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Nr. 43 (p. 244); *jrj.n mdt*: Nr. 34 (p. 243), Nr. 59 (p. 246), Nr. 66 (p. 247), Nr. 78 (p. 250), Nr. 84 (p. 251), Nr. 93 (p. 253); *jrj.n(t) mdt*: Nr. 33 und 37 (p. 243).






Es ist nun bemerkenswert, daß einige der Opferdarstellungen dieses Sarges, zu denen die zitierten Infinitive als Beischriften gehören, eben diese Beischriften sogar in doppelter Ausführung tragen, und zwar in unterschiedlicher Orthographie: Parallel zu Nr. 33 (*jrj.n(t) mdt*) Inschrift Nr. 30 (p. 242 und 263: *jrj mdt*, also in der für diese Zeit üblichen Schreibung des Infinitivs ohne *t*), parallel zu Nr. 37 (*jrj.n(t) mdt*) Nr. 34 (p. 243 und 263: *jrj.n mdt*), zu Nr. 66 (*jrj.n mdt*) Nr. 62 (p. 247 und 270: *jrj mdt*), zu Nr. 84 (*jrj.n mdt*) Nr. 85 (p. 251 und 273: *jrj mdt*). Daraus geht deutlich hervor, daß all diese Varianten miteinander austauschbar sind.

Die Schreibung ist aber nicht auf die Übergangszeit 21./22. Dynastie beschränkt, obwohl sie dort auffallend häufig ist, sie kommt auch später vor:

– Statue Kairo CG 42231 (s. meine *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1985), 546, oben, Z.4): *jrj.n qbhwt*.

– Block Kopenhagen AEIN 1040 (s. L. M. und A. Leahy, *JEA* 72 (1986), 145): *jrj.n htp-dj-njswt*.<sup>1</sup>

Die Erklärung all dieser Fälle, die sich zweifellos bei systematischer Suche noch vermehren ließen, kann nur darin liegen, daß wir es hier mit relativ frühen Belegen für den Anschluß des Objekts durch *m/n* zu tun haben:<sup>2</sup> Statt des üblichen *jrj sntr* (z.B.) (entsprechend \*  $\bar{p}$  CONTE ) wird *jrj (m >) n sntr* (entsprechend \*  $\epsilon$  IPE  $\bar{n}$  CONTE ) geschrieben. Auffallend ist allerdings, daß diese Schreibung nur mit *jrj* vorzukommen scheint.

Zweifellos anders gelagerte Fälle sind die Schreibungen des Infinitivs von *jrj* als  in der Widmungsformel: *jrj.n.f m mnw.f...*     (*hwt-ntr* o.ä.) ..., wie sie häufig in den Inschriften des Chonstempels am Ende der 20. Dynastie vorkommen, s. *The Temple of Khonsu* (The Epigraphic Survey), I, pl. 52 (s. dazu p. 28, n.c. im Übersetzungsheft); pl. 53 oben; II, pl. 142, c; pl. 143, A; pl. 195; pl. 196; pl. 202 E. Hier folgt ja jeweils eine mit *n* beginnende Phrase auf den Infinitiv.

KARL JANSEN-WINKELN

### Wahibreemakhet at Giza

The British Museum relief fragments BM 537-46, bearing Book of the Dead passages with appropriate vignettes, are discussed in the light of their past history and possible original context. Any link with 'Campbell's Tomb' (LG 84) at Giza is refuted; this probably dates to late Dynasty Twenty-six, while the British Museum blocks seem to come from the reign of Psammetichus I.

THE British Museum possesses a group of limestone blocks, BM 537-46,<sup>3</sup> decorated in sunk relief, which come from a Late Period tomb in northern Egypt. De Meulenaere<sup>4</sup> has

<sup>1</sup> Die Kenntnis dieses Belegs, den ich gleichfalls als Infinitiv verstehen möchte, verdanke ich einem freundlichen Hinweis von Dr. A. Leahy.

<sup>2</sup> Zu möglichen anderen Belegen für diese 'nota accusativi' aus derselben Zeit vgl. meine *Ägyptische Biographien*, 146 (35) und 265 (3).

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish these pieces; to Dr Morris Bierbrier for access to them, comments and information from the museum records; and to Professor John Baines for his comments on a preliminary draft.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque* (Istanbul, 1966), 10 [27, 2]; *Bulletin du centenaire IFAO* (1981), 89.

assigned them to 'Campbell's Tomb' at Giza (LG 84). If this were correct, the association would have broader implications both for our understanding of the enigmatic 'Campbell's Tomb' and for the dating of Lower Egyptian tomb reliefs during the Late Period. However, the published accounts of the discovery of 'Campbell's Tomb' do not support the identification, and I shall suggest that the blocks and the tomb belong to different phases of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

BM 537-46<sup>1</sup> form a unit from the walls of the tomb of the *sdꜣwty bity* Wahibreemakhet, stated on the old mounting of BM 546 to be at Saqqâra. The British Museum has no information regarding the provenance: Saqqâra is not mentioned in their files, so is presumably a guess. All the blocks were acquired in a special purchase from Anastasi in 1839.<sup>2</sup> They fall into two groups,<sup>3</sup> each bearing a continuous horizontal band of text with a borderline above and below, with an accompanying illustration; BM 537-44 bear only inscription, while BM 545 and 546 have additional vignettes.

BM 546, 537-40, forming a strip now *c.* 4.72 m long and read from left to right, give BD 36:



There is a damaged raised strip along the right edge of BM 539, but the text on BM 540 is a direct continuation of the spell. In addition to having the beginning to the text, BM 546 (pl. XXXV, 2) has a left-facing figure of the deceased, with head, shoulders, and raised right arm lost, spearing a large beetle. He wears a tight, mid-thigh-length, belted kilt, and the bottom of what appears to be the forward lappet of a striated tripartite wig is visible below his left shoulder.

BM 545, 541-4 form a strip *c.* 5.05 m long, reading from right to left; there is a raised vertical area along the left edge of BM 542, similar to that on BM 539, which isolates BM 541. The text is BD 33:



BM 537-46 and the 'Campbell's Tomb' sarcophagus BM 1384,<sup>4</sup> made no connection between spearing a serpent. His raised right arm and head are badly weathered, so that the facial features are obliterated, but he seems to have worn a shoulder-length wig and a kilt like that on BM 546. Both vignettes are appropriate to that section of the Book of the Dead particularly concerned with the repulsion of dangerous animals and insects.<sup>4</sup>

The owner of 'Campbell's Tomb' (LG 84) is one Pakap, who bore the 'beautiful name' (*rn nfr*) Wahibreemakhet,<sup>5</sup> to whom De Meulenaere also assigns the basalt sarcophagus

<sup>1</sup> See also E. A. W. Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* (London, 1909), 237, Nos. 857-66 (= old exhibition numbers for BM 537-46), including measurements for the blocks, here converted into their metric equivalents.

<sup>2</sup> Museum records show that 'Anastasi 1857' painted on BM 545 is an error.





<sup>3</sup> Not forming a single continuous line of text, as in S. Sharpe, *Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum* (London, 1862), 99.

<sup>4</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 1985), ills. on pp. 56-62.

<sup>5</sup> For the tomb, named for the British Consul-General at the time of its discovery, see PM III<sup>2</sup>, 290-1; most recently Wafaa el-Sadeek, *Twenty-Sixth Dynasty Necropolis at Gizeh* (Vienna, 1984), 126-32. For the owner, see De Meulenaere, *Surnom*, 10 [27].

BM 1384,<sup>1</sup> discovered in position in LG 84, and the statue ex-Liverpool M. 13901.<sup>2</sup> De Meulenaere seems either to have mistaken the BM slabs, with their single line of text, for those with a similar, more fragmentary, band of inscription, without illustrative vignettes, found on the subterranean walls of 'Campbell's Tomb', or to have assumed the same provenance.<sup>3</sup> The two texts are, however, not the same. Budge, who earlier published both BM 537-46 and the 'Campbell's Tomb' sarcophagus BM 1384,<sup>4</sup> made no connection between the two, and neither PM III<sup>2</sup>, 290-1, nor Wafaa el-Sadeek<sup>5</sup> associates BM 537-46 (or ex-Liverpool M. 13901) with LG 84.

The evidence which would allow the British Museum blocks to be connected with 'Campbell's Tomb' is tenuous. Analysis is not helped by the absence of a genealogy in both cases. However, there is no correspondence of titles. The owner of the Giza sepulchre bore several specific and uncommon titles concerned with royal estates and foodstuffs: *imy-r ss(w) cb nsw*,<sup>6</sup> *imy-r zh(w)t Šmꜣw Mhw*, as well as *sꜣb*, *sš* and *hrp sš imy-r sš(w) cb nsw* is the only title on BM 1384. Ex-Liverpool M. 13901,<sup>7</sup> which bore only the name of Wahibreemakhet, not qualified as a *rn nfr*, gave the titles: *smr wrty*, *hrp ch*, [*imy-r*] *h(w)t Šmꜣw Mhw*, *imy-r sš(w) cb nsw*, proving the donor to be the owner of LG 84. The Wahibreemakhet of BM 537-46 is styled simply *sdꜣwty bity*. As this title was probably honorific, at least in the Late Period,<sup>8</sup> it may not be significant that Pakap, *rn.f nfr* Wahibreemakhet, does not mention it in his tomb or on his sarcophagus and statue, but it is the only title given to the owner of the British Museum blocks, which lack the rarer, more diagnostic titles in LG 84.

In 'Campbell's Tomb' and on BM 1384, Wahibreemakhet is specified as the owner's *rn nfr*, although it is used interchangeably with Pakap, without always being qualified as a *rn nfr*,<sup>9</sup> a common practice. On the British Museum pieces Wahibreemakhet is not defined as a *rn nfr*, but this may simply be a case of alternation of names, with *rn.f nfr* omitted for one reason or another. The presence or absence of *rn.f nfr* cannot establish whether monuments belong together. However, its absence in both cases where Wahibreemakhet is *sdꜣwty bity* may favour the assumption that the groups are not associated. Additionally, the *-sh* element in the name on BM 537 and 544 is written with , while the fully preserved examples in LG 84 and on BM 1384 and ex-Liverpool M. 13901 have the less frequent spellings   or simply .

Neither Vyse's<sup>10</sup> nor Perring's<sup>11</sup> detailed account of the clearance of the underground chambers of 'Campbell's Tomb' mentions anything resembling the figured vignettes. For Vyse, failure to record such a discovery would be surprising, as his account is largely in the

<sup>1</sup> El-Sadeek, *op. cit.* 131, 146 n. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Surnom*, 10 [27.3]. See n. 9 below.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *LD* III, 277, d-f; *Text* 1, 101; identified as parts of PT 638a, 1607a, 580 and BD 178, and partially translated by el-Sadeek, *op. cit.* 131.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* 230 [No. 827], pl. xxxi, 237.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 240 n. 5 above. As she does not cite De Meulenaere's work, she may not have been aware of his theory.

<sup>6</sup> For the reading of this revived Old Kingdom title, cf. De Meulenaere, *Bulletin du centenaire IFAO*, 87-9.

<sup>7</sup> This was the lower part of a green basalt statuette which was destroyed in World War II. It consisted of the knees of a kneeling man clad in a short, finely-pleated kilt, holding the lower part of a shrine containing a mummiform figure identified in the Liverpool Museum records as Ptah. The back pillar and thick plinth were deeply inscribed. No photographs of the piece exist. I must thank Dr Piotr Bienkowski for providing me with copies of a drawing and handcopies of the texts, probably made by Newberry or Peet.

<sup>8</sup> For reservations about the description of it as honorific in the Middle Kingdom, see S. Quirke, *RdE* 37 (1986), 123.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. *LD* III, 277, e-f; on ex-Liverpool M. 13901 it is the only name.

<sup>10</sup> *Operations Carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh in 1837*, I, esp. 216-18; II, Appendix, 131-45 (London, 1840).

<sup>11</sup> *Pyramids of Gizeh*, III (London, 1842), 21-4.



form of a meticulous daybook. No superstructure was found. El-Sadeek<sup>1</sup> contends that none ever existed, but it is hard to believe that such a sizeable burial would not have had some accessible surface marker, however perfunctory, to provide a venue for offerings and prayers for the deceased.<sup>2</sup> Jaromir Malek (personal communication) has pointed out that the surface of the Giza necropolis near the pyramids had been well explored by numerous visitors before Vyse and Perring's excavations of the late 1830s, so that if BM 537-46 once formed part of a tomb superstructure, either to 'Campbell's Tomb' or to another in the vicinity, there would have been ample opportunity for the structure to have been completely dismantled and dissociated from the subterranean adjuncts, and for decorated blocks to have entered private hands, well before the discovery and clearance of LG 84. This could account for the relatively early date (1839 or earlier) when the British Museum blocks were in Anastasi's collection, but it has no bearing on the question of whether the owners of LG 84 and BM 537-46 are the same. If BM 537-46 are not connected with 'Campbell's Tomb', there is no reason to assume that they came from Giza, although a provenance in the general Saqqâra-Giza-Heliopolis region, from which relatively many Late Period tomb reliefs come, is likely. It is impossible to determine whether BM 537-46 came from the substructure or the superstructure of a tomb. 'Campbell's Tomb' provides an obvious parallel for the placement of a single line of text around the upper part of a subterranean room which had no other wall decoration.<sup>3</sup> However, the amount of effort and manpower involved in clearing a Saite shaft<sup>4</sup> favours a surface provenance for objects found by Anastasi's agents.

There are wider considerations in the linkage of LG 84 and BM 537-46, beyond the provision of an exact provenance for the British Museum blocks. Only a vague date is usually given for 'Campbell's Tomb'.<sup>5</sup> If De Meulenaere is correct in contending that the Late Period basiliphorous *rn nfr*, a court name acquired during life, first appears under Psammetichus II,<sup>6</sup> the Wahibre of Pakap's *rn nfr* must be Apries, and 'Campbell's Tomb' therefore dates to the later Twenty-sixth Dynasty (589-25 BC). If BM 537-46 are part of that structure, they too would date to the later Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The Wahibre in the name Wahibreemakhet without *rn nfr* qualification could, however, be Psammetichus I and the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. 126. She does not give her reasons for disagreeing with Vyse's belief (op. cit. 1, 148) that it had been plundered. The absence of ex-Liverpool M. 13901 from accounts of the tomb clearance is, of course, immaterial, as it would have been set up in a temple, perhaps at Memphis (the text invokes Ptah *hnt Tmnt*), rather than in a tomb.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. E. Drioton and J.-P. Lauer, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 470 and pl. III, shows superstructure traces with the Saite shaft tombs at Saqqâra.

<sup>3</sup> BM 537-46 need not have formed the sole decoration of a chamber; they could have stood at a wide interval above other texts (perhaps in vertical columns) or even vignettes. The dimensions of the room cannot be deduced from the British Museum blocks, since it is uncertain how much further the walls continued left of BM 546 and right of BM 545. They could have been arranged on three sides of a room, as in LG 84, with BM 546, 537-9 on the left and BM 545, 542-4 on the right when looking inward, with BM 540 and 541 meeting off-centre on a rear wall (c. 1.84 m long if no other elements intervened between them).

<sup>4</sup> For instance, Vyse's account of the 'Campbell's Tomb' clearance shows a prolonged operation using varying numbers of men and roped tackle to clear the shaft, which was about 9.3 × 8 × 16.3 m deep. A. Barsanti's team (*ASAE* 1 (1900), 230) took ten days to remove the sand from a considerably smaller shaft (c. 7.1 × 8 × 5.5 m deep) at Saqqâra, and he mentioned the extreme difficulties of entering another caused by the constant inflow of sand. Similarly lengthy undertakings are described by G. Maspero, in *Art in Egypt* (London, 1912), 217; Barsanti in *ASAE* 3 (1902), 209, and *ASAE* 5 (1904), 69-70; see also Drioton and Lauer, op. cit. 469.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. De Meulenaere, *Surnom*, 10: 'incertaine'; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 290: 'Dyn. XXVI'; el-Sadeek, op. cit. 126-32, offers no suggestion beyond the Twenty-sixth Dynasty of her title. M.-L. Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi* (Copenhagen, 1959), 213 (cited by De Meulenaere), places BM 1384 in the reign of Psammetichus I, without specific arguments.

<sup>6</sup> *Surnom*, 27-30. In his additional study, *OLP* 12 (1981), 127-34, he affirms (p. 132) that new material corroborates his earlier work.

name could occur anytime from his reign onward. The general forms of the figures on BM 545 and 546, with their elongated limbs, long, sharply-tapering torsos with narrow waists and flat bellies, and small, high buttocks, all with little modelling of the muscles, suggest a date early in Dynasty Twenty-six. The texturing of the background with shallow, close-set, vertical striations is typical of sunk relief of the reign of Psammetichus I and not found later.<sup>1</sup> Representations, usually in sunk relief, resembling vignettes from funerary papyri, accompanying passages of religious text, seem to have been in vogue in the north of Egypt during the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty,<sup>2</sup> passing out of fashion thereafter.

Thus, stylistic evidence points to the reign of Psammetichus I for BM 537-46, while inscription dates 'Campbell's Tomb' to the later Twenty-sixth Dynasty. There is no compelling reason to associate the British Museum fragments with LG 84 (or with Giza), and stylistic criteria argue against the connection.

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### Further notes on stele Aswan 1057

Additional textual comments on the stela published by the author in *JEA* 73 (1987), 169-80, in the light of discussion at the Third International Conference of Demotic Studies (1987) and further study of the original.

THE stele of Petiesi, son of Pakhnum, with its important biographical text in demotic, was published in *JEA* 73 (1987), 169-80. In the meanwhile, it proved possible to discuss this text as part of the Third International Conference of Demotic Studies, which was held in Cambridge in September 1987, and to benefit from the opinions of colleagues. I was also able to inspect the original on a further visit to Aswan in December 1987; once again I am grateful to the staff of the Aswan Museum for their hospitality and kind assistance, and for the interest which they showed in the publication of the text. In addition I have to thank my colleague Willy Clarysse, who sent me a photograph of the stele from the archives of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*. The following are some small observations on various parts of the text; here again I have used the letter H to refer to lines in the hieroglyphic, and D to refer to the demotic.

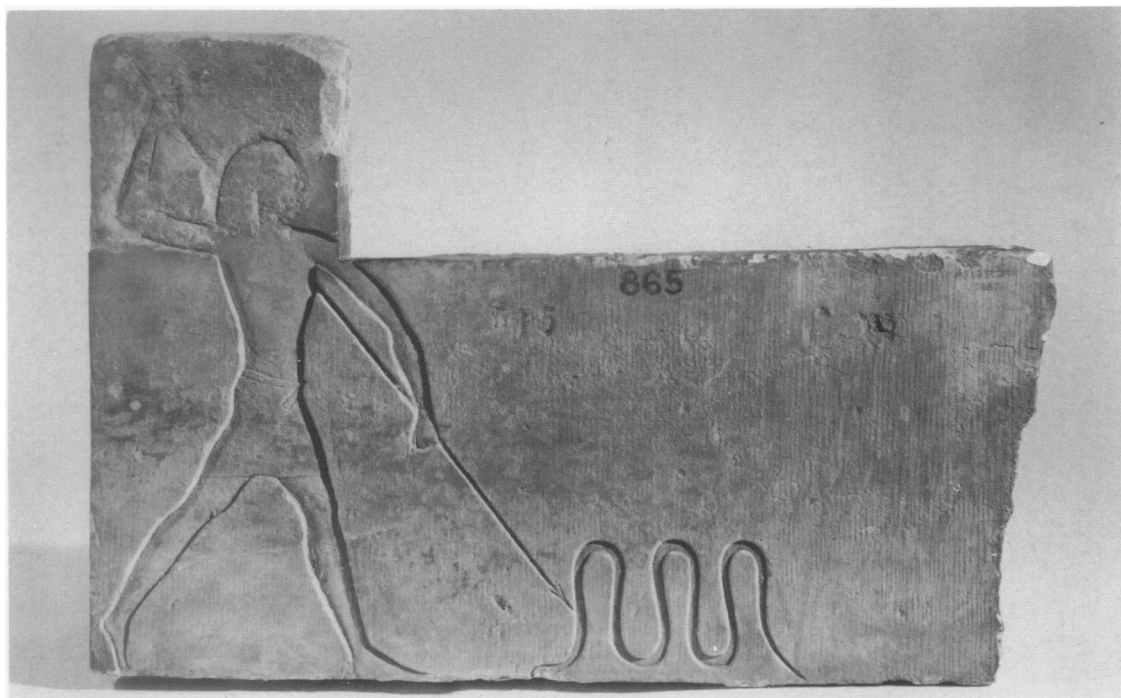
*Second Register.* This shows the deceased before eight of the gods of Heliopolis; their names are in fact Re-Horakhty, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Osiris, Horus, Isis and Anubis. The hieroglyphs above the figure of the deceased are, as it happens, defective, doubtless for reasons of space. They read *Wsir P-di-3st sꜣ Hnm* (sic) *ms Ti*-(sic).

*Third Register* (embalming scene). The spaces for the hieroglyphs have been left blank.

*Line H1.* The toponym after *nsw ntrw* may be *'It-rq*, although the *r* looks more like a *t*, or possibly *⏟*. But the final *q* is clear enough, and this excludes the reading *Kmt*, which is otherwise tempting.

<sup>1</sup>For well-dated examples, see e.g. the chapel of Harbes and Chapel H in the Isis Temple complex at Giza (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 17-18); the Saqqāra tombs of the vizier Bakenrenef [LS 24] (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 588-91) and of Nesdjehuty (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 669-70); fragments from the tomb of Horsematawyemhat at Heliopolis (L. M. Leahy, *GM* 65 (1983), 51-6).

<sup>2</sup>E.g. the tomb of Bakenrenef, which contains similar illustrations to BD 33 (= LD III, 264 c) and 36 (= LD III, 265 d; now in Chicago, FM neg. no. 68367); the tomb of Tjery (el-Sadeek, op. cit. 13-100); Hannover KM 1970.27 (P. Munro, *Kestner-Museum, Jahresbericht 1970-3*, 318, fig. 8); the tomb of Horiraa (LD III, 280-2 a), who was tutor to Psammetichus II, and must have held office under Necho II, if not Psammetichus I.



1. British Museum EA 545, *courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*



2. British Museum EA 546, *courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*