
Unpublished Private Shabtis From the Greco-Roman Museum*

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Abstract

Five unpublished shabtis from the Greco-Roman museum are the subject of this paper. The iconographical features of the shabtis are examined, including their wigs, arm and hand positions, implements, bags, and accoutrements. The owners are identified, from the inscribed texts which present the names of the deceased. The date and provenance of these shabtis are noted, along with the period at which they found their way to the Greco-Roman Museum.

The current paper is divided into two sections. The first gives a full descriptive account of these five shabtis, from the unpublished collections of the Greco-Roman Museum at Alexandria, published with the permission of the Museum.¹ The second part discusses the problems of dating, and provenance and examines how the group was acquired by the Museum.

Section One

Shabtis Descriptive Account

Each shabti figure is identified by its registration number at the Greco-Roman entry catalogue (RN), and its serial number (SN). Its measurement and material are given, with full description and text readings, in addition to identification of the owner. This is followed by a comment on titles and on the style of the shabti.

The First Shabti: *Mrit-Imn*²

1.1 Museum Record

RN: 1674 (fig. 1 a-b)

SN: 1788A at Salle-A-Vit- H- shelf (5)

1.2 Dimensions and Material

Its length is 0,12. It is made of white faience.³

1.3 Presentation

The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form, where the body is enveloped in bandages with only head and hands visible.⁴

1.4 Wig

The shabti owner is shown wearing a typical Third Intermediate Period lappet wig.⁵ The wig is straight and simple, where the hair comprises three parts, two hanging at the front of the shoulder and one at the back, with twisted fillet, which associates the shabti wig. Schneider argues that 'this is the so-called sashes-band, a symbol of life and light, which guarantees resurrection from death. It is particularly related to the god Shu'.⁶ The face is round with visible eyes and eyebrows.⁷

1.5 Arm and Hand position

Arms and hands are represented in the classical position, crossed right over left.

1.6 Implements

The shabti owner is represented with a compound hoe in each hand, painted on the surface of the shoulder.⁸

1.7 Bags

The shabti is shown holding a trapezoid bag at its back, with five rows of crossed fibers. The bag is suspended by two robes from the shoulder, while other two ropes are shown fastening the elbow.⁹

1.8 Accoutrements

The owner is not shown holding any attributes.¹⁰

1.9 Text

A hieroglyphic column appears on the front of the shabti figure, it reads as follows;

Wsir Mrit-Imn m3^ct-hrw ‘Osiris, Mrit-Imn justified’.

1.10 Identification of the owner

Mrit-Imn is the younger daughter of the first prophet, Menkheperre and Isetenkheb C. Her known brothers and sisters are: Henuttawy C, Istemkheb D, wife of Pinudjem II, Gautsoshen, wife of Janefer, third prophet of Amun.¹¹

She held the titles:¹²

šm^ct n Imn-R^c, hsy^t n P3^c n Mwt (nbt pt), Mn^ct n Hnsw- p3^c hrd

‘Chantress of Amun-Re’¹³, ‘Musician of the Heart of Mwt, Mistress of the Sky’, ‘Nurse of *Hnsw* the Child’.¹⁴

Her religious titles presumably connect her with the Theban triad cult. Her sarcophagus and her mummy, with a human-headed stone scarab on it, were found at the Second cache at Deir el-Bahari.¹⁵

The Second Shabti: *Nsy-t3-nb-t3wy*¹⁶

2.1 Museum Record

RN: 1721 (fig. 2a-b)

SN: 1844 A at Salle-A-Vit-H- shelf (5)

2.2 Dimensions and Material

Its length is 0.095 cm. It is made of blue faience.¹⁷

2.3 Presentation

The shabti figure appears in a similar fashion to no. 1.3.¹⁸

2.4 Wig

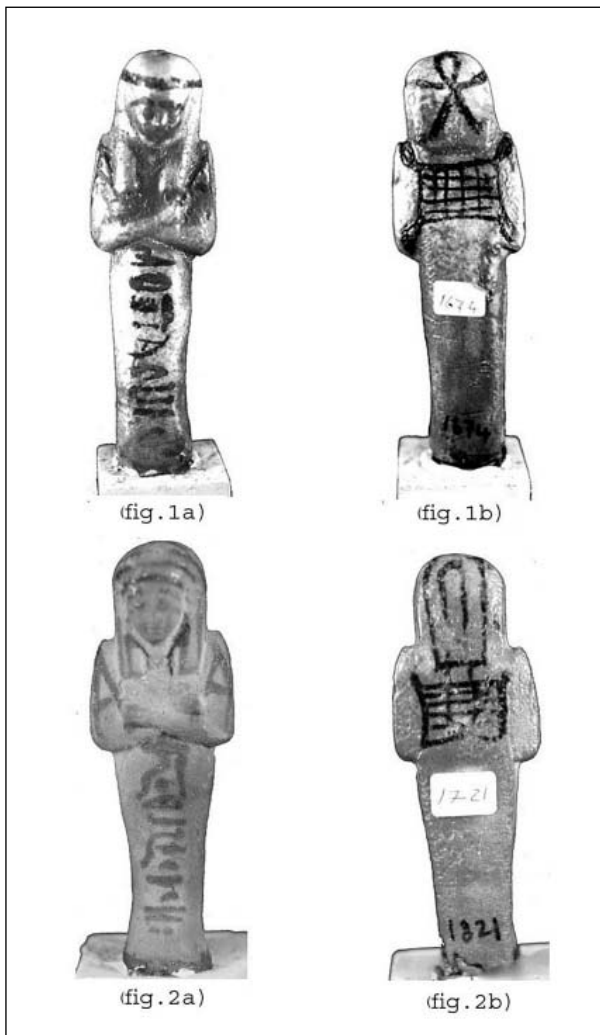
The owner is shown wearing a wig similar to that described in no. 1.4.¹⁹ It is colored with black horizontal lines on the two parts hanging over the front shoulder. Black vertical lines are shown having the form of the head, while the third part, which hangs over the back, is colored in horizontal black lines.

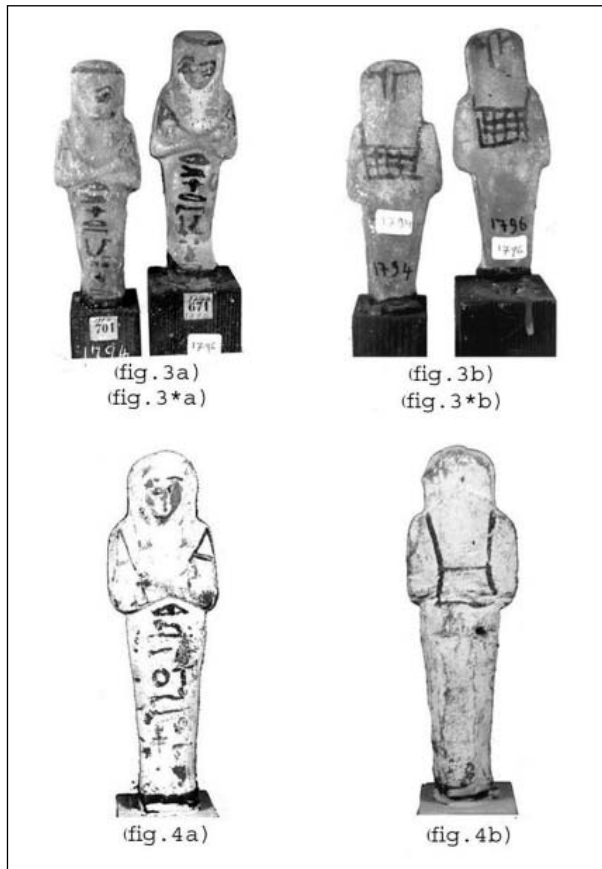
2.5 Arm and Hand position

Arms and hands are shown crossed left over right, unsleeved.²⁰

2.6 Implements

The shabti figure is shown having a compound hoe in each hand similar to that described for no. 1.6.²¹





2.7 Bags

A Third Intermediate Period trapezoid bag with five rows of crossed fibers is shown painted on the surface of the back, attached to the wig by two straps. The bag is shown reaching the middle of the back of the elbow.²²

2.8 Accoutrements

It is not shown holding any attributes.

2.9 Text

One unframed column of hieroglyphs is inked on the front part of the body. It reads:

shd Wsir Nsy-t3-nbt-t3wy ‘illuminate the Osiris *Nsy-t3-nbt-t3wy*’.²³

2.10 identification of the owner

She held the title:²⁴

šm^ct n Imn-R^c ‘Chantress of Amun-Re’.

The examination of her mummy, found at the second cache at Deir el-Bahari, indicates that she was suffering from illness before she died.²⁵

The Third Shabti: *Hry(.t)-wblh*²⁶

3.1 Museum Record

RN: 1794 (fig. 3a-b)

SN: 1902A at Salle-AVit-H-shelf (5)

RN: 1796 (fig. 3*a-b)

SN: 1907A at Salle-AVit-H-shelf (5)

3.2 Dimensions and Material

Their lengths are 0,10 and 0,11 respectively. They are made out of faience.

3.3 Presentation

The shabti statues appears in a similar fashion to no. 1.3.

3.4 Wig

The owner is shown wearing the Third Intermediate Period composite duplex wig, where the upper part is shown plain with folded fillet. The lower part is shown straight.²⁷ The eyes and eyebrows are painted in black, but not represented in proper proportions.

3.5 Arm and Hand position

The owner is shown with arms crossed right over left and unsleeved.

3.6 Implements

The shabti owner is represented in a similar fashion to no. 1.6.

3.7 Bags

A trapezoid bag is shown with three rows crossed fibers, suspended by two straps at the owner’s back. The bag is at a lower than that of the elbow.²⁸

3.8 Accoutrements

They are shown holding no attributes.

3.9 Text

An inscribed frontal column of hieroglyphs runs:

Wsir Hry(.t)-wbh ‘The Osiris *Hry(.t)-wbh*’.

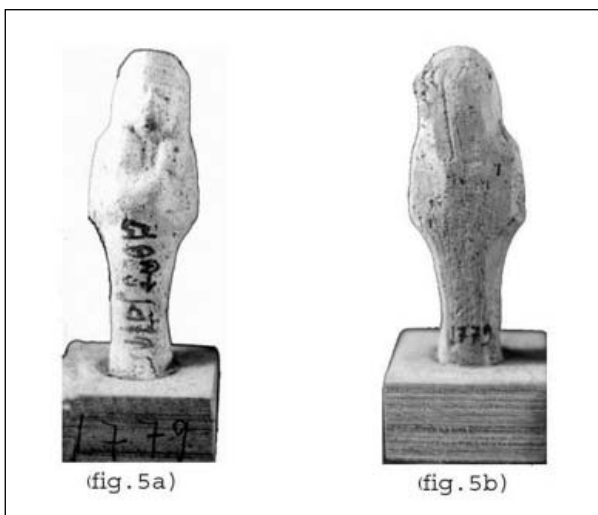
3.10 Identification of the owner

She was the daughter of Istemkeb D,²⁹ whose father was Menkheperre.³⁰ This is evident from an inscription which reads: ‘Chantress Har-weben, daughter of Istemkeb’, recorded on the mummy No. 133.31 Her name is mentioned on a papyrus,³² recorded on her coffin,³³ in Cairo Museum Catalogue³⁴ and on coverings of her mummy.³⁵ Kitchen³⁶ argues, however, that ‘Har-weben’s’³⁷ bandages included one made in Year 8 of Siamun under Pinudjem II, while the braces on her mummy show that she was buried in the pontificate of Psusennes ‘III’. Globally, the floruit of these two woman, Istemkheb D and her daughter Har-weben, would extend from the middle of the reign of Psusennes I to the time of Psusennes II/III.’

She held the titles:³⁸

šmꜥt n Imn-Rꜥ, nbt pr, ḥm-ntr nw-2 n Mwt n Pr-ms, ḥm-ntr nw-3 n Mwt wrt nbt Isrw, wrt-ḥnrt n Imn n s3 nw-4

‘Chantress of Amun-Re’, ‘Mistress of the House’,³⁹ ‘Second Prophet of *Mwt* at the House of Rebirth’, ‘Third Prophet of *Mwt* the Great Mistress



(fig. 5a)

(fig. 5b)

of the Isrw’, ‘Chief Musician of Amun of the Fourth Phyle’.

Her functional titles associated her with priestly ranks. She died at a relatively old age, as her mummy show her with white hair.⁴⁰ She was buried during the reign of Psusennes III.⁴¹ Her sarcophagus is now in Florence.

The Fourth Shabti: *ꜥnh.f-n-Hnsw*⁴²

4.1 Museum Record

(RN): 1445 (fig. 4a-b)

(SN): 1861A at Salle-X-Vit-H (revise)

4.2 Dimensions and Material

Its length is 0.11 cm. It is made of painted pottery.⁴³

4.3 Presentation

The shabti owner is shown in an Osiris mummiform statuette,⁴⁴ the body is completely wrapped, except the head and hands, which are visible.

4.4 Wig

The owner is represented wearing the straight wig type. The ears are exposed; the black outlines of the eyes and eyebrows are not in a good state of preservation.⁴⁵

4.5 Arm and Hand position

The shabti figure is shown with arms crossed, left over right, above the breast, with no sleeves indicated.⁴⁶

4.6 Implements

The shabti figure is shown holding a compound hoe in each hand, painted on the surface of the shoulder.

4.7 Bags

A plain trapezoid bag, with no crossed rows, is shown represented on the surface of the back,

suspended by two long cords slung over his shoulder, reaching the middle of his back.⁴⁷

4.8 Accoutrements

It is not shown holding any special attributes.

4.9 Text

The inscription is inked on the front part of the body. It displays only one central unframed column of hieroglyphs, which includes the deceased name. The text reads:

Wsir ḥf-n-Hnsw ‘Osiris ḥf-n-Hnsw’

4.10 Identification of the Owner

ḥf-n-Hnsw was an official who lived during the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁴⁸

He held the titles:⁴⁹

ḥry bī3 (?) tyw n Pr-Imn, ḥry sšt3 n Pr-Imn, It-ntr mry n Imn⁵⁰, it-ntr n Imn⁵¹ (-R^c- nswt-ntrw).

‘Chief of Metal-Chisellers at Amun Temple’⁵², ‘Chief of Secrets at Amun Temple’⁵³, ‘God’s Father, Beloved of Amun’, ‘God’s Father of Amun (Re King of Gods)’.

Titles known from the Second cache at Deir El-Bahari, and on the funerary equipment, found at Copenhagen,⁵⁴ connect him with the cult of Amun and mark his personal and religious importance. In the Deir El-Bahari cache there were found two groups of funerary statues bearing the name of *ḥf-n-Hnsw*. They are made of faience and pottery. His sarcophagus exists at Cairo Museum,⁵⁵ and his name is recorded on number of papyri.⁵⁶

The Fifth Shabti: *H^c3s*⁵⁷

5.1 Museum Record

RN: 1779 (fig. 5a-b)

SN: 1954A at Salle-A-Vit-H-shelf (5)

5.2 Dimensions and Material

Its length is 0,085. It is made out of pottery without varnish.

5.3 Presentation

It is not in a good state of preservation.

5.4 Wig

The shabti owner is wearing the lappet wig.

5.5 Arm and Hand Position

They are shown crossed but not completely visible.

5.6 Implements

Nothing is shown held.

5.7 Bags

The bag is unfinished at the back.

5.8 Accoutrements

The owner is not holding any attributes.

5.9 Text

The text is inked on the frontal part with no frame, it reads as follows:

Wsir H^c3s m3^c ḥrw (?) ‘The Osiris *H^c3s* justified.’

5.10 identification of the owner

His sarcophagus and his mummy are in Cairo Museum.⁵⁸

Comments on Titles

a. *šm^ct n Imn- R^c* ‘Chantress of Amun-Re’

Mrit-Imn, Nsy-t3-nb-t3wy and *Hry(.t)-wbḥ*, held the title ‘Chantress of Amun-Re’. The term *šm^ct* is translated as ‘singer’ or ‘chantress’.⁵⁹ During the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period, however, upper class women at Egyptian society served in the temples and palaces,⁶⁰ as part of musical-priestess units (*ḥnr*). One of their tasks was using ritual musical instruments as the menat, sistrum and the hand wand. They seem to have received special training procedures to develop their performance, practiced by a director (*ḥrp*).⁶¹ The title *šm^ct* and *ḥsy*, often translated as ‘chantress’, were connected with the cultic title namely; *wrt-ḥnr* ‘Great One of the Musical Troupe’.⁶²

b. *wrt ḥnrt (nt) Imnr^c nsw-ntrw* ‘Chief of the Harim of Amenreesonter’⁶³

The basic form of the title was held by Nodjmet (wife of Herihor), and the two wives of Pinudjem I, namely Hrere B (wife of Piankh) and Henttawy A and Istemkheb A and Henttawy C (daughter of Menkheperre), from the Twenty First Dynasty. During the New Kingdom, a wife or daughter of the high priest of Amun held the title.⁶⁴

The title was developed to be ‘the First Chief of the Harim of Amenresonter (*wrt ḥnrt tpyt (nt) Imn-r^c nsw-ntrw*) held by Henttawy A, wife of Pinudjem I at Thebes and Queen Mutnodjemt, wife of Psusennes I at Tanis, where Kitchen argued that ‘This may reflect an expansion of the office to provide livings (or, at least a role in the cult, with stipends) for daughters of these families’.⁶⁵

Another progression occurred on the phyle system where Gaut-soshen, Menkheperre’s daughter, held the title ‘Chief of the Harim of Amenresonter on the 3rd phyle’ and Har-weben, held the title of ‘Chief of the Harim of Amenresonter on the 4th phyle’.⁶⁶

Shabti Style

This group of shabtis belong to the ‘mummiform’ first category of Schneider’s division.⁶⁷ However, they represent a plausibly standard prototype of iconographical appearance. They are more likely a ‘pseudo-Osiris’, where the deceased holds the title followed by the owner’s name.⁶⁸

Schneider argues that ‘in treating the surface decorations both practical and magico-religious considerations played a part in this matter’.⁶⁹ The surface, of the faience shabtis, seems to be covered with glaze layer with a glossy appearance, where Maspero suggested that they used to be painted with thick transparent glaze to ‘prevent-usurpation by other people’.⁷⁰

The hairdress of Mrit-Imn, of *Nsy-t3-nb-t3wy* and of *Hry(.t)-wbḥ* is shown with longer lappet wigs than that of *ḥn.f-n-Hnsw* and *H^c3s*, where the women’s wigs are commonly represented longer than that of men’s. Also, the female worker shabtis are distinguished with round facial features, which differentiate them from the male shabti figures.

The natural arrangement of inscriptions on such shabti figures, was limited to a single column in front without framing.

Section Two

Date and Provenance

The Greco-Roman museum entry catalogue has not recorded the date and provenance of this group. However, Schneider has published similar examples dated to the Twenty First Dynasty.⁷¹ The shabti of *Mrit-Imn* is represented with a fillet, a decorative hair band which adorns the wig of shabtis, and dates to the Third Intermediate Period. Also, Daressy⁷² suggested that the funerary statues of *Nsy-t3-nbt-t3wy* date to the mid- of the Twenty-First Dynasty. The family identities of the owners of the shabtis fit this stylistic dating, and these five private shabtis belong to the Twenty First Dynasty.

Schneider also presents parallel examples from the second cache of Deir el-Bahari at Thebes.⁷³ The cache composes the burial of the Twenty-Second Dynasty priests and priestesses of Amun. It was discovered in January 1891 by Grébaut, and cleared by Daressy. The collection found comprised fifty-three mummies in their coffins, seventy-seven figurines in an Osiris form, eight stelae made out of wood, and shabtis of approximately fifty-eight priests of Amun set in one hundred and ten shabti-boxes.⁷⁴

In 1893, seventeen countries returned a collection of coffins, shabti-boxes to the Egyptian government.⁷⁵ The second cache⁷⁶ contents-objects and shabtis,

either official or private- were distributed among more than thirty of the world's museums, besides the Cairo Museum, and on commercial markets as well.⁷⁷

How these private shabtis reached the Greco-Roman Museum is problematic. On terminating his excavations at Alexandria city, Mahmoud el Falaki, designed a plan of the ancient city of Alexandria, including comprehensive list of antiquities in and around Alexandria. His excavations resulted in large group of artifacts, some of which were worthy of museum exhibition in one place. Such collections were gathered, as a first stage, in a building at Rosetta Street, called El-Horriyah Avenue. As a result of the overloading of the artifacts, a preliminary decision to found a museum at Alexandria was suggested in 1891.⁷⁸ Two dates are mentioned for the opening of the museum: 'on the 17th of October, 1892',⁷⁹ and 'on the 26th of September, 1895',⁸⁰ in the presence of Khdiva Abbas Helmy II, and by S. F. Moukhtar Pacha Ghazi, the Ottoman high commissioner and other high rank officials.

Encouraging the idea, and with the help of the 'Athenaeum Society', Gaston Maspero, offered a number of collections to the Greco-Roman Museum, where Guiseppe Botti, the director of the Museum welcomed such collections⁸¹ to enrich the newly born Greco-Roman Museum. In conclusion, I therefore suggest that these five shabtis were presumably at the Cairo Museum, and that Maspero presented them to the Greco-Roman Museum upon its opening. It is also evident that at the Cairo Museum⁸² there probably exist similar examples to these five private shabtis, which supports the suggestion that they might have transferred as duplicates from that collection, and that Maspero presented a similar group to that retained at the Cairo Museum as a gift to the Greco-Roman Museum.

Notes

* I am thankful to Mr. Ahmed Abd El Fatah, Consultant in Supreme Council of Antiquities and to Dr. Mervat Seef, Director of the Greco-Roman Museum, for offering me permission to photograph the unpublished shabti group. I appreciate the support of Mr. Ahmed Mansour, Head of Ancient Egyptian Language Unit, Calligraphy Center, Bibliotheca Alexandrina and Miss. Sarah Ragab, Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University. My thanks are due to Dr. Siham Y. al-Qaradawi, CAS Dean and to prof. Mahmoud Khader, CAS Associate Dean for program affairs, Qatar University for their enormously kind support. I am enormously grateful to Prof. C. Eyre, Professor of Egyptology, Liverpool University, for his comments and advice on this paper. I am also appreciative to Dr. K. Daoud Senior Lecture, Oxford and Qatar University, for his special care and assistance always. My gratitude is towards Abdullah whose arrival made my work on the final manuscript such an adventure.

- 1 The Greco-Roman Museum is temporary closed for re-organization.
- 2 See H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glückstadt, 1935), 161.15; for other examples in the Greco-Roman Museum see RN 1669 SN: 1795A; RN: 1684 SN: 1806A; RN: 1734 SN: 1915A. RN: 1670 and RN: 1709 have moved to the Port Said Museum. Cf. other examples in other Museums, *Galerias Nationales du Grand Palais*. Tanis. L'or des pharaons, exposition 26 Mars-20 Juillet 1987, Paris-Louvre E 22081 (inv EG 181. expo. Tanis n 24); M. Gabolde, *Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée Joseph Déchelette* (Roanne, 1990), 259 cat. 101; G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1924), 11956, 11957; J. Yoyotte, *Société et croyances au temps des Pharaons*. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Exposition 28 juin-25 Octobre (Boulogne, 1981), Boulogne-sur-Mer 217-2; P. E. Newberry, *Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi, fasc. 1 (Cairo, 1930), CG 46923- 26932; T. G. Allen, *The Art Institute of Chicago. A Handbook of the Egyptian Collection* (Chicago, 1923), 94.275, 94.276; Chicago-Field museum 31034, 31040; M. Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague* (Copenhagen, 1918), Copenhagen 3985, 3986; G. Botti, *Le antichità egiziane del Museo dell'Accademia di Cortona*, (Cortone, 1955), 114, A. Pellegrini, *Statuette funerarie del Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, Bessarione 4 (Florence, 1900), Florence 8572 D, 8593; H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis. An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with A Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in*

- the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden II* (Leiden, 1977), Leyde 4.3.1.41, 4.3.1.42; J. N. Carreira and L. M. de Araujo, *Chauabtis da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, (Lisbonne, 1988), Lisbonne a-22-27; New-York MMA 14.584, 14.587; S-A. Naguib, *Etnografisk Museum 1*, Oslo EM 8083, 8094; Musée de l'Ermitage. Correspondance avec Mme R. J. Roubinstein en 1979-1980, Saint-Petersbourg (3 ex).
- 3 Cf. S. El Menshawy, 'Unpublished Royal Shabtis of Queen *Hnwt-t3wy*', *DE* 62, nos. 3, 4, 5.
 - 4 For female shabti-workers see D. Spanel, 'Notes on the terminology for funerary figurines', *SAK* 13 (1986), 251; D. Spanel, 'Two unusual Eighteenth Dynasty shabtis in Brooklyn Museum', *BSE* 10 (1989-1990), 145-167; cf. A. K. Capel, and G. E. Markoe, (eds.), *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven, Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996), 152-3; El-Menshawy, *DE* 62, no. 29.
 - 5 Ladies 'perruque' begins on shabti statues as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty. They were, commonly, shown at a level of the *wsh* collar. However, later in the Eighteenth Dynasty the hair was shown below the breast level: Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 165.
 - 6 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 166, fig 11: W 19; for the sheshed band and diadem see G. Jéquier, 'Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire', *MMIFAO* 47 (1921), 43-7.
 - 7 See Spanel, *SAK* 13 (1986), 251; Spanel, *BES* 10, 145-167.
 - 8 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 168-9; cf. H. Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis* (Princes Risborough, 1995), 37-8; B. Scheel, *Egyptian Metalworking and Tools* (Princes Risborough, 1989), 56; El-Menshawy, *DE* 62, no. 10.
 - 9 Cf. Schneider, *Shabtis* I, fig 14: b 6a-right.
 - 10 See the standard symbols listed by Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 174-5.
 - 11 Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 270-1.
 - 12 L. Aubert, *Les Statuettes funéraires de la Deuxième Cachette à Deir el Bahari*, (Paris, 1998), 68, 120-3.
 - 13 For the same titles see the daughter of the high priest Piankh, written on a bandage from the mummy of Ramesses III. Cf. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 66-7. Cf. B.S. Lesko, 'Women's monumental mark on Ancient Egypt', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 54, No. 1 (Mar. 1991), 4-15. For shabtis which held the title see shabti of IpAy dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty from Saqqara see Schneider, *Shabtis* II, 3.2.1.4; shabti of *šd(t)-sy-Mwt* dating to the Twentieth Dynasty, Thebes see Schneider, *Shabtis* II, 3.1.1.32; shabti of *šdt.s-Mwt* dating to Twentieth/Twenty-First Dynasty from Thebes see Schneider, *Shabtis* II, 4.1.5.3; shabti of *T3-dy(t)-Mwt* dating to the Twenty-First Dynasty from Thebes, the second cache of Deir el Bahari see Schneider, *Shabtis* II, 4.3.1.77; 4.3.1.78; shabti of *Nsy-t3-nbt-isrw* dating to the Twenty-First Dynasty from Thebes see Schneider, *Shabtis* II, 4.5.1.21.
 - 14 *mn^ct* is a common term used for 'Nurse' in the Old-Kingdom. It indicates a 'wet-nurse' in the Middle-Kingdom. See W. A. Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects* (Lebanon, 1986), 8. For the title *mn^ct ḥ^c3w* see M. D. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis*, (Leiden, 1998), 303.
 - 15 M. G. Daressy, 'Les Cercueils des prêtres d'Amon', *ASAE* 8 (1907), 9, 15, 28, 71; É. Chassinat, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el Bahari* (Cairo, 1909), Cairo cat. 6175-6, 6197; Aubert, *Les Statuettes funéraires de la Deuxième Cachette à Deir el Bahari*, 68.
 - 16 See Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* I, 179.16; for other examples in the Greco-Roman Museum see RN 1713 SN 1841A. For other examples in other Museums see Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais. Tanis. Paris, Louvre E 22080 and E 22104 (inv. EC 187 and 198); Gabolde, *Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée Josph Déchelette*, Roanne 252. cat. 112; H. A. Schögl, and A. Brodbeck, *Völkerkundemuseum. Ägyptische Totenfiguren aus öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen der Schweiz. OBO* 7 (Göttingen and Freiburg, 1990), Bäle III 585; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 11959 (2 ex.); Newberry, *Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, CG 46893-46922; Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague*, Copenhague 3969; Botti, *Le antichità egiziane del Museo dell'Accademia di Cortona*, Cortone 115; Schneider, *Shabtis* II, Leyde 4.3.1.56- 4.3.1.58; F. Petrie, *Shabtis illustrated by the Egyptian collection in University College* (London, 1935), Londres-University College 293; Naguib, *Etnografisk Museum 1*, Oslo EM 8100. 8120; Historisches Museum, Saint-Gall C 730.2.
 - 17 Schneider, *Shabtis*, 245; cf. El-Menshawy, *DE* 62, no. 5.
 - 18 Cf. Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 160.
 - 19 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 166. Cf. fig 11: W21.
 - 20 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 168; Cf. fig 12: H9.
 - 21 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 167-170.
 - 22 El-Menshawy, *DE* 62, no. 11.
 - 23 For *shḏ* see El-Menshawy, *DE* 62, nos. 15, 16, 17, 18.
 - 24 M. G. Daressy, 'Les Sépultures des prêtres d'Amon a Deir el-Bahari', *ASAE* 1 (1900), 147; Aubert, *Les Statuettes funéraires de la Deuxième Cachette à Deir el Bahari*, 80, 123.

- 25 Cf. S. Ikram and A. Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt, Equipping the Dead for Eternity*, (London, 1998), 126.
- 26 See Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I*, 253.61; for other examples in the Greco-Roman Museum cf. *RN*: 1662 *SN*: 1877A; *RN*: 1667 *SN*: 1814A; *RN*: 1710 *SN*: 1850 A; *RN*: 1729 *SN*: 1858 A; *RN*: 1795 *SN*: 1835A. For other examples in other Museums cf. *Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais. Tanis. Paris, Louvre* E 22109 (expo Tanis n° 11); E 22123 (inv. EG 195, 220); Gabolde, *Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée Joseph Déchelette*, Roanne 273 cat. 115; Amiens 88.3.151; Schögl and Brodbeck, *Völkerkunde-museum, Bâle III* 597; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 11946 (2 ex); Newberry, *Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, CG 46624-46628, 47121-47130; Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague*, Copenhague 3991, 3992; Botti, *Le antichità egiziane del Museo dell'Accademia di Cortona*, Cortone 118; Pellegrini, *Statuette funerarie del Museo Archeologico, Florence* 8564, 8565; D. Helsinki SES 09:5, 26:1; Schneider, *Shabtis II*, Leyde 4.3.1.66, 4.3.1.67; Petrie, *Shabtis*, London, University College 301; Marseille 5182; Naguib, *Etnografisk Museum* 1, Oslo EM 8087, 8090; Historisches Museum, Saint-Gall C 730.16; Musée de l'Ermitage. Saint-Petersbourg 8691, 18836; cf. J.-F. Aubert, 'Nouvelles observations sur les chaouabtis de Deir el Bahari et autres de la 21^e dynastie', *CdE* 56 (1981), fig 4, 24.
- 27 Schneider, *Shabtis I*, fig 11: W 32; cf. Aubert, *CdE* 56, 24, fig 4.
- 28 Schneider, *Shabtis I*, fig 14: B 13b.
- 29 Among the titles she held is 'First Chief of the Harim of Amun'. Kitchen argues that the luxury of her funerary equipment is evidently related to the number of high rank titles she held. He therefore, suggested that she might have been 'the wife of a High Priest of Amun'. See Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 64; Cf. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I*, 4.3; E. Wente, 'On the chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty', *JNES* 26 (1967), 157, 175.
- 30 Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 68.
- 31 See Daressy, *ASAE* 8, 35; G3, XIV; Daressy, *RArch3* 28 (1896:I), 77; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 64.
- 32 See S. Donadoni, *Egyptian Museum* (Cairo, 1970), 142-3.
- 33 See Chassinat, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el Bahari*, Cairo cat. 6175-6, 6197.
- 34 CG. 6273-7.
- 35 Daressy, *RArch3* 28 (1896, I), 77, No. 133; Daressy, *ASAE* 8, 35: 133; G3, 273, n. 3.
- 36 Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 64; cf. Daressy, *ASAE* 8, 35, No. 133.
- 37 Kitchen gives the name as *h^cr-weben* and not *Hry(.t)-wbl^h*.
- 38 Aubert, *Les Statuettes funéraires de la Deuxième Cachette à Deir el Bahari*, 82, 123; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 64.
- 39 For shabtis which held the same title: shabti of Ast dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty from Thebes see Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 3.1.1.1; shabti of *Nfirt-iry* dating to Nineteenth Dynasty from Thebes see Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 3.1.1.21; shabti of *šd(t)-sy-Mwt* dating to the Twentieth Dynasty from Thebes see Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 3.1.1.32; shabti of *ḥ-nt-Imn-R^c* from the Nineteenth/Twentieth Dynasty from Thebes (?) see Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 3.1.1.36; see also Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 3.2.1.3; 3.2.1.4; 3.2.1.8; 3.2.1.26; 3.2.1.50; 3.2.9.1; 3.3.1.8; 3.3.1.9; 3.3.2.3; 3.3.5.4; 4.3.1.3; 4.3.1.77; 4.3.2.4; 4.3.5.1; 4.5.1.21; 5.3.1.14; 5.3.1.15; 5.3.1.23; 5.3.1.33; 5.3.1.58; 5.3.1.88; 5.3.1.178; 5.3.1.195; 5.3.2.2.
- 40 Aubert, *Les Statuettes funéraires de la Deuxième Cachette à Deir el Bahari*, 82.
- 41 Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 10, no. 36.
- 42 See Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I*, 67.9; for examples in the Greco-Roman Museum see *RN* 1447 *SN* 1868A; *RN* 1448 *SN* 1869A; *RN* 1450 *SN* 1860A; *RN* 1810 *SN* 1867A. Also cf. S. R. Ancey, Musée-château. Chambéry, *Musée d'art et d'histoire. Aix-les-Bains, Musée archéologique. Collections égyptiennes*, (1984), 053 6: cat. 268; Schögl and Brodbeck, *Völkerkunde-museum. Bâle III*, 584 and 609; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, (Berlin, 1913-1924), 11950 (4 ex.); Newberry, *Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, CG 47984-48003; Allen, *The Art Institute of Chicago*, 94.288 and 94.289; Chicago Field Museum 31045 and 31181; Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague*, (Copenhague, 1918), 3915-3918; Botti, *Le antichità egiziane del Museo dell'Accademia di Cortona*, 103; Pellegrini, *Statuette funerarie del Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, 8558, 8559, 8610, 8611; Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 4.5.1.3-4.5.1.6; J. N. Carreira and L. M. de Araujo, *Chauabtis da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. Revista da Faculdade de Letras* 10, 5^e série (Lisbonne, 1988), a-60-63, L. M. de Araujo, *Chauabtis do Museu Nacional de*

- Arqueologia*. Revista de Faculdade de Letras 12, 5e série (Lisbonne, 1989), b- E 92- E 94; Petrie, *Shabtis*, 449; Naguib, *Etnografisk Museum* 1, Oslo EM 8110, EM 8111; E. Andersson-Akmar, *Monuments égyptiens conservés au Musée de Victoria à Upsala*. Sphinx XXII (Upsala, 1931), Upsala 3; E. Reiser-Haslauer, *Kunsthistorisches Museum. Uschebti* II. CAA 8 (Vienne, 1992), Vienne AS 6181.
- 43 'Nile silt clay' was commonly used as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty, and was used in parallel to faience to serve for the cheap manufacture of shabtis needed during the Ramesside Period. Cf. Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 235; Steward, *Egyptian Shabtis*, 43.
- 44 The mummy form is introduced at the end of the Old Kingdom. It became a standard shabti form through the Middle Kingdom and until the Ptolemaic Period. The so called *S^{ch}* private mummy form statue is seen as a representation of the owner who is getting equipped for the after life by mummification. Cf. Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 160.
- 45 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 165-6 fig 11:W 21; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III (Paris, 1958), 486; also see El-Menshawy, *DE* 62, no. 7.
- 46 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 168, fig 12: H 9.
- 47 Schneider notes that the iconography of the shabti carrying the bag at its back is parallel to the shabti spell, which urged the shabti to be prepared for labor when asked. See Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 171-2, fig 14: B 13; cf. El-Menshawy, *DE* 62, no. 11.
- 48 Kitchen identifies three personages holding the name *Ḥḥ.f-n-Ḥnsw* see Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 224-6, 230-3, 307-8 and Aubert alludes to another two persons who held the same name see Aubert, *Les Statuettes funéraires de la Deuxième Cachette à Deir el Bahari*, 56.
- 49 See Aubert, *Les Statuettes funéraires de la Deuxième Cachette à Deir el Bahari*, 56, 120-3.
- 50 For the title *it-nṯr mry n Ḥmn* cf. shabti of *Nsy-p3-ḥr-nfr*, from the Twenty-First Dynasty Thebes at the second cache at Deir el Bahari, see Schneider, *Shabtis* II, 4.3.1.50; 4.3.1.51.
- 51 For the title *it-nṯr n Ḥmn* cf. shabti of *Nsy-p3-k3-šwty* from the Twenty-First Dynasty Thebes at the second cache at Deir el Bahari, see Schneider, *Shabtis* II, 4.3.1.52; 4.3.1.53; shabti of *Hr-ḥby*, from the Twenty-First Dynasty Thebes at the second cache at Deir el Bahari, see Schneider, *Shabtis* II, 4.3.1.64; 4.3.1.65.
- 52 Cf. Scheider, *Shabtis* II, 124, 4.3.1.15.
- 53 For the title *ḥry-sšḥ n pr-nswt* see Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets*, 346.
- 54 Aubert, *Les Statuettes funéraires de la Deuxième Cachette à Deir el Bahari*, 56.
- 55 A. Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes. Chronological and Typological Studies* (Cairo, 1988), no. 165 A33, 29630, 29729 at Copenhagen, no. 106, A 108 Cairo 29663.
- 56 See A. Niwinski, *Studies on the illustrated Theban funerary papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, *OBO* 86 (Göttingen and Freiburg, 1989) 52, 271; A. Sadek, *Contribution à l'étude de l'Amdouat*. *OBO* 65 (Göttingen and Freiburg, 1985), 169; PM I, 2, 633; Daressy, *ASAE* 8, 31 and no. 108, Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 3-38.
- 57 See Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* I, 262.14; for other examples in the Greco-Roman Museum cf. RN 1769 SN: 1954A. For other examples in different Museums cf. Gabolde, *Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée Joseph Déchelette*, Roanne 250. cat. 116; Schögl and Brodbeck, *Völkerkunde-museum, Bâle* III 603; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 11977 (2 ex.); Newberry, *Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, CG 48225- 48233; Chicago Art Institute 94.297; Chicago Field Museum 31178; Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague*, Copenhague 3950; Botti, *Le antichità egiziane del Museo dell'Accademia di Cortona*, Cortone 88; Pellegrini, *Statuette funerarie del Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, Florence 8612, D. 8613; Schneider, *Shabtis* II, Leyde 4.5.1.24, 4.5.5.1; Petrie, *Shabtis*, London, University College 454; Naguib, *Etnografisk Museum* 1, Oslo EM 8116, EM 8117; Historisches Museum, Saint-Gall C 730.21; Reiser-Haslauer, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, Vienne AS 6165, 6166.
- 58 Aubert, *Les Statuettes funéraires de la Deuxième Cachette à Deir el Bahari*, 84.
- 59 L.H. Lesko, and B.S. Lesko (eds.), *LED* (Berkeley and Providence, 1982, 1984), 3: 151; see recent publication S. L. Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (šm3yt) in Ancient Egypt*, *BAR International Series* 1401, (Oxford, 2005).
- 60 G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, (Cambridge, 1993), 148.
- 61 L. Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1991), 122.
- 62 Capel and Markoe, (eds.), *Mistress of the House*, 98, 165.
- 63 There is quite a large literature discussion on the meaning of the term wrt-Ḥnrt, with stress on the musical rather than sexual role of women connected with the Ḥnrt.

- However, Kitchen's translation is simply the traditional one, and Chief of Musicians a trendy (and questionably accurate) one that stresses the role in cult music.
- 64 G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXIe dynastie* (Paris, 1929), 34, 225.
- 65 Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 431.
- 66 Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 430-1.
- 67 Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 159.
- 68 See argument Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 160.
- 69 Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 238.
- 70 G. Maspero, 'Sur une variété de figurines funéraires inconnue jusqu'à présent', *ASAE* 9 (1908), 285-6.
- 71 For examples of *ḥnh-f-n-hnsw* see Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 124, 4.3.1.15; cf. 143, 4.5.1.3, 4.5.1.4, 4.5.1.5, 4.5.1.6; for examples of *Mrt-Imn* see Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 4.3.1.41, 4.3.1.42; for examples of *Nsy-t3-nb-t3wy* see Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 4.3.1.56, 4.3.1.58; for examples of *Hry(.t)-wbh* see Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 4.3.1.56; 4.3.1.57; 4.3.1.58. Cf. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I*, 179.16; Daressy *ASAE* 8, nos. 77, 26; Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 141; M. G. Daressy, 'Ouverture des momies provenant de la seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari: I. Procès-verbaux des 12 mai et 16 juin 1903', *ASAE* 4 (1903), 150-55; Daressy, *ASAE* 8, 3 sqq; PM I, 2, 635, 640; for examples of *H3's* see Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 4.5.1.25, 4.5.5.1.
- 72 Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 147.
- 73 For the Deir el Bahari cache see J. E. Harris, and E. Wente, *h-Rcy Atlas of the Royal Mummies* (Chicago, 1980); G. Maspero, *La Trouvaille de Deir el Bahari* (Cairo, 1881); G. Maspero, *Le Momies Royales de Deir el Bahari* (Cairo, 1889); cf. P. G. Bahn, *Tombs, Graves and Mummies* (London, 1996), 188; J. Glenn, *Shabtis: A Private View* (Paris, 2002).
- 74 Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 141-8; Daressy, *ASAE* 8, 3-38.
- 75 Daressy, *ASAE* 8, 3 ff.
- 76 Schneider records that 'The thousands of shabtis from Cache II were either stored in shabti-boxes with one or more compartments and in baskets or were found scattered over the floors of the galleries. A gang for one owner may consist of different types, male and female mummiform statuettes, reis-figures, made of faience and mud. The name list of shabti-owners, published by Daressy (list A) in *ASAE* 8 (1907), 14 sqq, is used in the Catalogue as a main source of reference'. See Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 114.
- 77 For general inventory of objects see PM I, 2, 630-642. The second cache is published by Lieblein 1892 (II) suppl. 993-1004, no. 2544.
- 78 E. V. Breccia, *Alexandria AD Ægyptum a Guide to The Ancient and Modern Town, and Its Greco-Roman Museum* (Bergamo, 1922), 120.
- 79 Cf. A. Abd el-Fatah and M. Seef in F. Hassan (eds.), *Alexandria Greco-Roman Museum: a Thematic Guide* (S.C.A, 2002), 21.
- 80 See Y. el-Gherani, 'Greco-Roman Museum foundation - addition & renovation from 1892-1992', unpublished article; and Breccia, *Alexandria AD Ægyptum*, 121.
- 81 A. Abd el-Fatah and M. Seef remark that 'The acquisitions of the museum gradually increased through generous donations by private collectors like John Antoniadès Pacha, Glimonopolo Pacha (Gleem), Manasha Pacha, the Khedive Abbas Helmy, and Kings Fouad I and Farouk'. See Hassan (eds.), *Alexandria Greco-Roman Museum*, 21-5.
- 82 For *ḥnh-f-n-hnsw* see CG 47984-48003; for *Mrit-Imn* see CG 46923-26932; for *Nsy-t3-nb-t3wy* see CG 46893-46922; for *Hry-t wbh* see CG 46624-46628; for *H3's* see CG 48225-48233.