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THE PAPYRUS ZAGREB 603

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The Papyrus 603 in Zagreb is a fragment of a funerary papyrus with eight horizontal lines in hieratic written in black ink. Its aim was to bind the destiny of the deceased man Di-Khons-tjaw to that of the Sun-god Ra, in order to make sure he will be eternally alive. This text is quite a short extract from the Book of the Dead, either because the man's condition was not high enough to afford a longer funerary text, or because such was not the habit anymore in Egypt at that very late period.

DESCRIPTION

The Papyrus 603 in Zagreb is a fragment of a funerary papyrus with eight horizontal lines in hieratic written in black ink. It is 61 cm long and 13 cm high (MONNET SALEH 1970: 168). The part of the papyrus which contained the beginning of the lines is missing; the fragment left is otherwise not too badly damaged, in spite of four vertical holes on the right side.

The vignette

On the left side of the papyrus, a vignette shows a mummiform god Osiris standing, looking leftwards; he is holding a flagellum, a *was* sceptre and a crook-shaped sceptre. There is a tall *djed*-sign behind him, and a great emblem of the East in front of him.

In front of the mound where Osiris is standing, there is a pool of water with a large bark. A ferryman, a seated hawk-headed god Ra and a *Benu*-bird are on it, all facing Osiris. There is an offering table provided with food in front of them. The ferryman is standing, holding a long steering pole. The god Ra has a solar disc on his head and is holding a *was* sceptre.

Dating

The papyrus dates back to the Late Period. According to Möller's paleography (MÖLLER 1912), the writing most similar to this text is that of papyrus Rhind I and II, which date back to 9 BC. This can be seen from signs like the sunshine (N 8 / 306) (Gardiner's sign-list, third edition/MÖLLER 1912) or the symbol of the goddess Nephthys (O 9 / 347). But according to the paleo-

graphy established by Verhoeven (VERHOEVEN 2001), the writing most similar to that of papyrus Zagreb 603 is found in papyrus BM 10037, which dates back to circa 230 BC, as can be seen from signs like the forearm holding a loaf above a bread (D 37 on X 1 / 103 on 575) or the skins tied together (F 31 / 408), both of them on lines 4 and 8 (VERHOEVEN 2001: 119 and 133)¹ This gives us a general idea of the date of its composition, which must have occurred between the second half of the third century BC and the early years of the first century AD, that is between the Ptolemaic era and the beginning of the Roman domination.

TRANSLITTERATION AND TRANSLATION

In my transliteration, I will use the following system of symbols :

- [...] lacuna of the text (either damaged or missing)
- [xyz] proposition of restitution
- (xyz) ending absent in Egyptian, added for grammatical comprehension
- ??? hieroglyphs difficult to read

Transliteration

1. 1 [mḏ3t nt sḳr 3ḥ rdit h3=f r] wī3 [n R^c ḥ]n^c imyw-ḥt=f
1. 2 [ḏḏ mdw in Wsir Di-Ḥnsw-t3w m3^c-ḥrw] ms(w) n nbt pr [T3y=f]-iīw m3^c-ḥrw ḏ3=n-i Bnw r Ḳbt Wsir r Ḑdw
1. 3 [sn=n-i tḫwt H^cpy ḥsr]=n-i w3t n Ḳ(t)n [st3=n-i] Skr ḥr tmm=f swsr[=n-i] Wrt m 3t=s wsr=i m 3[ḥ]w=s
1. 4 [... ir=n-i 2-nw n 3st] 3-nw n Nbt-ḥwt [...] Wsir Di-Ḥn[sw]-t3w m3^c-ḥrw ms(w) n nbt pr T3y=f-iīw m3^c-ḥrw
1. 5 [... sm3=n-i imyw-ḥttwt] ink [w^c i]m=sn ws[r]=i ws[r Wḏ3t] ts-phr
1. 6 [... Wsir Di-Ḥnsw-t3w m3^c]-ḥrw ms(w) n [nbt pr T3y=f]-iīw m3^c-ḥrw ḳ=n-i m [bik] pr=n-i m Bnw [...]???
1. 7 [...] ink [...] =sn i R^c m rn=k p[wy n] R^c ir wn[=tw] n=k sst3 n imḥt
1. 8 [r sḥmt ib n psḏt=k k3=k dt=k n=f ib Di-Ḥnsw-t3w] m3^c-ḥrw ms(w) n T3y=f-iīw m3^c-ḥrw ink 3ḥw iḳr m iḳrw

Translation

1. 1 [Book of glorifying the spirit and making him come down to] the bark [of Ra] with his followers.
1. 2 [Words to be recited by the Osiris Di-Khons-tjaw, justified], born to the mistress of the house [Tayef-ii]w, justified : I have ferried the *Benu* across to the East, Osiris to Busiris
1. 3 [I have opened the caverns of Hapi, I have paved] the way for the disk, [I have drawn] Sokar on his sledge; [I have] strengthened the Great one in her time, I am powerful with her magic.

¹ I am grateful to Prof. Michel Valloggia for bringing this reference book to my notice.

- l. 4 [...I have been a second for Isis], a third for Nephthys [...] Osiris Di-Khons-tjaw, justified, born to the mistress of the house Tayef-iiw, justified
- l. 5 [...I have joined the jubilating baboons], I am [one of] them, I am powerful when [the *wedjat*-eye] is powerful, and vice versa.
- l. 6 [...the Osiris Di-Khons-tjaw, justified], born to the mistress of the house Tayef-iiw, justified. I entered as [a hawk], I came forth as a *Benu* [...]???
- l. 7 [...] I am [...] their [...] O Ra in your name of Ra, if the secrets of the Underworld are revealed to you
- l. 8 [to guide the heart of your Ennead, then you shall place for him the heart of Di-Khons-tjaw], justified, born to Tayef-iiw, justified. I am the sunshine, trustworthy among the trustworthy.

COMMENTARY

Introduction

As the vignette suggests, the text is an extract of Chapter C (or CXXIX) of the Book of the Dead. The text, however, does not match any of Naville's versions; the first lines of the text correspond to the »classical« version of this chapter, but then the phrases do not follow the same order. As we shall see with the commentary, the last three lines of the text are concerned with other chapters of the Book of the Dead.

Names

The name of the owner of the papyrus can be partly read on line 4 : *Di-Hn[...]*ṯṣw: »Kh[...] gives breath«; as it is most likely a god who gives him the breath of life, I think we can reasonably consider this god to be Khons and transcribe this name »*Di-Hnsw-ṯṣw*«. This restitution matches the space of the lacuna. The verb *di* is written with a *t*, which also occurs in names like *Di-mwt-ᶜnh=s* or *Di-Hnsw-pṣ-snb* (RANKE 1952: 332, 8 and 12). It is probably an absolute use of the infinitive with narrative sense (GARDINER 1957: § 306. 2): »Khons gave (him) breath«.

Di-Khons-tjaw was born to the mistress of the house *Tṣy=f-iiw*, whose name is fully written on line 4. The first part of this name means »his«. The second part, »*iiw*«, looks like a perfective active participle (GARDINER 1957: § 359): »those who came«, but this sounds a little bit strange in a feminine name. The second part of the name could be somehow linked to the expression *ii-wy*, »welcome!« (GARDINER 1957: § 374. B).

line 1

[*mḏṣt nt sṣkr ṣḥ rdṯt hṣ=f r*] wṣ [n R^c ḥ]n^c tmyw-ḥt=f

[Book of glorifying the spirit and making him come down to] the boat [of Ra] with his followers.

This is the title of Chapter C. Our restitutions of the missing parts are mainly inspired by Naville's *Totenbuch* (NAVILLE 1886). In this chapter, the deceased is allowed to enter the boat of the sun-god Ra in order to cross the sky.

line 2

d3=n=i Bnw r İbt Wsir r Ddw

I have ferried the *Benu* across to the East, Osiris to Busiris

According to this phrase, the deceased is playing the role of a ferryman, as he is represented on the vignette, piloting the boat of Ra towards the East, during the night. The *Benu* is the bird standing behind the god Ra in the vignette; it is a heron (*Ardea cinerea* or *Ardea purpurea*), represented by hieroglyph G 31. The name *Bnw* is linked to the verb *wbn*: to shine forth, to rise (of sun) and to the sacred *bnbn*-stone in Heliopolis. This city was the cult-centre of the *Benu*, where it was considered to be an apparition of Atum, on whose primeval mound (*bnbn*) he rose (*wbn*) at the beginning of the world, according to the Pyramid Texts (Tpyr 1652b) (SETHE 1910: 372, Spruch 600).

The *Benu*-bird also plays the role of the *Ba* of the sun-god Ra, and, from the time of the Coffin Texts, that of the *Ba* of Osiris. During the XVIII th dynasty, Chapter LXXXIII of the Book of the Dead, which used to be titled »To appear as the god Khons« is retitled »Spell to take the aspect of a *Benu*« (BARGUET 1967: 121, note 1). The *Benu* is regarded as the *Ba* of Osiris, and the deceased could therefore be assimilated with him.

This bird is also used as a determinative for the word *b'h*: »flood, inundation«. This can be explained by the relationship between the flood of the Nile and the creation of the world, as explained by Van Den Broek (VAN DEN BROEK 1972: 23–24). In several magical papyri, the patient is identified with the *Benu* (pTurin Cat. 1995; PLEYTE – ROSSI 1981 : pl. CXVIII, l. 6.; pRamesseum VIII: GARDINER 1955: pl. XXXIV, p. 4, l. 9). By his aspect of primeval being linked to the sun-god, the *Benu*-bird has become a figure of the eternal renewal and rebirth : the East, towards which the ferryman has ferried the *Benu* across, is the place where the sun's rebirth will take place at the dawn of a new day.

»Osiris to Busiris« : Busiris (now Abû Sîr Banâ in the Delta), like Abydos, was an important cult-centre of Osiris. A journey from Busiris to Abydos and back again is mentioned in the Coffin Texts (CT I, 122b).² As explained by Yoyotte (1960: 30–33), this symbolic journey was linked to the growing importance of the cult of Osiris, whose mythical resurrection could magically be extended to all of the dead.

line 3

[sn=n=i tphwt H'py hsr]=n=i w3t n İ(t)n

[I have opened the caverns of Hapi, I have paved] the way for the disk

The caverns of Hapi are the mythical underground sources of the Nile. In this funerary context, this expression must refer to the waters of the Underworld, where the boat of Ra is sailing : »Opening the caverns of Hapi« means to prepare the way for the sun-god. »I have paved the way for the disk« has the same meaning.

[st3=n=i] Skr hr tmm=f

[I have drawn] Sokar on his sledge

The god Sokar is another great funerary figure, which has its origin in the Memphite necropolis. The word *tmm*: »wooden box«, »portable shrine« (Wb. V, 308, 12–13) is probably a

² cf. *Busiris, Fahrt nach...* in LÄ I, 884 ans *Abydos-fahrt*, in LÄ I, 42 – 47.

mistake for the word *tmt*: »sledge« (Wb. V, 301, 3), which is found in all Naville's versions of this chapter. This is due to the likeness of the words and of their meanings.

Sokar is strongly linked to his *Henu*-bark; this boat »rests on a frame which is strengthened by four legs and placed on a sledge (...) Placed upon its sledge, the *Henu*-bark was drawn – later carried – in procession round the walls at Memphis or elsewhere on the feasts of Sokar.«³ The »sledge« of Sokar represents this *Henu*-bark; this god was closely associated with Osiris.

swsr[-n=i] Wrt m 3t=s wsr=i m 3[h]w=s

[I have] strengthened the Great one in her time, I am powerful with her magic.

The »Great one« is the uraeus, which protects the crown of the king. In this passage, the text differs from the classical versions of this chapter, where the phrase »I am powerful with her magic« does not occur. It might be an alteration of the phrase *wsr=-n=i 3[h]w=s* »I have strengthened her magic«, which is found in the classical versions after the mention of Isis.

line 4

[ir=-n=i 2-nw n 3st] 3-nw n Nbt-hwt

[I have been a second for Isis], a third for Nephthys

The mention of Nephthys in this passage can be found in Naville's variant reading *Te* of this passage (vol. II p. 234). Its meaning is not really clear. Isis and Nephthys are often depicted as two kites protecting the mummified body of the deceased during the burial ritual.

line 5

[sm3=-n=i imyw-httwt] ink [w^c i]m=sn

[I have joined the jubilating baboons], I am [one of] them

»*imyw-httwt*«, literally »those who are in the jubilation«, are the baboons greeting the sun at the break of dawn and at sunset, expressing their joy by crying and moving.⁴ This phrase implies that the deceased is also worshipping the sun.

ws[r]=i ws[r Wd3t] ts-phr

I am powerful when [the *wedjat*-eye] is powerful, and vice versa.

The *wedjat*-eye is mostly a symbol of the moon or sun.⁵ As we are in a solar context, it must be a representation of the eye of Ra. The phrase magically binds the strength of the deceased to that of the sun : when one is powerful, so is the other. This kind of »contract« occurs in the bark, where both the sun-god and the deceased are travelling.

line 6

'k=-n=i m [bik] pr=-n=i m Bnw

I entered as [a hawk], I came forth as a *Benu*

This phrase does not come from Chapter C : it can be found in Chapter XIII (or CXXI) and CXXII, which are respectively titled »Spell to enter and go out of the West« and »Spell to enter after going out«. However, it also has a solar signification : the hawk (*bik*) is a manifestation of the morning sun.⁶ The *Benu*-bird, as we have seen above, is a symbol of the resurrection of the sun. One could therefore consider the hawk as the sun in the morning and the *Benu*-bird (the *Ba* of the sun-god) as the setting sun.

3 *Henu*-bark, in LÄ V: 1066-1067.

4 cf. *Pavian*, in LÄ IV, 919, n. 15.

5 cf. *Udjatauge*, in LÄ VI, 824.

6 cf. *Falke*, in LÄ II, 94.

lines 7 – 8

*i R^c m rn=k p[wy n] R^c ir wn[=tw] n=k sšt3 n imḥt [r sšmt
ib n psdt=k k3=k di=k n=f ib N]*

O Ra in your name of Ra, if the secrets of the Underworld are revealed to you [to guide the heart of your Ennead, then you shall place for him the heart of N]

This long sentence comes from Chapter CI, titled »Spell to protect the bark of Ra« *imḥt* is sometimes translated »necropolis«. The »secrets of the Underworld« are perhaps the knowledge of the road which the Ennead must follow in order not to be attacked by Apopis. The phrase seems to be another »contract«, as if the secrets of the Underworld were revealed to Ra by the deceased in exchange for his own heart; it seems like the deceased acts as a ferryman who knows the best way for the bark.

line 8

ink 3ḥw iḳr m iḳrw

I am the sunshine, trustworthy among the trustworthy.

This phrase does not appear in any classical version of the Book of the Dead, but it could have its origin in the expression *3ḥ iḳr*: »excellent spirit«, which is quite frequent in the Book of the Dead. The title of Chapter C, for instance, is *mḏ3t nt siḳr 3ḥ*: »book of glorifying the spirit«. The presence of the word *3ḥw*: »sunshine« instead of *3ḥ*: »spirit« is a play on these two words, as this phrase clearly identifies the spirit of the deceased to the sun-god, in accordance with the whole text. »Among the trustworthy« means among the dead.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, we can say that the aim of papyrus Zagreb 603 was to bind the destiny of the deceased man Di-Khons-tjaw to that of the sun-god Ra, in order to make sure he will be eternally alive. This text is quite a short extract from the Book of the Dead, either because the man's condition was not high enough to afford a longer funerary text, or because such was not the habit anymore in Egypt at that late period.

The figure of the *Benu* is also quite important in this text, this bird being the *Ba* of both Osiris and Ra. It is a figure of the eternal resurrection of the sun, to which the deceased is associated in order to reach eternity. With this aim in mind, the beautiful vignette of the papyrus also plays an important role, as it shows the effectiveness of the actions described in the text.

We can also notice the important alteration of the text, compared to the classical versions of its chapters : the order of the phrases is not respected, and only part of the original corpus is used. It shows that the use of the Book of the Dead had much changed in its form and meaning since the ancient days.

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SAŽETAK

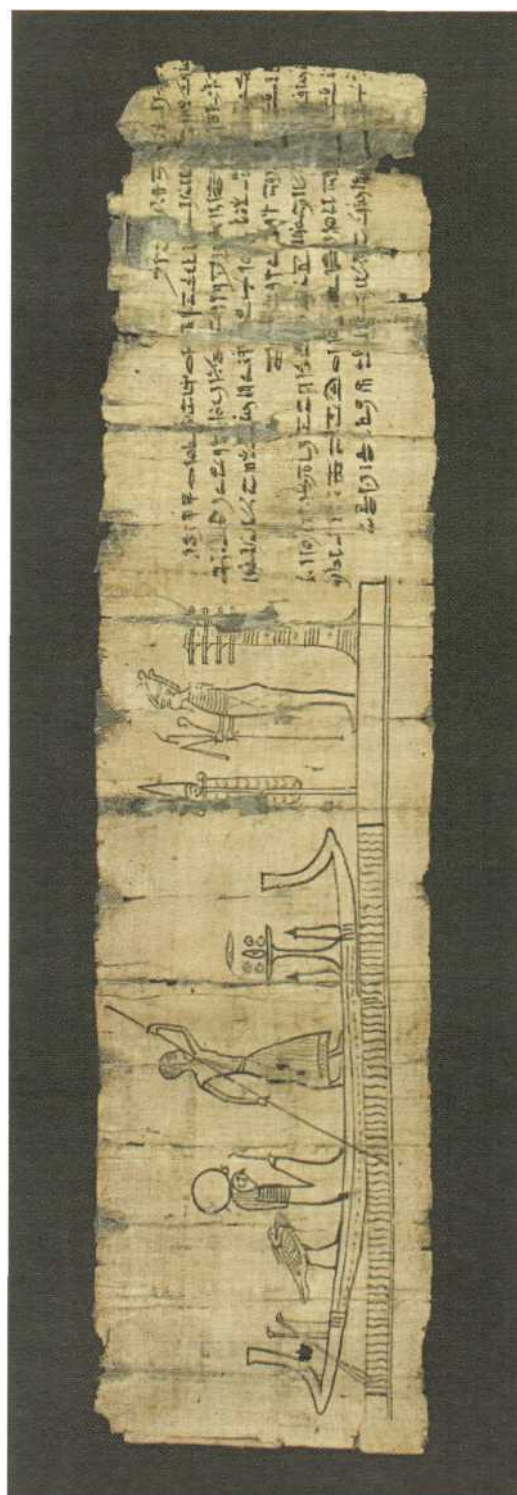
PAPIRUS ZAGREB 603

Papirus Zagreb 603. fragmentarni je pogrebni tekst, odnosno verzija *Knjige mrtvih* napisana u osam horizontalnih linija hijeratskog teksta crnom tintom. Osim manjih rupa, fragment nije znatno oštećen. Na lijevoj strani papirusa nalazi se vinjeta koja prikazuje boga mrtvih Ozirisa u obličju mumije. Okrenut ulijevo, Oziris u rukama drži *flagellum* i štap *uas*. Iza Ozirisa prikazan je veliki hijeroglif *ded*, a nasuprot njemu je simbol istoka. Nasuprot otoku na kojem stoji Oziris je voda kojom plovi barka a u barci su čovjek koji upravlja njome, sjedeći Ra – bog Sunca s glavom sokola i ptica *benu*. Ra na glavi ima sunčevu ploču, a u rukama štap *uas*.

Papirus je moguće datirati na kasno razdoblje, a uspoređujući hijeratske znakove što se na njemu pojavljuju s listama iz Möllerove paleografije, može se zaključiti da su oni najbliži hijeratskom pismu s papirusa Rhind I i II koji su datirani u 9. godinu prije Krista. Riječ je dakle o papirusu koji je nastao potkraj ptolemejskog ili početkom rimskog razdoblja.

Kako i sama vinjeta upućuje, riječ je o poglavlju C (ili CXXIX) *Knjige mrtvih*. Ime dedikata nalazi se u četvrtom retku, no papirus je djelomice oštećen upravo na tome mjestu. Možemo pročitati: *Di-H[...]t3w*. No najvjerojatnije je riječ o teofornom imenu u koje je uključeno ime boga Khonsua, te je moguće izvući zaključak kako bi ime trebalo u cijelosti biti: Dikhonstjau (*Di-Hnsw-t3w*). Ovakva rekonstrukcija imena odgovara praznini na mjestu gdje je papirus oštećen. Riječ je o ženskom imenu, te se uz njega navodi uobičajeni epitet »gospodarica« kuće.

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Tabl.1.

