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THE BOOK OF THE DEAD PAPYRI FROM THE PRINCES CZARTORYSKI COLLECTION* (PL. 1-4)

For the historian Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770-1861) and his activities in exile are invariably connected with the 19th century aristocratic and conservative Great Emigration party which acted out of the Hôtel Lambert, the Prince's residence in Paris. Yet this tireless political activist earned equal fame as a patron of culture and the arts, matching his mother, the Princess Izabela Czartoryska, in his love of antiquities. His son, Prince Władysław Czartoryski (1828-94), followed in the footsteps of his father, not only as head of the émigré party, but also as a passionate art collector. He is known to have amassed many antiquities, purchasing them from Paris antiquarians and on his journeys to Italy, Cyprus and even Egypt. He crowned his collecting activities with the establishment in 1876 of the Czartoryski Museum in Krakow. Two years later the collection was officially opened to the public.

Soon shipments with Egyptian papyri started arriving in Kraków¹. From the Prince's correspondence with the museum's employee Leon Bentkowski, we learn that two papyri with the Book of the Dead reached Kraków already in 1877. One of these belonged to the priest Neferhotep, the other to the priest Pashermin. The album with the affixed papyri was included first in the manuscript division. Later the papyri fragments were transferred to cardboard panels and framed – in this form they were stored with the Egyptian antiquities (in 1895). Another papyrus was brought to Kraków in 1888 together with some objects of classical art. This papyrus belonged to an "overseer of the fields of Amun" named Uja. It, too, was not complete, comprising a number of fragments of various size stuck to six sheets of cardboard and framed in glass. The circumstances of the arrival of the fourth papyrus in the collection are not

known, indeed, it is not even certain that it actually comes from the Princes Czartoryski collection. It is preserved in five fairly big pieces and belonged to Pthamose, "overseer (of the artisans) of the Lord of Two Lands, making (objects) out of lapis lazuli"; it was stuck to four sheets of yellow paper already in the 19th century, but was not registered until the 1950s when the Czartoryski Museum was incorporated as a branch into the National Museum in Kraków².

The origins of the papyri from Prince Władysław Czartoryski's collection elude us. All that could be established in recent years is that numerous pieces of the Pthamose papyrus are found also in the Louvre in Paris³, and that the Kraków fragments of the papyrus of Pashermin are but a small section of a papyrus in the Louvre collection (N 3129+E 4890B)⁴. The conclusion is that both must have come from the antiquarian market, presumably in Paris, and that the original papyri were sectioned off for the satisfaction of individual buyers. The striking closeness of the purchase dates of different fragments of the Pashermin papyrus throws some light on how the Kraków fragments came to be in the Prince's possession. The part that is in the Louvre was bought on two separate occasions, the first between 1852 and 1857, the second in 1867 (from the Raifé collection⁵). Interestingly, two small fragments of the same papyrus containing vignettes 110 and 125 of the Book of the Dead are now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (papyrus Amherst 30) and the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels (inv. no. E.4976)⁶. The latter came to the museum in Brussels in 1884, but it had previously been owned by Meester de Ravestein, who is known in 1867 to have bought objects from the Raifé collection, the same that was the

* My thanks go to Iwona Zych for translating the present paper.

¹ For information on how the manuscripts reached Kraków I am indebted to Krystyna Moczulska, former custodian of the Egyptian collection in the Czartoryski Museum in Kraków. On the collection, cf. also T. ANDRZEJEWSKI, *Kilka uwag w sprawie rękopisów egipskich w zbiorach polskich*, Przegląd Orientalistyczny 2 (10), 1954, p. 159-164; ANDRZEJEWSKI ET AL., *Katalog Rękopisów Egipskich, Koptyjskich i Etiopskich*, Warszawa 1960, p. 18ff.

² It was then registered under the inventory number of an object lost during the world war.

³ Cf. M.H. VAN ES, *Das Totenbuch des Pthamose. Ein Beitrag zur weiteren Diskussion*, ZÄS 109, 1982, p. 97ff.

⁴ Cf. M. BARWIK, *Du nouveau sur le papyrus de Pashermin au Musée Czartoryski à Cracovie*, RdE 46, 1995, p. 3ff.

⁵ On the collection of Alfons Raifé, see W.R. DAWSON, *Who was who in Egyptology*, London 1972, p. 241.

⁶ Cf. U. VERHOEVEN, *Internationales Totenbuch-Puzzle*, RdE 49, 1998, p. 225-7. This article is the source of information on the New York and Brussels fragments presented here.

source of a fragment of the Pashermin papyrus purchased in the same year for the Louvre. In turn, the Pashermin fragment now in New York originated from the well known collection of Lord Amherst, who acquired it together with other papyri from the collection of John Lee in 1868⁷.

With all of the above in mind, one feels assured in thinking that the Kraków fragments of the Pashermin papyrus were purchased at about this time. Hardly as much can be said about the Uja papyrus. It was in the prince's collection before 1886, because it is taken into consideration in E. Naville's edition of the Book of the Dead published that year⁸. Finding fragments of the Ptahmose and Pashermin papyri in the Louvre and other collections sustains the hope that the same may yet happen for the papyri of Uja and Neferhotep, perhaps in private collections.

1. Papyrus of Neferhotep (MNK XI 1501-1502, 1507a-e, 1512a-b).

Provenance: unknown

Titles of the deceased: "w^b priest, scribe of the overseer of mysteries".

Dating: Eighteenth Dynasty (probably the reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III)⁹.

Fragmentarily preserved papyrus. The order of particular pieces with respect to one another and with bearing on the sequence of chapters is based on a reconstruction by T. Andrzejewski¹⁰: /// 114-112-113-108 /// 149-150-125 ///.

2. Papyrus of Uja (MNK XI 746-751).

Provenance: unknown (but the title of the deceased suggests Thebes).

Titles of the deceased: "overseer of the fields of Amun; scribe".

Dating: Eighteenth Dynasty (probably the reign of Amenhotep III)¹¹.

Fragments of the upper half of the papyrus roll have been preserved. The pieces were fixed to cardboard already in the 19th century, ignoring – as Naville observed – the actual connections. It may be assumed that before the division into the now existing six sections, all the pieces were fixed

to a single sheet of cardboard. The actual sequence was determined by the small fragments preserved at the edges of five of these sections, quite obviously cut apart when the cardboard was divided. The different length of particular cuts leads to the following recreation of the sequence of cardboard sections: MNK 751-747-749-746-750-748. Since the sequence of chapters given by Naville corresponds to this sequence of sheets¹², it is possible that he had seen the original cardboard reconstruction still as one piece. Nonetheless, the way in which this reconstruction was accomplished raises many reservations. In many cases fragments of the same chapter are fixed in different places, proving a largely arbitrary proceeding in this respect. The reconstruction of particular chapters, especially the proper sequence of preserved fragments of the papyrus and the chapters of the Book of the Dead written on them, encounters several difficulties, for the most part without any other than hypothetical solution¹³. Considering available parallels in terms of chapter order in the Theban recension of the Book of the Dead, one is entitled to suggest the following sequence of chapters on the preserved parts of the Uja papyrus: /// 99 /// 149-150-42 /// 125. Chapter 125 could be the last in this papyrus, assuming the fragment at the end of the roll (MNK XI-748 "c") can indeed be connected with this chapter¹⁴. It is difficult, unfortunately, to position the reconstructed parts of chapters 99 (Fig. 1) and 148 (Fig. 2), and even more so the fragmentarily preserved chapters 33, 94, 146, 147 and 184 (Fig. 3). The last mentioned is interesting for having no parallels among the Book of the Dead papyri. The place of chapters 55, 61 and 63A also raises doubts, but it is very likely that this was the actual sequence.

3. Papyrus of Ptahmose (MNK XI 752/1-4).

Provenance: unknown.

Titles of the deceased: "overseer (of craftsmen) of the Lord of Two Lands, working (objects) in lapis lazuli".

Father's name: s3b¹⁵ Kefashen; mother's name: "Lady of the house" Nefertari.

Dating: Nineteenth Dynasty.

⁷ On the collection of John Lee, cf. W.R. DAWSON, op. cit., p. 167.

⁸ É. NAVILLE, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, vol. III, Berlin 1886, p. 108 (Pp). Naville says explicitly that the papyrus was then in Paris, held by Prince Władysław Czartoryski.

⁹ Cf. I. MUNRO, *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, London 1987, p. 36, 283 (no. 32). Munro's proposed dating of the papyrus derives from a stylistic analysis of representations of the deceased, but she was limited in this analysis to the vignettes accompanying particular chapters. The opening vignette is missing and this definitely weakens Munro's argument, as only the initial vignettes hold images that can be said to reflect in full current trends of human-figure representations; images in the

other vignettes are usually (although not always) clearly archaizing in character.

¹⁰ T. ANDRZEJEWSKI, *Księga Umartych kapłana pisarza Neferhotep*, Kraków 1951.

¹¹ Cf. I. MUNRO, op. cit., p. 60f., 277 (no. 14), dating based on a stylistic and iconographic analysis of the representations.

¹² Cf. É. NAVILLE, op. cit., p. 108.

¹³ But it is difficult to agree with the reconstruction offered by I. MUNRO, op. cit., p. 277.

¹⁴ It should be noted, however, that chapter 125 in such position was not a typical way of ending a Book of the Dead.

¹⁵ A honorary title in the New Kingdom.

The fragments of papyrus now in Kraków hold the following chapters of the Book of the Dead¹⁶: fragments 1A+B: ///134-64-3-65-68///; fragment 2B+2A: ///181-119 ///7-39///; fragment 3: ///122 (13?)-46-47-103-63A-175-34-unknown chapter-71///.

The following Book of the Dead chapter fragments have been identified on the papyrus pieces now in the Louvre: 17-18; 69-70-101; 94-93-50B-188-34; 77-78; 99-40-103-104(?); 189-91; 33-54-13-138-123; 12-14; 63B-137B; 39-42.; plus the fragmentary text of chapters 13, 31, 32, 35, 44, 53, 56, 57, 72, 92, 108, 109, 110, 113, 127(A or B), 141-143, 148, 149, 150, 153A, 180, 186, 188, 190¹⁷.

A noteworthy feature, recorded on only four other Book of the Dead papyri¹⁸, is a band of inscription down the center of the reverse of the Ptahmose papyrus roll. It is found both on the pieces in Kraków and in the Louvre, but not on all fragments¹⁹. Indeed, it seems to be limited to the fragments which are thought to belong to the beginning part of the scroll. This inscription can be surmised therefore to be a label of sorts, to be read as the papyrus started being unrolled²⁰. As far as the Kraków papyrus is concerned, the inscription can be found on fragments 1A and 3. Ascertaining the presence of an inscription on the back of fragments 1B and 2 is particularly difficult because of the way the pieces have been fixed to the cartoon, but it is hardly imaginable that this would have been done in such a way, if there had been an inscription on the back²¹. The fragmentary condition of the papyrus, especially of the pieces in the Louvre, does not help in reconstructing this unique text in its entirety. Until the Louvre material is published, we are left with the fragments from the two parts in

Kraków: “[...] their majesty with incense and divine aroma. They give him his head to his bones²². They unite his members and integrate (his body). They annihilate what belongs to him by the cleansing, (which is given by) stars, indestructible stars²³, which are on [...]”(fragment 1A). And: “[...] for me day and night on the altar of the revered god. Uttering (the words): I became someone else (?) there. For it is I who is endowed with grace by my god. I came from my town endowed with the favors; testi[mony(?) ...]” (fragment 3).

4. Papyrus of Pasheremmin called Usirur (‘Osoroeris’) (MNK XI 1503-06, 1508-11).

Provenance: unknown (possibly Thebes).

Title of the deceased: “divine father”²⁴.

Mother’s name: “Lady of the house” Aseturet (‘Esoeris’); wife’s name: Aseturet (‘Esoeris’); son’s name: “divine father” Anchpachered.

Dating: Early Ptolemaic period (4th - 3rd century BC).

The following chapters of the Book of the Dead have been recorded on the fragments of the papyrus now in Kraków²⁵: ///63-65-67-66-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89///, plus fragments of chapter 110. These chapters taken together with small fragments from New York and Brussels containing the vignettes of chapters 110 and 125 (see above), completely fill the gap in the papyrus of Pasheremmin from the Louvre (N 3129+E 4890B). The papyrus of Pasheremmin forsakes the colorful vignettes of New Kingdom papyri in favor of schematic black-line drawings which are rendered with such sophistication (cf. Fig. 4) that many of them have been used to

¹⁶ Cf. U. LUFT, *Das Totenbuch des Ptahmose*, Papyrus Kraków MNK IX-752/1-4, ZÄS 104, 1977, p. 46-75; H. VAN ES, op. cit., p. 97ff.

¹⁷ Identification of chapters on the Louvre fragments after Van Es, op. cit., p.101 n. More than a hundred small fragments with text and chapter vignettes have not been identified so far.

¹⁸ Papyrus of Amenhotep, preserved in fragments in a number of museum and private collections (London, Amsterdam, Boston, New York, Newport and Stockholm, cf. MUNRO, op. cit., p. 291, no. 67) and the papyri of Nachtamun and Hornefer from Berlin (P.3002 and P.10471), papyrus Amherst XVIII (now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, cf. MUNRO, op. cit., p. 306, no. 51; P.E. NEWBERRY, *The Amherst Papyri*, London 1899, p. 50).

¹⁹ Some fragments from the Louvre bear on the back only lines bordering the inscription without any text, which must have turned out to be shorter than originally assumed by the scribe.

²⁰ Otherwise than on the papyrus of Amenhotep, which to judge by the published information had the inscription start on the verso of the end of the papyrus and develop toward the front. This inscription gives an offering formula and prayers addressed to

different deities, cf. B.J. PETERSON, *Fragmente aus einem Totenbuch der 18. Dyn.*, in: *Orientalia Suecana* XVI, 1967, p. 17. The inscription on the back of the papyrus of Nachtamun, a prayer to Osiris, runs down the middle of the scroll for the whole length. In this case, however, the text has been written from left to right, that is from the beginning of the scroll toward its end, cf. I. MUNRO, *Das Totenbuch des Nacht-Amun aus der Ramessidenzeit* (Berlin P. 3002), Wiesbaden 1997, p. 25, Taf. 35-36, Photo-Taf. 26-29.

²¹ The question remains whether there were lines there as on the fragments in the Louvre, cf. above, note 19.

²² Cf. Pyramid Texts Sp.355 (§572c). Similarly: *Book of the Dead* chapter 151“1”, cf. B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*, SAT 2, Wiesbaden 1998, p. 226, 280 (note “g”: sources).

²³ The circumpolar stars.

²⁴ On the meaning of this title in the period when the papyrus was written, cf. W. OTTO, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Rome 1971, vol. I, p. 87f.; vol. II, p.114.

²⁵ Parts of the text were published by T. ANDRZEJEWSKI, *Le Livre des Morts du «père de dieu P-šr-n-Mn»*, Rocznik Orientalistyczny 20, 1956, p. 83-109.

illustrate one of the translations of the Book of the Dead²⁶. But the most distinguishing element of this extensive papyrus is the presence (on the part in the Louvre) of mythological and ritual texts, which are of fundamental importance to an understanding of Ancient Egyptian religion in the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods. We have here compositions of the "Ritual for the Protection of the Bark (of the God)", "Ritual against Seth", and rituals connected with the feast of the god Sokar²⁷. These texts follow the chapters of the Book of the Dead written on this papyrus in compliance with a custom frequent in this period, according to which the main body of chapters making up the Book of the Dead is augmented with additional texts drawn from other sources, mainly ritual in character. In this context, it cannot be resolved to what extent the fact that Pasheremmin was a priest and must have had access to temple archives had an influence on the selection of these additional texts, which were after all somehow usurped.

Apart from the four papyri of the Book of the Dead, which come from the collection of Prince Władysław Czartoryski, the Czartoryski Museum displays yet another papyrus from the National Museum in Kraków collection (inv. no. XI-A-831)²⁸. The provenance of this piece is unknown and there is no information on how and when it arrived in Kraków. It is the beginning part of a scroll containing a Book of the Dead written for someone called

Hery-iry²⁹. The way the figure is represented in the initial vignette (Fig. 5), coupled with paleographic data, leaves no doubt that the papyrus was made in the early Nineteenth Dynasty. Such a dating is in accord with the presence of the hymn to the rising sun (Chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead) opening the text, as texts of this kind do not appear in Book of the Dead papyri before the Amarna period. The accompanying vignette is from Chapter 16 of the Book of the Dead and it represents a symbolic scene of the rising and at the same time setting sun in the shape of a falcon with the solar disc on its head. Undoubtedly one of the most picturesque images from a Book of the Dead, this colorful vignette has been preserved in deplorable state. The reason for the damages of extensive parts of this papyrus sheet was the use by the ancient artist of a specific blue pigment with chemical properties that attacked the papyrus ground wherever blue or green paint had been applied³⁰. In effect, some details of the vignette can be seen now only as a negative impression – a hole in the papyrus. Above the solar disc adored by a pair of *udjat* eyes there was once the sky sign in the form of the hieroglyph *pt*. The image of four baboons paying homage to the sun is also fragmentary, like the figures of Isis and Nephthys kneeling at the base of a sign symbolizing the West, on which the divine falcon rests. Small fragments of the text and successive vignettes, preserved on the right side of the papyrus, cannot be identified.

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PAPIRUSY KSIĘGI UMARŁYCH Z KOLEKCJI KSIĄŻĄT CZARTORYSKICH STRESZCZENIE

W artykule przedstawiono papirusy Księgi Umarłych z kolekcji Muzeum Czartoryskich w Krakowie, z uwzględnieniem papirusu ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (nr inw. XI-A-831). Szczególną uwagę zwrócono na brakujące fragmenty papirusów, przechowywanych,

jak się okazuje, w kolekcjach egiptologicznych na świecie (Bruksela, Paryż, Nowy Jork). Zaproponowano datowanie poszczególnych dokumentów oraz rekonstrukcję rozmieszczenia zachowanych fragmentów papirusu Uja (rozdziały 99 i 148 Księgi Umarłych).

²⁶ P. BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts des anciens Egyptiens*, Paris 1967.

²⁷ Cf. S. SCHOTT, *Urkunden VI – Mythologischen Inhalts, Hefte I-II*, Leipzig 1929-1939; id., *Die Deutung der Geheimnisse des Rituals für die Abwehr des Bösen* (Ak. d. Wiss. u. d. Literatur, Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl. Mainz 1954, Abh. 5), p. 7f.; J.-CL. GOYON [in:] *Kemi* 19, 1969, p. 23f.

²⁸ Cf. M. BARWIK, *A New Fragment of the Book of the Dead from the National Museum in Cracow* (Inv. No. XI-A-831), *EtTrav* XVII, 1995, p. 8-15.

²⁹ The correct reading of the name of the deceased raises some doubts mainly on paleographical grounds. The name and perhaps also the nickname (Nytuteh?) were written hurriedly in the spaces left for this purpose by the scribe. The name of a man represented on the right side of the papyrus, perhaps the dead son of the owner of the papyrus, appears to have been written in a similar script:

"Osiris" Setehi. In view of the uniqueness of the name, it is very likely that Hery-iry can be identified with one of the persons mentioned on funerary cones published in N. DE G. DAVIES, M.F.L. MACADAM, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, I, Oxford 1957, nos 9 (= W.M.F. PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt* 1887, London 1888, pl. XXI: funerary cone no. 3; cf. also W. HELCK, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches I*, Wiesbaden 1961, p. 41) and 149. The former was responsible for "dates/sweets in the (temple of) Amon" (on the title, see Wb I, 463,15; A. VARILLE, *ASAE* 34, 1934, p. 12 (TT249); DAVIES, *Macadam*, op. cit., no. 153; G. LEGRAIN, *Répertoire Généalogique et Onomastique du Musée du Caire*, Genève 1908, p. 150 (no. 262)), the latter was an "overseer of granaries in the southern city". It could very well be the same person in both cases.

³⁰ Damages of a similar nature can be observed on other papyri.

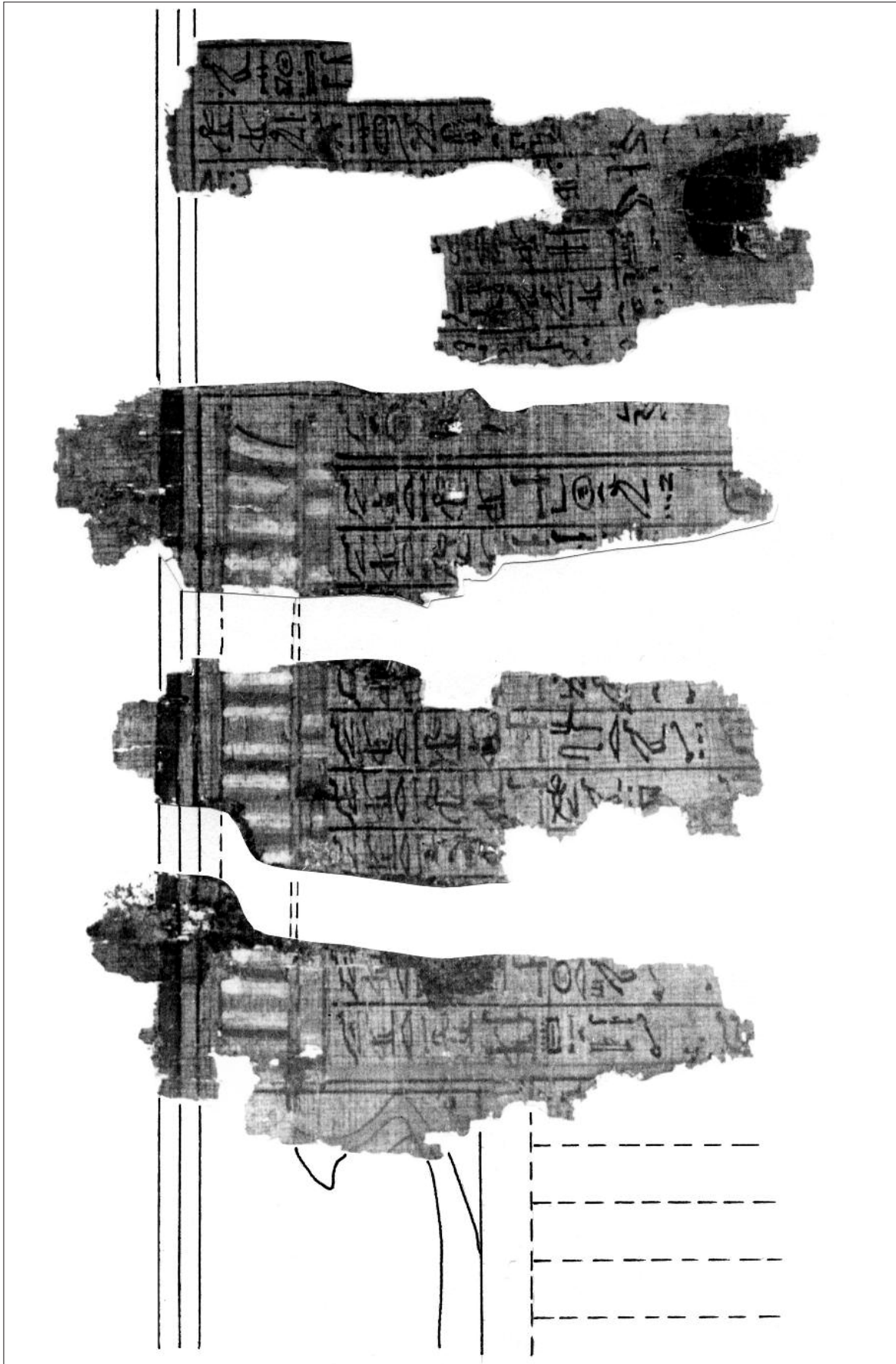


Fig. 1. Chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead on the Papyrus of Uja — reconstruction of the sequence of fragments

PLATE 2

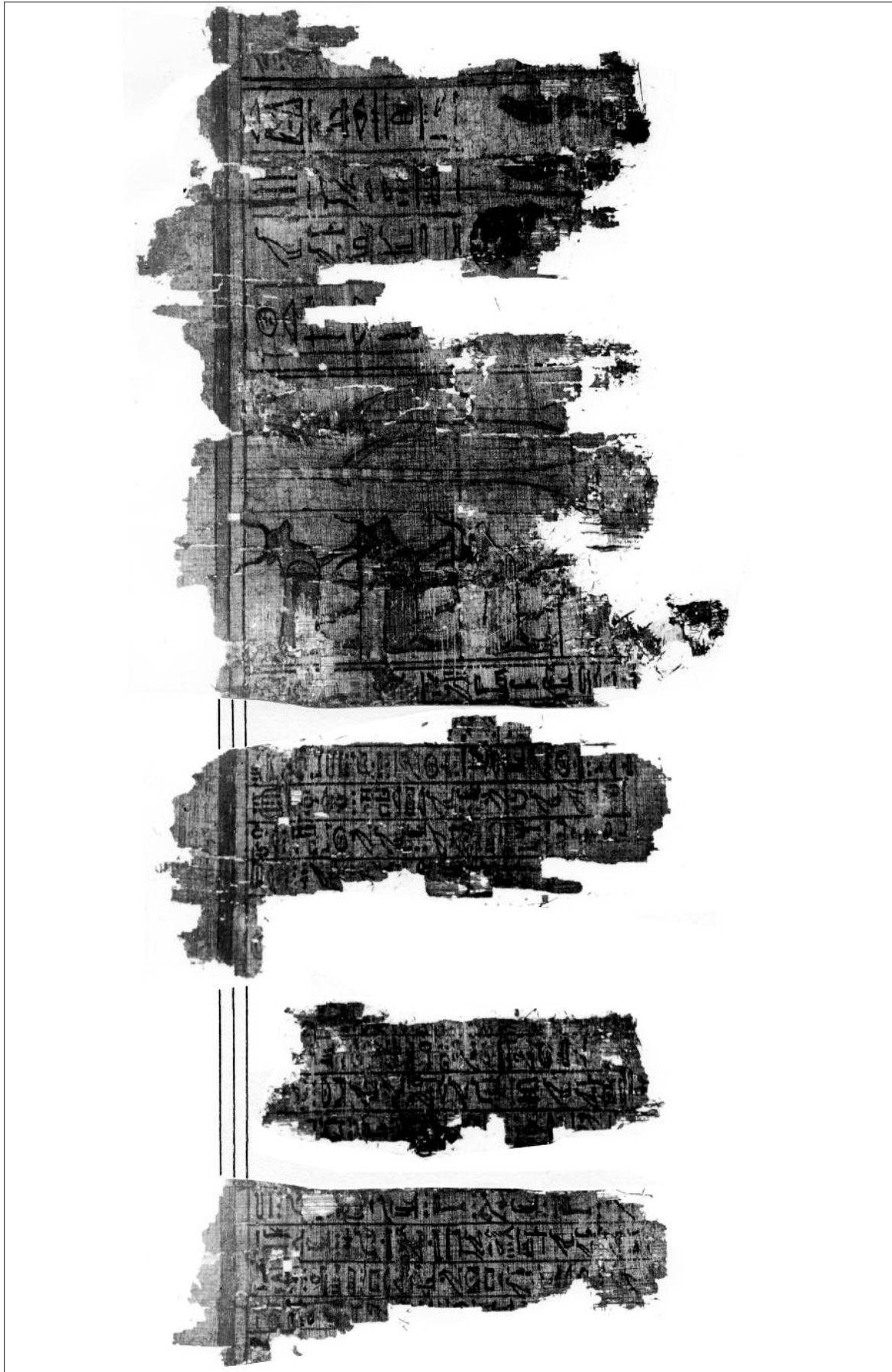


Fig. 2. Chapter 148 on the Papyrus of Uja — sequence of fragments



Fig. 3. Papyrus of Uja — Chapter 184 of the Book of the Dead (phot. Czartoryski Museum)

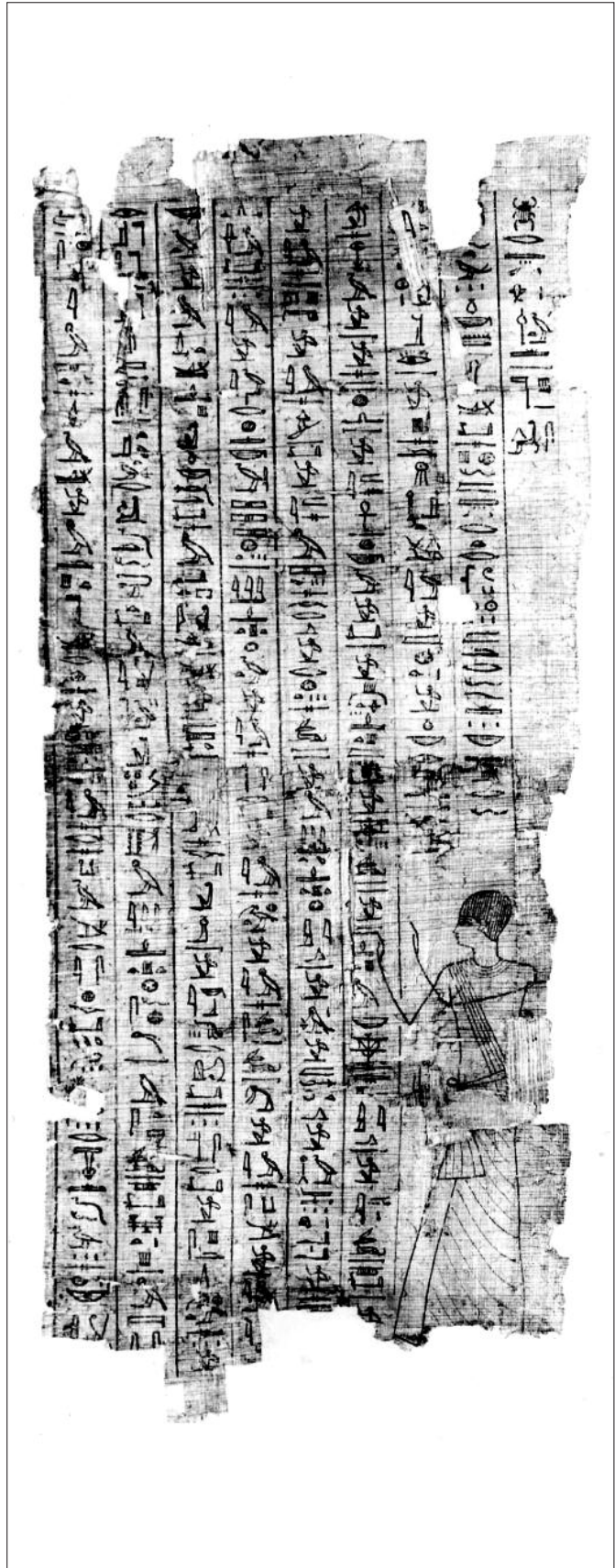


Fig. 4. Papyrus of Pasherenmin (phot. Czartoryski Museum)

PLATE 4

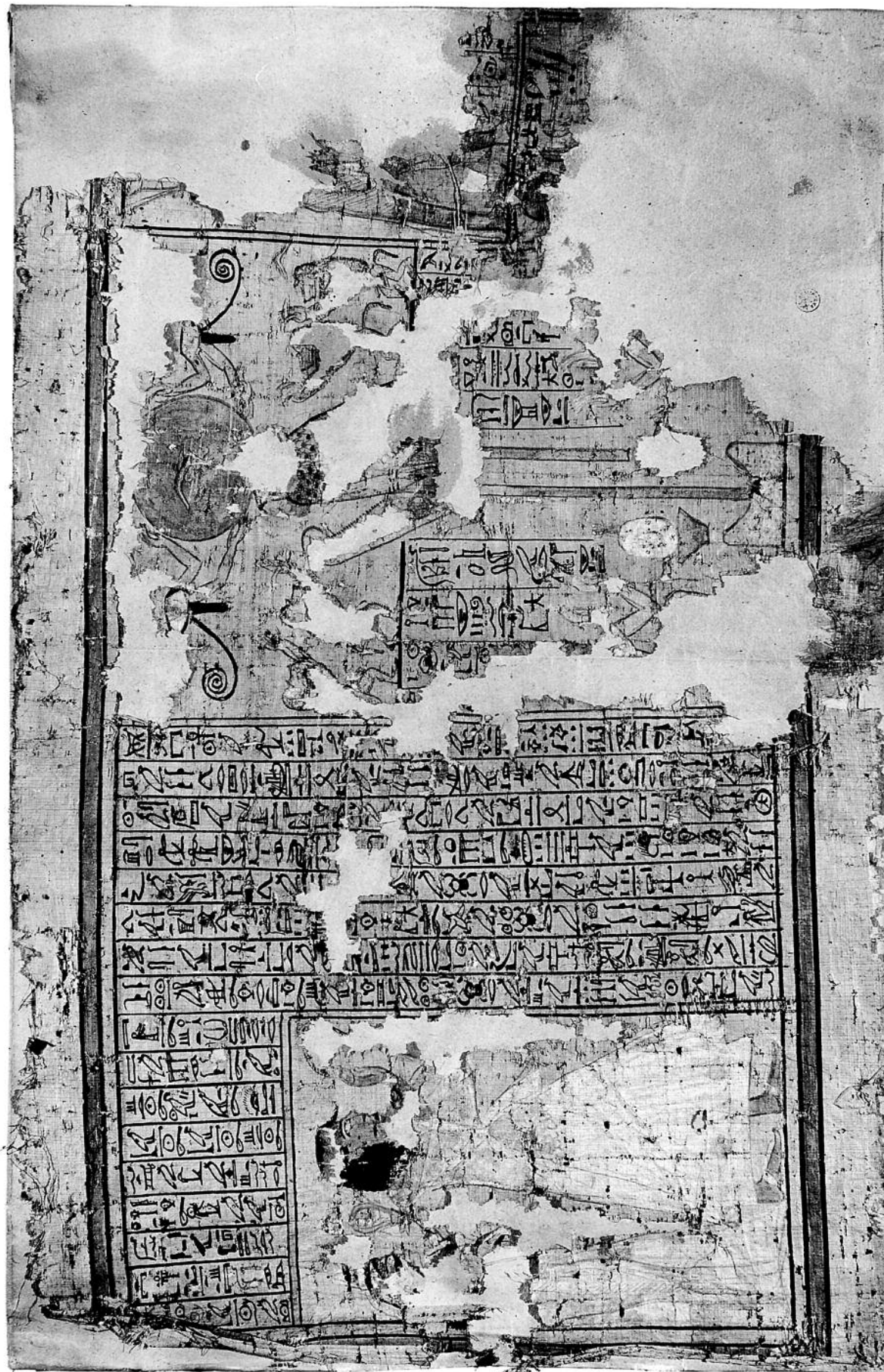


Fig. 5. Papyrus of Hery-iry (phot. Czartoryski Museum)