser, and Martin Krause held exclusive rights to publish a critical edition of the Dublin–Copenhagen material. Kasser was entrusted with organizing the publication of the critical edition of this codex.

CHES TER BEATTY LIBRARY CODEX D, 
THE HOMILIES

Beatty acquired the bulk of this codex from Nahman with an option to buy in 1930. But Beatty released it to Carl Schmidt for Berlin in 1932 (P15999). It was not considered conservable but was put on display as a showpiece for how impossible this task was. The unconserved book block is thought to have been among the materials stored in the bunker at the Zoo train station. From there it was thought to have been taken to the Soviet command post at the castle Friedrichsfelde in 1945–1946, and then to Leningrad in 1946, though it was not found when the material was returned to Berlin in 1958. A smaller part of the codex was acquired by Beatty in 1931, conserved by Ibscher, edited by Polotsky, and published in 1934. Giversen published a facsimile edition of the codex in 1987.

BER LIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P15995, 
THE SYNAXEIS

See Chester Beatty Library Codex B above.

BER LIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P15996, 
VOLUME ONE OF THE KEPHALAIA

Schmidt acquired this codex from Nahman in 1930. Ibscher conserved most of the leaves. H. J. Polotsky and Alexander Böhlig edited them. They were published in fascicles—by 1940, a first volume through page 244, line 20. Böhlig published through page 291 in 1966, and
through page 292 in 1985. Professor Grohmann of Prague acquired three unpublished remains for the Austrian National Library, where they are still extant. Five unpublished Berlin leaves are in Warsaw, where they were brought after having been lost in transit between Berlin and Leningrad in 1946. In Berlin there are some ninety extant unpublished leaves, equaling 180 pages.

The total of unpublished extant leaves then becomes $3 + 5 + 90 = 98$ leaves or $6 + 10 + 180 = 196$ pages. Wolf-Peter Funk is preparing a critical edition. Polotsky has put at Funk’s disposal for the critical edition his transcriptions and translations located at the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, at the Griffith Institute of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.

**BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P\textsuperscript{15997}, THE ACTS**

This codex with its covers (which were photographed and published) was sold by a provincial dealer to Nahman, who sold the codex to Schmidt in 1931. One leaf that Ibscher conserved was returned to London, was moved with the library to Dublin, and was included in the material put on deposit in Copenhagen. Giversen published it in facsimile in 1987.

There are seven or eight unpublished leaves still in Berlin. Part of one unpublished leaf may be at the Institute for Papyrology of Warsaw University. There may thus be nine or ten extant leaves, eighteen or twenty pages. The unconserved book block and wooden covers did not return from Leningrad to Berlin in 1958. None of the leaves of this codex in Berlin or Warsaw have been published.

**BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P\textsuperscript{15998}, THE LETTERS**

This codex was also sold by the provincial dealer to Nahman, who sold it to Schmidt in 1931. There are six unpublished leaves that were returned from Leningrad to Berlin in 1958 and three unpublished leaves in the National Museum in Warsaw. There are also fifteen containers with eighteen leaves (three secondarily assigned to the *Kephalaia*) among those that probably lay half-conserved in the Ibscher home throughout the war that may belong to this codex. A leaf originally
Abstract: The Manichaean Codices

labeled as belonging to the Letters but reassigned to the Acts probably should be counted as belonging to the Letters. This would make a total of twenty-eight leaves or fifty-six pages. The book block did not return from Leningrad to Berlin in 1958. Hence none of the leaves of this codex were published.

BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P\textsuperscript{15999},

THE \textit{HOMILIES}

See Chester Beatty Library Codex D above.
INTRODUCTION

The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medînet Madî, 1929–1989

As you will remember Terentianus Maurus in De litteris syllabic et metric: “Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli” [The fate of the books depends on the intelligence of the readers] which is often taken as said in the sense that books have their history. They have indeed, and also the Medinet Madi manuscripts have their fate as we all know. Some details, however, are still unknown to many although they are important in order for better understanding of the texts.

—Søren Giversen

The seven Manichaean codices from Medinet Madi (Τῆρενοῦθε), whose ruins are still impressive (in the desert on the southern edge of the Fayyum), were made known to the scholarly community primarily through the essay of Carl Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, “Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten,”1 although much information not included there has more recently become available from the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.2

1. Schmid and Polotsky, “Ein Mani-Fund,” 4–90, with two plates and a contribution by Hugo Ibscher, “Die Handschriften,” 82–85. Most of the information in that essay is not repeated here but is presupposed as generally known or readily available.

2. Copies of relevant archive documents were kindly supplied to the Manichaean archive of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, which provided a chronological history of the Manichaean archive. This inventory was then supplied to Søren Giversen, who, in August 1987, asked the Chester Beatty Library to supplement material he already had with copies of some material listed in the inventory. Dr. Pat Donlon, then Reference Librarian and Curator of the Western Collection, graciously honored this request.
THE MANICHAEAN CODICES OF MEDINET MADI

Schmidt narrated that he had been shown some of the material by antiquities dealers in Egypt on two trips, only the second of which is actually dated, to the spring of 1931. From this one has inferred that his first trip was in 1930, which Schmidt has elsewhere stated to be the date of the discovery. But Søren Giversen has reported that the Danish Egyptologist H. O. Lange was shown some of the material in Cairo on November 29, 1929, by Maurice Nahman, the leading Cairo antiquities dealer of the time, though he did not acquire anything. Hence the date of the discovery, if one may assume such material tends to reach the market promptly, should be corrected to read 1929.

SIR CHESTER BEATTY’S ACQUISITIONS

On Schmidt’s first trip he had been shown what he was able to identify on the spot as part of the Kephalaia, since he had just been reading proofs on Karl Holl’s edition of Epiphanius’s Panarion that refers to it! Yet he did not acquire it when first shown it, but continued on his trip to Jerusalem, with plans to secure authorization for its acquisition by the time he passed through Cairo on his return trip. But before that time, or, now to be more specific, on March 23, 1930, Chester Beatty had obtained on approval from the same Cairo antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman two other manuscripts and two wooden covers.

4. Schmidt, Neue Originalquellen des Manichäismus aus Ägypten, 4. Similarly Allberry, “Manichaean Studies,” 337–49, especially 340, gives 1930 as the date when the “library was brought to light,” as well as the date when Schmidt was shown the Kephalaia “by a Fayum dealer.” The dealer in question was actually the Cairo dealer Maurice Nahman, who obviously had contacts with the Fayyum, but not the dealer located in the Fayyum whom Schmidt first visited with regard to these codices in 1931.
5. Giversen, Psalm Book, Part 1, 7–8. He points out that this date, which Lange’s extant diary documents, was also confirmed by Schmidt in an extant letter of February 20, 1936. A similar report (Giversen, “Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection,” 265–72), especially 271–72, states that the antiquities dealer who showed “one of the manuscripts” to Lange was Maurice Nahman.
6. Giversen, Manichaean Papyri of the Chester Beatty Library, 1, speaks of “their rediscovery in 1929,” in the quotation used as the motto at the beginning of this paper. This motto is repeated in somewhat different terms in Giversen, “Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection,” 271.
8. In the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library is a ledger sheet with the letterhead of Maurice Nahman, dated March 23, 1930. It was made out to Beatty and
At the end of May, Beatty had Hugo Ibscher, the Conservator of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin, who had worked periodically for him in London, assess the chances of conserving the material, since the leaves were stuck together by salt crystals resulting, one assumed, from lying in dampness over the centuries. Ibscher said the larger and more expensive manuscript, which only later was identified as the bulk of the *Homilies* codex (see below), could not be conserved. Beatty apparently decided already then not to acquire it, for he did not send it along with the other to Berlin with Ibscher for conservation, but retained it in London for two years (see below).

**Chester Beatty Library Codex A, the Psalms, Part Two**

The smaller of the manuscripts acquired by Beatty on March 23, 1930, with an option to buy was assessed by Ibscher as “very difficult” to conserve. Beatty cabled Nahman on May 31, 1930, that he was willing to pay only £200, rather than the £500 that Nahman had asked. But on June 2, 1930, Nahman cabled that he would not accept the offer. Yet Beatty had already turned over the manuscript to Ibscher, who had just taken it back to Berlin with him to conserve. On or before June 9, 1930, while in New York on a business trip, Beatty agreed by transatlantic cable to pay £500. It turned out to be the latter part of the *Psalms* codex, which was published by Charles R. C. Allberry in 1938. Photographic reproductions were published by Søren Giversen in 1988.
Chester Beatty Library Codex B, the Synaxeis

Schmidt reported that a Fayyumic dealer had explained to him in the Spring of 1931 that the discovery had been divided into eight parts among three dealers. The Fayyumic dealer himself had retained three parts, Nahman three, and a provincial dealer two. The Fayyumic dealer told Schmidt that he had already sold all three of his parts to Beatty. Since there are apparently only two codices acquired by Beatty that he did not get from Nahman, the bulk of the Synaxeis and Volume Two of the Kephalaia (see below), one of these must have been dismembered by the time of the partition, a vandalism to which Schmidt referred in general, thereby producing three “codices” out of two codices. Since the Synaxeis codex is known to have been dismembered by this time (see below), one may assume that it was the one counted as two of the three “codices” acquired by Beatty from the Fayyumic dealer.

On November 27, 1930, Beatty turned over to Ibscher in London, to take back to Berlin for conservation, another “Coptic book.” Its acquisition is not otherwise documented, but it may be postulated to have been from the Fayyumic acquisition, which may have been cash and carry, without a written receipt. But the absence of documentation could be due merely to the incompleteness of the Archives or of our survey of them.

Schmidt reported having acquired in the spring of 1931 for the sake of completeness “a few unimpressive piles” from a codex Beatty had acquired in the Fayyum. Only two codices were shared between London and Berlin, the Homilies and the Synaxeis. This could not be the Homilies, since the Berlin part of this codex was later acquired from Nahman, once Beatty, who had it on approval, had decided not to acquire it (see below). Hence the Synaxeis must be for this reason also one of the codices Beatty acquired in the Fayyum, and indeed

14. In a letter of November 27, 1930, to Sir Alan Gardiner, Beatty speaks of sending Gardiner a Coptic book to have Ibscher put in his bag after verifying that it is satisfactorily packed.
15. The two manuscripts brought to London in April 1931 (see below) are recorded to have been brought that month, but a receipt from an antiquities dealer has not been located. The fact that the two manuscripts are in each case the other part of the two codices acquired from Nahman a year earlier supports the assumption that these came from Nahman.
Introduction: The Fate of the Manichaean Codices

prior to the spring of 1931. Thus it may be the book sent to Berlin for conservation at the end of November 1930, although this could also have been Volume Two of the Kephalaia. In fact, since both may have been unbound, and the Synaxeis was in more than one part, the “book” may have been a stack of papyrus pads without a clear distinction of where one codex began and another ended. In fact, someone had written in by hand on the typed letter of November 27, 1930, the word “Papyri” just before “Coptic Book,” which might indicate that it looked less like a book than an amorphous stack of papyri.

Thirteen leaves of the Synaxeis codex were conserved by Hugo Ibscher and returned to London by the spring of 1939. They were moved with the Chester Beatty Library to Dublin in 1953 and in 1984 were put on loan at the Royal Library of Copenhagen for Søren Giversen to study. Giversen published photographic reproductions in 1986. It is to be hoped that these thirteen leaves can be integrated fully in any future critical edition of the Synaxeis rather than being subjected to the either-or conditions announced by Rodolphe Kasser on behalf of an International Committee for the Publication of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri from Medinet Madi Belonging to the Chester Beatty Library (Søren Giversen, President; Rodolphe Kasser; Martin Krause), to the effect that persons editing Berlin materials

17. Ibid., 30, makes this explicit.

18. On April 22, 1939, Sir Alan Gardiner wrote Beatty that he had some Mani plates he would return soon. A day-book kept by Joan Kingford Wood of Beatty’s library staff since 1927 recorded on May 3, 1939: “From Dr. G[ardiner]. Mani. Pap. Codex B.C. KEPHALAIA 49 in all (Cod. B. 51–62, 63–76 Cod. C. 1, 3, 4, 39–48, 49–58) = 49.” An entry dated July 5, 1939, as “Fetched by Mr. A[llberry]” “Codex B KEPHALAIA pages 51–62, 63–76.” Apparently two codices were distinguished, as B and C, yet both were on this occasion designated Kephalaia, whereas Beatty had only one Kephalaia codex, Codex C. Since Codex A, Psalms, is of a smaller format than the others (see below), and Codex D, the part of the Homilies owned by Beatty, had already been clearly identified and in fact published, the 13 leaves designated Codex B 51–76 must be from the only remaining codex acquired by Beatty, the Synaxeis.

19. Whereas Giversen had requested about 171 leaves on November 24, 1982, of Patrick Henchy, then librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, on November 7, 1983 he raised the figure to 184 in a request to the current director and librarian, Wilfrid Lockwood. The inventory dated January 13, 1984 and validated with the stamp of the Danish Royal Library lists as “Codex B” “13 glasses” numbered “51–76.”

20. Giversen, Homilies and Varia, ix, states: “Pages 101–126 bear facsimiles of the leaves which Hugo Ibscher has labelled ‘Codex B’. . . . The sheets are marked from 51 to 76, the equivalent of this edition’s 101–126.”
(where the bulk of the *Synaxeis* codex is now located, see below) may not participate in editing Dublin materials. Yet, as Alexander Böhlig has subsequently stated: “It is too onesided, when the Dublin team wishes to forbid simultaneous work on the two parts of the discovery, since, after all, overlappings of the material are present.” In fact the publication of the facsimile edition puts the facsimiles of these thirteen leaves in the public domain, free to the scholarly world to publish in critical editions as it sees fit. For, as Martin Krause, though a member of the committee advocating this segregation in the membership of the two teams, has said (with regard to the facsimile edition of the Nag Hammadi codices), the purpose of a facsimile edition is “so that the manuscripts after their publication in facsimile volumes stand avail-

21. At the meeting of the Association Francophone de Coptologie at the Louvre Museum in Paris on May 23, 1986, Rodolphe Kasser read and distributed an announcement entitled “Projet international pour la publication des manuscrits manichéens coptes de Medinet Madi appartenant à la Chester Beatty Library (premier communiqué).” Soon after this [the publication of a facsimile edition] the critical edition of the same texts will appear under the responsibility of the same committee [Søren Giversen, president; Rodolphe Kasser; Martin Krause], which will distribute this task between coptologists . . . only those persons will be invited to participate in the *editio princeps* of the Manichaean Coptic texts in the Chester Beatty Library who has [sic] not already obtained this possibility concerning the *editio princeps* of the Manichaean Coptic papyri of Berlin or Vienna.

This announcement followed directly upon my invitation to French-language Coptologists to participate in the work of an “International Committee for the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi” that was being planned. This invitation was published in *Newsletter* 19 of the International Association for Coptic Studies, August 1986, Annex 1, pp. 3–5, especially p. 4: “. . . qualified scholars are welcome to offer their services . . . For it is not the intention of the project to limit access to the material, but rather to facilitate access to it.” The announcement by Kasser, president of the International Association for Coptic Studies, followed in French and English on pp. 6–9.

The Board of the International Association for Coptic Studies, at its meeting on June 12, 1986, “expressed its approval of both [projects], and hoped that there will be collaboration between the two projects,” as published on page 1 of the same *Newsletter*.

able to all scholars for study and work” (Krause’s emphasis). A transcription of the published facsimiles of the 13 Synaxeis leaves that has been prepared by Wolf-Peter Funk in conjunction with transcriptions of the leaves in Berlin that he is preparing should preferably be published together, for which purpose access to the papyri in Copenhagen should be granted to him and others working on the Berlin part of codices also represented in Dublin/Copenhagen. Negotiations during the conference at Bonn produced an agreement to at least a degree of cooperation:

Persons participating in the editio princeps of material in Berlin can work together with persons participating in the editio princeps of material in Dublin/Copenhagen as a joint team to edit a shared text. In the naming of persons on such joint editorial teams Giversen will represent the Dublin group and Robinson the Berlin group. The person or persons named by each group will be primarily responsible for editing the leaves of that group, but members of such a joint team can study the papyri at both places, work in close collaboration with each other, and publish a joint edition.

A first step toward the implementation of this policy was a visit of Wolf-Peter Funk to Copenhagen, where he was permitted to study the 13 leaves of the Synaxeis codex. (Giversen has not approved subsequent plans to cooperate in editing the two volumes of the Kephalaia.)

Some of the material, while undergoing conservation, was not kept at the Papyrus Collection in Berlin, but in the Ibscher home, where Ibscher was permitted to work three days a week from the age of 60, i.e., from 1934 on. Though Beatty himself went to Berlin before the war to bring back his papyri, he apparently brought back


In my opinion the papyri [Chester Beatty Library Codex B, the Synaxeis] ought to be found with Dr. Rolf Ibscher probably already mounted and glazed. Dr. Hugo Ibscher used to carry out this kind of work in his own home. If I were still in Berlin, or if I had known about the matter a few months ago, I could have offered you my help. I should suggest that you get in touch with Rolf Ibscher, who has no connection with the Berlin Museum. Let me say again that the papyri cannot be in the Berlin Museum but must have been in Hugo Ibscher’s private possession.
only what had been conserved. C. R. C. Allberry reported in May 1940 “that Dr. Ibscher had the remainder of Mr. Beatty’s papyrus at his house in the country, at Kleinmachnow.” But there were in the home also materials belonging to Berlin, such as unconserved leaves of P15996, the Kephalaia, and P15998, the Letters. It would be to these Berlin holdings that Ibscher referred in 1949, to the effect that the remainder of the (Berlin) Papyrus Collection was in his home.

25. Joan Kingford Wood wrote on February 7, 1960, her reminiscences:

. . . it must have been when things were boiling up in Germany against the Jews, before hostilities began with us, that Sir Chester went over to Berlin to fetch the remainder of the papyri, the Manichaean . . . He went and brought back the papyri. But then Sir Chester has a way of overcoming difficulties with authority and persuasion.

26. The black loose-leaf folder in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library entitled “Papyrus. Biblical Manichaean Hieratic Greek etc. General Catalogue,” in the section “Manichaean Pap.” presents this quotation, with the reference: ”(see letter from Allberry).”

27. Böhlig, “Die Arbeit,” 182: “Of the material in Berlin only a very small part has always remained in Berlin. It was the last 20 leaves of the Berlin Kephalaia book.”

28. Ibid., 184, 182:

Of this book one finds in Berlin, put under glass already in the pre-war period, 6 leaves . . . , and about 22 leaves in half-conserved condition. The folders in which they lay were numbered . . .

The urgently needed reglassing of all the pieces that had been glassed by Hugo Ibscher and that returned to Berlin in 1958 was undertaken by Rolf Ibscher beginning in June of this year (1960), along with the conservation of a few half-conserved leaves that Ibscher Sr. had at first put to one side as too difficult, doubtlessly correctly, for it had to do usually with double or triple leaves.

The half-conserved leaves are here distinguished as in folders rather than as glassed. And the reference to material being returned to Berlin is limited to the glassed material. This would indicate that the half-conserved material in folders had not been taken to Leningrad and returned in 1958 to Berlin. The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin lists only 6 glassed leaves as going “to the East” and “back.”

29. Ibscher wrote J. V. S. Wilkinson, the librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, on December 31, 1949: “The misfortune of our persecuted Museums with the destroyed rooms of the Papyrus Collection led after all to this, that the collection was stationed with me in [my] house, and that brought us many a convenience.”

Actually the material was already in the Ibscher home; it is very doubtful (see below) if any papyri were still in the museum when it was very heavily damaged by air raids, or that Ibscher could have rescued any such material from the gutted Neues Museum to take to his home. There is a similar allusion to material in the home in a letter of January 9, 1949 from Ibscher to Beatty, of which only a translation of the
The bulk of the Papyrus Collection not in the Ibscher home, along with other Museum holdings, was put for safekeeping during the war in a reinforced concrete bunker (removed after the war) at the Zoo Train Station, in what became West Berlin. The Museum was indeed very heavily damaged in a massive air raid on February 3, 1945, which left intact only the outer walls of the gutted Neues Museum, where the Papyrus Collection had been housed.

Rolf Ibscher reported that after his father’s death on May 26, 1943, he added to the storage deposit in the Zoo bunker “the Manichaean papyrus books,” presumably meaning the book blocks that had been in the home where his father had been conserving them, i.e., separating off the individual leaves. “But after 20 July 1944 [when the Zoo bunker was itself bombed] this place too did not seem to me safe enough.” Hence “with the approval of General Director Kümmel, in xi 1944.” Ibscher had an assistant, P. Seidel, get three book blocks from the bunker, in order to take them for safekeeping to Schondorf on the Ammer Lake in Bavaria, to the home of his father-in-law, the publisher Wolf Henry Doering. Rolf Ibscher maintained that he removed relevant paragraph is in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library: “We are grateful for one piece of good fortune which follows from my present situation in so far as it has been possible up to now to maintain our house properly heated on account of the fact that since the destruction of the Museums, I have continued to work at home and also harbour the remainder of the Papyrus collection which has not yet been transferred to West Germany.”

None of the Berlin holdings of the Manichaean codices are known to have ever been taken to West Germany; the suggestion that some might already be in West Germany is no doubt a reference to the Synaxæs, which Ibscher mistakenly took to be the Berlin Codex, P15998, the Letters, which he had taken to West Germany (see below).


31. On November 9, 1960, I. E. S. Edwards of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum wrote R. J. Hayes, then acting head of the Chester Beatty Library, that he had heard from Rudolf Anthes (director of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin 1935–1939, 1945–1950, but also enlisted during the war to move the objects from the Museum to safekeeping) that this was the reason for the removal of the material from the Zoo bunker.

the material “on my own responsibility.” Böhlig has reconciled the divergence as to the person responsible as follows:

Rolf Ibscher had the authorization from General Director Kümmel to get the Dublin material from the anti-aircraft tower and take it to Bavaria. He did this in the company of the Museum worker P. Seidel, who has since died. In the process the idea came to him that it would perhaps be useful, in case worst came to worst, also to take along one of the Berlin codices. This decision was, as far as I know, spontaneous. That it was worth it, is shown by the success. These things remained completely preserved, in contrast to what the Soviets had “saved.”

After the war, Beatty had sought with the help of Sir Alan Gardiner to establish contact with Rolf Ibscher so as to secure the return of his codices, but apparently without success. Rolf Ibscher himself seems to have been the first to establish contact, by writing to England on January 28, 1946, to the effect that he had saved Beatty’s material, “together with a part of the Berlin Mani Codices,” whereas the rest of the Berlin part had been taken East.

Ibscher’s initiative may have resulted from contact with the occupying forces, for it was at precisely the same time that these official channels seem to have located the material that had been kept at Schondorf. Alexander Böhlig has given 1946 as the date and Schondorf the place that two codices (Part 1 of the Psalms and Volume
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two of the *Kephalaia*) were released to Beatty,\textsuperscript{36} information that is all the more reliable in view of the fact that it was Böhlig himself (who was in Munich at the end of the war) who had “separated them at Schondorf.”\textsuperscript{37} Böhlig considered it possible that, in view of inadequately marked parts, some material belonging to Berlin may have been released to London, and some belonging to London retained at Schondorf.\textsuperscript{38} The 13 leaves that were in London (later in Dublin and then in Copenhagen), to which Böhlig here refers as perhaps belonging to Berlin but by mistake sent to England, do not, however, belong to the Berlin *Letters* codex P\textsuperscript{15998}, as he at the time conjectured (see below), but rather to the *Synaxeis* codex that belonged to Beatty; they had been quite appropriately returned to London before the war (see above). But regarding the converse possibility, that London material may have been retained in Schondorf: Böhlig himself was the first to publish, in 1957, the admission that by mistake the book block of Beatty’s *Synaxeis* stayed at Schondorf rather than being returned to London (see below).

At the beginning of 1946 Sir John Forsdyke, director of the British Museum, received a vague report about Beatty’s codices having been located in Germany, according to “the military authorities.”\textsuperscript{39} The

\textsuperscript{36} Böhlig, “Die Arbeit an den koptischen Manichaica,” 180–81: “There [at the house of the father-in-law in Schondorf] Sir Chester Beatty had the parts of the Codices A and C picked up in the year 1946.”

\textsuperscript{37} Rolf Ibscher reported in his broken English in a letter of October 6, 1955, to Beatty: “This wooden box [taken from the Zoo bunker] contained one Berlin manuscript (for which I had specially asked Mr. Seidel) to make certain, that at least part of the Berlin collection also was saved, in addition those papyri which reached you in London in 1947 after Dr. Böhlig had separated them at Schondorf.” In an interview on July 10, 1986, Prof. and Mrs. Böhlig confirmed the fact that they went to Schondorf in the absence of Rolf Ibscher and recalled having turned over the material after only a superficial examination of the contents.

\textsuperscript{38} Böhlig, in a letter of February 10, 1986: “Whether something was then confused when turned over to the emissaries of Chester Beatty, so that in the end result a Berlin part came to Dublin and an English part (the *Synaxeis* codex) to Göttingen / West Berlin, I consider to be quite possible. That the individual parts were not adequately marked I also consider possible.”

\textsuperscript{39} From a letter of Forsdyke to Wilkinson of November 15, 1946: “The facts (so far as I have any) about Mr. Chester Beatty’s papyri in Germany are that a box of papyri marked ‘British Museum’ but identified by us as his was found there and reported to me by the military authorities. I told them that I wished to receive them as soon as they could be released and despatched, and I have no doubt that this will ultimately be done in that order—if they are not in the Russian zone.”
military authorities in this case would seem to have been Squadron Leader Christopher Norris, in charge of seeking “works of art, etc., in Germany that come from Britain.”

Forsdyke had written Norris as early as February 15, 1946, that the British Museum would receive Beatty’s material if he could deliver it. This suggests that Norris had just written Forsdyke that Beatty’s material had been located. The timing of such a letter would thus fit that of Ibscher’s letters of January 28, 1946, to London. From this, one may infer that the unpublished Part One of Beatty’s Psalms, Codex A, and his Volume Two of the Kephalaia, Codex C, were probably turned over to the American forces in Schondorf about 1946, and were kept in the Fine Arts Repository that the Americans established in Munich in 1946.

At the beginning of October 1947 Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Murray Baillie, of the Fine Arts Commission of the British Zone located in Düsseldorf, brought to Düsseldorf two codices thought to belong to the British Museum. Norris realized that the material was that of Beatty he had been expecting. Baillie brought the manuscripts to

40. From a letter to Wilkinson dated July 16, 1946, whose author is not known: “... a British officer who was charged with the duty of investigating the whereabouts and present condition of works of art, etc., in Germany that come from Britain. The officer in question saw Forsdyke, and it was, I think, from Forsdyke that I got the most detailed information.” References to Norris in this capacity recur in subsequent correspondence.

41. A letter of F. Francis, Secretary of the British Museum, to Wilkinson of July 25, 1946 reports this fact.

42. Wilkinson wrote Beatty on October 9, 1947, what Baillie (see also the following note) had reported (based on a rough memorandum also in the Chester Beatty Archives and dated the same day): “Dr. Ibscher handed the Papyri to a relative of his in Bavaria. (This corresponds more or less with what young Ibscher told Dr. Gardiner, i.e. that after old Ibscher’s death, young Ibscher handed them to his father-in-law in Bavaria). This relation (i.e., apparently the father-in-law) handed the MSS. to the Fine Arts Repository which was established by the Americans last year, and they were held by the Americans together with other property which was to be sent back to the Allies, or other quarters.”

43. Wilkinson’s letter of October 9, 1947, to Beatty continued:

About a week ago Mr. Baillie was in Munich, arranging for the transfer of some fine arts property from the American to the British Zone, and these two parcels were handed to Mr. Baillie. He was told by the Americans that they thought it was British Museum property, and that it had been handed over by Dr. Gardiner to Dr. Ibscher. They handed it over readily, and were satisfied that it had come to Germany before the war. Mr. Baillie brought the parcels
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London\(^{44}\) and delivered them on October 8, 1947, to Joan Kingsford Wood\(^{45}\) of the staff of the Chester Beatty Library, who commented:\(^{46}\)

\[
\text{Evidently untouched and as they were when handed to Dr. Ibscher, as far as it is possible to tell.}
\]

Part of the London concern to recover the material had involved an effort to determine just how much and which material belonging to Beatty was in Germany. It turned out that no one actually knew; the only documentation that could be turned up referred only to two manuscripts, the parts of the \textit{Psalms} and of the \textit{Homilies} brought to London in April 1931 (see below).\(^{47}\) Since this part of the \textit{Homilies} back to his office in Düsseldorf, and informed Squadron-Leader Norris at the Head Office; Norris recognized the parcels as your property about which I had had correspondence with him, i.e. Norris. Baillie was coming home on leave, and offered to bring the parcels to London himself. He had noticed that the Papyri, which he had opened, were very fragile.

\(^{44}\) Baillie’s letter of October 5, 1947, to Beatty stated: “I have just brought over from Germany, on my return on leave, two codices, which I understand you sent to Dr. Ibscher of Berlin before the war. I collected them from Munich and it seemed the safest and quickest way of getting them back. Perhaps you would be good enough to let me know when it would be convenient for me to hand them over to you officially.”

\(^{45}\) On October 8, 1947, Wood signed a receipt for “two parcels containing one labelled ‘CODEX C’ and the other ‘MANICHEAN PSALM BOOKS.’”

\(^{46}\) Her note is not written on the receipt itself, but is handwritten by her on a letter of October 8, 1947 she received from John Wooderson, Beatty’s secretary. In the note she refers to the “Psalm book” in the singular, thereby in effect correcting the receipt (see the preceding note).

\(^{47}\) On November 25, 1945, Wilkinson wrote Beatty asking “which MSS. were left with Ibscher.” Beatty must have turned to Wood for information, for on November 28, 1945, she wrote him: “I have no note at all what Manichaean ms. or mss. were with Dr. Ibscher.” The same day she wrote to Gardiner for assistance. On November 4, 1946, Wooderson wrote Wilkinson, asking him to inquire of Wood or Gardiner “exactly what were sent.” Wilkinson talked to Wood, and on November 14, 1946, reported to Wooderson: “The MSS. were not, I should explain, dealt with by Mrs. Wood personally, in the first instance.” She herself wrote Gardiner on November 14, 1946, “to ask if you happened to keep any note at all, of the number of Manichaean papyrus MSS. that were handed to Dr. Ibscher?”

He responded on November 16, 1946: “I am very sorry to say I cannot give you the information about the Manichaean papyri for which you ask. I never knew the number of rolls entrusted to Dr. Ibscher, but I believe his son to be perfectly honest and he will give Mr. Beatty the right information.”

On November 16, 1946, she wrote to Wilkinson:

There was one other source for details about the Mani MSS. which I fetched away yesterday morning, a day-book I used to keep. I found in it an entry
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(like Part Two of the *Psalms* codex taken to Berlin the end of 1930) had long since been conserved, published, and returned to London, the only material that was actually identified as having gone to Germany and that was actually still in Germany was Part One of the *Psalms* codex. Overlooked were the materials in the Chester Beatty Library Archives (cited above) concerning Part Two of the *Psalms* codex being taken by Ibscher to Berlin at the end of May 1930, and the bulk of the *Synaxeis* codex and Volume Two of the *Kephalaia* being taken by Ibscher to Berlin—perhaps both November 27, 1930. Of the three items at Schondorf, the English team had been aware of only one as being in Germany. It is thus out of ignorance and oversight that the false conclusion was reached that everything had been returned from Germany.48

Inquiries were immediately begun as to who might be enlisted to conserve the two book blocks. No one in England could be recommended, but several recommended Rolf Ibscher. For this reason, and also no doubt in gratitude, Rolf Ibscher was offered employment to continue the conservation begun by his father. On May 27, 1948, he

for—

"May 8 1931 To Dr. Gardiner for Dr. Ibscher, the 2 Manichaean Coptic books, Hymns and Ritual Observances."

This is the only record I have found of ever having taken any Manichæan ms. in its original state to Dr. G.[ardiner] for Dr. I.[bscher]. The title 'Ritual Observances' may later have turned into 'Homilies' on examination? . . . As to whether these '2 Coptic books' later turned into 3 books, so-to-speak; or Mr. Beatty had one more afterwards, I cannot say.

This faint glimmer of awareness of there having been more than two that were turned over to Ibscher to conserve thus seems to have been dismissed. After the two codices had been returned from Germany, Wood appended a handwritten note to her file copy of her letter of November 28, 1945, to Beatty, to correct her comment to the effect that she had no notes about material going to Ibscher; she now quoted the note dated May 8, 1931, and added: "This date tallies fairly with that of 'April 1931,' written on one of the boxes returned Oct 8/47 from Munich." This must be the box containing the first part of the *Psalms*, since this was first brought to London April 1931 (see below) and was returned October 8, 1947.

48. Wilkinson wrote Wooderson on October 9, 1947: "the parcels appear to contain all the material which remained in Dr. Ibscher's hands. None of it has been mounted; it is still in its original condition. The two parcels contain (1) Codex C (2) The Psalm-books Papyri." In his letter the same day to Beatty, he also stated: "Further, a number of the mounted leaves marked 'Codex C,' at Baroda House, tally in size and appearance with the unmounted fragments of Codex C which have just arrived. The probability is, therefore, that we have got everything back at last."
wrote Beatty accepting the offer, and incidentally covered himself by blaming careless American soldiers for whatever damages may have been suffered by the codices.\textsuperscript{49} In the argosy from the Neues Museum to the Zoo bunker and on to Kleinmachnow, to Schondorf, to Munich, to Düsseldorf, and to London, American personnel of the Fine Arts Repository were responsible only for the approximately one-hour trip from Schondorf to Munich. Fortunately, a placing of blame was apparently not necessary.

Rolf Ibscher maintained as late as 1954 that all of Beatty’s material thus survived,\textsuperscript{50} though only a year later he explained to Beatty that the \textit{Synaxeis} codex was among those taken to Leningrad.\textsuperscript{51}

The other museum objects still stored in the Zoo bunker were taken by the Soviet forces to the Soviet sector of Berlin, before the Soviet forces vacated that part of Berlin in which the Zoo Station is located, which became the British sector. The loot from the Zoo bunker was deposited temporarily in a Soviet command post at the Friedrichsfelde Castle in the Soviet sector, as was indicated by a few glassed papyrus leaves turned in to the museum by persons reporting they found them there.\textsuperscript{52} The hoard was then transported by train to

\textsuperscript{49} Ibscher wrote in his wooden English: "... I am not knowing how are the manuscripts being kept by the foolish way of acting of the American Military Service arbitrary, contrary to my entreaty. [Ibscher was not even in Schondorf when the codices were turned in. See note 37 above.] Surely the manuscripts were not treated carefully during the travelling over hedge and ditch. But how could this be expected by any soldier having not the slightest notion of the delicate material keeping in his hands!"

\textsuperscript{50} Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 3.

\textsuperscript{51} Rolf Ibscher reported in his limited English to Beatty in a letter of October 6, 1955:

The papyri were removed according to my arrangement from the bomb proof shelter (Zoo Bunker) in 1944 by my assistant at the Museum, Mr. Seidel, but Codex B [\textit{Synaxeis}], sorry to say, seems to have been left behind. The reason being that the papyri had to be removed secretly in a frantic hurry, thus you can imagine how glad I was, when Mr. Seidel got past the SS-Guards with the invaluable little wooden box . . .

Thus Codex B [actually the Berlin codex $P^{15998}$, the \textit{Letters}], together with 3 Berlin manuscripts [$P^{15996}$, $P^{15997}$, $P^{15999}$] and all other glazed [glassed] Berlin Manichaean Papyri of the Museum [$P^{15995}$ and leaves of $P^{15996}$, $P^{15997}$, and $P^{15999}$] were taken to Russia.

\textsuperscript{52} Wolfgang Müller, director emeritus of the Papyrus Collection in (East) Berlin, reported in 1986 that Rolf Ibscher told him this. Müller himself did not move to Berlin until 1951.
Leningrad in 1946 (see below) and in principle returned to Berlin in 1958. But none of the book blocks were returned.

Although Michel Tardieu has reported that the bulk of P\textsuperscript{15997} and P\textsuperscript{15998} had been “destroyed or lost during the Second World War,”\textsuperscript{53} no evidence has emerged indicating any loss during the war, though the loss of the P\textsuperscript{15997} and P\textsuperscript{15998} book blocks (and of P\textsuperscript{15999}, the unconservable bulk of the \textit{Homilies} that Tardieu overlooked) remains unexplained. Otto Firchow, director of the Papyrus Collection in (East) Berlin at the time, moved to the British sector of Berlin in August 1960, and commended himself to the British as a refugee by reporting that he had brought with him Beatty’s missing codex.\textsuperscript{54} But when the package finally reached the British Museum in October 1960, it turned out to contain “only blank leaves of papyrus and a few inscribed fragments.”\textsuperscript{55} Firchow maintained that the packet had been “packed by Dr. Ibscher” and that he himself was not involved.\textsuperscript{56}

On May 23, 1985, I visited the British Museum to go through the files left behind in the office of the retired conservator of papyrus Stanley Baker, and came upon what seemed to be the box turned in by Firchow. My inventory of this item reads:

53. Tardieu, “Les Manichéens en Égypte,” 5–19, especially 6. With regard to his estimate of 1,000 lost leaves as “that which would have been lost in Berlin at the time of the events of the Second War,” (7), he refers to Rolf Ibscher, “Mani und kein Ende,” 223, who, however, does not here date the loss to the time during the war.

54. In a letter of August 29, 1960, Otto Firchow, replying to a letter from I. E. S. Edwards, who had written to him at the Papyrus Collection inquiring about Beatty’s material, described his move as follows: “I myself have been compelled to surrender during the past few days under political and personal pressure the Direction of the Berlin Museum, Egyptian Department, and to flee to West Berlin. I have used this opportunity to take the Mani Papyri with me. In the next few days I will hand them over to the British Military Authorities.”

Johannes Irmscher, at the time director of the Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde of the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic entrusted with editing the Manichaean codices, has in a letter of March 27, 1989, interpreted Firchow’s move as not a “Politicum,” but merely as an effort to improve his situation.

55. In a letter to Beatty dated October 26, 1960, Edwards reported that the package had arrived the preceding Sunday, was opened on Monday, and had the contents as quoted above.

Flat wooden box. Contains vestiges of Mani codex without text. Sheets of paper presumably used in conservation contain German writing presumably by Ibscher.

There were in Baker's office also 15 large green folders containing remnants of the Mani material (as well as a German newspaper fragment dated May 15, 1931). I submitted the inventory to the director of the Chester Beatty Library, Wilfrid Lockwood, on May 26, 1985. On June 25, 1985, Lockwood wrote Giversen to the effect he might want to consult the items I had located at the British Museum. Giversen has identified the material turned in by Firchow as insignificant vestiges of the *Psalms* codex, which, however, Giversen did not include in the *Facsimile Edition*. Perhaps it is from Part Two of the *Psalms* codex acquired March 23, 1930, since the box containing Part One of the *Psalms* acquired in April 1931 had already been returned to London in 1947 along with Part One of the *Psalms* (see note 47 above). Presumably Hugo Ibscher had not gone to the trouble to separate and put between glass what he considered insignificant unidentified vestiges (even though they may impress us as relatively large and numerous), but apparently had left them in the box in which the codex had been kept prior to its conservation.

57. Giversen, *Psalm-Book. Part 1*, vii, xi:

Still remaining to be published are some fragmentary pages and small fragments of the Psalm Book which were entrusted to Hugo Ibscher for conservation by A. Chester Beatty in the 1930s. These remained unrestored at Ibscher's death in 1943 and in 1960 they were transferred to the British Museum by the German Egyptologist Otto Firchow.

Since the material taken to the British Museum [actually only to the British Sector of Berlin] by Otto Firchow has not yet been conserved, it has not been included in this publication. It is to be hoped that the extremely difficult and tedious work of restoring this material will be carried out by a skilled expert.

It is apparently to this same situation that Giversen referred vaguely in his Lund essay, "The Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 269:

A few fragments and a couple of fragmentary pages also from the Psalm-Book, are not yet conserved as they were left in Hugo Ibscher's [sic] home in Berlin. It cannot be doubted that they belong to the Chester Beatty effects but they were, in a strange way, brought to the British Museum in the 1960's. A now deceased scholar informed me some years ago that they were there, but since there are some problems attached to them I will not say more about them here.
Rolf Ibscher did not return the codex that he had kept in Schondorf to Berlin, to which he maintained it belonged, but rather, on his trips to and from London, worked at conserving the leaves while visiting his wife's family in Schondorf. Søren Giversen saw the material in Munich in 1955, by which time the West German authorities had taken control of the material. He apparently did not identify it and presumably for that reason did not notify the Chester Beatty Library at the time. Carsten Colpe was engaged to edit it (from September 1, 1956, to November 30, 1957), for which purpose it was moved to Göttingen. Böhlig was brought in as a consultant. In 1957 they noted running heads and chapter titles that identified the material as the *Synaxeis* codex. Against this evidence, Rolf Ibscher's arguments that it must be the Berlin *Letters* codex P15998 were in vain, and he ultimately somewhat grudgingly conceded the point.

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58. Mentioned by Giversen to P. Henchey, then librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, on May 8, 1980.


60. Böhlig reported this discovery at the 24th International Orientalists' Congress in Munich in 1957. Böhlig published a summary, "Zu den Synaxeis des Lebendigen Evangeliums," 229–30. The full text was published in *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, 222–27, where Colpe's concurrence in this conclusion is expressly stated: "Thus one can assume, as C. Colpe also thinks, that the remainder of a Berlin codex discussed by C. Schmidt [P15995] forms with this codex a content unity, but no unity in terms of ownership."

Regarding Böhlig's views on the *Synaxeis* codex, see also Böhlig, "Synaxies = Homiliae?" 485–86, "Die Arbeit," and *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, 186, for the identification of the *Synaxeis* codex.

61. Rolf Ibscher, "Der Mani-Fund," 227, referred to the codex as "for the time being the only Mani manuscript that remains to Germany." He combined this claim with the concession that the codex was the *Synaxeis* by appeal to the 31 leaves of the *Synaxeis* that Schmidt had acquired for Berlin and that were inventoried as P15995:

... our so-called Schondorf manuscript from the Berlin Museum holdings, and hence now stationed in Göttingen, does not contain the corpus of Mani's letters, as was assumed at first. Quite clearly however... it belongs... to the codex that was entered by my father still, with 31 leaves, under the old Berlin catalogue number 15995. That is to say, my father began among the Berlin holdings with the conservation of this codex, and then deferred further work on it in favor of the more important *Kephalaia* manuscript that bears the number 15996.

This special pleading ignores the fact that P15995, according to the Inventory Book, consists only of 31 leaves, which is all that Schmidt purchased for Berlin. The rest of the codex had already been acquired by Beatty. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30, make this clear:
Colpe gave up the editing assignment as hardly possible and called for a suspension of further conservation of individual leaves until that process could be accompanied by photographic documentation of each stage, which in effect brought the conservation to an end in 1957. This termination of the funding and of the work could also have to do with the recognition that it had to do with property that did not belong to Germany. Rolf Ibscher died February 5, 1967.

As a result of the transport of Egyptological artifacts stored in West Germany to West Berlin from Celle in 1957 and from Wiesbaden in 1958, the creation of an Egyptological Section there in 1962, and the opening of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin-Charlottenburg in 1967, the conserved leaves and book block that Rolf Ibscher had not lived to finish conserving were deposited there.

In 1985 William Brashear, the curator of the Papyrus Collection of the Egyptian Museum of Berlin-Charlottenburg, asked me to provide whatever information I could about this material there in storage (of which the present report is the outcome), and to activate interest in it. On November 18, 1985, Joachim Karig, acting director of the Egyptian Museum, wrote me that he had consulted with the general director of the State Museums, Prof. Dube, and his representative, the director of the Antiques Museum, Prof. Heilmeyer, and they approved my request, made orally August 2, 1985, and in writing October 5, 1985, for authorization to enlist scholars to prepare an edition. Similar discussions with Dr. Wolfgang Müller, director of the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection, and with Dr. Gisela Holan, first representative of the general director of the State Museums of Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR, led to a letter of authorization of August 14, 1987, from Müller, granting “approval for the scholarly work on

. . . a collection of 31 leaves that have been brought under glass, which were acquired in the Fayyum and without doubt belong to the London Mani pieces.

Ibscher made the same erroneous inference in his report, “Über den Stand,” 50–64, especially 60. The meeting at which the paper was presented took place on December 14–15, 1964. Thus he never surrendered the claim to German ownership, upon which he no doubt considered his chances of employment as conservator depended, since by this time his working relationship with Beatty had dissolved.

62. Ibscher held Colpe thus responsible for terminating the conservation, “Über den Stand,” 60. But in fact Colpe thus rescued something for more sophisticated procedures than those of Rolf Ibscher, if in fact such can be at least hoped for from the future.