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É T U D E S

SHABTIW, *SHAWABTIW*, *USHABTIW* IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE "VASILE PÂRVAN" INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN BUCHAREST

RENATA-GABRIELA TATOMIR*

ḏwʿ=i n(=i) nṯrw nb[1]
For the immortal and beautiful souls and spirits of my beloved parents Victoria-Gabriela and Virgil Tatomir

Keywords: *Shabti*, *shawabti*, *ushabti*, funerary figurine, ancient Egypt, "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology, New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period, Late Period, Ptolemaic Period, tomb, immortality, afterlife, mummiform, Osiris, *sehedj*

Abstract: The present study aims to present a special part of the pieces from the collections of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest, that is the ancient Egyptian funerary figurines (*shabti/shawabti/ushabti*) coming from the antiquarian donations. While there were some early attempts at doing preliminary descriptions of some of the objects of this kind, hitherto this is the first in-depth study which investigates on multiple levels these funerary figurines.

The Romanian antiquarian collections including ancient Egyptian artifacts and now belonging to the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology are dated around the middle of the 19th century. The beginning was made by the National Museum of Antiquities of Bucharest, founded in 1864 by the Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza.

According to the 1906 catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest published by its director, archaeologist Grigore G. Tocilescu, in the cabinet no. 3 in Hall No. 1, also named Mavros Hall, on seven boards there were cult objects from the following collections (chronologically): General Nicolae Mavros, Cezar Bolliac, Earl Scarlat Rosetti, Mihail Kogălniceanu, and Procopie Casotti. Among these, Tocilescu recorded 151 Egyptian objects to which he gave brief descriptions but upon closer observation most of these descriptions turned out to be rather inaccurate. Also, he provided no further details about these pieces belonging to the respective collections except those at positions 29-40, donated by Procopie Casotti in 1890. It is known that the Mavros donation included a small size collection of Egyptian antiquities (including scarabs, statuettes, amulets, and likely a fragment of basalt sarcophagus).

Colonel Dimitrie Papazoglu made also an important donation of a rich archaeological material which, according to the inventory of donations, included a number of Egyptian pieces.

Other significant donations of Egyptian antiquities made in the second half of the 19th century included those of Scarlat Rosetti, Nicolae Kretzulescu, captain I. Horovitz (Orovetz). After 1906 the fund of Egyptian objects has increased due to the additions from the collections Lenş, Solacolu, Sutzu, Orghidan (the Romanian Academy collection).

Currently, there is a fund of 151 Egyptian objects in the collections of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest. The pieces come from various antiquarian private collections, and cover different kinds of media and styles: *lapidarium*; ceramic and alabaster vessels; plastic (statuettes of mummiform or predominantly mummiform funerary servants – of *shabti/shawabti/ushabti* type and fragments of *shabti* mummiform legs); bronze statuettes (representing zoomorphic gods); integral or fragmentary anthropomorphic and zoomorphic statuettes of deities, having mainly funerary destination, as well as magical and religious one; scarabs; amulets with funerary destination, in mummiform context; of mummiform and cultic context type; adornments (necklaces; bead/axle disk); flint pieces; mummies of birds and a fragment of a human mummy (the hand of a woman with a scarab

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[1] Invocation adapted after the one in the inscription of Mehuakhet Giza (G 2375) in Edel 1953, vol. III, p. 327-333.

ring), as well as ecofacts (a septarian spheroidal geological formation or a septarian nodule, very similar to a scarab; carcasses of dates).

The collection of ancient Egyptian artifacts of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest includes 31 funerary figurines of the *shabti/shawabti/ushabti* type, to which is added one *shabtiw* container covering a period extending from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period. Needless to say, being purchased from dealers by the aforementioned collectors, the history comprising the way of acquisition and the provenance of these 31 funerary figurines also still remains unknown.

The author's approach is to put in concordance the results of Egyptological research about funerary figurines with the information obtained from the analysis of the thirty-one pieces in the collections of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology. This is why the study contains detailed pictures of each figurine, particularly because a substantial part of them have hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Although extensive, the present study is just the first part of a much larger volume which will include the detailed catalogue descriptions of all Egyptian pieces in the collections of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology.

The author's aim is to provide an accurate description as detailed as possible of each object, to integrate it from a historical, chronological, societal and stylistic point of view in the wider framework of the ancient Egyptian artifacts of the same type and, as far as possible, to identify the original owners (the ancient Egyptian ones) of these funerary goods and to contribute to the reconstitution of their funerary treasure, and by means of this, of their role and status in the ancient Egyptian society. Last but not least, another goal would be the identification of the route of origin of the antiquarian type of acquisition.

The study is structured in two main parts, starting from general to specific. The first part is a synthetic presentation of the funeral components as guarantors of immortality and of the history of the funerary statuettes of *shabti/shawabti/ushabti* type. This section is essential for understanding of the role of the funerary figurines of this kind in the ancient Egyptian society. The second one is a catalogue of the funerary figurines of this type in the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest. To integrate them into the general existing typology, two criteria of classification of the figurines were followed: the chronology and the presence or the absence on their bodies of any inscription. In this way the details of each piece will give scientists deeper insights into their specific history and integrate them into the general typology.

Cuvinte-cheie: *Shabti*, *shawabti*, *ushabti*, figurină funerară, Egiptul antic, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan", Regatul Nou, A Treia Perioadă Intermediară, Perioada Târzie, Perioada ptolemeică, mormânt, nemurire, lumea de dincolo, mumiform, Osiris, *sehedj*

Rezumat: Studiul de față își propune să prezinte o parte specială a pieselor aparținând colecțiilor Institutului de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan" din București, respectiv figurinele funerare egiptene antice (*shabti/shawabti/ushabti*), provenite din donațiile anticărești. Deși au existat câteva tentative anterioare de descrieri preliminare ale unora dintre obiectele de acest fel, lucrarea de față reprezintă primul studiu aprofundat care investighează pe mai multe niveluri aceste figurine funerare.

Colecțiile românești anticărești care includ artefacte egiptene antice și care, în prezent, aparțin Institutului de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan", sunt datate cu aproximație la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea. Începutul a fost făcut de Muzeul Național de Antichități din București, fondat în 1864 de către domnitorul Alexandru Ioan Cuza.

Conform catalogului din 1906 al Muzeului Național de Antichități din București, publicat de directorul său, arheologul Grigore G. Tocilescu, în cabinetul nr. 3 din Sala nr. 1, denumită și Sala Mavros, pe șapte planșete se găseau obiecte de cult din următoarele colecții (cronologic): a Generalului Nicolae Mavros, a lui Cezar Bolliac, a grafului Scarlat Rosetti, a lui Mihail Kogălniceanu și a lui Procopie Casotti. Printre acestea, Tocilescu a înregistrat 151 de obiecte egiptene cărora le-a făcut scurte descrieri, dar majoritatea lor, în urma unei observații mai atente, s-au dovedit a fi mai curând inexacte. De asemenea, nu a oferit alte detalii cu privire la apartenența acestor piese la colecțiile respective, cu excepția celor de la pozițiile 29-40, donate de Procopie Casotti în 1890. Se știe că donația Mavros a inclus o colecție de dimensiuni reduse de antichități egiptene (cuprinzând scarabei, statuete, amulete și, probabil, un fragment de sarcofag din bazalt).

Colonelul Dimitrie Papazoglu a făcut, la rându-i, o importantă donație constând dintr-un bogat material arheologic care, conform inventarului donațiilor, a inclus un număr de piese egiptene.

Alte importante donații de antichități egiptene făcute în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea au fost cele ale lui Scarlat Rosetti, Nicolae Kretzulescu, căpitanul I. Horovitz (Orovetz). După 1906, fondul de obiecte egiptene s-a dezvoltat datorită adăugărilor din colecțiile Lenș, Solacolu, Sutzu, Orghidan (colecția Academiei Române).

În prezent, în colecțiile Institutului de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan" din București, există un fond de 151 de obiecte egiptene. Piesele provin din diverse colecții private anticărești și acoperă diferite tipuri de materiale și stiluri: *lapidarium*; vase ceramice și din alabastru; plastică (statuete de servitori funerari mumiforme sau predominant mumiforme – de tip *shabti/shawabti/ushabti* și fragmente de picioare mumiforme de *shabti*); statuete din bronz (reprezentând divinități zoomorfe); statuete antropomorfe integrale sau fragmentare de zei, având, în principal, destinație funerară, dar și magică

și religioasă; scarabei; amulete cu destinație funerară, în context mumiform; de tip mumiform și cultic; podoabe (coliere; mărgele/disc de axă); piese din silex; mumii de păsări și un fragment de mumie umană (mâna unei femei cu un inel cu scarabeu), precum și ecofacte (o formațiune geologică sferoidă septariană sau un nodul septarian, foarte asemănătoare cu un scarabeu; carcase de curmale).

Colecția de artefacte egiptene antice ale Institutului de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan" din București include 31 de figurine funerare de tip *shabti/shawabti/ushabti*, cărora li se adaugă un container pentru *shabtiw*, care acoperă o perioadă care se întinde din Regatul Nou până în Perioada ptolemeică. În plus, fiind achiziționate de la negustori de către colecționarii anterior menționați, istoria referitoare la modalitatea de achiziție și proveniența acestor 31 de figurine funerare rămâne, de asemenea, încă necunoscută.

Prin abordarea sa, autoarea a urmărit să pună în concordanță rezultatele cercetării egiptologice cu privire la figurinele funerare și informațiile obținute din analiza celor 31 de piese din colecțiile Institutului de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan". Acesta este motivul pentru care studiul conține imagini detaliate ale fiecărei figurine, mai ales pentru că o parte importantă a lor au inscripții hieroglifice.

Deși extins, studiul de față este doar prima parte a unui volum amplu, care va include descrieri detaliate de catalog ale tuturor pieselor egiptene din colecțiile Institutului de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan".

Intenția autoarei este să ofere o descriere științifică cât mai detaliată a fiecărui obiect, să îl integreze din punct de vedere istoric, cronologic, societal și stilistic în ansamblul mai larg al artefactelor egiptene antice de același tip și, pe cât posibil, să identifice proprietarii originali (egipteni antici) ai acestor bunuri funerare și să contribuie la reconstituirea tezaurului lor funerar și, prin aceasta, a rolului și statutului lor în societatea egipteană antică. Nu în ultimul rând, un alt obiectiv va fi identificarea rutei de origine a tipului de achiziție anticăresc.

Studiul este structurat în două părți principale, pornind de la general la particular. Prima parte constă într-o prezentare sintetică a componentelor funerare, în calitate de garanți ai nemuririi, și a istoriei statuetelor funerare de tip *shabti/shawabti/ushabti*. Această secțiune este esențială pentru înțelegerea rolului figurinelor funerare de acest fel în societatea egipteană antică. Partea a doua constă dintr-un catalog al figurinelor funerare de acest tip din colecția Institutului de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan" din București. Pentru a le integra în tipologia generală existentă, în etapa în care autoarea a clasificat figurinele, a urmat două criterii: cronologia și prezența sau absența vreunei inscripții pe corpurile acestora. În acest fel, detaliile fiecărei piese vor oferi specialiștilor informații despre istoria lor specifică și le vor integra în tipologia generală.

I. INTRODUCTION

The National Museum of Antiquities of Bucharest (further NMA) was founded in 1864 by Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza. However, the first initiative in this respect took place three decades earlier when Prince Alexandru Ghica founded at the National School of Bucharest (St. Sava College) a museum where the collections of antiquities represented a special section[2].

According to the 1906 catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest published by its director, archaeologist Grigore G. Tocilescu[3], in the cabinet no. 3 in Hall No. 1, also named Mavros Hall, on seven boards there were cult objects from the following collections (chronologically): General Nicolae Mavros, Cezar Bolliac, Earl Scarlat Rosetti, Mihail Kogălniceanu and Procopie Casotti[4]. Among these, Tocilescu recorded 151 Egyptian objects[5] (board no. 1, pieces nos. 1-26; board no. 2, pieces 27-151) to which he gave brief descriptions but upon closer observation most of them turned out to be rather inaccurate[6]. Also, he provided no further details about these pieces belonging to the respective collections except those at positions 29-40, donated by Procopie Casotti in 1890[7].

[2] Dumitrescu 1968, p. 5; Damian, Tatomir 2019, p. 93-98. For more information regarding the history of the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest, the Romanian collectors, the collections of antiquities, and the Egyptian artifacts one may consult as well: Greceanu 1929; Moisil 1936; Cristache-Panait, Panait 1966; Păunescu, Casan-Franga, Diaconu 1984; Pippidi 1982; Ștefan 1984; Pippidi 1992; Păunescu 2003.

[3] Tocilescu 1906, p. 48-49.

[4] Tocilescu 1906, p. 48: „obiecte de cult provenite din colecțiunile Generalului Mavros, Grafului Rosetti, Boliac, Cogălniceanu și Procopie Casotti."

[5] For a detailed description of the Egyptian artefacts from an archival approach see Damian, Tatomir 2019. For the preliminary research of the Egyptian artefacts see Tatomir 2019.

[6] Tocilescu 1906, p. 48-49; Ciho 1983a, p. 21, note 10 (he notes that most objects came from the former Mavros collection); Damian, Tatomir 2019, p. 110-113.

[7] Tocilescu 1906, p. 49, no. 40. The 1890 Procopie Casotti donation records a number of twelve Egyptian objects.

It is known that the Mavros donation included a small size collection of Egyptian antiquities (containing scarabs, statuettes, amulets, and likely a fragment of basalt sarcophagus)[8].

Colonel Dimitrie Papazoglu made also an important donation of a rich archaeological material which, according to the inventory of donations, included a number of Egyptian pieces[9]. In the 1860 Bucharest, in his house on the „Calea Văcărești nr. 151", Colonel Papazoglu had founded, owned, and organized a true private museum bearing his name[10]. After his death, the collection passed to the National Museum of Antiquities.

Other significant donations of Egyptian antiquities made in the second half of the 19th century included those of Scarlat Rosetti, Nicolae Kretzulescu, captain I. Horovitz (Orovetz). After 1906 the fund of Egyptian objects has increased due to the additions from the collections Lenș, Solacolu, Sutzu, Orghidan (the Romanian Academy collection).

In 1956 the National Museum of Antiquities was transformed into the Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest ("Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology in 1992). After 1990, the structure of the new institution included, among other sectors, the one named the National Museum of Antiquities. Hence the collections of the former National Museum of Antiquities currently belong to that latter institution.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Miron Ciho published several preliminary reports of some of the Egyptian antiquities in the collections of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest[11].

Currently, there is a fund of 151 Egyptian objects in the collections of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest. The pieces come from various antiquarian private collections (Mavros, Bolliac, Scarlat Rosetti, Kretzulescu, Papazoglu, Lenș, Butculescu, Solacolu, Sutzu), and cover different kinds of media and styles: *lapidarium*; ceramic and alabaster vessels; plastic (statuettes of mummiform or predominantly mummiform funerary servants (of *shabti/shawabti/ushabti* type and fragments of *shabti* mummiform legs); bronze statuettes (representing zoomorphic gods); integral or fragmentary anthropomorphic and zoomorphic statuettes of deities, having mainly funerary destination, as well as magical and religious one; scarabs; amulets with funerary destination, in mummiform context; of mummiform and cultic context type; adornments (necklaces; bead/axle disk); flint pieces; mummies of birds and a fragment of a human mummy (the hand of a woman with a scarab ring), as well as ecofacts (a septarian spheroidal geological formation or a septarian nodule, very similar to a scarab; carcasses of dates)[12].

The collection of ancient Egyptian artifacts of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest includes 31 funerary figurines of the *shabti/shawabti/ushabti* type to which is added one *shabtiw* container – this last one we will analyse in a forthcoming study – covering a period spreading from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period[13]. Needless to say, being purchased from dealers by the aforementioned collectors, their history, comprising the way of acquisition and the provenance of these 31 funerary figurines, also still remains unknown[14].

The present paper deals with the description and analysis of the corpus of the Egyptian funerary figurines of *shabti/shawabti/ushabti* type in the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest. The study is structured in two main parts, from general to specific. The first part is a synthetic presentation of the funeral components as guarantors of immortality and of the history of the funerary statuettes of *shabti/shawabti/ushabti* type. This section is essential for the understanding of the role of the funerary figurines of this kind in the ancient Egyptian society. The second one is a catalogue of the funerary figurines of this type in the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest. To integrate them into the general existing typology, when

[8] Tocilescu 1906. See further references in Damian, Tatomir 2019, p. 101-102.

[9] Damian, Tatomir 2019, p. 110-113. See a detailed list of the types of antiquities in Papazoglu's collection in Căzănișteanu 1971, p. 390.

[10] Papazoglu 2000, p. 271. See also Ioniță 2002, p. 115, 118.

[11] Ciho 1983b, p. 23-26; Ciho 1983c, p. 17-36; Ciho 1983d, p. 17-20; Ciho 1984a. For another preliminary study on *shabtis* in museums in Romania see Ciho 1984b.

[12] For the inventory numbers corresponding to each item see Damian, Tatomir 2019, p. 100-101 and Tatomir 2019, p. 144.

[13] See Tatomir 2019, p. 144, 147-149.

[14] An overview (in the author's words, a "preliminary report") of the Papazoglu collection can be found in Ciho 1983b. He mentions (quoting Aramă 1974, p. 248-256) a 1852 letter from Papazoglu's correspondence with a certain I.A. Kheun, an official from the Department of State in Bucharest in which the latter likely suggests the acquisition of a number of antiquities including several Egyptian artifacts. In Ciho's opinion, the Egyptian antiquities owned by Papazoglu were acquired from Kheun (Ciho 1983b, p. 23).

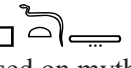
we classified the figurines, we followed two criteria: the chronology and the presence or the absence on their bodies of any inscription. In this way the details of each piece will give scientists insights into their specific history and integrate them into the general typology. Finally, this paper is just the beginning of the general detailed catalogue of the Egyptian artifacts in the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest.

II. THE FUNERARY FIGURINES OF *SHABTI*, *SHAWABTI*, *USHABTI* TYPE

II.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS. THE FUNERAL COMPONENTS AS GUARANTORS OF IMMORTALITY

pr-ḏ.t

The greater part of the material culture of the ancient Egyptian civilization is found in funerary context, associated with customs and practices as a means for the after death everlasting survival of being. The ancient Egyptians were keen observers of every aspect of the natural world in an attempt to understand its properties and figure out how to survive death. The harsh reality of the ineluctability of death implied the body decaying and the transience of the human condition. From the mummifying techniques, to the in-tomb preservation of various kinds of offerings, all witnessed the Egyptian unceasing quest for immortality. Religion, theology, as well as myths and symbols, all participated in this process.

Seen as  , *pr-ḏ.t*, the "house of eternity", the tomb structure differed from one period to the next one. Based on mythological patterns, in ancient Egyptian mentality the construction of a funeral monument from one's own earliest age was considered the supreme act of accessing the eternal life by the owner, from the very time of his/her life, and, especially, during life after death in the invisible world of dead. Generally, "house of eternity" meant the tomb regardless of location, size, compartmentalization, architectural style, building materials. Hence, the tomb could consist either of a structure of a mere pit, or of a tomb shaft, or could be made from mud-bricks; these eternal dwellings of the deceased were later carved into rocks, or built on open land. However, based on its high costs and the durability of the building materials chances were to consider this kind of construction method as an ideal one afforded by only a small part of the population, belonging to the exclusive elite categories. Moreover, due to the material enduringness, the burial sites made of stone/rocks were seen as more adequate to reach immortality rather than the mere pits of ordinary people. The tomb worked simultaneously as the equivalent of the earthly dwelling of the owner in eternity and as a guarantor as well as an accelerator of immortality in the context of the Egyptian dual time: the cyclic time of living (*nḥḥ*) and the Osirian time of the eternal dead (*ḏ.t*). Not only did the ancient Egyptians consider life in the ephemeral realm of living was short compared to eternity in the afterlife, but they furthermore had a dual-time perspective. Hence, the life cycle on earth was *nḥḥ* and it was associated to the daily journey of the sun god Ra through the sky (*i.e.*, across the body of Nut), from east to west, enlivening the world with his light, hence implying permanent renewal and repetition. One believed that at night the god descended beyond the western horizon into the *dwꜣt*, a mysterious and invisible region[15] that borders the formlessness of Nun, generally associated with the realm of the eternal life of dead and characterized by another type of time, the linear eternity, *ḏ.t*, when earthly life ended and everything accomplished in life would have lived unchanged for an indefinite amount of time in *dwꜣt*, preserving there its terrestrial image in all its aspects. Every day at dawn, Ra emerged again from the *dwꜣt* in the eastern horizon. The sun god Ra was the manifestation of *nḥḥ*, as he was seen as renewing himself every night, while at every dawn he was reborn by the sky goddess Nut. On the contrary, with his mummiform appearance, Osiris, the king god of the realm of the dead, was somehow seen as synonymous to the unchanged eternity, *ḏ.t*.

The essential goals of the ancient Egyptians, detailed and depicted on more or less durable materials, expressed their view on the eternal and unchanged life of the deceased in the Kingdom of Osiris. For this to come true, the house of eternity (the tomb), the coffins, embalming, mummification and the reading of the judgment of the dead were required for the deceased. A life lived in moral perfection was required for the dead

[15] *dwꜣt* = the Egyptian afterlife world since the Pyramid Texts; the realm of the dead. In early conceptions, the region in the eastern sky where the sun and stars rise; it was the residence of the dead king. Later, it was seen as the region underneath the earth through which the sun passes at night, from west to east, and in which Osiris and the dead dwell. In hieroglyphs it has been represented as a star-in-circle. See Zago 2019 and also Popielska-Grzybowska 2019.

at his/her judgment before the divine court of Osiris and symbolized the good deeds which allowed the dead to pass into the afterlife, gain access to all its levels, and continue to live in the *ḏ.t*. The *pr ḏ.t* also functioned as both the judgment court and mummification hall, built according to the principles of the goddess *mɜʿt*.

II.1.1. The tomb iconography

With its entire content the tomb reproduced on a symbolic level the owner's own life to ensure his/her resurrection in a successful afterlife. The iconography of the house of eternity means the whole set of symbolic-ritual representations, either the hieroglyphic texts, or the images of the deceased in various situations of daily life, as well as in activities and occupations close to him during his/her life, both in society and in family. This iconography must be seen as a very book of life of the tomb's owner, whose author was himself and was based on the foundation of cultural memory. The reverence the ancient Egyptians paid and showed for their past – as society, as well as family community – was meant to preserve their cultural and civilizational memory and to strengthen their social bonds[16]. The preservation of their traditions was an expression of "craving immortality" of the ancient Egyptians. However, this kind of eternity was a luxury, the high costs being allowed only by the members of the elite. Hence, for those who could afford, the *sine-qua-non* element of the tomb was the mummy along with its amulets, funerary mask and cartonnage, coffin(s) and/or sarcophagus. The tomb decoration (paintings and sculptures showing the deceased in various hypostases, in company of the gods and other divine beings), the hieroglyphic texts carved in or painted on the walls, the funerary equipment – *i.e.* the statues, statuettes[17], the food offerings and the offering tables, the various models of different aspects of life, the funerary vessels, jewellery, papyri, and other kinds of burial goods – played an essential part in the becoming of the dead. Having as a double mythological model on one hand the resurrection of the god Osiris in the underworld as the king of the dead, and on the other hand the daily journey of the supreme god Ra on the firmament from east/dawn (equated with birth) to west/sunset (equated with death), journey identified with the very cycle of life, the aim of the Egyptian funerary iconography was to restore the life of the deceased in the afterlife. Therefore, it was essential that the presumably invisible worlds of the afterlife, imperceptible through the human senses, had to resemble as close as possible to that of the living, so that people – at least the elite one – to continue to enjoy the goods and the privileges they had on earth, the use of their possessions, and – most important to this study – the attention of their servants. In the Egyptian scenario of the eternal afterlife were present mixed ideas, specific to the agricultural and hydraulic civilizations[18] such as the Egyptian one was. By combining the complex depiction – funeral ritual in the case of burial representations – it was thought that the dead was "magically"[19] granted access to an eternal afterlife copied after the ephemeral earthly one.

II.1.2. The funerary servants

The burial preservation of the physical remains of the dead was *sine-qua-non* for human to gain eternal life in the Egyptian version of heaven. The mummified body was home for the invisible immortal

[16] Assmann 2003, p. 483-485.

[17] Schlögl, Brodbeck 1990.

[18] Wittfogel 1957. See also Tatomir 2005; Popielska-Grzybowska 2017.

[19] We put the term *magically* in quotation marks with the intention to point out the significant difference between the Egyptian concept of *ḥkɜ.w* (hekaw) and the Greek (Indo-European) μαγεία. *Magus* and related *mageia* came into the Greek language in the 6th century BC as cognates of the Persian *magus*. While *magus* is a suffixed form of the Indo-European root *magh* meaning "to be able, to have power" (which, for instance, further gave the English *might* or the German *Macht*), the Egyptian concept of *ḥkɜ.w* is a very complex and multivalent one. The concept includes in itself the word *kɜ* (with the meaning of vital force) and was deified and personified as the god *ḥkɜ*, having a cult devoted to him. In the ancient Egyptian thinking it could be many things, depending on the historical period and based on both the theoretical and practical approach, being related to our concepts and practices of magic, medicine, sciences, rituals, invocations, utterances, the vital force which pervades the reality etc. One of its most important features is its close association with speech and the power of word (hence its relation with the god Hu, the deification of the power of the spoken word and the authority of utterance), even though not necessarily spoken: the depicted actions were similar to the uttered ones and hence though as imbued with *ḥkɜ.w*. See further Ritner 1993.

parts of the human being – the *kꜣ*, the *bꜣ* and the *ꜣḫ*, the Egyptian equivalents of our "vital energy", "soul", and "spirit" respectively[20].

The presence of funerary figurines of servants must therefore be related to the religious ideas and beliefs on death and the afterlife. The complete set of representations in the tombs acted as magical-symbolic vehicles. They were thought to be activated by means of rituals and (written) formulas, and thus help the dead reach the desired Osirian resurrection status after-death.

The end of the Old Kingdom brought the burial custom of the including among the funerary goods of models of servants. They were represented in the process of food production or other minor domestic activities and crafts. Mostly they were represented as agricultural workers, bakers, brewers, butchers, etc., men and women alike. In the Middle Kingdom, during the 12th Dynasty, these models began to be replaced by other figurines, usually mummiform. These last ones were equipped for agricultural activities, therefore in this new role they soon replaced the former figurines of workers on a generalized scale[21]. These mummiform agricultural workers became known as *shabtiw*, and often they were inscribed.

II.2. A SHORT HISTORY OF THE *SHABTI* FIGURINES AND THEIR MEANING

Shabtis are one of the most common types of ancient Egyptian artefacts belonging to the funerary equipment[22] to be found in Egyptological or cultural history museums worldwide and after the scarabs are the second in terms of quantity. Although at first there were only a few funerary figurines of such servants that the deceased could dispose of, in the course of the New Kingdom however they have become increasingly numerous so that during the Late Period, ideally, there was a figurine for every day of the year. To these there must be added the figurines of overseers whose mission was to watch over every agricultural worker which performed the duty assigned to him in the name of the deceased owner in the afterlife. By the Third Intermediate Period, the number of *shabtis* placed in the tomb was set at 401 (365 worker *shabtis* and 36 overseer *shabtis*). The consequence of this view was the increase in numbers of the *ushabti* figurines making them one of the most common and numerous ancient Egyptian objects[23]. Almost all public and private ancient Egyptian collections include at least one *shabti*. Already the Egypt travellers of earlier centuries brought such figurines of dead as souvenirs; this practice must have been very popular, because soon they were forged[24].

Their complex character and ambivalent nature escaped interpretations at first and were only gradually clarified, as more and more archaeological material was discovered. One of the best in-depth and detailed *shabti*-analysis was the 1977 Hans Schneider's three-volume study[25]. However, the debate on the various aspects and peculiarities of these funerary figurines is still ongoing with many studies devoted to either general or particular aspects[26].

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[20] Nyord 2019, p. 150.

[21] Stewart 1995, p. 8.

[22] Schlögl 1986, p. 896.

[23] Schlögl, Brodbeck 1990, p. 15.

[24] Schlögl, Brodbeck 1990, p. 15; Schoske, Wildung 1983.

[25] Schneider 1977.

[26] The number of studies on this type of funerary figurines is quite impressive. One may find here chronologically the quintessential contributions only, ranging from general works, to catalogues of collections of funerary figurines from various museums and to studies dedicated to specific aspects of large groups types. For particular features of the one to several pieces belonging to the same type, other sources will be cited when referencing them: Chabas 1863; Birch 1864; Birch 1865; Borchardt 1894; Newberry 1908; Gardiner 1906; Wiedemann 1912; Petrie 1916; Newberry 1930-1937-1957; Petrie 1935; Speelers 1923; Černy 1942; Drioton 1943; Morenz 1967; Aubert, Aubert 1974; Peterson 1977; Vergnieux 1982; Chappaz 1984; Naguib 1985; Schlögl, Brodbeck 1990; Reiser-Haslauer 1990; Reiser-Haslauer 1992; Stewart 1995; Aubert 1998; Alfieri Gama 1998; Alonso y Royano 1999; Martín Valentín 2000; Grajetzki *et alii* 2000-2003; Chautard Martins Correia 2007; Aubert, Aubert 2005; Marini 2012; Milde 2012; Watson 2012; van Oostenrijk 2012; van Oostenrijk, *Iconographic changes on Late Period Shabti Groups from Saqqara*, online at https://www.academia.edu/1487065/Iconographic_changes_on_Late_Period_Shabti_Groups_from_Saqqara; Smith 2013; Ares 2014; Tomorad 2014; Hixenbaugh Ancient Art, *Servants for Eternity: Egyptian Ushabtis*, New York, 2014, http://www.hixenbaugh.net/otherfiles/Servants%20for%20Eternity,%20Egyptian%20Ushabtis%202014%209_22.pdf; Graham 2016b; Onderka 2017; Tarasenko, Tomorad 2017; Tomorad 2017a; Tomorad 2017b; Tomorad 2017c; Naguib 2018; Chappaz 2019a; Chappaz 2019b; Chappaz 2019c; Agusti Torres, *Shabtis*.

Although they are mostly small mummiform figurines, according to Hayes, the Osirian statuettes buried elsewhere are not to be classified as *shabtis*[27]. These funerary statuettes were made of various materials such as wax, clay, wood, stone, terracotta or faïence, and from the Middle Kingdom (2055-1650 BC) to the Ptolemaic Period (332-30 BC) [28] they were part of the funerary inventory.

Today the common terms for these funerary figurines of agricultural mummiform workers are *shabti* (/ , *šɜbty*), *sha(wa)bty* / *shwbty* (/ , *šɜwɜbtỉ* / *šɜwbti*), and *ushabty* (/ / *wšbty*). Milde and Said quoting Budge note that the oldest occurrence of the word *shabti* so far dates from an 11th Dynasty tomb, where *šɜbty* is a designation for a member of the household bringing fowl[29]. The etymology of the word has been long debated. For instance, it was suggested a possible connection with food related terms, such as *šɜbw*, *šɜbt*, *šbw*, *šbt*[30]. Schneider[31] opines that it was derived from *šbd*, a Semitic loanword with the meaning "stick," "staff"[32]. Although the 17th Dynasty variant spelling *shawabti* (*šɜwɜbty*)[33] was at first erroneously connected with the term *shawab*, "persea tree"[34], later it was suggested a more appropriate derivation from *šbd*[35]. A derivation of the verb *šbỉ*, "to replace"[36] was the basis for the late New Kingdom term *shebti* (*šbty*) which emphasized the ideological view of the relationship master – servant: a *shebti* was a "replacer" for the deceased. From the 21st Dynasty onwards, the word found in the inscriptions on this type of funerary figurines was *ushabti* (*wšbty*), a folk-etymology[37] pointing out the statuette's main role as "answerer" (, *wšb*) on behalf of the deceased when he was assigned an agricultural task.

The meaning of this new type of funerary servant figurine is ambiguous, and its function changed as Egyptian society developed and transformed. Controlling the Nile inundation was part of the main activities of such an agricultural and hydraulic society, and for this to happen there was a system of statute labour which would be perpetuated in the afterlife. Actually, it is in the afterlife only where the *shabti* figurine made in its deceased owner's image was meant to act as a substitute, when summoned for work in the Sekhet-Aaru fields[38].

The oldest figurines of this type known so far (ca. 2000 BC) are made of wax or Nile mud and exhibit the naked human body with clearly recognizable gender characteristics that seem to agree with the grave owner's gender[39]. These little figurines, whose arms are stretched out against the sides of the body, are simply

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[27] Hayes 1959, p. 230. On the other hand, however Milde (2012, p. 1) points out that it is quite difficult for the votive figurines coming from different other sacred spaces not to be assigned the status of *sha(wa)btis*, several of them being designated as such. In this respect, Pumpenmeier (1998) drew attention to the extra-sepulchral *shabti*-deposits.

[28] A particular kind of *shabtis* (known as pseudo-*shabtis* as well) is also attested during the Roman Period though, and spread all over the Roman world. The NMA also includes a few pieces of this type which will be the topic of our other work in progress to be published. See Tomorad 2006.

[29] Milde 2012, p. 2; Budge 1911, pl. 51.

[30] Erman, Grapow 1971, vol. IV, p. 410, the second entry, p. 437, the sixth entry.

[31] Schneider 1977, vol. 1, p. 136-137.

[32] Erman, Grapow 1971, vol. IV, p. 442, the ninth entry.

[33] *šwbty* for group-writing.

[34] Hayes 1953, p. 326. Hence, *shawabti* would have been made of persea wood. Petrie (1935, p. 5) already remarked that this kind of material lack in the case of *shabtis*. Furthermore, CT Spell 472 related to the formula later recited over the *shabti* mentions different types of wood for this, particularly either tamarisk (*ỉsr*) or zizyphus wood (*nbs*) (de Buck 1956, 2i-k).

[35] Schneider 1977, vol. 1, p. 138.

[36] Erman, Grapow 1971, vol. IV, p. 436, the fifth entry.

[37] Milde 2012, p. 2.

[38] Or Sekhet-Aalu or, likely, Sekhet-hetep (field of peace) is the Field of Rushes (or Reeds) in the afterlife, the mythical home of Osiris in his capacity of king of the dead realm. It was believed that Sekhet-Aaru was located beyond the netherworld, usually in the eastern part where sun rises, and it was imagined (and depicted in the funerary iconography) as a series of islands covered in boundless fields of rushes like those of the earthly Nile Delta. Throughout most of Egypt's history, this ideal hunting and farming ground was the everlasting home of the justified souls. See further David 2003; Bunson 2009; Coulter, Turner 2013.

[39] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 178; Eggebrecht 1984, p. 340.

modelled, wrapped in mummy bandages and buried in miniature coffins[40]. For the Egyptians it was essential that the deceased's bandaged body remained intact. Only then could he secure his otherworldly existence. The mummy envelope was not only intended to protect the corpse, but also to ensure a resurrection of the dead[41].

In the course of the 12th Dynasty the owners sometimes appear in mummified form in the niches *stelae*[42]. These depictions played a major role in the *shabti* development. Also, the anthropoid coffins began to be manufactured, exhibiting the representation of the mummified deceased which corresponded with the shape of the statuettes. In this way the dead received the quality of a *sʿḥ* (a dignity acquired after the ritually mummified body of the deceased was transfigured as his/her perfect image[43], hence the divine mummy which was illuminated by the sun[44]), a term that in the New Kingdom would describe the ritually buried body[45]. In the Late Period the word will be used directly in reference to the mummy. During the New Kingdom the *shabtis* acquired their characteristic appearance, an iconographical innovation consisting of the presence of the agricultural tools which were carved into or painted on the material: mainly hoes, picks, and bags, but also yokes with water pots or even brick moulds. In the 18th Dynasty, these statuettes could also be granted as a favour by the king[46]. Royal *shabtis* exhibit *regalia* such as crowns and *nemes*-headdresses.

With the growth of the Osiris cult in the Middle Kingdom the shape of the figurine was also influenced in the sense that Osiris, the ruler of the realm of the dead, who himself had to suffer death, was the mythical divine archetype of the mummy[47]. Middle Kingdom *shabtis* were meant to act as substitutes for the deceased in case their mummy was destroyed.

After the Middle Kingdom, the *shabti* phenomenon diminished. During the Second Intermediate Period as burial practices changed, inscribed simple wooden figures called *shawabtis* began to be placed in tombs. For the 17th Dynasty Thebes there was identified the practice of placing the "stick" *shabti*[48] (crudely cut wooden figurines) in little model coffins and often inscribed with a short text[49].

From the New Kingdom onwards, most *shabtis* exhibit a mummiform vague body, from which the head is the only distinctive feature. The hands, particularly the palms are visible, mostly when they hold tools or other pieces of equipment. The size varies between a few centimetres and ca. 50 cm. After Amarna Period a new type of *shabti* came up wearing clothing in the fashion trend at the moment instead of the mummiform silhouette. During the New Kingdom, a new role overlapped the previous classic one of the *shabti* owner: that of the agricultural servant figurines for the deceased. Therefore, *shabtis* were provided with a variety of agricultural equipment and functioned not only as the double of its deceased owner, but also as assistants and workers "on duty" for them in the afterlife. Most likely the figurine got a double function in the sense that it *concurrently and magically* embodied the high-status/elite owner and his/her agricultural servant. The titles inscribed in the *shabti* formula reveal the high ranks of the people who afforded this kind of funerary equipment and it appears that during their earthly life they were most likely exempted from statute labour, a privilege they wanted to preserve in the afterlife as well, being surrounded by an army of figurines of servants. Hence the new role of the *shabti* was not only to elude the agricultural task, but also to ensure the owner's (and its very own) sustenance and survival after death. In his 1977 seminal study H.D. Schneider explains that any analysis of the *shabti* figurine means "to write about masters and servants", these statuettes integrating each "stage of the food process", starting with the field irrigation and ending with

[40] Hayes 1978, p. 326, pl. 215; Aubert, Aubert 1974, p. 13: the authors date the earliest *ushabti* to the time of Amenemhat III.

[41] Westendorf 1967.

[42] Simpson 1974, pl. 18.

[43] The Egyptian word for mummy, *sʿḥ*, means "nobility" or "dignity" and denotes a divine and eternal manifestation of the deceased.

[44] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 133.

[45] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 65.

[46] Milde 2012, p. 2.

[47] "In der Verallgemeinerung eines ursprünglich königlichen Rechts wird seit dem Mittleren Reich jeder Verstorbene zu einem 'Osiris'; er führt diesen Gottesnamen wie einen Titel oder eine Rollenbezeichnung vor seinem eigenen Namen. Hier ist an keine wirkliche Identität mit dem Totenherrscher zu denken; eher gilt die Definition, dass der Mensch durch das Sterben in eine vorgeprägte Rolle eintritt, die den Namen des Osiris trägt". Hornung 1973, p. 87.

[48] Whelan 2007.

[49] Milde 2012, p. 4.

the "production and consumption of the final product: food"[50]. The food process is symbolically reproduced by the personification of the mythical-archetypal relationship between "the master (Osiris) NN and his servant, the menial labourer", so that the *shabti* figurines "represent the Egyptian society '*in toto*'"[51].

The end of the New Kingdom witnessed a new *shabti* type which also includes *shabti* amulets, the "peg"- *shabtis* (*à contours perdus*)[52]. The peculiarity which stands out for this time period is the significant quantitative growth of the *shabti* tombs deposits while a decrease in their size. Their numerical growth resulted in their mass production using moulds. Another result was the metathetic changed terminology from *šwbty* to *wšbty* which reflected the visible changes both in form and status: the new *ushabti* was no longer a domestic servant, but a mere indiscernible slave (*ḥm*) who had "to answer" (*wšb*) to summons. A likely consequence of these formal and conceptual changes was the presence of a new type of *ushabti*, that of the overseer – dated between the 20th to 25th Dynasties – a figurine dressed in its distinctive daily clothing and carrying whips to display its authority[53]. An extraordinary increase in number and the diversification of the types of the *ushabti* figurines resulted in more than one servant/slave figurine per day for each deceased owner[54]. In this new approach of the *shabti* figurines as bought slaves they theoretically had to fulfil their duties instead of the deceased whenever he/she was remembered[55]. The peculiarity of the Third Intermediate Period *shabtis* is the *sšd* headband which surrounds the figurine's forehead. The rulers of the 25th Dynasty prevented the decline in craftsmanship[56]. The so-called Saite Renaissance[57] that followed featured a new standard for the ancient statuary: the dorsal pillar, which could be inscribed with the so-called "Saitic formula"[58]. For this time the presence of the statuettes of overseers was not discerned anymore. Another innovation can be noticed regarding the versions of the texts inscribed which resumed the structure of the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, another link to the values of the past[59]. The *shabtis* were represented standing on a pedestal (also featuring a *mꜣʿt* shape but not only), having the hands grasping either two hoes or a hoe and a pick, as well as the rope of a basket hung over the left shoulder[60]. There were several peculiarities which differentiated the *shabtis* of that time: the so-called "Greek" smile displayed by the figurines; the long Osirian beard, attached for the both genders; the statuettes representing each gender were marked by signs of their individualization – the wig, the dress or breasts accordingly. From the Persian Period onwards, the texts inscribed also appeared in a T-shaped arrangement, that is a horizontal line over a vertical column[61].

Interesting results were provided by Peterson in his 1977 study[62], a topographical and prosopographical attempt to relate to a particular region and individualize some of the elite members of the 26th-30th Dynasties in the Delta according to the artistic style of their physical features correlated to the inscribed titles displayed

[50] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 8.

[51] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 8. For the Amarna Period see also Drioton 1943.

[52] This was a new *shabti* type, common to both kings and nonroyals, which appeared toward the end of the Ramesside period. They were labelled as "peg" or "*contours perdus*" *shabtis* (Weill 1921-1922, p. 437), according to their crude modelling. These funerary figurines are attested for Ramesses VI, VII, IX, X, and XI (Aubert, Aubert 1974, p. 117-120). They were usually made of travertine, often carry brief inked inscriptions, and sometimes a wax was applied to their surface. See Price 2016, p. 279.

[53] Milde 2012, p. 5.

[54] For instance, a receipt from the 22nd Dynasty (Edwards 1971, *apud* Milde 2012, p. 8,) mentions the delivery of no less than 401 *ushabtis*, "male and female slaves" (*ḥmw*, *ḥmwt*), which means 365 workers (one for each day), and 36 overseers.

[55] Černỳ 1942, part 2, p. 118-133.

[56] While the Kushite *shabtis* were thickset, there was also a recurrence of the large stone *shabtis*.

[57] The 26th Dynasty (664-525 BC) was a Renaissance, an age of prosperity, an attempt to revive the models of the exceptional pharaonic past, when many temples were built, and the number of contracts written on papyrus increased, often written in demotic. Great care was also taken to copy ancient literary texts and works of art. Among its most delightful monuments are the tombs of princess Khetbeneit-erboni II (at today Saqqara) and Montuemhat (near Thebes). See James 1991, p. 677-747.

[58] See the next section.

[59] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 78, 154-155.

[60] Milde 2012, p. 6.

[61] Milde 2012, p. 7.

[62] Peterson 1977.

by their *shabti* statuettes in the Medelhavsmuseet. The main ideas stressed were that the art production of the 26th Dynasty marked a new phase in the history of Egyptian art, as the weight of ancient traditions contrasted in a peculiar manner with the new trends. These tendencies gave way to a new variant of the classicist tradition, an idealizing *koine* type which influenced the last centuries of Pharaonic art creation, only to be varied during the Ptolemaic period with tendencies of individual portraiture. One has remarked the new realistic trend in the Delta, often found in the 7th and 6th centuries BC, along with the canonical classicist tradition in the Saqqara area, and the distinctiveness of the facial features that had hitherto received little attention in Middle Egypt. It was obvious a peak achievement of the 26th Dynasty Saqqara artists, an area where an ancient art tradition was once again flourishing. Finally, one can observe how the quality of the entire group of *shabtis* gradually deteriorated, how the stereotype spread and dominated over time[63]. Usually the figures were modelled, and not moulded. The study was focused almost only on the faces of the characters because not only that the mummified bodies are usually insignificant for a stylistic examination, but also because the faces, as always in Egyptian art, are not portraits and do not reflect the individual features of a historical figure, therefore historical iconography is irrelevant to Egypt. However, the figures are identifiable by means of the inscriptions on the mummiform bodies of the *shabtis*, which often display the Chapter Six of the Book of the Dead, and above all, always the names and usually the titles of the elite characters[64]. Often, they could also be dated and localized. The study pointed out the importance of revealing chronologically even entire series of characters from the same city[65]. Gradually the quality of this type of *shabtis* deteriorated, the stereotype spread on a large scale and dominated over time. In the final artistic flourishing of pharaonic art in the Ptolemaic period the *shabtis* displayed no proportion[66].

II.3. FORM, DECORATION, MANUFACTURE, MEDIUM, RELATED ARTEFACTS

II.3.1. Form

So far are known three main *shabti* forms[67]:

a) **Mummiform** (from 12th Dynasty) with several developments: stick *shabti* (17th Dynasty – early 18th Dynasty); empty-handed or holding symbols (12th Dynasty – 19th Dynasty); holding implements (from late 18th Dynasty); "*à contours perdus*" (20th Dynasty); with headband (21st – 22nd Dynasties); with back pillar (26th Dynasty – Ptolemaic Period). It is the form taken by the biggest part of *shabtis*: the body is wrapped in linen strips, leaving the head and often the hands visible only. Many figurines resembled the anthropoid coffins displaying similar wigs, collars, sacred symbols and stylized linen strips. In many cases the *shabti* is enclosed in miniaturized coffins.

b) **in the earthly life clothing** (CT Spell 472). Although the Middle Kingdom tomb statues wore the daily life clothing, *shabtis* in that form did not appear until after the Amarna Period. At that time *shabti*'s fashionable distinctive feature was the copious pleating on the sleeves and on the long projecting skirt. The funerary figurines included further several developments: empty-handed/holding symbols (late 18th Dynasty – 19th Dynasty); holding implements (late 18th – 20th Dynasties);

c) **in the overseer clothing** (20th Dynasty – early 25th Dynasty). During the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods the clothing of the living was the hallmark of the overseer (*reis*) *shabti* statuettes. Some *shabti* inscriptions mention them as "chiefs of ten". Although their subordinate staff *shabti* figurines continued to be represented as mummiform, the overseers were shown holding a whip or baton, instead of agricultural implements. During early Saite Period the overseer form was abandoned, and the *shabtis* conformed to the mummy form.

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[63] Peterson 1977, p. 12.
[64] Peterson 1977, p. 12.
[65] Peterson 1977, p. 12.
[66] Peterson 1977, p. 13.
[67] While certain features (*i.e.* wig forms) were common to all, each of these had its related accessories.

II.3.2. Accoutrements[68]

Headdress

The standard headdress was the traditional one worn by the gods, *i.e.* the lappet tripartite wig (the hair divided in two frontal lappets, while the rest of it was worn on the back). There were several developments, among which the *seshed* headband knotted at the back and retaining the hair, was the most distinctive one[69]. Women's hairdressing was more diverse, the wigs had longer lappets, especially during the Ramesside Period, and helped in place by hair bands. Ordinary men wore short beards, and the *shabtis* of non-royal deceased owners displayed the standard longer Osirian type during the Late Period only.

As for the *shabtis* of women their distinctive features are more obvious on figurines from the end of the Amarna Period to the late Ramesside Period when represented in the daily life dress. Afterwards this became the overseer clothing style. The women mummiform *shabtis* scarcely differed from the men's, except for the headdress style which from the end of the New Kingdom was the lappet type. The Late Period standardized bearded Osirian form allowed the sex differentiation by means of the owner's name only in the *shabti* inscription.

Position of the hands and arms

While the earliest *shabti* figurines displayed the arms extended by the sides of their apparently nude bodies, during the 12th Dynasty mummiform style their arms were either not shown, or only suggested crossed over the chest beneath the wrappings in Osirian pose. From the 13th Dynasty the hands began to be displayed uncovered, even holding symbols/elements of equipment[70]. Other instances however displayed the hands opposed only, with the knuckles facing inward. The standard overseer *shabti* pose displays one arm bent and whip-holding, while the other arm falls downside.

The implements

An interesting *shabti* accoutrement was the agricultural equipment which began during the reign of Tuthmosis IV, at first modelled separately in bronze, wood or faience. After the Amarna Period they were attached as hand-holding objects or integrated with the figurine. The hoe was the most frequently represented tool, until the end of the New Kingdom the *shabti* displaying even two hoes, a broad-bladed one, and a narrow-bladed one. From the 26th Dynasty onward the broad-bladed hoe was replaced by a metal-bladed pick.

The late 18th Dynasty and the early 19th Dynasty *shabtis* showed either incised or painted baskets or bags most likely for seed, and these recipients were frontally hand-held at the waist level. The post-Amarna figurines displayed larger square/trapezoid bags which were slung on the figurine's back over one shoulder or suspended by two cords[71]. The Late Period *shabtis* had a very small bag slung over one shoulder.

Symbols

From the Middle Kingdom until the end of the New Kingdom a significant part of private *shabtis* held various symbols: *ꜥnḫ* (ankh), *ḏd* (djed), *tit* (tyet)[72]. Other amuletic symbols included: beaded broad collar of penannular form[73]; the human-headed *ba*-bird (19th Dynasty), a symbol equating our modern concept of soul, having its wings spread across the body; the pectoral.

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[68] We present in the following the main equipment parts shown on the larger part of the private *shabtis* without referring to royal *shabtis* and to other exceptional zoomorphic *shabtis*. For these types see Schneider 1977, Stewart 1995.

[69] For other wig styles see Stewart 1995, p. 35.

[70] Sometimes the arms were not outlined, while the crossing of the clenched hands was implied only by the direction of the knuckles. See Stewart 1995, p. 36.

[71] See Fig. 38 in Stewart 1995, p. 36.

[72] The Osirian crook and flail tended to be the appanage of royalty. However, during the Third Intermediate Period the crook was held with the hoe in some exceptionally private instances (Stewart 1995, p. 37).

[73] With prestigious connotations because they were usually bestowed as royal gifts.

The back pillar

During the Late Period a peculiarity of the *shabtis* was the back pillar (or dorsal pillar), a feature taken from the earlier statuary displayed in a striding pose, hence its original, practical, purpose of giving structural support. The religious connotation however covered it with the solar symbolism of the pillar (*bnbn*, *benben*) in the Heliopolitan cult. Likely the alterations in the form of inner coffins to placing them upright during the funeral ceremonies influenced the use of *benben* with a square base on *shabtis*[74].

II.3.3. Technology and materials (media)

It is the workshops in the temples and palaces where the funerary equipment (including *shabtis*) were manufactured. Murals of several private tombs depict the work in progress of the specialized craftsmen (including sculptors, painters, scribes etc.) which contributed to the final result: the *shabti* figurine. However, some figurines, particularly faience made ones, are marked by negligence and superficiality in the technique of execution and in the artistic one, and in some cases, even by the carelessness and ignorance of the writing[75].

There was a limited variety of favourite materials (media) for manufacturing *shabtis*. Generally, some of the main ones were appreciated for their properties, others for their hardness and considered as long-lived and thus devoted to gods and to the deceased's afterlife. Some of these materials are mentioned in the earliest mythological and religious sources[76].

Wood[77]

According to the earliest literary references to *shabtis*, the figurines are said to be made of either native Egyptian varieties – acacia, tamarisk or sidder wood, and sycamore[78] – or of imported woods ebony and cedar. While several Middle Kingdom figurines have survived, they were better represented during the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom. However, because of their perishable nature after the New Kingdom the wood-made *shabtis* became very rare.

There were several decorating methods of wooden *shabtis*. They had either a simple directly inked surface (the "stick" type), or, as in the Middle Kingdom sophisticated technique, a first-applied-on-wood layer of gesso which allowed the then painted decoration. Other techniques included: gilding on gesso/the gluing on first of a linen base for the gesso, subsequently decorated (mid 18th Dynasty); a two-kind varnishing (end of 18th Dynasty), that is the colourless one (likely signifying the owner's *sḫḏ*, "illumination"/glorification), and the black one, religiously associated with Osiris, thus being very common for the funerary objects[79].

Stone[80]

Of the entire variety of media, stone was the hardest and most durable, and therefore was more used in the manufacturing of *shabti* statuettes. As in the case of other artefacts and constructions devoted to gods and deceased's afterlife, the hardest rocks like granite, basalt and schist were the most common materials used in this respect. To them, during the 18th and 19th Dynasties softer stones like limestone, serpentine and steatite were chosen for making *shabtis*. The calcite[81] *shabtis* were among the finest artefacts of Amarna and Ramesside Periods. However, during the Third Intermediate Period a new material became very used to the detriment of stone *shabtis*, faience, likely because it facilitated and increased mass-production. In the case

[74] Stewart 1995, p. 38.

[75] In a recent paper, Caramello pointed out that "there were less skilled persons employed in tracing the inscriptions" (Caramello 2017). The cases of unskilled and careless scribes and craftsmen are not uncommon in the manufacturing of funerary equipment in all periods of ancient Egyptian history. See for instance, Lucarelli 2008.

[76] See also Milde 2012, p. 8.

[77] See also Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 233-234.

[78] The term for *shabti* has conjecturally been derived form a word meaning "stick".

[79] Stewart 1995, vol. I, p. 41.

[80] See also Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 234.

[81] Also called "Oriental alabaster" or "Egyptian alabaster".

of glazed faience *shabtis* the new medium became very prized due to its gloss which imitated the highly esteemed gemstones like turquoise and lapis lazuli. Although during the 25th Dynasty there was a brief revival of stone *shabtis*[82], from the 26th Dynasty onwards the use of faience became widespread.

Faience[83]

The huge majority of *shabtis* are made of the Egyptian type of faience[84], a cheap material that imitated the more precious lapis lazuli, and were moulded in open moulds. From its first attested use during the Middle Kingdom, it became increasingly favourite during the New Kingdom, while during the Third Intermediate Period and from 26th Dynasty onwards it was almost exclusively used for *shabtis*. Basically, the technology of Egyptian faience resided in a core of granular quarts/sand blended with an alkaline binding agent (natron/ plant ash). On firing, the sodium in the binder concentrated on the surface to produce glaze. Before firing, by applying a powdered frit with copper and other compounds were achieved a different coloured glaze. The copper compounds were used for blue and green, while iron and manganese for black. However, when affected by damp, blue turn to green, and black to brown. A series of statuettes from the time of Amenhotep III show a multi-coloured glaze, being noted for their outstanding technical and artistic quality. During the Ramesside Period *shabtis* two colours were preferred, white and pale green, while the latter one continued to be used until the Ptolemaic Period. The *shabtis* of the Third Intermediate Period are famous for the so-called "Deir el-Bahri blue", which was a relatively stable blue, due to the presence of cobalt, a rare mineral in Egypt, likely obtained from either the Kharga Oasis or Iran. The hue is related to the mentioned site because most of the figurines coloured in this blue tint were found in the famous caches. During the 30th Dynasty a bichrome effect characterized the *shabti* figurines consisting of the contrast between the deeper tone of the inscription and other details on one hand, and the background colour on the other hand. The common texture of faience was soft and granular. However, there are several *shabtis* from the early New Kingdom and the Late Period featuring a hard texture and fine detail. During the latter dynasties, glazes were thickly applied and had a crackled surface. Usually, reproduction was made by open clay mould, while the back was hand modelled.

Pottery[85]

The Nile silt clay was the second most commonly used material after the faience for *shabtis* manufacture, mainly during the 17th and 18th Dynasties, and increasingly during the Ramesside Period when there was a huge demand of cheap mass-production for people accustomed to servant statuettes. This type of *shabtis* were of red pottery figurines with details in black paint, or even, every now and then, in colour or over a colour wash of white, yellow or blue. Like the faience statuettes they were cast in open moulds and often having the back unfinished. Some *shabtis* of this kind display a bending of the feet and ankles. Most likely this was a mould result, the feet being positioned at its margins to facilitate the removal. Thus, they were rudimentarily bent without modelling the heels[86].

Other media

Clay, unfired mud, was very common during the Third Intermediate Period as a cheap alternative for faience. The sun-dried Nile mud was used with colour washes of blue, green or white, sometimes varnished to imitate glaze. Generally, the *shabtis* were stamped out and left flat at the back with protruding flanges. **Glass.** Unlike clay, glass was only rarely used for making *shabtis*. During the 18th and 19th Dynasties particularly the *shabtis* for kings and senior officials were of glass. It also played an important role in experiments with composite materials for funerary figurines, such as the 26th Dynasty "glassy faience". **Bronze and copper**

[82] Due to the old-fashioned style of the Kushite rulers and the Theban divine votaresses and their officials. See Stewart 1995, p. 42.

[83] See also Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 235-238.

[84] On Egyptian faience see Lucas 1962; Noble 1969; Vandiver 1982; Tite, Freestone, Bimson 1983; Nicholson 2009.

[85] See also Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 235-238.

[86] See Stewart 1995, p. 43, fig. 42.

were prestigious materials and so far were found some very rare *shabtis* from the late 18th Dynasty until the Third Intermediate Period[87].

When one attempts to date *shabtis* according to style criteria, one must take into account the minute distinctions which reveal themselves after a long visual and comparative inspection of the material. With respect of the colours and techniques used, Schneider has pointed out the importance of the practical reasons[88] on the one hand, and both the natural and magico-religious symbolic meaning of colours, on the other hand regarding the varnish and glaze[89]. He noted the traditional use of colours which followed the standard of the painted artefacts: coffins, funerary boxes, illustrated papyri etc[90]. Also, some details like *sšd* headbands, yokes, water pots and brick moulds were specific *shabti* features for relatively short periods only, hence they can be used to date the statuettes for well-defined periods. Other details however combined features in use for longer and different periods, so to date the *shabtis* it may be possible to investigate the overlapping of these periods. To these one must add the analysis of the materials and the surface treatment, particularly in the case of the faience *shabtis*. An important aspect is that the major part of the *shabti* figurines in circulation belongs to the Third Intermediate and Late Periods because it was then when they were mass-produced in huge quantities and belonged to the aforementioned types[91].

II.3.4. The craftsmen

The huge quantity of *shabtis* discovered also points out another peculiarity, that of the specialization and the number of the craftsmen who manufactured them. Most likely specialized workshops/ateliers and some kind of guilds of craftsmen must have functioned attached to the great temples, royal palaces and to the Treasuries of the State. They had as object of activity the production not only of this particular type of funerary good, but also the full range of goods belonging to the tomb equipment. *Shabtis* were manufactured by teams of specialists[92]. Based on the evidence regarding the making of and the religious rituals applied to other kinds of funerary equipment, especially to the divine statues to which the "Opening the mouth" ritual was performed to imbue them with life[93], Schneider assumed that the *shabtis* were likewise ritually and magically brought to life, either before they were given to those who had ordered them, or before they were placed in the tombs of their owners.

II.4. THE SHABTI INSCRIPTION

The oldest *shabtis* statuettes known so far either do not bear any inscription, or they mention the name of the deceased only, possibly with the lineage, written directly on the figurine[94]. In the 12th Dynasty, the inscription was occasionally extended by an offering formula[95]. The text is usually bordered by lines that likely imitate the mummy bandages. From the 13th Dynasty[96] on, the text present on the *shabtis* started to display for the first time the so-called *shabti formula* (as it became a common practice), preserved both in the

[87] For examples of *shabtis* see Stewart 1995, p. 44.

[88] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 238-240.

[89] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 238-240.

[90] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 238.

[91] A problematic period was the late Ramesside when the proliferation of *shabtis* resulted in the growth of unskilled manufacture.

[92] Schneider points out the specialization of the handicrafts according to materials and not according to categories of objects (Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 240). The products of "minor arts" were the results of teamwork: sculptors, artisans, faience and glass makers joined forces in order to accomplish one piece of work, and the methods and work-systems they followed were based on the artist's canon (Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 240). That is why the *shabti* makers are not mentioned in the texts and such kind of profession title did not exist (Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 240; Valbelle 1972, p. 15). The great temples included the *ḫwt-nbw* (Gold-Houses) where was made the funerary equipment and the temple statues and furniture (Davies, Gardiner 1915, p. 57).

[93] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 242.

[94] Hayes 1953, vol. I, p. 327.

[95] Bonnet 1952, p. 851; Lapp 1986.

[96] Hayes 1953, vol. I, p. 349; Aubert, Aubert 1974, p. 18.

main versions and in the short forms up to the Ptolemaic period, as being recorded both in the Coffin Texts (CT) – Spell 472 – and in the Book of the Dead (BD) – Spell 6.

Schneider[97] reorganized the formulaic text into seven main versions each with several variants, and his classification has been fully proven by the *shabtis* research. Two anthropoid coffins from Deir el-Bersha dated to the second half of the 12th Dynasty provided the earliest versions (so far) of the *shabti*-spell – CT Spell 472[98] –, with the title "Spell for causing a *shabti* to do work for his master in the realm of the dead"[99], in which the text also states: "To be spoken over a figure of the owner as he was on earth, made of tamarisk or sidder wood and placed in the tomb-chapel of the deceased"[100]. Here it is clearly expressed that the statuettes received a new purpose and new tasks. The text is of a great importance for dealing with the *shabti* figurines[101]. It is a compilation of two variants, concluded by a single rubric and introduced by a single title. Schneider split the Spell 472 into two versions (I A 1 and I A 2, from which the later was the one in common use)[102], and provided a detailed analysis and explanation of each of them[103]. In the Book of the Dead[104], the text occurs occasionally, in the form of the Spell 6 or as part of the subtitles explanations. Spells associated with BD have been defined as such by virtue of their appearance on funerary bookrolls. However, they were widely deployed on other objects associated with burial. The close integration of ritual utterance with the physicality of the tomb and its associated equipment is attested by the wide-ranging application of BD spells in different *loci*, including the Spell 6 on *ushabti* figurines[105]. As its heading says, the "spell/utterance for causing a *shawabti* to do work (for a man) in the necropolis" , *rꜣ n rdi*(*t*) *ỉry šꜣwꜣbty kꜣ.t m ḫrt-nṯr*[106] was developed as a means to ensure the figurines would perform their requested tasks[107]. Furthermore, Bonnet[108] considered that the wording of the spell reveals the deceased owner's intention to seek a substitute because he was subject to conscription, therefore he was not playing the part of a landlord demanding statute labour[109]. There are several idiomatic expressions or specific terms to which there have been suggested different translations[110].

The *shabti*-spell equally represented a food-spell and a legal document which recorded the relationship between master and servant and was issued "to free the master from tasks obligatory for everybody"[111]. This funerary figurine had the dual function of the substitute for its master in the afterlife, as well as for the living servant who included the *shabti* as his contribution in the funerary offerings in his master's stela-chapel[112].

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[97] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 78, 81-82.

[98] Dated in the Middle Kingdom (end of the 11th Dynasty – middle of the 12th Dynasty). See Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 46.

[99] de Buck 1956, Spell 472, 1a.

[100] de Buck 1956, Spell 472; Stewart 1995, p. 47.

[101] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 47; Faulkner 1977, vol. II, p. 106.

[102] While the first one fell into disuse, the second was adapted and even revived in the Late Period as part of the renaissance of traditions trend.

[103] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 45-62.

[104] The typical mid-18th Dynasty BD was fundamentally an item of elite cultural production.

[105] Scalf 2017, p. 40.

[106] Lapp 1997, pl. 62.

[107] Scalf 2017, p. 319.

[108] Bonnet 1952, p. 849-850.

[109] From the 17th Dynasty onwards, the text appeared more regularly on *shabtis* themselves.

[110] Heerma van Voos 1987, p. 4. See also van der Molen 2000, p. 592. *E.g.*, the expression *ḥwỉ sḏb* or the interpretation of the term "sand". In a Dutch translation of the text on a *shabti* in a museum in Leeuwarden Heerma van Voss suggested that *ḥwj sḏb*, usually translated as "to implant an obstacle" should acquire the new meaning of "to obey". As for "sand", the same Egyptologist (Heerma van Voos 1963), quoting Petrie 1935, pointed that the interpretation of it might be either the sand from the desert blown over the arable fields that should be removed (Petrie 1935, p. 10), or material for building dykes around the fields (Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 59), or some type of fertilizer (Hornung 1979, p. 48) comparable to the *sebakh* (Barguet 1967, p. 42) used by today *fellahin* (Milde 2012, p. 7). For other terms and suggested translations see Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 80-155.

[111] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 45.

[112] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 46.

Because many of the *shabti* statuettes in the NMA collections of Egyptian antiquities display different variations of the *shabti* spell[113] hereinafter we further introduce the Variant I A 2[114] of CT 472 followed by the BD Spell 6.

CT 472 - Version I A 2

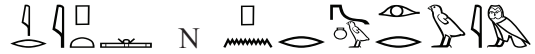
i *šɜbtiw* *iry* *n* *NN* *pn*
O you *Shabtis*, made for this NN

ir *ỉp.tw* *N* *pn* *r* *ḫrt.f*
If one counts this NN to his duty

sk *ḥwi* *sḏb* *im* *n* *N* *pn*
or indeed implant (inflict) this NN there with obstacles

m *z* *r* *ḫrt.f*
as a man in his duty

mk.n *kɜi.ṯn*
"Here we are," you shall say.



ir *ỉp.tw* *NN* *pn* *r* *nw* *irrw* *im*
If one counts this NN for that which is wont to be done there,

n *zḫrt* *sḫwt* *mɜwt*
for cultivating new fields,

r *srd* *wḏbw*
to let the shores be cultivated (grow)

r *ḫnit* *šʿi* *imntt* *wdy* *n* *iɜbtt*
or to move the sand to the west from the east

[113] Although here the direction of writing is the common conventional adopted one, from left to right, along the presentation of each statuette in the collection we will follow the direction of the writing used by the scribe.

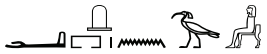
[114] de Buck 1956, VI, p. 472-786, and VI 2, Spell 472, B2L, el-Barsha, B.M. 30839 (p. ix).

ṯs pḫr
or vice versa

mk.n kɜ.ṯn n.f r.s
"Here we are", you should say for him against it

ḏd mdw ḥr zšmw n nb n tp tɜ
To recite over an image of the master as he was on earth

ỉrỉ m ỉsr m nbs
made from *ỉsr*[115]-wood or *nbs*[116]-wood

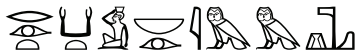


ḏỉw (*m*) (*m*)ᶜ*ḥ*ᶜ*t n зḫ*[117]
(and) placed in the chapel of an *зḫ*.

BD Spell 6[118]

ỉ wšbty ỉpn
O, this / these (= you) *ushabti*(*s*)

ỉr ỉp.tw ỉr ḥsb.tw wsỉr N
If one counts, if one reckons the Osiris N (Title and Name)



r ỉrt kɜt nb ỉr ỉm m ḫrt-nṯr
to do all the work that is wont to be done there in the necropolis ("the realm of the god")

[115] *Tamarix* (Tamarisk). See Germer 1985, p. 202; Baum 1988, p. 202. *isr* is mentioned in the two of the oldest funerary texts – the Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts* and the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts* – in relation to the desert ecosystem where the dead would have lived eternally. It is mentioned in the food context and especially with the notion of regeneration, due to phytogenetic hillocks that the tree can form. See Anđelković, Asensi Amorós 2005, p. 357.

[116] *Ziziphus spina-christi* (L.) (sidder) was used as timber for joinery and for small items. See Germer 1985, p. 114-115; Deglin 2011, p. 86.

[117] See also Schlögl, Brodbeck 1990, p. 18-19.

[118] There are many variants of this spell. We present here the general one which consists of the common elements. See also *The Shabti Spell* (http://www.shabtis.com/Spell.php); Tarasenko 2017, p. 108-109.

ỉst ḥw sḏb(*w*) *ỉm*
now indeed obstacles are implanted therewith –

m z r ḫrt.f
as a man at his duties

mk wỉ kз.tn
"here I am", you shall say (when)

ỉp.tw tn
you are counted off

r nw nb ỉrt ỉm
at any time to do (to serve) there

r srwd sḫ.(*w*)*t r smḥy wḏb.w r ḫn*(*t*) *šʿy n ỉзbtt r ỉmntt*
to cultivate the fields, to irrigate the riparian lands, to bring the sand of the east to the west

ṯs pḫr
and vice versa

mk wỉ kз.tn
"here I am", you shall say.

II.4.1. The structure of the *shabti* spell[119]

II.4.1.1. The Preliminaries[120].

The Dedication. Glorification, titles, name, filiation

- The *sḥḏ*

The peculiarities of the Middle Kingdom inscriptions were the mention of the name and titles of the deceased, sometimes introduced by the offering formula *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw*, which was replaced from the New

[119] Due to the great importance of Schneider's in-depth analysis of the *shabti* spell (Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 78-158) and its general acceptance hereinafter we are following his main conclusions, together with the observations of other Egyptological references works.

[120] See also Stewart 1995, p. 47-51.

Kingdom onward by an innovative introduction expressing the new quality/status acquired by the deceased in the realm of the dead: *sḫḏ* (Osiris) N, "illuminating (the Osiris) N" or "the illuminated (Osiris) N" found on most statuettes[121]. A great number of *shabtis* display just a few words often including *sḫḏ* and the deceased's name only. Simply put, literally, the term *sḫḏ* equally means "to cause to illuminate", and "to make bright", and in this context it very likely has the large meaning of "glorify". However, the term has a very controversial nature to which H.D. Schneider provided an in-depth analysis[122]. Hence while used transitively *sḫḏ* is the causative of *ḫḏ* ("to become white"/"to be white, bright"), having the meaning "to make white, bright" or "to illuminate"[123], the same term used intransitively means "to give light, to spread light, to shine" and metaphorically means "to make clear, to give explanations", "to instruct"[124], in the sense that the *shabti*'s master gave light in a metaphorical way[125]. Schneider's main viewpoint can be resumed as follows:

→ like *ḏd mdw* (*in*)*, sḫḏ* may be an introductory formula[126], hence the translation of *sḫḏ* (*wsir*) *T N ḏd.f* may be "instructions by (the Osiris) T N, he says". Thus, the *sḫḏ*-notion likely have replaced the old recitation formulas and the title (*r n rdit*) as well[127];

→ the *shabti* being considered an aspect of the deceased owner, its expression/title *sḫḏ* was especially chosen to indicate the owner's state represented by such figurines[128];

→ when to propose a translation, Schneider chose for *sḫḏ* the meaning "giver of light" / "shiner", pointing its identification with the term *sḫḏ* for "star"[129];

→ however, he finally insisted on leaving the term untranslated, *i.e.* "the *sḫḏ*" being understood as a title or qualification of the same category as *ꜣḫ*, *sʿḥ*, and *wsir* (NN)[130].

- The Osiris title

Along with this, by calling the deceased "Osiris N" the owner of the statuette was identified with the status of the god of the dead, a method believed to grant the dead access not only to simply eternal life but to a successful one as deserved by the elite people. Between *sḫḏ* and the deceased's name the titles of the owner helped to individuate him/her and recorded their status while living in order to preserve it in the afterlife as well.

The text "The Osiris N says" / "Words spoken by the Osiris N" is generally followed by the *shabti*-spell. Sometimes, in the cases where the space was not so generous, it was written "the Osiris N" only. There are some rare examples of the Third Intermediate Period which bear only the short identity formula "I am N". Identifying the personal names helps in dating or just to give a general indication for the *shabtis*[131]. Often, the filiation (mostly identifying the mother only) follows after the owner's name, especially on *shabtis* of the Second Intermediate and Late Period.

For the 26th Dynasty the frequent "Saitic formula"[132] was actually based on an earlier one, the "town-god formula" which already appeared during the 18th Dynasty. There the deity in question is beseeched to stand behind the deceased. Iconographically this was symbolized by a dorsal pillar, or the *benben* (the sun pillar)

[121] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 128. There are also several other variations of which it must be mentioned the one displayed on *shabtis* found in Abydos, the so-called "Amenhotep III formula". It features the peculiarity of the addressing to the gods at the side of Osiris to make them utter the deceased's name in order to secure his share of the evening meals and the offerings at the Wag-festival. Another variation is the so-called "Khamuas formula" whose main intention is the wish to see the sun disk and adore the sun in life. This recalls older *formulae* under Akhenaten (Martin 1986).

[122] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 131-133.

[123] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 132 quoting Erman, Grapow 1971, vol. IV, p. 224-225.

[124] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 132 quoting Erman, Grapow 1971, vol. IV, p. 226.

[125] Petrie 1935, p. 6.

[126] See Gardiner 1957, §306.1.

[127] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 132.

[128] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 133.

[129] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 133.

[130] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 133.

[131] Most names are to be found chronologically in Ranke 1935; Ranke 1952 and Ranke 1977. See also Thirion 1979 and Backes 2002.

[132] See Jansen-Wilken 2000.

as a manifestation of the town-god. During the 26th Dynasty the formula was often found on the dorsal pillar of Saitic *shabtis*[133].

- Title, names, filiation

The few terms in the Preliminaries are in most cases only followed by *ḏd.f*. The name can be emphasized by the construction *N rn.f* (N his name). The filiation occurred in the dedication and is usually expressed by *ỉr n* (engendered by), *sꜣ n* (son of) followed by the father's name, or *mꜥs n* (born to) followed by the mother's name[134].

II.4.1.2. "Justified"

The *mꜣꜥ(t) ḫrw* formula was common in all versions after the owner's name and in filiation.

During the Late Period the formula was used in the conventional short writing , while from the 30th Dynasty and during the Ptolemaic Period the feather sign was used[135].

II.4.1.3. The Invocation of the *shabti*

Schneider's study revealed that this part of the text exists in all versions of the spell and it is expressed by a vocative consisting of *ỉ* with demonstrative pronoun added to the word for *shabti*. The translation could be either "O, this (these) *shabti*(*s*)", or (with emphasis on the vocative meaning of the demonstrative pronoun) "O, you (ye) *shabti*(*s*)" and in many instances it was found repeated twice[136].

As for the written forms and numbers of the very term for the funerary statuettes, from the Middle Kingdom till the Ptolemaic Period all variants were detected (each one with numerous spellings, many defective): I. *šꜣbtỉw*, or *šꜣbty*; II. *šꜣwꜣbty* (*šwbty*); III. *wšbty*. From the 26th Dynasty onwards the most common designation was *wšbty*.

The Invocation consists of an interjection plus demonstratives sg. in vocative, with several different spellings: *ỉ* (*wšꜣbty*) *ỉpn/ỉptn*/etc. = "O, this (= you) *ushabti*"[137].

II.4.1.4. The Summons of the *shabti* figurine

Along with the Call, the Summons forms the structure of the spell. When introduced by "if", *ỉr* (*ỉry*) the Summons imply the reason why the *shabti*(*s*) must be called upon (conditional clause), whereas the Call on the *shabti*(*s*) forms a main clause: *kꜣ.n / kꜣ.k / kꜣ.ṯn*[138] . There are many variations and synonyms as well. The most frequently used verb is *ỉp*, "to count off". As for the Late Period *shabti* spells the most common verb used is *ỉp*, however three other verbs occur: *ꜥš* (to summon, to call), *ḥsb* (to reckon) and *nỉs* (to summon)[139].

II.4.1.5. The clauses of the Duties (*ḫrwt*) and the Tasks/Works (*kꜣwt*) of the *shabti*(*s*)

The second and the fourth clause of the CT 472 – Version I A 2, and the third and the fifth clause of the BD Spell 6 refer to and repeat further the mandatory duties of and the works to be carried out by the master of the *shabti* in the realm of Beyond, *i.e.* the necropolis, the god's realm, *ḫrt-nṯr*. The impressive quantity of the *shabti* figurines of different periods provides a variety of synonymous variants[140].

[133] Milde 2012, p. 8.
[134] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 134.
[135] For other details, see Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 135.
[136] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 135.
[137] For further details see Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 139.
[138] See further Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 139.
[139] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 140-141.
[140] In this respect see details in Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 142-143.

II.4.1.6. The Obstacles clause - *ỉst / sk ḥw sḏb*

This clause is decisive for the spell in the sense that it reveals why the *shabti* had to be magically activated and put to work: *sk / ỉst ḥw sḏb*(*w*) *ỉm,* "now indeed obstacles are implanted / inflicted therewith"[141].

II.4.1.7. The clause "as a man in his duty", *m z r ḫrt.f*

The deceased owner (man/woman) is equated to "a person who is equal to his task"[142]. The rule is that this clause follows the previous one of the Obstacles. However, there are instances where the latter is absent, so the "as a man…" clause follows the Duties.

II.4.1.8. The Call, *mk.n / mk wỉ kɜ.ṯn,* "here we are, you shall say"

According to Schneider this formula is a "call upon the *shabti* to report to the authorities instead of the master"[143] which may occur one, two or even three times.

II.4.1.9. The *nw*-clause, "that (which)"

The CT Spell 472, V I A 2 contains the *nw*-clause positioned at the end of the spell, as a clause of circumstance with the meaning "that which"[144] in a more complex sentence: *r nw ỉrrw ỉm n zḫrt sḫwt mɜwt*, "for that which is wont to be done there for cultivating new fields". However, in the later versions, *i.e.*, the BD Spell 6, the meaning of *nw* is detached from the Tasks, being considered as a noun, "time, moment"[145], hence the construction with *nw* becoming a clause of time[146]: *r nw nb ỉrt ỉm,* "at any time to serve there".

II.4.1.10. The Tasks and *ṯs-pḫr*

This sequence provides details about the labor activities of the funeral worker in his dual hypostasis of master-servant in the god's land (necropolis). From the New Kingdom this sequence became fixed[147]: *r srdt / srwd sḫ*(*w*)*t* ("to make arable the fields"), *r zmḥy wḏbw* ("to irrigate the riparian shores)*, r ḫnt šʿy n ỉɜbtt r* (*n*) *ỉmntt / n ỉmntt r* (*n*) *ỉɜbtt* ("to bring the sand from east to west / from west to east"). As for the final formula, *ṯs-pḫr*, this means "vice versa" or "to inverse order"[148].

II.4.2. Text position

On small size figurines, the normal display of the ritualic text was in a single column in front or without framing or dividing lines. On larger size statuettes, the longer text was displayed in horizontal bands, starting from the waist downwards, in some cases having an additional column either in front, or at the back. This was also the usual display in the cases of *shabtis* with dorsal pillars. Starting during the 26th Dynasty and continuing until the Ptolemaic Period an innovation was introduced, displaying a T-form inscription, which combined a single line of text with a single column below it.

II.5. THE MINIATURE *SHABTIS*

Among the different sized *shabtis*, there is a category of miniaturized figurines. These however are not to be mistaken as another category of *shabtis*, the amulets referred to by Schneider[149]. According

[141] For the synonyms, meanings and other details see Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 143-144; Speleers 1923, p. 126-130.
[142] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 145.
[143] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 145.
[144] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 148.
[145] Chantrain 2020.
[146] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 149.
[147] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 150.
[148] Westendorf 1955, p. 383.
[149] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 164-165.

to Howley smallness is able to enhance the power and efficacy of objects[150]. Hence miniatures are not intended as models which are understood as accurate but reduced-scale representations of reality. Yet, to manufacture an object which purposefully stirs the imagination, miniature may generally be defined as "the simplified and distilled essential essence of the 'original'"[151].

Much emphasis has been given to *shabtis* and particularly to the miniaturized funerary figurines from the perspective of the history of art to the point that it was suggested that their size reduction might have increased their significance. At a closer look however the assertion that their very small scale meant the workers had abandoned certain details was not always true[152]. Predynastic and Early dynastic miniaturized funerary offerings reveal the craftsmen were keen observers and skilled handicraft workers as well, paying close attention to the minute details even when dealing with miniatures which were small sized copies of the real objects[153]. Yet, the size of the items bears various types of significance revealing either utilitarian, or magico-religious aspects. With respect to these issues, Graves-Brown pointed out that, generally speaking, while large size may be related to greater visibility[154], small ones, being transportable, may also be able to communicate widely. Being portable, miniature artefacts can be seen by many people[155]. An accepted view is that, because they are small, these models might be easily and mass produced and thus suitable for transitory communication. Moreover, for the living, extreme small size allows even transmission of social messages through display as body ornament[156]. Size, however, concerns more than communication ability. It also influences the type of message. While large objects may, for example, be threatening or imposing[157], very small ones can also be hidden and made special or personal[158]. Size may relate to various contexts (social, religious, funerary, etc.), the individual actor, etc[159]. In the particular ancient Egyptian funerary context, the types of messages inferred by very small objects belonging to funerary equipment may also shares common religious beliefs. While large size objects may be related to the elite status of the deceased while he/she was living, small sized ones might have been connected to the deceased's soul whose very reduced dimensions necessitated corresponding survival equipment in the hereafter[160].

As for the *shabtis*, they are obviously of reduced size, since they represent human figures much smaller than life size. However, they are much more than this: they are hand-sized[161]. Howley, quoting Mack and Stewart[162], relates their miniaturization to a very particular scale that encourages their handling, reflecting the general rule of miniatures that they are scaled according to the human body that interacts with them. Moreover, distinction must be made inside the *shabtis* category regarding their own miniaturization. Some figurines are of very small size, much like the amulets, yet they do not belong to this latter category either. Rather their miniature aspect should be related to the status and the elite range importance of the owner during his/her life.

Like all anthropomorphic figurines, *shabtis* also erase the distinction between objects and people. Belonging to the funerary equipment, they were human-made objects meant to magically work in the hereafter both instead of and as the deceased owner. Their liminal status may well have been emphasized by the material from which they were made, particularly by the glazed faience whose glimmering blueish surface imitating

[150] Howley 2020, p. 127.

[151] Bailey 2005, p. 20.

[152] Howley 2020, p. 127.

[153] Allen 2006; Swain 1995.

[154] It was believed that other things being equal, the larger the size and longer the use-life of an object, the more it will be visible (Wobst 1977, p. 322; Sackett 1982).

[155] Though small size necessitates close physical contact to transmit messages (Gero 1989).

[156] However, Graves-Brown says that the part played by visibility in transmission of messages is open to doubt (2010, p. 124-128).

[157] Hooper-Greenhill 2000, p. 113.

[158] Hooper-Greenhill 2000, p. 113.

[159] Graves-Brown 2010, p. 153.

[160] See for instance the Middle Kingdom models of the soul houses (Niwinski 1984). See also *Soul houses*, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/burialcustoms/soulhouse.html, 2002.

[161] For instance, 80% of the several hundred excavated *shabti* figurines at the New Kingdom cemetery at Aniba measures between 9 and 15 cm (Olson 1996, p. 207).

[162] Mack 2007, p. 53; Stewart 1984, p. 56.

natural semi-precious stones lapis lazuli and turquoise had divine associations[163]. A paradox of *shabtis* is that although they were thought active in their meaning as agricultural workers, yet they were static in their stiff, mummiform shape[164].

Still the miniaturization infers much more on the visual perception than it might have been previously thought. Already the art historians noted that interaction with miniature figures can create a powerful imaginary world for the viewer. Yet the theory of the universal appeal of figurines (and thus of *shabtis*) may also be supported by neuroscientific research on visual response in that the audience's experience of "miniature worlds" is observed experimentally as well as experientially. Earlier, the 1980's DeLong's research found that playing with miniature figurines significantly altered subjects' perceptions of time. The smaller the miniatures, the more the viewer's sense of time passing was distorted[165].

However, due to the fact that as all other items belonging to the funerary equipment, the *shabtis*' destination too was inside the tomb only, and not to be exposed to the living audience, Howley's association between the art theory on miniaturism and the neuroscience one of "mirror neurons"[166] could only be partly related, when taking into account the nowadays museums' visitors. Only in that particular and exceptional case of modern living audience the *shabti*'s three-dimensionality and miniaturization may exert an important psychological effect. Otherwise their original and ultimate goal is related unequivocally to the deceased survival in the afterlife.

II.6. THE *SHABTI* CONTAINERS

Since the earliest types of *shabti* figurines, it was a common practice to include them inside miniature (model) wooden or pottery coffins. While the ones from the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period followed the contemporaneous full-sized coffins, with either rectangular or vaulted lid and raised ends, during the early 18th Dynasty of the New Kingdom more sophisticated miniature anthropoid coffins of *shabtis* appeared. Sometimes, there were bands of inscriptions intercalated with images of gods[167].

During the same period occurred another type of case, which allowed the *shabti* to stand upright. Its appearance was that of a square-based box, having upward-projecting sides, a vaulted lid. A cord tied round knobs on the lid and the box secured the model. It looked more like a portable shrine or kiosk holding the god's representation[168]. Often it was mounted on sled runners, much like the shrine. They were also depicted in mural paintings. Their decoration consisted of either a representation of the deceased owner, or stylised panelling on the sides. This type of *shabti* box went through several developments and alterations, with a 19th Dynasty multiple form which could hold several statuettes. Sometimes this type of kiosk was divided in lid-covered sections separated by upward-projecting panels. The extremities of the box were decorated in the panelled style, and the enlarged space on the sides allowed more elaborated themes: the owner adoring the funerary gods Osiris, Anubis and the four sons of Horus; the owner seated with his wife before an offering table; the owner receiving water dispensed by the tree goddess[169]. Some *shabti* boxes were purposely manufactured to house a large number of *shabtis* in only one section divided by false partition tops and covered by dummy lids. Others however had an undivided chamber with single lid. From the Third Intermediate Period onwards and particularly during the Late and Ptolemaic Period the lids were sometimes decorated with paintings of sailing boats, likely connected to the funerary ritual pilgrimages to Abydos, reiterating the Osiris's mythical one. It is very likely that this stage of the ritual is related to the ferrying of sand part of the *shabti* spell. In other instances, the *shabti* owner is depicted on the sides of the miniature cases presenting the *shabti* to an

[163] Friedman 1998, p. 15.

[164] Howley 2020, p. 128.

[165] For instance, a group playing with miniatures at 1/12 scale believed 30 minutes to have passed after only two minutes of play (Bailey 2005, p. 37-38; DeLong 1981; DeLong 1983).

[166] Howley 2020, p. 128.

[167] Also, miniature figurines in mummiform containers were discovered, yet they were not *shabtis*. It is likely that at least a part of them functioned as votive deposits at sacred sites or played a part in the funerary ritual (Stewart 1995, p. 52).

[168] Stewart 1995, p. 52.

[169] Stewart 1995, p. 53.

unnamed deity who holds the symbol of life and acts as an intercessor between the deceased offering donor and the representations of hostile elements in the afterlife personified by serpent and crocodile[170].

II.7. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSION

All the details we presented so far serve for a better understanding of the role and history of each funerary figurines from the collections of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest. By means of the general and particular bibliography, we tried as much as we could to put each of them in its specific historical context. Therefore, the second part of the present study is dealing with these statuettes, analysed according to the criteria set out in the first part, chronologically as well as epigraphically, leaving the anepigraphic figurines at the end.

III. CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE

III.1. EPIGRAPHICAL STATUETTES

E 38 (x) (Fig. 1)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: wooden epigraphic *shabti* of a woman (funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased) in daily dress[171]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: *k* (*p/*) *ꜥ-t*[172]… (?)……*tt*.…
Titles: *nb.t pr*
Lineage: none
Medium: wood, polychrome decoration
Date: New Kingdom (end of 18th Dynasty – early 20th Dynasty)
Dimensions: l = 18.25 cm, w = 4 cm; d = 2.7 cm
Production technique: wood carving then painted
Condition: the state of preservation is complete, but small parts of wood are missing; the *shabti* belongs to a female
Basic shape: wooden carved and then painted figurine of a woman in daily dress[173]; the features are effaced; on the frontal part, under the arms and down the legs there might have been traces of an incomplete hieroglyphic inscription, part of it now illegible; black tripartite, large plain lappet separated wig; the face and the fists are painted ochre-red, a characteristic of the male skin tone; other features include the painted eyes and eyebrows, and traces of the *wsekh* collar; the cord with the basket on the left shoulder and back are painted also in ochre-red
Arms position: crossed over the chest in the mummy covering, but indistinct
Tools: indistinct
Inscription: a single column incomplete inscription painted in black on a yellow background and placed between two ochre-red vertical bands; the text in cursive hieroglyphs is a compressed variant of the standard formula including the *sḫḏ* title (the Illuminate), the Osiris title of the deceased, the owner's title and part of her name, then the painting is shrivelled
It seems that the deceased character is a female: "the *sehedj*, the Osiris the lady of the house (= the housewife) *k* (*p/*) *ꜥ-t*… (?).…*tt*…… justified"
The underlying Schneider typology: Class VID/VIF (?)[174]
The Egyptian antiquities fund of the NMA

[170] Stewart 1995, p. 56, fig. 49. The author mentions also other types of *shabti* containers, *i.e.*, a 19th Dynasty pottery one in the Anubis shape and others containing votive *shabtis* and discovered by Mariette-Pacha in the Serapeum, deposited in niches in the burial chamber similar to their parallels in the tombs of humans. Occasional findings of *shabtis* in canopic jars with lids representing the sons of Horus pointed out the choice of common people of such cases as cheap *shabti* containers (Mariette-Pacha, 1882 (2010), p. 57).
[171] For a preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 4.
[172] Ranke (1935, p. 278) found attested names with the *pꜣ-ꜥꜣ-ḳꜥ* … particles.
[173] See also Kalloniatis 2019, p. 81.
[174] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 210-211, vol. II, fig. 26.

INSCRIPTION

	Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
1.		*sḥḏ*	The *sehedj*
2.		*wsir*	The[175] Osiris
3.		*nb.t*	the Lady
4.		*pr*	of the house (= housewife)
5.		*k* (*p*/) ˁ-*t*… (*?*)…….	
6.	[176]……	*tt*	*tet*
7.	…….		
8.		*mɜˁ hrw* (*?*)	justified

IAB 8/99 (Fig. 2)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: blue-green faience mummiform epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[177] painted in black

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Name: *iˁḥms*[178]

Titles: *ḥm nṯr*[179]

Lineage: none

Medium: blue-green glazed faience with yellow traces and painted in black

Date: Third Intermediate Period

Dimensions: l = 13.85 cm; w = 3.5 cm; d = 2 cm

Production technique: mediocre faience moulding

Condition: the state of preservation is complete; the statuette is effaced and the pigment faded; the features are unclear; the inscription is effaced

Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine with effaced face and indistinct features; the arms are raised at the chest level; under the arms and down the legs there are traces of a one column incomplete painted text in cursive-like hieroglyphs; part of the inscription is illegible; no back pillar; the plain round short wig has the *seshed* band

Arms position: raised at the chest level grabbing the tools on the chest, while over the shoulder on the back it has the bag painted in black

Tools: indistinct

Inscription: under the arms and down the legs there are traces of a one column incomplete painted text in cursive-like hieroglyphs; part of the inscription is illegible; it has a compressed variant of the standard formula including the Osiris title of the deceased, the owner's title, then his name, then it is effaced

It seems that the deceased character is a certain: "the Osiris servant of god Amun, *iˁḥms*"

The underlying Schneider typology: Class VIIIC2+IXE[180]

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[175] For the use of the definite article "the" before Osiris's name, we follow Schneider's interpretation of it as a title of the deceased – "the Osiris". In this respect, when written without the definite article "the", it signifies the god's name, while attaching to it the definite article, the form "the Osiris" means the god's name used as a title for each dead person who hoped to experience the same resurrection as Osiris – hence called "the Osiris". See Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 32, 66-67. See also Porter, Bedard 2006, p. 77.

[176] Possibly the ending of the name *bɜst.t* ?

[177] For preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 11.

[178] The name is a theophorous one, "the god *iˁḥ* is born". See Vitmann 2013a, p. 4.

[179] Considering the important Greek presence in ancient Egypt during the Late Period (particularly during its late part) the ancient Greek conventional equivalent of this Egyptian religious title was "prophet". See Uždavinys 2011, p. 34; Dunand, Zivie-Coch 2004, p. 103.

[180] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 221-223.

INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
1.	*wsỉr*	The Osiris
2.	*ḥm-nṯr*	god's servant (= priest) (of)
3.	*ỉmn*	Amun
4.	*ỉʿḥms*	Iahmes

Translation: The Osiris servant of god Amun, Iahmes

IAB 9/99 (Fig. 3)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: blue faience mummiform epigraphic *ushabti* of a woman (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[181] painted in black

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: *ns*-(*ỉ*).…[182]
Titles: *nb.t pr*
Lineage: none
Medium: blue faience painted in black
Date: 21st Dynasty to 23rd/24th Dynasty, Third Intermediate Period
Dimensions: l = 12.25 cm; w = 10.5 cm; d = 3.5 cm
Production technique: mediocre faience moulding
Condition: the state of preservation is complete; the statuette is effaced and the pigment faded; the features are unclear; the lower part of the inscription is effaced (illegible)
Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine with effaced face and indistinct features; the arms are raised at the chest level; under the arms and down the legs there are traces of a one column incomplete painted text in cursive-like hieroglyphs; part of the inscription is illegible; no back pillar; the plain tripartite wig has the *seshed* band
Arms position: raised and crossed over the chest level grabbing the tools on the chest, while over the shoulder on the back there is the bag painted in black
Tools: indistinct, traces
Inscription: under the arms and down the legs there is a one column incomplete painted text in cursive hieroglyphs; it has a compressed variant of the standard formula including the Osiris title of the deceased, the owner's title, her name
It seems that the deceased character is a certain woman: "the Osiris the lady of the house, *ns*-(*ỉ*)..."[183]
The underlying Schneider typology: Class VIIIB 4.3.0.7 Tc: W17 H8 I1 B12b Tp7b/P[184]
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INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
	wsỉr nb.t pr ns-(*ỉ*)	The Osiris the lady of the house (= housewife), Nes-(i)…

[181] For preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 7. It seems that the statuette comes from the second Cachette from Deir el-Bahari (Bab el Gasus).
[182] Schneider (1977, vol. II, p. 119) mentions a certain woman *ns-ṯr-wỉ*, the king's daughter.
[183] For the character, see also Villar Gómez 2015, p. 109, 121-122, 130 note 219, 134; de Sousa 2018, p. 408.
[184] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 221, vol. II, p. 119.

IAB 11/99 (Fig. 4)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: blue faience mummiform epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[185] painted in black

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: none
Titles: none
Lineage: none
Medium: blue faience painted in black
Date: Third Intermediate Period to Late Period
Dimensions: l = 13.9 cm; w = 3 cm; d = 1.5 cm
Production technique: mediocre faience moulding
Condition: the state of preservation is complete; the statuette is effaced and the pigment faded; the features are unclear; the lower part of the inscription is effaced
Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine with distinct features but without beard; the arms are crossed over the chest; under the arms and down the legs there are traces of a one column incomplete painted text in cursive-like hieroglyphs; no back pillar; plain tripartite wig; the *wsekh* collar and the features are painted in black
Arms position: the tools are drawn on the sides, while over the shoulder on the back there is the bag painted in black
Tools: indistinct, traces
Inscription: under the arms and down the legs there is a one column incomplete painted text in cursive hieroglyphs; the lower part of the inscription is illegible; it has a compressed variant of the standard formula including the *sehedj* title and the Osiris title of the deceased, then it is effaced
The underlying Schneider typology: Class VIIIB + XA[186]
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INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
1.	*sḫḏ*	The *sehedj* (The Illuminate)
2.	*wsi̯r*	The Osiris

…….

Translation: The *sehedj* (the Illuminate), The Osiris….

E 135 (Fig. 5-6)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: fragment of an epigraphic *shabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[187]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: *pꜣ dỉ ỉmn* (*m-?*) *ỉp*(*ꜣ?*)*t*[188]

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[185] For preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 7. It seems that the statuette comes from the second Cachette from Deir el-Bahari (Bab el Gasus).

[186] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 221, 225.

[187] For a preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 9, although neither the inventory number is correct (it is mistaken: E 153 for E 135), nor the Period is identified properly: Ciho writes that it belongs to a character from the 20th Dynasty, although there are many funerary statuettes associated with the character and correctly described by many scholars which placed the *shabtis* and their owner in the 25th Dynasty to the early 26th Dynasty. See Chappaz 1984, p. 93-94; Loukianoff 1937; Ranke 1935, p. 122.4.

[188] The character is identified by Ranke (1935, p. 122.4) as *pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn*-(*m-*) *ỉpꜣt* having also included the Greek correspondent πετεμενωφισ, the translation as "der, den Amenophis gegeben hat" as well as bibliographic references. According to Vitmann the name belongs to the theophorous names, category "5. *The individual as a gift of god*: *pꜣ/tꜣ-dỉ*-X, 'He/She whom god X has given'" (extremely common from the late New Kingdom until the Ptolemaic Period, when it became gradually supplanted by other names (see Jennes, Depauw 2012), *e.g.*, "*pꜣ-dỉ-ꜣst* 'He whom Isis has given' (I 121, 18-19; DN 290-291)". See Vitmann 2013a, p. 3-4. See also Chappaz 2019c, p. 88. For another fragment of a *shabti* of Padiamen(m)ipet in Romanian museums see Ciho 1984b, p. 77-78.

Titles: *ḫry-ḥb ḥry-tp*[189]

Lineage: mother: not included in the fragment

Medium: breccia with chlorite, talc and glass resembling serpentine[190] and glaze

Date: 25th Dynasty to early 26th Dynasty

Dimensions: l = 5.5 cm; w = 3.5 cm; d = 2.1 cm

Production technique: fine modelling polished rock; incised hieroglyphs details carved in the archaic style; the archaism was a vast movement which marked the Egyptian statuary of the 25th Dynasty (Taharqa). This archaic style is essential for the transition from the terracotta figurines from the Third Intermediate Period to the glazed faience ones of the 26th Dynasty. This transition stage is marked by the hard rock *shabtis* which reminded the original shape of the statuettes.

Condition: the state of preservation is incomplete; in the NMA Egyptian antiquities collection there is one fragment only, broken in the height of hips, with four incomplete lines of incised text which surrounds the mummy; on the back there are the two lines which mark the beginning and the ending of the text; the breaking of the statuette is either accidentally, or, in this case precisely, rather intentionally, with the magical-ritual purpose of either mutilating and preventing the *shabti* from revolting and attacking the deceased[191], or of multiplying the funeral workers in the team[192], and thus being much closer to the Egyptian understanding of the statuettes of the funerary workers

The underlying Schneider typology is Cl. XA2 (Ld. 5.2.1.1) Tc: XA2/W36 H5 I1 B18 Tp1c/V.VII

Figs.: Fig. 31, P1. 57, Te: Pl 118[193]

Inscription: there is a four-line incomplete engraved and then painted (now showing traces of blue and white pigment) inscription with a fragment of the Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead (Chapter 472 of the Coffin Texts) carelessly carved. In fact, the four lines represent the lines three, four, five and six of the standard inscription and, as seen below, we may presume a possible connection between our fragment an another one found in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (MAH) in Geneva[194]. The term used for the statuette starts with *š*, hence *šꜣbty*, which is also a sign of the archaic trend[195].

The character is quite well-known in the history of archaeological discoveries[196]. Padiamen(m)ipet held the religious title of chief lector priest (= ritualistic)[197], which made him a high responsible of the spiritual protection of the pharaoh. He possessed the hitherto vastest funerary complex (funerary palace and tomb) carved in Egypt (TT 33 at Assassif) for a private elite character[198]. Padiamen(m)ipet (or Pediamenopet, as he is better known) served one or more pharaohs during the end of the 25th or the beginning of the 26th Dynasty, and he amassed enough wealth and power to build a labyrinthine tomb covered with almost 2622 square meters of scenes and hieroglyphic texts.

The same character is also identified by Chappaz[199] in a fragmentary *shabti* broken in the height of arms, figurine now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (MAH) in Geneva, D 27. If we were to piece together the MAH D 27 fragment in Geneve and the one in the NMA in Bucharest that we are studying here, we could offer a possible fragmentary reconstruction of the *shabti* inscription (see further the illustration).

The funerary figurines of Padiamen(m)ipet are among the most numerous extant in museums and private collections[200].

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[189] For the role of the lector priest see Forshaw 2013.

[190] Chappaz 1984, p. 93.

[191] Chappaz 1984, p. 94. The ritual breaking of funerary figurines is also mentioned by Tomorad 2006, p. 285 and note 47.

[192] As we learn from a late Roman fable of the sorcerer's apprentice which, according to Lucian's *Philopseudes* (120 CE) was of Egyptian origins. See Petrie 1935, p. 4. See also Aubert, Aubert 1974, p. 202-203; Schneider 1977, p. 349-351; Chappaz 1984, p. 94.

[193] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 225, vol. II, p. 154 with full details.

[194] Chappaz 1984, p. 93-94.

[195] Chappaz 1984, p. 94.

[196] Aubert, Aubert 1974, p. 201. For the important *shabti* of Padiamenope, see also Malek 1977; Tiradritti 1999, p. 21, n. 6, p. 131, n. 144; Welc 1995.

[197] And, as Chappaz suggests (1984, p. 94) "the King's first magician".

[198] Chappaz 1984, p. 94.

[199] Chappaz 1984, p. 93, no. 115.

[200] Chappaz 1984, p. 94. See Loukianoff 1937.

INSCRIPTION
Hieroglyphs

1. (= 3)[201] [202]
2. (= 4)
3. (= 5)
4. (= 6)

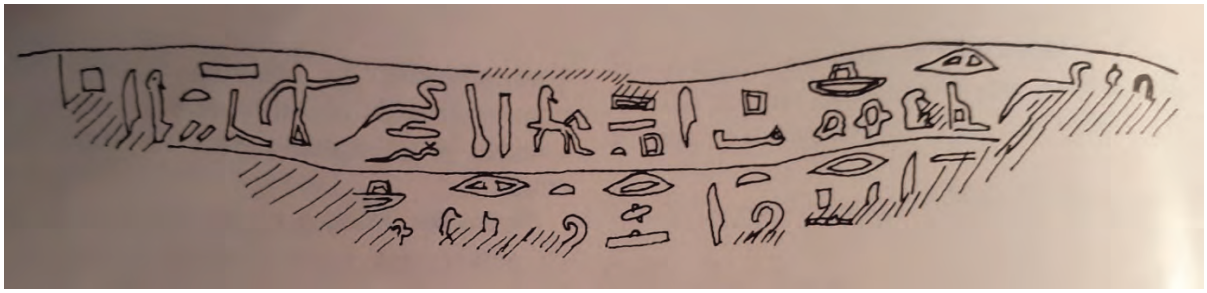
Transliteration
1. *ỉpn ỉr.tw ỉp.tw r ỉr* [*.tw wsỉr ḫry-ḥb ḥry-tp pз dỉ ỉmn*] (*m*) *ỉp*(*з*)*t*
2. *r ỉr.t kз*(*.w*)*t nbt ỉr.t ỉm m ḫrt-nṯr ỉs*(*t*) *ḥwỉ sḏbw ỉm m*
3. *z r* (*ḫr*).*t=f mk sw kз.k ỉp.tw r n nw* (*r*)
4. *nb ỉrt ỉm r srwd sḫ.t r smḥ.y wḏb.w* (*r*) *ḫn.t*

Translation
1. if one counts, the [Osiris the chief lector priest Padiimn] (m) ip(a)t
2. to do all the works that are to be done therein the realm of the dead (/god's domain = necropolis) – however (now indeed) obstacles are implanted therewith
3. – as a man at his duties, "here he is", you shall say when you are counted off at any time
4. to do (/serve) there, to cultivate (/plant) the fields, to irrigate the river banks, to ferry sand of…

For comparison, we present below the fragment discussed by Chappaz[203], existing in the MAH D 27[204] and its inscription already translated[205].

Fragment in the MAH D 27, according to Chappaz 1984, p. 93.

[201] Ranke 1935, p. 122.4; Watson 2012, p. 43, no. 74, *pз-dỉ-ɜmen-ỉpet*.
[202] Watson 2012, p. 43, no. 74.
[203] Chappaz 1984, p. 93.
[204] Chappaz 1984, p. 93.
[205] For details, transliteration and translation see Chappaz 1984, p. 94.



The inscription on the MAH D 27, according to Chappaz 1984, p. 94.

IAB 1/99 (Fig. 7-11)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: *wsḫ-ỉb-rˁ mrỉ-ptḥ*[206], Wahibre Meri Ptah
Title: none
Lineage: mother: *ỉrty-rw*[207], Irtyrw
Medium: the once fine bright turquoise blue-green glazed faience has faded[208]
Production technique: moulding
Date: Late Period, Saite Dynasty (26th Dynasty, 664-525 BC)
Dimensions: l = 18.3 cm; w = 4.5 cm; d = 2 cm
Condition: the state of preservation is complete; turquoise blue-green glaze is faded, especially on the body, leaving brown traces; figurine of good quality
Shape: mummy-shaped figurine; eight-line of impressed text with ruling lines, around the body, ending on each side at the back pillar supported by a trapezoidal base plate; the text is in a complete state; tripartite, large striated lappet separated wig that leaves the ears free; ceremonial Osirian plaited postiche beard that is curled at the tip
Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, with right sleeve and both cuffs indicated; only the fists are seen coming out of the mummy wrapping
Tools: raised; the left fist grabs a hoe, the right fist, a pick and a cord that leads to a seed pouch over the left shoulder
The underlying Schneider typology is Class XIA2 (Ld. 5.3.1.149) Tc: W38 H4 I8 B26a Tp3b/V.VIIA[209]
Inscription: on the frontal lower part of the body it has an eight-line (standard) complete incised cursive-like hieroglyphic inscription with a fragment of the Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead[210] (Chapter 472 of the Coffin Texts) including the invoking formula of the funerary agricultural servant to work for and in the owner's name in the Underworld. The back pillar is anepigraphical. It has been identified a significant number of funerary statuettes for this owner. It shows many similarities with the IAB 2/99.
The character is a certain: "the *sehedj* (the Illuminated) the Osiris *wsḫ-ỉb-rˁ-mrỉ-ptḥ* (the beloved of Ptah), son of *ỉrty-rw*".
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[206] It is a two parts name: the first one is a basilophorous name consisting of the throne name of Psammetichus I, while the second one is a theophorous one, "beloved by the god Ptah". See Vitmann 2013a, p. 4-5.
[207] On the name of the character's mother, see Marucchi 1899, p. 239, no. 3; Petrie 1935, pl. XXIII; Ranke 1935, p. 42.10, or the variant *ỉrwt* (?), p. 5.19; Chappaz 1984, p. 87, no. 107.
[208] For a preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 15. A detailed analysis of *shabtis* very likely belonging to the same nobleman was made by de Haan, *The ushabtis*; Chappaz 1984, p. 87-89, nos. 107-110; Chappaz 2019c, p. 50.
[209] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 228, vol. II, fig. 31; James 2002, p. 227-248.
[210] For an analysis of the *shabti* formula in the Book of the Dead see also Tarasenko 2017.

INSCRIPTION[211]

Hieroglyphs

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.

Transliteration

1. *sḥḏ wsir wꜣḥ-ib-rꜥ mr(i)-ptḥ*[212] *ms n irty-rw ḏd=f i wšꜣbty ipn*
2. *ir ip(n) (t)w wsir wꜣḥ-ib-rꜥ mr(i)-ptḥ r ir.t kꜣ(.w)t nb(.wt) ir.(w)t im*
3. *m ḫrt-nṯr is(t) ḥ(w)i sḏbw im m s r*
4. *ḫr.(w)t=f mk* (*wi*) *kꜣ=ṯn r n nw nb*
5. *im* (*r*) *sr(w)ḏ sḥ.(w)t r smḥi wḏbw*
6. *r ḫn.t šꜥi imnt.t n iꜣbt.t*
7. *mk* (*wi*) *kꜣ*
8. *mꜣꜥ ḫrw*

Translation

1. The *sehedj*[213] (the Illuminated) the Osiris (Wsir) Wahibre Mery Ptah born to Irtyrw he says: O this *shabti*
2. if this is reckoned the Osiris (Wsir) Wahibre Mery Ptah to do any work there
3. in the necropolis (the god's domain) but/however the troubles (obstacles) encounter there as a man at
4. his duties[214] "here (I am)" you shall say at any occasion
5. there to make flourish the fields, to irrigate plots
6. to transport by boat the sand from west to east
7. Here (I am) (you) shall say
8. True of voice

Comments

The facial features: a fine modelled long face, wide mouth with thick lips, and a broad nose, pointed to a Nubian aspect[215]. According to the facial features, Peterson provides a description of some of the Late Period characters bearing the name Wahibre, but impossible to locate them[216].

Because Wahibre is the throne name of king Psammtik I (664-610 BC), the basilophorous name was very common at that time, and found associated with many of the Late Period elite characters. Hence the present one could be a contemporary of either the aforementioned king or of one of his successors[217]. A significant number of funerary statuettes (actually troops of *shabtis*) has been identified for this owner[218]. It seems very likely that the following figurine in the present catalog, IAB 2/99, belongs to the same type.

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[211] Throughout the Late Period the variant VII of the *shabti* spell is very common. It is the only variant of the *shabti* spell after the New Kingdom in the data, and is only carved, never painted. The Osiris spells that use "born to" in the spell at the end are from the 26th to the 30th dynasty (664-343 BC) (Smith 2013, p. 24).

[212] On the character's name see Ranke 1935, p. 73.6-7; Ranke 1952, p. 273; Chappaz, 1984, p. 87-89, nos. 107-110.

[213] Schneider (1977, vol. I, p. 133) suggests that this term should be left untranslated. See supra note 128.

[214] Formula translated as: "then obstacles are placed for him there as a man at his duties". See Watson 2012, no. 19, line 3; Chappaz 1984, p. 87, no. 107.

[215] Portraiture in the Saite Renaissance of the 26th Dynasty preserved the Kushite influence of the preceding Dynasty. Kushite features include a round face, short broad nose, nasolabial furrows and thick lips, so it is likely that this 25th Dynasty convention underpins the somewhat negroid features of the present character (Graham 2016a, p. 9).

[216] Peterson 1977, p. 33-34, no. 18. Also, Peterson's study can be generally used (and possibly further extend) to form an overview and maybe even discern the features of some of the Late Period characters, particularly between 26th Dynasty to 30th Dynasty (in our present catalogue, see IAB 1/99, IAB 2/99, IAB 5/99, IAB 6/99, IAB 22/99, IAB 23/99, IAB 4/99, IAB 21/99, E 47, E 45, IAB 3/2019).

[217] Chappaz 1984, p. 87-89, nos. 107-110.

[218] Chappaz 1984, p. 87, no. 107.

IAB 2/99 (Fig. 12-14)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: *wꜣḥ-ib-rˁ mrỉ-ptḥ*, Wahibre Meri Ptah
Title: none
Lineage: mother: *ỉrty-rw*[219], Irtyrw
Medium: the once fine bright turquoise blue-green glazed faience has faded[220]
Production technique: moulding
Date: Late Period, Saite Dynasty (26th Dynasty, 664-525 BC)
Dimensions: l = 17.8 cm; w = 3.5 cm; d = 2 cm
Condition: the state of preservation is complete; the turquoise blue-green glaze is faded, especially on the body, leaving brown traces; figurine of good quality, yet chipped and having dark traces on the face
Shape: mummy-shaped figurine; nine lines of impressed text with ruling lines, around the body, ending on each side at the back pillar supported by a trapezoidal base plate; the text is in a complete state; tripartite, large striated lappet separated wig that leaves the ears free; ceremonial Osirian plaited postiche beard that is curled at the tip
Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, with right sleeve and both cuffs indicated; only the fists are seen coming out of the mummy wrapping
Tools: raised; the left fist grabs a hoe, the right fist, a pick and a cord that leads to a seed pouch over the left shoulder
The underlying Schneider typology is Class XIA2 (Ld. 5.3.1.149) Tc: W38 H4 I8 B26a Tp3b/V.VIIA[221]
Inscription: on the frontal lower part of the body it has a nine-line (standard) complete incised cursive-like hieroglyphic inscription with a fragment of the Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead (Chapter 472 of the Coffin Texts) including the invoking formula of the funerary agricultural servant to work for and in the owner's name in the Underworld. The back pillar is anepigraphical. It has been identified a significant number of funerary statuettes for this owner.
The character is a certain: "the *sehedj* (the Illuminated) the Osiris *wꜣḥ-ib-rˁ-mrỉ-ptḥ*[222] (the beloved of Ptah), son of Irtyrw".
Considering the similarity between the owner's name and his mother's name on IAB 2/99 and those on IAB 1/99, it seems very likely that the two figurines belong to the same owner. However, the differences in style, features and inscription prove that they were not made in the same mould.
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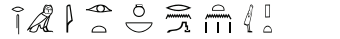
INSCRIPTION
Hieroglyphs

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6. 
7.
8.
9.

[219] On the name of the character's mother, see Marucchi 1899, p. 239, no. 3; Petrie 1935, pl. XXIII; Ranke 1935, p. 42.10, or the variant *ỉrwt* (?), p. 5.19; Chappaz 1984, p. 87, no. 107.

[220] For a preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 16. A detailed analysis of *shabtis* very likely belonging to the same nobleman was made by de Haan, *The ushabtis*; Chappaz 1984, p. 87-89, nos. 107-110; Chappaz 2019c, p. 50.

[221] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 228, vol. II, fig. 31; James 2002, p. 227-248.

[222] On the character's name see Ranke 1935, p. 73.6-7; Ranke 1952, p. 273; Chappaz 1984, p. 87-89, nos. 107-110.

Transliteration
1. *sḫḏ wsir wꜣḥ-ib-rᶜ mr(i)-ptḥ ms n irty-rw ḏd=f i w*
2. *šꜣbty ipn ir ip.tw wsir wꜣḥ ib rᶜ mr(y) pt(ḥ)*
3. *ms n irty rw r ir kꜣ(.w)t nb(.wt) ir.(w)t im m ḫrt-nṯr*
4. *ist ḥwi sḏb im m z*
5. *r (ḫr)w.t=f mk wi (kꜣ=)ṯn i*
6. *ptw.tn r n nw nb irt im (r) s*
7. *ḥ.(w)t r zmḥi wḏbw*
8. *šᶜy tn imnt.t n iꜣbt.t*[223] *ṯs pḫr*
9. *mk (wi) kꜣ mꜣᶜ ḫrw*

Translation
1. The *sehedj* (the Illuminated) the Osiris Wahibre Mery Ptah born to Irty irw he says: O
2. (this) *shabti* if this is reckoned Wsir Wahibre Mery Ptah
3. born to Irty rw to do any work there in the necropolis (the god's domain)
4. but/however the troubles (obstacles) encounter there as a man
5. at his duties „here (I am)" you (shall say)
6. when inspect at any occasion there
7. to make flourish the fields, to irrigate plots
8. to transport by boat sand from west to east and vice versa
9. Here (I am) (you) say true of voice

IAB 5/99 (Fig. 15-17)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: *iᶜḥ-ms*[224]
Titles: religious titles: *ḥm-nṯr ptḥ*, priest (literally, servant of god[225]) of Ptah; *ḥry-sšꜣ st-wr*, master of the secrets of the Great Place[226]
Lineage: mother: *nfr*[227]*-sḫmt*[228]
Medium: the once fine-green glazed faience has faded
Date: Late Period, 27th Dynasty[229]
Dimensions: l = 19.3 cm; w = 5.6 cm; d = 3 cm
Production technique: moulding
Condition: the state of preservation is complete, yet the figurine presents cracks (missing fragments) and is chipped: the nose is broken, the right upper front part of the forehead and wig, the right cheek, the right elbow, and the left fist are chipped; also there are several chippings at the inscription level; the base is broken on the front part, while

[223] Line 8: an alternative reading could be: *ḫn.tn imnt.t iꜣbt.t* "while you sail from west to east".

[224] The name is a theophorous one, "(the god) Iᶜḥ is born". See Vittmann 2013a, p. 4.

[225] Considering the important Greek presence in ancient Egypt during the Late Period (particularly during its late part) the ancient Greek conventional equivalent of this Egyptian religious title was "prophet". See Uždavinys 2011, p. 34; Dunand, Zivie-Coch 2004, p. 103. It is thus very likely Ciho's translation of the first title as "prophet of the god Ptah". For a preliminary description and translation see Ciho 1999, no. 18.

[226] While Watson's translation relates the priest's title to the "Great Place" (2012, p. 10, no. 12), Ciho's one (1999, no. 18) sees it as connected to Isis. However, grammatically the formula seems much closer to the Watson's suggestion, therefore we agree with him, especially because it was also the Schneider's translation of the title *ḥry sšꜣ st wrt* as "master of secrets of the great place 5.3.1.159, 5.3.1.160" (1977, vol. II, p. 250 [129]). Had it been related to Isis, the title would have included the feminine ending *.t*, so *s.t wr.t*, not *s.t wr*.

[227] See Ranke 1935, p. 200.

[228] The owner's name and the two religious titles, as well as his mother's name are identified in an inscription on a *shabti* in Birmingham museum. See Watson 2012, p. 10, no. 12. See also Petrie 1974, p. 610-611; Aubert, Aubert 1974, p. 242-243. On the character's name see Ranke 1935, p. 200.2: *nfr sḫm.t* and 12.20. For the name of the owner and his mother's see also Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 228; vol. III, 2.2.1.1. and vol. II, p. 227, and fig. 31. For the names and bibliographical references, see Chappaz 2019c, p. 11.

[229] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 229; Watson 2012, p. 10, no. 12.

the lower right corner of the base is missing; the tip of the beard is missing; the glaze is faded, especially on the body, turning brown traces

Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine; ten-line of impressed text with ruling lines, around the body, ending on each side at the back pillar supported by a trapezoidal base plate; the text is complete; tripartite, large striated lappet separated wig that leaves the ears free; ceremonial Osirian plaited postiche beard that is curled at the tip

Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, with right sleeve and both cuffs indicated; only the fists are seen coming out of the mummy wrapping

Tools: raised; the left fist grabs a hoe, the right fist, a pick and a cord that leads to a seed pouch over the left shoulder

Inscription: on the frontal lower part of the body it has a ten-line (standard) complete incised cursive-like hieroglyphic inscription with a fragment of the Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead (Chapter 472 of the Coffin Texts) including the invoking formula of the funerary agricultural servant to work for and in the owner's name in the Underworld. The back pillar is anepigraphical.

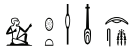
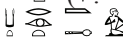
The character is a certain: "the *sehedj* (the Illuminated) the Osiris *iʿḥ-ms* (born to) *nfr-sḫmt*"[230].

The underlying Schneider typology is Class XIA2 (Ld. 5.3.1.149) Tc: W38 H4 I8 B26a Tp3b/V.VIIA[231]

The Egyptian antiquities fund of the NMA

INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs

1. 
2. [232] (+?[233])
3. 
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

Transliteration

1. *sḥḏ wsir ḥm-nṯr ptḥ ḥry-sšt3 st-wr iʿḥ-ms* [*ms*] *nfr-sḫmt*
2. *mɜʿ ḫrw ḏd=f i wšʿbty ỉpn ỉr ỉp*(*n*) *tw wsỉr ḥm-nṯr ptḥ*
3. *ḥry-sšt3 st-wr iʿḥ-ms* [*ms*] *nfr-sḫmt mɜʿ ḫrw r ỉr.t kɜ*(*.w*)*t*
4. *nb*(*.wt*) *ỉr.*(*w*)*t ỉm m ḫrt-nṯr ỉst ḥwỉ sḏb*
5. *ỉm m s r* (*ḫr*)*w.t=f mk wỉ*
6. *kɜ=ṯn ỉp tw tn r nw*
7. *nb ỉrt ỉm* (*r*) *srwḏ sḫ.*(*w*)*t r zmḥỉ*
8. *wḏbw šʿy tn n ỉmnt.t*
9. *iɜbt.t ṯs pḫr mk wỉ* (*k*)*ɜ*
10. *tn*

Translation

1. The *sehedj* (the Illuminated one), the Osiris, priest of (servant of god) Ptah, master of the secrets in the Great Place, Iahmes [born to] Nefer-sekhmet
2. justified. He says: O this *wshabty* if this is reckoned Osiris, priest of (servant of god) Ptah
3. master of the secrets in the Great Place Iahmes [born to] Nefer-sekhmet justified to do any work
4. there in the necropolis (the god's domain) but/however the troubles (obstacles)

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[230] Schneider (1977, vol. I, p. 229) identifies the character in full details as: dyn. 27 (I) - *iʿḥms hm-nṯr ptḥ ḥry-sšt3 st-wr nfr*(*t*)*-sḫmt* and gives bibliographic references. See Aubert, Aubert 1974, p. 242-243.

[231] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 228; vol. II, Fig. 31; James 2002, p. 227-248.

[232] It is very likely that the scribe mistook the sign Q3 from the Gardiner's list (Gardiner 1957, p. 500) likely for N5 (Gardiner 1957, p. 485) from the name of the god Ptah.

[233] It is likely that the scribe mistook the R9 from the Gardiner's list (Gardiner 1957, p. 502) for M22 or M24 (Gardiner 1957, p. 482).

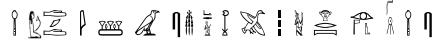
5. encounter there as a man at his duties “here (I am)”
6. you shall say when at any occasion there
7. to make flourish the fields
8. to irrigate plots, to transport by boat sand from west to
9. east and vice versa, “here I am” you
10. shall say

IAB 6/99 (Fig. 18-22)

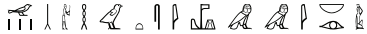
GENERAL PRESENTATION: epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[234]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: *pꜣ-ḫꜣʿ.s*[235]
Titles: military title: *ḥry-mšʿ*, Chief of the Troops[236]
Lineage: mother: (*t*)*ꜣ-šdìdì*[237]
Medium: the once fine turquoise blue-green glazed faience has faded and turned brown
Date: Late Period, 26th Saite Dynasty[238]
Dimensions: l = 20.6 cm; w = 5.5 cm; d = 3.2 cm
Production technique: moulding
Condition: the state of preservation is complete, yet the figurine presents a few cracks (missing fragments) and is chipped: the nose is broken
Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine; ten-lines of impressed text with ruling lines, around the body, ending on each side at the back pillar supported by a trapezoidal base plate; the text is complete; tripartite, large striated lappet separated wig that leaves the ears free; ceremonial Osirian plaited postiche beard that is slightly curled at the tip
Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, with right sleeve and both cuffs indicated; only the fists are seen coming out of the mummy wrapping
Tools: raised; the left fist grabs a hoe, the right fist, a pick and a cord that leads to a seed pouch over the left shoulder
Inscription: on the frontal lower part of the body it has a ten-line (standard) complete incised cursive-like hieroglyphic inscription with a fragment of the Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead (Chapter 472 of the Coffin Texts) including the invoking formula of the funerary agricultural servant to work for and in the owner’s name in the Underworld. The back pillar is anepigraphic.
The character is a certain: “the *sehedj* (the Illuminated) the Osiris *pꜣ-ḫꜣʿ.s* born to (*t*)*ꜣ-šdìdì*”
The underlying Schneider typology is Class XIA2 (Ld. 5.3.1.149) Tc: W38 H4 I8 B26a Tp3b/V.VIIA[239]
The Egyptian antiquities fund of the NMA

INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs
1. 
2.
3.

[234] For a preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 19.
[235] For the owner’s name Ranke 1952, p. 282.24, gives the possible variant *pꜣ ḫꜣʿ sw* (?). A certain *pꜣ ḫꜣʿs* is also identified by Schneider 1977, vol. II, p. 31. On *shabtis* of the same character see also Gatty 2017; Janes 2016. Chappaz 2019c, p. 72 identifies the name and the military title, and gives bibliographical references to a certain *pꜣ-ḫꜣʿs ḥry mšʿ*.
[236] See Janes 2016. See also *Shabti of Pakhaas*, National Museums Liverpool, 2020, https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/shabti-of-pakhaas (accessed on July 10th, 2020).
[237] For the name of the owner’s mother, Ranke 1935, p. 367.22 and Ranke 1952, p. 396 gives the possible variant *tꜣ šìdd* (?). Yet Ciho’s translation (1999, no. 19) runs as “the one who was in front of the soldiers, Pa-Has, born to Hor-sa-Iri”, which suggests a slightly generalization regarding the military title, and gives a rather inaccurate name of the character’s mother, likely based on a different view of the hieroglyphic signs.
[238] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 228; Watson 2012, p. 10, no. 12.
[239] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 228, vol. II, fig. 31; James 2002, p. 227-248.

4. 
5. [240]
6.
7.
8.
9.
10. [241]

Transliteration

1. *sḥḏ wsir ḥry-mšʿ pɜ-ḫɜʿ.s ms* (*t*)*ɜ-šdidi mɜʿ-ḫrw*
2. *ḏd.f i wšb.ty ipn ir ip.tw wsir ḥr.y-mšʿ*
3. *pɜ-ḫɜʿ.s ms* (*n*) (*t*)*ɜ-šdidi mɜʿ-ḫrw r ir.t kɜ.t*
4. *nb*(*.t*) *ir im m ḫr.t-nṯr ist ḥw sḏb.w*
5. *im m s r ḫrt.f m.k wi*
6. *kɜ.tn ip.tw.tn r nw nb*
7. *ir.t im r srwḏ sḫ.t r zmḥ.y*
8. *wḏb.w* (*r*) *ḫn.t sʿy tn imn.tt* (*r*)
9. *iɜb.tt ṯs pḫr m.k wi*
10. *kɜ.tn m*

Translation

1. The *sehedj* (the Illuminated one), the Osiris, the Chief of the Troops, Pa-khaas, born (to) (T)a-shedidi, justified,
2. he speaks: O, these *shabtis*, if one counts, the Osiris, the Chief of the Troops,
3. Pa-khaas, born to Ta-shedidi, justified, to do all the works
4. that are to be done therein the realm of the dead – now indeed obstacles are implanted
5. therewith – as a man at his duties, "here I am",
6. you shall say when you are counted off at any time
7. to serve there, to cultivate the fields,
8. to irrigate the river banks, to ferry sand of the west (to)
9. the east and vice versa; "here I am",
10. you shall say.

IAB 22/99 (Fig. 23-25)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: fragmentary epigraphic mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased[242]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Name: *ɜs.t*[243] (= "Isis", hence the owner could be a woman) (or much doubtful *pɜ-dì-ɜst* (?)[244]

Titles: none

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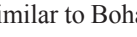
[240] The deviation from the text of the Chapter VI from the Book of the Dead by the insertion of some hieroglyphic signs as in this case of before and the superimposing of two hieroglyphs such as found in the formula  *m.k wi*, "here I am" could suggest either a possible error of the scribe/craftsman, or a reuse of the *shabti* (?).

[241] Similar to Bohairic ⲁⲙⲏⲓⲧⲉⲛ: my = tn, "come" ? (imperative in use in the Late Period, see Engsheden 2003, p. 53).

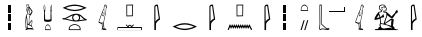
[242] For a preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 22, the funerary statuette of 'Pa-diu-lset'.

[243] is attested as a writing for *ɜst*, "Isis", see Leitz 2002, p. 69, but, admittedly, only in the Roman Period.

[244] Ranke 1952, p. 284.15. For bibliographical references and name see also Chappaz 2019c, p. 85. According to Vitmann (2013a, p. 3-4) the name belongs to the theophorous names, category "5. *The individual as a gift of god*: *pɜ/tɜ-dì*-X, 'He/She whom god X has given'" (extremely common from the late New Kingdom until the Ptolemaic Period, when it became gradually supplanted by other names (see Jennes, Depauw 2012, p. 109-132), *e.g.*, "*pɜ-dì-ɜst* 'He whom Isis has given' (I 121, 18-19; DN 290-291)". See Vitmann 2013a, p. 3-4. For the Greek correspondent see Jennes, Depauw 2012.

Lineage: mother: *ꜣs.t-y*(*.tỉ*) (...?)[245]
Medium: the once fine-green glazed faience has faded turning white-brown
Date: Late Period, 26th Dynasty[246]
Dimensions: l = 18.1 cm; w = 5.5 cm; d = 3 cm
Production technique: moulding
Condition: the state of preservation is incomplete; the figurine is broken in the height of feet (lower part) as well as the inscription which are missing
Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine; nine lines of impressed text with ruling lines, around the body, ending on each side at the back pillar; the text is incomplete; it is in a bad condition, the faience glaze is cracked on many parts, particularly on the forehead, arms and chest, while the lower part of its feet and inscription is broken and missing the trapezoidal base, likely accidentally; however, there is another different explanation of breaking of the *shabti* with magical-ritual intention in the height of feet (and thus much close to the Egyptian understanding of the statuettes of the funerary workers) with the purpose of mutilating and preventing them from revolting and attacking the deceased[247]; tripartite, large striated lappet separated wig that leaves the ears free; ceremonial Osirian plaited postiche beard that is curled at the tip
Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, with right sleeve and both cuffs indicated; only the fists are seen coming out of the mummy wrapping
Tools: raised; the left fist grabs a hoe, the right fist, a pick and a cord that leads to a seed pouch over the left shoulder
Inscription: on the frontal lower part of the body it has an incomplete nine-line (standard) incised cursive-like hieroglyphic inscription with a fragment of the Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead (Chapter 472 of the Coffin Texts) including the invoking formula of the funerary agricultural servant to work for and in the owner's name in the Underworld. However, the inscription can be reconstructed. The back pillar is anepigraphical, yet the hieroglyphs extend on each side at the beginning of the backpillar's sides.
The character is a certain: "the *sehedj* (the Illuminated) the Osiris *ꜣs.t* (or much doubtful *pꜣ-dỉ-ꜣst* (?), daughter (?) or son (?) of *ꜣs.t-y*(*.tỉ*) (...?).
The underlying Schneider typology is Class XIA2 (Ld. 5.3.1.149) Tc: W38 H4 I8 B26a Tp3b/V.VIIA[248]
The Egyptian antiquities fund of the NMA

INSCRIPTION
Hieroglyphs

1.
2. 
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.

……

Transliteration

1. *sḥḏ wsỉr ꜣst* (*pꜣ-dỉ-ꜣst* ?) *ms ꜣs.ty*(*.tỉ*) *mꜣʿ ḫrw*[249] *ḏd=f*
2. *ỉ w šꜣbty ỉpn ỉr ỉp*(*n*) *tw r ỉr.t kꜣ*(*.w*)*t*
3. *nb*(*.wt*) *ỉr.*(*w*)*t ỉm m ḫrt-nṯr ỉst ḥwỉ sḏb ỉm m*
4. *z r* (*ḫr*)*w.t=f mk wỉ kꜣ=*
5. *ṯn ỉp tw tn r n nw r nb ỉrt*

[245] The name of the owner's mother, *ꜣs.t-y*(*.tỉ*)(?), translated as 'Isis is coming', is also typical for the Late Period. See Schneider 1977, vol. II, p. 173, pl. 68 (5.3.1.110); Decker 2005, p, 94-95. For reading as *dỉ-ꜣst ms ꜣs.ty*, see Ranke 1952, p. 332.

[246] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 228. Another figurine of likely the same character can be found here: *Uschebti für Pa-Di-Iset geboren von Aset*, Aton Gallery, https://aton-gallery.com/1900-shabti-of-padiaset/, 2001-2017.

[247] Chappaz 1984, p. 94. The ritual breaking of funerary figurines is also mentioned by Tomorad 2006, p. 285 and note 47.

[248] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 228, vol. II, fig. 31; James 2002, p. 227-248.

[249] It seems that here is a mistake of the scribe because the determinative of the name is placed after the term for the justified deceased.

6. *ỉm* (*r*) *srwd sḏ*.(*w*)*t*
7. *r zmḥỉ wḏbw šˁ*
8. *y tn n ỉmnt.t r ỉꜣbt.t ṯs pḫr*
9. *mk wỉ* (*k*)*ꜣ tn*

.....

Translation

1. The *sehedj* (the Illuminated one), Ast (= Isis) son of Asty justified. He says:
2. O this *ushabty* if this is reckoned to do any work
3. there in the necropolis (the god's domain) but/however the troubles (obstacles) encounter there
4. as a man at his duties "here (I am)"
5. you shall say when at any occasion there
6. to make flourish the fields
7. to irrigate plots, to transport sand by boat from west to
8. east and viceversa, "here I am" you

E 41 (Fig. 26)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: fragment of a small size/miniature – (broken in the height of the legs) epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Name: *pꜣ-dỉ-pp*[250]

Titles: *ỉt nṯr*[251]

Lineage: mother: (*bꜣs*?)*t.t ỉr* (*nb*?) (*dỉs*?)[252] / *ỉr nb*(*.t*)[253]

Medium: brown-yellow glazed faience

Date: 26th Dynasty

Dimensions: l = 4.6 cm; w = 1.2 cm; d = 0.2 cm

Production technique: mediocre moulding

Condition: the state of preservation is incomplete; the statuette is mediocrely modelled with coarse face and broken in the height of the legs; the features are unclear; the inscription is effaced

Basic shape: small size broken mummy-shaped figurine careless made with coarse face and indistinct features; it looks like on the frontal part, under the arms and down the legs there might have been traces of a hieroglyphic inscription, now illegible; on the back pillar there is one column incomplete impressed text in cursive-like hieroglyphs with ruling lines on both sides; tripartite, large plain lappet separated wig, which on the back is covered by hieroglyphic signs; ceremonial Osirian plaited postiche beard

Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, but indistinct

Tools: indistinct

Inscription: on the back pillar there is one column incomplete impressed text in cursive-like hieroglyphs with ruling lines on both sides with a compressed variant of the standard formula including the *sehedj* title (the Illuminate), the Osiris title of the deceased, the owner's name followed by the name of the owner's parent (mother), then broken

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[250] Ranke (1935, p. 123.12) identifies the name for the Late Period in the form . The character is mentioned also in Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 227, vol. II, p. 175, vol. III, p. 79, 5.3.1.119. The full description is in Aubert, Aubert 1974, p. 217. El-Sharkawy (2009, p. 79) presents objects belonging to this 26th Dynasty priest and his titles and explains that this Padipep will be, according to Hasan Nasr el-Din, the one who had the same name, buried in a tomb had seen on 1892 by De Morgan at Saqqara between pyramids of Teti and Userkaf and held the titles: *ỉt-nṯr*, *mrỉ nṯr*, *wˁb ˁꜣ* ("God's father, beloved from the god and the high purifier-priest"). El-Sharkawy notes further (2009, p. 79) that Wildung referred that he was mentioned in Erman's manuscript of *Wb*. who translated the name as: "he who was given from the god (Pep)", this structure appearing during the 22nd Dynasty. The inscriptions of two *shabtiw* of possibly the same character are described in Watson 2012, p. 48-49, nos. 85, 86. The name is theophorous, as a gift of a god, in this case *pp*; see Vittmann 2013a, p. 4.

[251] *ỉt-nṯr* = divine father, a low-mid level clerical post, possibly above the *wˁb* priests (the "pure ones") (Labudek 2010, p. 32). See also Sauneron 2000, p. 54-55; Jansen-Winkeln 1993, p. 223.

[252] Possibly a form of the name mentioned by Ranke 1935, p. 90.7.

[253] Not identified so far.

It seems that the deceased character is a certain: "the *sehedj*, the Osiris *pꜣ-dỉ-pp* the divine father, (born to) (*bꜣs*?) *t.t ỉr* (*nb*?) (*dỉs*?)[254] / *ỉr nb*(*.t*)"

The underlying Schneider typology: Class XIA5[255] (Ld. 5.3.1.119) Tc: W34 H3 I7 B28 Tp8b/V.VIIA

Papazoglu collection, in the Egyptian antiquities fund of the NMA

INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
1.	*sḥḏ*	The *sehedj*
2.	*wsỉr*	The Osiris
3.	*ỉt nṯr*	the divine father
4.	*pꜣ-dỉ-pp*	Padipep
5.	(*bꜣs*?)*t.t ỉr* (*nb*?)[256]	
……		

Translation: The *sehedj* the Osiris the divine father Padipep (born to) Bastet-Irdis (?) / Irnebet (?)…

IAB 23/99 (Fig. 27-30)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[257]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Name: *pꜣ-dỉ-*(*mꜣỉ?*)*-ḥsꜣ* (*?*) / *ḥst* (*?*)[258].

Titles: none

Lineage: mother: *tꜣ-šrỉt* (?) or maybe *pꜣ-šrỉ qr tꜣ-šš* / *tꜣ-šṯ.t* (?)[259].

Medium: the once fine-green-brown glazed faience has faded, turning yellow brown

Date: Late Period, according to the grammatical style likely Ptolemaic Dynasty[260]

Dimensions: l = 17.4 cm; w = 4.5 cm; d = 2.9 cm

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[254] Possibly a form of the name mentioned by Ranke 1935, p. 90.7.

[255] Schneider 1977, vol. II, p. 175, vol. III, p. 79, 5.3.1.119.

[256] Alternative reading could be: (*dis*?) / *ir nb*(*.t*).

[257] For a preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 24.

[258] In the absence of evidence attesting the suggested name and particularly due to the very bad condition of careless moulding of hieroglyphs we can only presume the character's name based on the closest association between this one and the names attested and bibliographically identified. However, knowing the habit of scribes and copyists during the Late Period to use abbreviated forms of words and names and even rather visually related hieroglyphs than with close meaning, we can suggest a possible reconstitution, although we cannot identify the name in its full extent. See Ranke 1935: *pꜣ dỉ* (*mꜣỉ*) *ḥsꜣ* / *ḥst* (p. 123.15 and p. XXII). Chappaz (2019c, p. 96) identified several characters with this name along with the bibliographic references. According to Vitmann (2013a, p. 3-4), the name belongs to the theophorous names, category "5. *The individual as a gift of god*: *pꜣ/tꜣ-dỉ*-X, 'He/She whom god X has given'", extremely common from the late New Kingdom until the Ptolemaic Period, when it became gradually supplanted by other names (see Jennes, Depauw 2012), *e.g.*, "*pꜣ-dỉ-ꜣst* 'He whom Isis has given' (I 121,18-19; DN 290-291)". See Vitmann 2013a, p. 3-4. However, Ciho's identification (1999, no. 24) is completely different and very likely not properly suggested due to a different interpretation of the hieroglyphic signs: (the funerary statuette) "belonged to a scribe and purifying priest (uab); the name is effaced".

[259] Ranke (1935, p. 368.5, 370.10-11, mentions the name in these two forms. Based on the same previously mentioned (note 237) stereotypical scribal habit of Late Period, our hypothesis is that the scribe mistook several hieroglyphs in the name of the owner's mother as follows: for the variant *tꜣ-šrỉt/pꜣ-šrỉ* (I, 368.5): he either wrote/copied the sign A1 instead of A17 adding to this the sign N 37 (*š*) (and even Q2 instead of X1); for the variant *tꜣ-šš*/*tꜣ-šṯ.t* (370.10-11) he wrote/copied the sign X1 instead of either M8 or V14.

[260] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 228-229.

Production technique: moulding

Condition: the state of preservation is complete, yet the glaze is shrivelled and faded turning yellow-brown traces; the figurine presents cracks and is chipped

Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine; eight-line of impressed text with ruling lines, around the body, ending on each side at the back pillar supported by a trapezoidal base plate; the text is complete and some hieroglyphic signs are extended over the both sides of the pillar; in the lower extremity, under the last ruling line there is the final part of the formula; tripartite, large striated lappet separated wig that leaves the ears free; ceremonial Osirian plaited postiche beard that is curled at the tip

Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, with right sleeve and both cuffs indicated; only the fists are seen coming out of the mummy wrapping

Tools: raised; the left fist grabs a hoe, the right fist, a pick and a cord that leads to an almost imperceptible seed pouch over the left shoulder

Inscription: on the frontal lower part of the body it has an eight-line (standard) incised cursive-like hieroglyphic inscription with a fragment of the Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead (Chapter 472 of the Coffin Texts) including the invoking formula of the funerary agricultural servant to work for and in the owner's name in the Underworld. The brown glazed faience inscription is careless incised, while in most of the cases the hieroglyphic signs are almost undiscernible and present overlaps. The back pillar is anepigraphical.

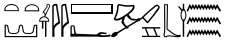
The character is a certain: "the *sehedj* (the Illuminated) the Osiris *pꜣ-dỉ-*(*mꜣỉ*?)*-ḥsꜣ* (?) / *ḥst* (?) born to *tꜣ-šrỉt* (?) or maybe *pꜣ-šrỉ* or *tꜣ-šš* / *tꜣ-šṯ.t* (?). See below IAB 23/99 (3) a-g.

The underlying Schneider typology is Class XIA2 (Ld. 5.3.1.149) Tc: W38 H4 I8 B26a Tp3b/V.VIIA[261]

The Egyptian antiquities fund of the NMA

INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6. 
7.
8.

Transliteration

1. *sḫḏ wsỉr pꜣ-dỉ-*(*mꜣỉ*?)*-ḥsꜣ* (?) / *ḥst* (?) *ms* (*n*) *tꜣ-šrỉt* (?) / *tꜣ-šš* / *tꜣ-šṯ.t* (?)
2. *ḏd ỉn wšʿbty ỉpn ỉr ỉp*(*n*) *tw wsỉr pꜣ dỉ* (*mꜣỉ*?) *ḥsꜣ* (?) / *ḥst* (?) *r ỉr.t kꜣ*(*.w*)*t*
3. *nb*(*.wt*) *ỉm* (*m*) *ḫrt-nṯr ỉst ḥwỉ sḏb ỉm m*
4. [*z r ḫr*]*.wt=f mk wỉ kꜣ*
5. *=ṯn ỉp.tw* [*=ṯn*] *r n nw r nb*
6. *wḏbw šʿy* (*tn n*) *ỉmnt.t* (*r*)
7. *ỉꜣbt.t pn ṯs pḫr mk wỉ* (*k*)*ꜣ*
8. *tn*

Translation

1. The *sehedj* (the Illuminated one), the Osiris, Padi-(mai?)-hesa (?) / -heset (?) born (to) Tasherit (?) / Tashesh / Tashetchet (?)
2. He said: O this *wshabty* if this is reckoned Osiris Padi-(mai?)-hesa (?) / heset (?) to do any work
3. there in the necropolis (the god's domain) but/however the troubles (obstacles) encounter there
4. [as a man at his duties] "Here (I am)",
5. you shall say when at any occasion there
6. to transport by boat sand from west to
7. east and viceversa, "here I am" you
8. shall say

[261] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 228, vol. II, fig. 31.

IAB 4/99 (Fig. 31)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: epigraphic *ushabti* fragment (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[262]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: *wꜣḥ-ỉb-rˁ*[263]. The name was a very common one at the time.
Titles: none
Lineage: mother: missing
Medium: the blue and red painted turquoise blue-green glazed faience has faded and turned brown in patches
Date: Late Period, 26th Saite Dynasty to 30th Dynasty[264]
Dimensions: l = 11.6 cm; w = 1.5 cm; d = 3 cm
Production technique: moulding
Condition: the state of preservation is incomplete; the statuette is broken in the height of legs, on their lower part, broken under the "n" hieroglyphic sign; the turquoise glazed faience still keeps traces of red and blue pigments on the face, fists, hieroglyphs

Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine; the face is well defined, and the mouth has a gentle smile, the ears are well modelled, the *shabti* stands against a dorsal pillar; under the arms starts a one column vertical centred inscription with an impressed text with ruling lines on both sides of the text which names the deceased as "…Wahibra, born to…"; the text is incomplete; tripartite, plain large plain lappet separated wig that leaves the ears free; ceremonial Osirian plaited with straps postiche beard that is slightly curled at the tip; the lower part of its feet and inscription are broken and missing the trapezoidal base, likely accidentally; however, there is another different explanation of breaking of the *shabti* with magical-ritual intention in the height of feet (and thus much close to the Egyptian understanding of the statuettes of the funerary workers) with the purpose of mutilating and preventing them from revolting and attacking the deceased[265]

Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, with right sleeve and both cuffs indicated; only the fists are seen coming out of the mummy wrapping

Tools: raised; the arms are crossed right over left on the chest, and the hands protrude from a shroud to hold a pick in the left, and a hoe in the right; the right hand also holds the twisted cord of a small basket that is carried behind the left shoulder

Inscription: under the arms starts an incomplete one column centred inscription bordered on both sides and top, written in cursive-like hieroglyphs, placed on the frontal lower part of the body from which the preserved fragment includes the *sehedj* title, the Osiris name of the deceased, the owner's name and the "born to" formula; the back pillar is anepigraphical

The character is a certain: "the *sehedj* (the Illuminated) the Osiris *wꜣḥ-ỉb-rˁ* born to..."

The underlying Schneider typology is Class XIA1 (Ld. 5.3.1.58-5.3.1.80) Tc: W36 (or W 34) H3 I6 B26b Tp3b/V.VIIA[266]

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INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
1.	*sḥḏ*	the *sehedj*
2.	*wsỉr*	the Osiris
3.	*wꜣḥ-ỉb-rˁ*	Wahibre
4.	*ms*	born
5.	*n*	to

……..

= *sḥḏ wsỉr wꜣḥ-ỉb-rˁ ms n*… = The *sehedj*, the Osiris, Wahibre, born to…

[262] For a preliminary description, see Ciho 1999, no. 17.

[263] It is a basilophorous name consisting of the throne name of Psammetichus I. For the owner's name, see Ranke 1935, p. 72-73. Chappaz (2019c, p. 40-41) identifies several characters with the same name and the name of the owner's mother.

[264] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 228; Watson 2012, p. 31, no. 48. For another individual with the same name see also *Shabti of Wah-ib-re*, National Museums Liverpool, https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/shabti-of-wah-ib-re.

[265] Chappaz 1984, p. 94. The ritual breaking of funerary figurines is also mentioned by Tomorad 2006, p. 285 and note 47.

[266] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 225, 227, vol. II, p. 164-165.

Comments

The available bibliographic sources allow us to suggest a hypothetical reconstruction of the text along with the likely name of the owner's mother. Thus, based on the likeliness between the *shabtis* features as well as on his name related to his mother's one we found so far at least one possible Wahibre owner: *wꜣḥ-ỉb-rꜥ ms n*[*tꜣ-ḥṯrt mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*] ("born to Tahetjeret, justified") in Liverpool Museum[267], whose drawing of the hieroglyphic formula seems the closest to the fragmentary statue IAB 4/99. The inscription on *shabti* in Liverpool Museum runs as follows: *sḥḏ Wsỉr wꜣḥ-ỉb-rꜥ ms n tꜣ-ḥṯr.t mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*, "The illuminated one, the Osiris, Wah-ib-Re, born to Ta-hetjeret, justified". Also, Watson[268] includes the vertical column inscription on the *shabti* of Wahibra in Birmingham Museum with a full similar text. Hence chances are we may reconstruct the inscription on our broken *shabti* in the NMA based on the likeliness between the name of the owner's mother on the NMA *shabti* be the same as the one on the Liverpool Museum's *shabti*, as well as on the Birmingham Museum's *shabti*.

IAB 3/2019 (Fig. 32)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: epigraphic small size *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Name: *p*(*ꜣ*?)*f-ḥr*(*y*?)*-nṯr*[269]

Titles: none (?)[270]

Lineage: mother (?): *ḥtp* (?)[271]…(?)[272]

Medium: green-brownish glazed faience; coarsely modelled

Date: most likely 26th Dynasty, but not excluded 30th Dynasty

Dimensions: l = 10.1 cm; w = 3.7 cm; d = 1.6 cm

Production technique: moulding

Condition: the state of preservation is complete

Basic shape: small size mummy-shaped figurine coarsely made with distinct features characteristic for the Late Period; it presents cracks (the nose is broken) and is chipped; the left part of the front head is flattened; on the frontal lower part under the arms and down the legs there is one complete column impressed text in cursive-like hieroglyphs without ruling lines; anepigraphic back pillar; tripartite, large plain lappet separated wig, yet the ears are barely seen; ceremonial Osirian plaited postiche beard

Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, from which only the fists are seen coming out of the mummy wrapping

Tools: raised; the left fist grabs a hoe, the right fist, a pick while the cord that leads to a presumptive seed pouch over the left shoulder is barely seen

Inscription: on the frontal lower part under the arms and down the legs there is an effaced impressed single column complete text in cursive-like hieroglyphs without ruling lines, with a variant of the standard formula missing the *sehedj* title (the Illuminate) but including the Osiris title of the deceased, the owner's name (which most likely is not followed by his title(s); rather these might have been included in his very name (?)), followed by the lineage formula, the name of the owner's parent (mother?).

The deceased character is a certain: "the Osiris *p*(*ꜣ*?)*f ḥr*(*y*?)*-nṯr* born (to) *ḥtp*(*t*?)…(?)

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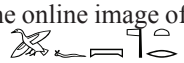
[267] *Shabti of Wah-ib-re*, National Museums Liverpool, https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/shabti-of-wah-ib-re. See also Janes 2016; Gatty 2017; Watson 2012, p. 31, no. 48: Wah-ib-Re and the drawing.

[268] Watson 2012, p. 31, no. 48.

[269] Chappaz identifies two funerary statuettes with the names in the following forms: 1. *pꜣy.f ḥr*(*y*)*-nṯr* ("*shabti* of Pefherinitre" of 26th Dynasty according to Berlev, Hodjash 1998, p. 100.125 no. A-616, pl. 120 – VIIA.125), and *pꜣy.f ḥr*(*y*)*-nṯr* respectively (Chappaz 2019c, p. 71), the second one accompanied by the name of his mother *ḥtp-nṯrt* (*?*); Quémereuc 1992, p. 68-72 and the online image of the *shabtis* at Smeesters 2011. Ranke (1935, p. 127.17) mentions the name *pꜣ.f-ḥry-nṯry* in the forms  , and , and the same author (Ranke 1935, p. 115.24-25) also mentions another name *pꜣ-ḥry* in the forms and respectively. The owner's name belongs to the category of theophorous names, expressing a divine title (Vittmann 2013a, p. 3-6).

[270] The character's name includes the terms *ḥr*(*y*) and *nṯr* which form titles already attested in the Old Kingdom, such as *ḥry-ḫt-nṯr* ("master/controller of the things/property of the god"), see Jones 2000, vol. II, p. 600, no. 2198 and references.

[271] Chappaz (2019c, p. 71) identifies the name of his mother in the form *ḥtp-nṯrt* (?) with the source attested in Quémereuc 1992, p. 68-72 and the online image of the *shabtis* at Smeesters 2011.

[272] Alternative reading could be: *tw*(*t*?)*-p-nb* (?).

The underlying Schneider typology is Class XIA5[273] (Ld. 5.3.1.36) Tc: W36 H3 I8 B28 Tp7c (or 13a)P
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INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
	wsìr	The Osiris
	p(*ꜣy*?).*f*	P(Ay?).f
	ḥr(y?)-*nṯr*(*w*?)	Her(y?)-netjer(w?)
	ms n	born to
(?) / [274](?) (???)	*ḥtp* (*t*?)… / *tw*(*t*?)-*p*-*nb* (?)	Hetep (t?)... / Tw(t?)-pa-neb[275] (?)

Translation: The Osiris Pafherinetjer born to Hetep (et?) / Twtpaneb (?)

IAB 21/99 (Fig. 33)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: fragment of an epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[276]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: *ꜣst-nb* (*w.t?*)-[*pr?*][277]
Titles: *nb*-(*w.t?*) [*pr?*]
Lineage: mother: *ìr.wy* (*?*) (most likely *ìrty* or *ìrty*-)
Medium: yellow-brown glazed faience
Date: Late Period: 25th Dynasty to 30th Dynasty
Dimensions: l = 9.2 cm; w = 3.3 cm; d = 1.9 cm
Production technique: coarsely moulded
Condition: the state of preservation is incomplete, the very effaced figurine is broken either accidentally or purposefully, because there is another different explanation of breaking of the *shabti* with magical-ritual intention in the height of feet (and thus much close to the Egyptian understanding of the statuettes of the funerary workers) with the purpose of mutilating and preventing them from revolting and attacking the deceased[278]; it presents cracks (missing fragments) and is chipped; the nose is broken
Basic shape: fragment of a broken mummy-shaped figurine coarsely made and very effaced; on the frontal lower part under the arms and down the legs there is a two-line incomplete impressed text in cursive-like hieroglyphs with ruling lines, in "T" shape; also, it seems that on the chest, between the two crossed arms there might be four painted in black hieroglyphic signs almost imperceptible; anepigraphic back pillar; tripartite, large plain lappet separated wig that leaves the ears free; ceremonial Osirian plaited postiche beard
Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, from which only the fists are hardly seen coming out of the mummy wrapping

[273] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 231; vol. II, p. 163; vol. III, fig. 32, Cl. XI (Ld. 5.3.1.36).
[274] Could the tall sign also be , *nm* ?
[275] We found evidence so far only for the second part of the name *p*(*ꜣ*)-*nb* but in the forms , (Ranke 1935, p. 112.17).
[276] For a preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 23.
[277] For the owner's name see Ranke's many *ꜣst* names (1935, p. 3 (18-20), p. 4 (1-13)). For the Late Period, Chappaz (2019c, p. 2) identifies a certain *ꜣst nbt tꜣ nbt pr* and gives bibliographical references.
[278] Chappaz 1984, p. 94. The ritual breaking of funerary figurines is also mentioned by Tomorad 2006, p. 285 and note 47.

Tools: raised; the left fist grabs a hoe, the right fist, a pick and a cord that leads to a seed pouch over the left shoulder

Inscription: on the frontal lower part under the arms and down the legs there is a very coarse impressed and effaced two-line incomplete text in cursive-like hieroglyphs with ruling lines, in "T" shape with a variant of the standard formula with the Osiris title of the deceased, the name (and the title?) of the owner, the name of the owner's mother; also, it seems that on the chest, between the two crossed arms, there might be four almost imperceptible vertical hieroglyphic signs painted in black: (?)

The deceased character is a certain (housewife?) woman (= "lady"): "the Osiris *ȝst nb*(*w.t?* = Lady?) [*pr?*] (= Lady of the house?)[279] born (to) *ỉr.wy*[280] / *ỉrty*-" (?)

The underlying Schneider typology is Class XIA3[281] (Ld. 5.3.1.21) Tc: W38 H4 I8 B26a Tp3b/V.VIIA[282]

The Egyptian antiquities fund of the NMA

INSCRIPTION

	Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
Line:		*wsỉr ȝst nb.w*(*t*)	The Osiris Lady Isis
Column:		*ms*	born (to)
		ỉr.wy / ỉrty- (*?*)	Ir.wy / Irty- (?)

Translation: The Osiris Lady Isis born (to) Ir.wy / Irty- (?)

E 46 (Fig. 34)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: fragment of an epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[283]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Name: *wȝḏ.t-m-ḥȝ.t*[284]

Titles: none

Lineage: mother: none

Medium: yellow-brownish glazed faience; crude modelling, glaze turned beige[285]

Date: Late Period late: 30th Dynasty[286]

Dimensions: l = 7.9 cm; w = 2.9 cm; d = 1.7 cm

Production technique: coarsely moulded

Condition: the state of preservation is incomplete, the very effaced figurine is broken either accidentally or purposefully, because there is another different explanation of breaking of the *shabti* with magical-ritual intention in the height of feet (and thus much close to the Egyptian understanding of the statuettes of the funerary workers) with the purpose of mutilating and preventing them from revolting and attacking the deceased[287]; it presents cracks (missing fragments), the nose is broken, and the right fist is chipped

Basic shape: fragment of a broken mummy-shaped figurine coarsely made and very effaced; on the frontal lower part under the arms and down the legs there is one column incomplete impressed text in cursive-like hieroglyphs with ruling lines on both sides; anepigraphic back pillar; tripartite, large plain lappet separated wig, yet the ears are not seen; ceremonial Osirian plaited postiche beard

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[279] There are identified many theophorous (Vitmann 2013a, p. 3-4) female *ȝst* names commonly associated with the formula/title *nbt pr*, see Chappaz 2019c, p. 2-3.

[280] According to Gardiner 1957, p. 450.4 and note 8.

[281] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 230; vol. III, fig. 32, Cl. XI (Ld. 5.3.1.21).

[282] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 228, vol. II, fig. 31; James 2002, p. 227-248.

[283] For a preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 34.

[284] Ranke 1935, p. 75.7, (feminine name) with the translation "Uto ist an der Spitze". A theophorous name coming from the name of goddess *wȝḏ.t* (Vitmann 2013a, p. 3-4). For female names having the name of the goddess *wȝḏ.t* (Uto) included see also Ranke 1935, p. 74-75; Watson 2012; Chappaz 2019c.

[285] Schneider 1977, vol. II, p. 163.

[286] Schneider 1977, vol. II, p. 163.

[287] Chappaz 1984, p. 94. The ritual breaking of funerary figurines is also mentioned by Tomorad 2006, p. 285 and note 47.

Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, from which only the fists are seen coming out of the mummy wrapping

Tools: raised; the left fist grabs a hoe, the right fist, a pick and a cord that leads to a seed pouch over the left shoulder

Inscription: on the frontal lower part under the arms and down the legs there is a very coarsely impressed and effaced single column incomplete text in cursive-like hieroglyphs with ruling lines on both sides, with a variant of the standard formula with the Osiris title of the deceased, and the owner's name followed by the hieroglyphic sign *ms* (from "born to") indicating the lineage.

It seems that the deceased character is a certain elite woman: "the Osiris *wɜḏ.t-m-ḥɜ.t* born (to) ..."

The underlying Schneider typology is Class XIA5[288] (Ld. 5.3.1.36) Tc: W36 H3 I8 B28 Tp7c (or 13a)P

Papazoglu collection

INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
	wsỉr	Osiris
	wḏɜt-	Wadjitemhat
	m-ḥɜ.t	
	ms	born (to)

Translation: Osiris Wadjitemhat born (to)

E 45 (Fig. 35)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: fragment of a small size two-part (broken in the height of the legs) epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[289]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Name: *nfr-ỉr-*(*w?*) *ỉ* (*?*)[290]

Titles: none

Lineage: father (?): *nbt-pr-ꜥnḫ-s*[291]

Medium: brown-green glazed faience; fine modelling

Date: Ptolemaic Period

Dimensions: l = 10.95 cm; w = 3.8 cm; d = 1.7 cm

Production technique: finely moulded

Condition: the state of preservation is complete, but the statuette is broken in the height of the legs, and then the two parts have been restored; the fine modelled figurine was broken likely accidentally; the inscription is effaced

Basic shape: small size two-part broken and then restored mummy-shaped figurine finely made with distinct features characteristic for the Ptolemaic Period; on the frontal lower part under the arms and down the legs there is one column complete impressed text in cursive-like hieroglyphs with ruling lines on both sides; anepigraphic back pillar; tripartite, large plain lappet separated wig, yet the ears are barely seen; ceremonial Osirian plaited postiche beard. On the back pillar is written a former inventory number 829.

Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, from which only the fists are seen coming out of the mummy wrapping

Tools: raised; the left fist grabs a hoe, the right fist a pick and a cord that leads to a seed pouch over the left shoulder

[288] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 231; vol. II, p. 163; vol. III, fig. 32, Cl. XI (Ld. 5.3.1.36).

[289] For a preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 30. Yet he translates the names as "Neferet-iu born to Aukh".

[290] Ranke (1935, p. 195.3) identifies a male name *nfr-ỉrw* – but the name is dated to the Old Kingdom, while here one expects a Late Period parallel.

[291] Ranke (1935, p. 103.1 and 103.4) mentions at position 1 a male name *pɜ-ꜥnḫ* while in the same reference at position 4 mentions a male name *pɜ-ꜥnḫs-ỉmn*. Following Vitmann (2013a, p. 3, section 5) we may classify this kind of name as a "complex formation" (likely a Demotic based one) "that (of) / (endowed with) life". For this kind of name in the Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt see also Vitmann 2013b, p. 4; Calderini 1941; Calderini 1942; Clarysse 1985; Yoyotte 1969.

Inscription: on the frontal lower part under the arms and down the legs there is an effaced impressed single column complete text in cursive-like hieroglyphs with ruling lines on both sides, with a variant of the standard formula including the *sehedj* title (the Illuminate), the Osiris title of the deceased, the owner's name followed by lineage formula, the name of the owner's parent, finally followed by possibly an unclear "justified" formula.

It seems that the deceased character is a certain: "the *sehedj*, the Osiris *nfr-ỉr-*(*w*?) *ỉ* (?) born (to) *nbt-pr-ʿnḫ-s*"

The underlying Schneider typology is Class XIA5[292] (Ld. 5.3.1.36) Tc: W36 H3 I8 B28 Tp7c (or 13a)P

Papazoglu collection, in the Egyptian antiquities fund of NMA

INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
1.	*sḥ*	The *sehe*
2.	*ḏ*	*dj* (the Illuminate)
3.	*wsỉr*	the Osiris
4.	*nfr ỉr* (*w*?)	Nefer ir (w?)
5.	*ỉ*	i
6. [ ]	*ms* [*n*] *nbt*	born (to) Nebet
7. [293]	*pr*[294]	Per
8.	*ʿnḫ*	ankh
9.	*s*	s[295]
10. / (?)	*ỉs* / (*mɜʿ ḫrw*?)	is / (justified?)

Translation: The *sehedj* (The Illuminate), the Osiris Neferir(w?)i (?) born (to) Nebetperankhes (son of?)-is (?) / P(A)ankh (justified?)

IAB 24/99 (Fig. 36)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: small size epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[296]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Name: *nfr.ỉ* (fem.?)[297]

Titles: none

Lineage: father (?): *p*(*ɜ*?)*ʿnḫ* (.*z*?)[298]

Medium: yellow brownish (beige) faience with traces of glaze, well modelling

Date: Ptolemaic Period

Dimensions: l = 10.75 cm; w = 2.4 cm; d = 1.6 cm

Production technique: moulding

Condition: the state of preservation is complete, yet the statuette is effaced

Basic shape: small size mummy-shaped figurine with almost distinct features, yet the figurine is mostly effaced; exhibits stylistic features that relates it to the Ptolemaic period; on the frontal lower part under the arms and down the legs there is one column complete impressed text in cursive-like hieroglyphs with ruling lines on both sides; the style of incised hieroglyphs suggests that the scribe's writing manner is marked by uncertainty in knowing the hieroglyphic

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[292] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 231, vol. II, p. 163, vol. III, fig. 32, Cl. XI (Ld. 5.3.1.36).

[293] Line 6-7 could be a writing for = *nbt pr*

[294] It might be a Late Period Ptolemaic variant of the hieroglyphic sign *pɜ* (Ranke 1935, p. 103.1).

[295] For the name *ʿnḫ.s* see Ranke 1935, p. 67.13.

[296] For a preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 26. However, he makes no suggestion of translation, merely evaluating the inscription as "illegible".

[297] Ranke (1935, p. 104.1) in the final note with reference points out a feminine variant *nfr.ỉ* for New Kingdom. J.-L. Chappaz mentions the name *nfr* as surname of *pɜ-nfrỉ* (2019a, p. 149).

[298] Ranke (1935, p. 103.1, 103.4) mentions at position 1 a male name *pɜ-ʿnḫ* while in the same reference at position 4 mentions a male name *pɜ-ʿnḫs-ỉmn*. Following Vitmann (2013a, p. 3, section 5) we may classify this kind of name as a "complex formation" (likely a Demotic based one) "that (of) / (endowed with) life". For this kind of name in the Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt see also Vitmann 2013b, p. 4; Calderini 1941; Calderini 1942; Clarysse 1985; Yoyotte 1969.

signs, hence we presume that the inscription might exhibit errors and confusions at this level, making the formula and its names rather difficult to transliterate and translate as well; tripartite, large plain lappet separated wig, with the ears clearly seen; ceremonial Osirian plaited postiche braided beard; the back pillar is anepigraphical and it is almost a one-piece with the wig

Arms position: crossed right over left over the chest in the mummy covering, from which only the fists are barely seen coming out of the mummy wrapping

Tools: raised; the left fist grabs a hoe, the right fist, a pick and a cord that leads to a seed pouch over the left shoulder hardly seen

Inscription: on the frontal lower part under the arms and down the legs there is an effaced impressed single column complete text in cursive-like hieroglyphs with ruling lines on both sides, with a variant of the standard formula including the *sehedj* title (the Illuminate), the Osiris title of the deceased, the owner's name (possibly a female one) followed by lineage formula and the name of the owner's parent

The deceased character might be a woman: "the sehedj, the Osiris *nfr.i* born (to) *p*(*ꜣ*?)*ꜥnḫ*(.*z*?)"

The underlying Schneider typology: Tc: Class XIC (Ld. 5.3.1.31, Fig. 33 Class XI and XII)/W35b H4 I7 BO TP7/P[299]

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Comment

Although the previous statuette E 45 and the current one IAB 24/99 exhibit some distinct features, and apparently do not belong to the same H.D. Schneider typology, based on the similarities of the owner's name and the name of the owner's parent, as well as on the scribes errors and confusions of writing, it is not excluded that the two statuettes belong to the same person. Statuettes existing in other Egyptian antiquities collections and exhibiting the same name and typological and temporal framing could help a more certain identification. We do not exclude either the hypothesis that one of the two statuettes, more precisely the present one IAB 24/99, could be a later date copy of the previous one E 45.

INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
1.	*sḥḏ*	The *sehedj* (the Illuminate)
2.	*wsir*	The Osiris
3.	*nfr*.…	Nefer.…
4.	*.i*	.i
5.	*ms n p*(*ꜣ?*)[300]…	born to P(A?)[301]…
6.	…*ꜥnḫ*	ankh.…
7.	*.z*	.z

Translation: The *sehedj* (The Illuminate) the Osiris Neferi born to Pankhez

IAB 28/99 (Fig. 37)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: fragmentary blue pale faience mummiform epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased) painted in black

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Name: hardly illegible; our suggestion: *ꜥn-ḥr* / *ḥr-ꜥn* (see below the proposed identification)

Titles: none

Lineage: none

Medium: blue pale faience with traces of glaze, patina and black paint

Date: Third Intermediate Period to Late Period

Dimensions: l = 12.2 cm; w = 3 cm; d = 1.5 cm

Production technique: mediocre faience moulding

[299] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 232; vol. II, p. 161 (5.3.1.31); vol. III, fig. 33, Cl. XIC (Ld. 5.3.1.31).

[300] It might be a Late Period Ptolemaic variant of the hieroglyphic sign *pꜣ* (Ranke 1935, p. 103.1).

[301] Although not very clear, it is possible that the signs could actually be , hence *ms nbt pr* = "born to the Lady of the house".

Condition: the state of preservation is complete, yet the statuette is very coarsely moulded, the features are not clear and effaced and the pigment faded; the inscription is hardly illegible; it looks like the figurine has been reused because it has traces of a former (and possibly longer) black painted hieroglyphic inscription then erased on which the later inscription was overwritten

Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine with distinct features but without beard; the arms are crossed over the chest; under the arms and down the legs there are traces of a one column painted text in cursive hieroglyphs, illegible; no back pillar; plain tripartite wig with the *seshed* band

Arms position: crossed over the chest, right over the left, the tools are drawn on the sides, while over the shoulder on the back there are the traces of a bag painted in black

Tools: indistinct, traces

Inscription: under the arms and down the legs there are traces of a one column painted text in cursive hieroglyphs, illegible; it has a compressed variant of the standard formula including the Osiris title, then it is effaced

The underlying Schneider typology: Class VIIIB + XA[302]

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INSCRIPTION
(Proposed identification)

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
	wsỉr	The Osiris
	ḥr	Hor
	ꜥ	a
	n	n
	z	z
???	???	???
(?)	*mɜꜥ ḫrw* (?)	Justified (?)
Translation: The Osiris, Anhor[303] / Hor-an[304], son (?)		Justified (?)

IAB 20/99 (Fig. 38)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: black and white painted faience mummiform epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Name: none

Titles: none

Lineage: none

Medium: black and white painted faience with traces of ochre-red for the tools and black for the epigraph

Date: Third Intermediate Period to Late Period

Dimensions: l = 14.55 cm; w = 3.7 cm; d = 2 cm

Production technique: mediocre faience moulding

Condition: the state of preservation is complete, yet the statuette is badly preserved, the features are clear with traces of black pigment; the colours faded; the inscription is illegible

Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine with distinct features but without beard; the arms are crossed over the chest; under the arms and down the legs there are traces of a one column painted text in black cursive hieroglyphs,

[302] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 221, 225.

[303] The hieroglyphs of the name look as if they are arranged in honorific transposition. Chappaz (2019c, p. 24) identified two times the name (yet the original references and the hieroglyphic spellings were unavailable to us).

[304] Ranke (1935, p. 246.11) identified a name which begins with this configuration *ḥr-ꜥn-wšb.t*.

illegible, preserving only the *wsỉr* hieroglyphic sign; no back pillar; striated tripartite wig with *seshed* band connected to the bag and painted in ochre-red

Arms position: crossed over the chest, right over the left, the tools are drawn on the sides, while over the shoulder on the back there are the traces of a bag painted in black

Tools: indistinct, with ochre-red traces

Inscription: under the arms and down the legs there are traces of a one column black text in cursive hieroglyphs, illegible; the Osiris sign is hardly distinct; effaced. There are also some illegible signs on the back.

The underlying Schneider typology: Class VIIIB + XA[305]

INSCRIPTION
(Suggested identification on the frontal column)

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
1.	*wsỉr*	The Osiris
2.	*z*	son

E 47 (Fig. 39)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: brown miniature faience fragment of mummiform epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased) with undistinguished hieroglyphic signs

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: none
Titles: none
Lineage: none
Medium: brown miniature faience fragment coarsely moulded
Date: Late Period
Dimensions: l = 4.5 cm; w = 1 cm; d = 0.2 cm
Production technique: mediocre faience moulding

Condition: the state of preservation is incomplete; the statuette is broken and very coarsely moulded, the features are indistinct and effaced; the impressed inscription is illegible

Basic shape: broken mummy-shaped figurine with distinct features but without beard; the arms are crossed over the chest; under the arms and down the legs there are traces of a one column impressed text in cursive hieroglyphs, illegible; no back pillar; striated tripartite wig; the miniature statuette is broken in the height of the legs; on the back side there is another inventory number 829 and the label Papazoglu collection.

Arms position: crossed over the chest, right over the left, the tools are impressed on the sides

Tools: indistinct, traces

Inscription: under the arms and down the legs there are traces of a one column impressed text in cursive hieroglyphs, illegible; it has a compressed variant of the standard formula including the Osiris title, then it is effaced

The underlying Schneider typology: Class XA3[306]

Papazoglu collection, in the Egyptian antiquities fund of NMA

IAB 27/99 (Fig. 40)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: miniature blue-green pale faience mummiform epigraphic *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased) with illegible epigraph painted in black

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: none

[305] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 221, 225.
[306] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 221, 225.

Titles: none
Lineage: none
Medium: blue-green pale faience with traces of glaze and hieroglyphic inscription painted in black
Date: Ptolemaic Period (according to style).
Dimensions: l = 12.2 cm; w = 3 cm; d = 1.5 cm
Production technique: moulding
Condition: the state of preservation is complete; the statuette is mediocrely moulded, the face has distinct features, but the arms, the fists and the tools are almost undistinguished; the painted inscription is effaced and illegible, and the pigment faded
Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine with distinct features, with the postiche beard; the arms are crossed over the chest; under the arms and down the legs there are traces of a one column black painted text in cursive hieroglyphs, illegible; plain tripartite wig one with the back pillar
Arms position: crossed over the chest, right over the left, the tools are drawn on the sides, while over the shoulder on the back there are the traces of the seed pouch
Tools: indistinct, traces
Inscription: under the arms and down the legs there are traces of a one column black painted text in cursive hieroglyphs, illegible
Tc: Class XIC (Ld. 5.3.1.31, Fig. 33 Class XI and XII)/W35b H4 I7 BO TP7/P[307]
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INSCRIPTION
(Suggested identification on the frontal column)

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
1. ? ?	*wsỉr* (*?*)	The Osiris (?)
2. ?????????		
3.	*w*	u
4. ?????????		
5. ? ?	*sḏɜwty* (*?*)	treasurer ?
6. ?????????		

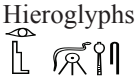
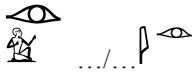
E 66 (Fig. 41-44)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: wooden mummiform *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: none
Titles: none
Lineage: none
Medium: wood, carved
Date: Third Intermediate Period to Late Period
Dimensions: l = 19.4 cm; w = 5.6 cm; d = 2.1 cm
Production technique: wood, carved
Condition: the wooden statuette is in a badly preserved condition, effaced, with no distinct features and no pigment
Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine with hardly distinct features, without postiche beard; the arms are crossed over the chest; no back pillar; plain tripartite wig
Arms position: crossed over the chest
Tools: indistinct
Inscription: there is a carved inscription which surrounds the figurine under the chest; however the hieroglyphic signs are badly preserved and hardly distinguishable; almost illegible; it is a fragment of the standard inscription beginning with the *sehedj* title of the deceased, the Osiris title, then the text is illegible with signs from the invocation of the *shabti* to work for the deceased; in the following we suggests a possible beginning of translation
The underlying Schneider typology: Class XA.4[308]
The Egyptian antiquities fund of the NMA

[307] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 232; vol. II, p. 161 (5.3.1.31); vol. III, fig. 33, Cl. XIC (Ld. 5.3.1.31).
[308] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 225.

INSCRIPTION

Hieroglyphs	Transliteration	Translation
	*sḥḏ wsir*	The *sehedj* (The Illuminate) The Osiris
[309]	*…w…r…i…ḏd.f iw…*	he says……
	*ir ʾI / ir…..*	
	(*ḥry-*)*nṯr irrt kɜt…..*	the necropolis to do the work…
……	*wḏ…*	
……..	*f n r i….*	

……

The signs on the back are illegible.

III.2. ANEPIGRAPHIC STATUETTES

IAB 3/99 (Fig. 45)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: painted wood anepigraphic mummiform *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[310]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: none
Titles: none
Lineage: none
Medium: painted wood with traces of black paint
Date: Third Intermediate Period
Dimensions: l = 24.65 cm; w = 6.2 cm; d = 4 cm
Production technique: wood carving and painting
Condition: the state of preservation is bad yet complete, the features are not clear and effaced and the pigments are destroyed; the back is cracked
Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine with distinct features but without beard; the arms are crossed over the chest; there are traces of a *wsekh* collar; no back pillar; plain tripartite wig with traces of black pigment
Arms position: crossed over the chest
Tools: indistinguishable
The underlying Schneider typology: Class VIIIB + XA[311]

IAB 7/99 (Fig. 46)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: painted wood anepigraphic mummiform *ushabti* of an overseer of the funerary servants (mummiform funerary figurine with an apron of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[312]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: none
Titles: none
Lineage: none
Medium: painted wood with traces of black paint

[309] Could the name be *wr-nfr=i* ? See Ranke 1935, p. 89.
[310] For preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 35. He presumes that considering the dimensions, the statuette might have belonged to a king.
[311] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 221, 225.
[312] For preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 4.

Date: New Kingdom to Third Intermediate Period (21st/22nd Dynasty)
Dimensions: l = 24.65 cm; w = 6.2 cm; d = 4 cm
Production technique: wood carving and painting
Condition: the state of preservation is bad yet complete, the features are not clear and effaced and the pigments are destroyed; it seems that originally, the statuette had been fully painted in black. Likely belonged to a high-level character.
Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine of an overseer (the distinct feature is the apron) but without beard; plain tripartite wig with traces of black pigment
Arms position: crossed over the chest
Tools: indistinguishable
The underlying Schneider typology: Class IXE/IXF[313]
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IAB 10/99 (Fig. 47)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: coarsely burnt clay with gesso and/or white painted mummiform anepigraphic *ushabti* of an overseer (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[314]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: none
Titles: none
Lineage: none
Medium: coarsely burnt clay moulding with traces of glaze, gesso and/or white painted mummiform anepigraphic *ushabti* of an overseer
Date: Third Intermediate Period to Late Period
Dimensions: l = 10.55 cm; w = 3 cm; d = 1 cm
Production technique: coarsely burnt clay moulding with traces of glaze
Condition: the state of preservation is complete, yet the statuette is very coarsely moulded, the features are not clear and effaced, and the pigment disappeared
Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine of an overseer with indistinct features but without beard; no back pillar; plain tripartite wig with the *seshed* band
Arms position: the right arm is on at chest level while the left is down the legs, likely taking a whip
Tools: whip - indistinct, traces
The underlying Schneider typology: Class IXE/IXF[315]
The Egyptian antiquities fund of the NMA

IAB 19/99 (Fig. 48)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: broken and restored black painted sandstone-limestone *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)[316]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: none
Titles: none
Lineage: none
Medium: black painted sandstone-limestone
Date: Third Intermediate Period to Late Period
Dimensions: l = 20.25 cm; w = 5.2 cm; d = 2.7 cm
Production technique: black painted sandstone-limestone
Condition: the statuette was broken and then restored, the features are fine and clear and the pigment is still preserved
Basic shape: broken mummy-shaped figurine with distinct features but without beard; the arms are crossed over the chest; no back pillar; plain tripartite wig

[313] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 223, 224, vol. III, fig. 30.
[314] For preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 8.
[315] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 223, 224, vol. III, fig. 30.
[316] For preliminary description see Ciho 1999, no. 21.

Arms position: crossed over the chest, right over the left
Tools: not figured
The underlying Schneider typology: Class VIIIB + XA[317]
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IAB 26/99 (Fig. 49)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: fragment of a miniature blue-green pale faience with traces of glaze mummiform *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: none
Titles: none
Lineage: none
Medium: blue-green pale faience with traces of glaze
Date: Third Intermediate Period to Late Period
Dimensions: l = 12.2 cm; w = 3 cm; d = 1.5 cm
Production technique: good faience moulding
Condition: the state of preservation is incomplete, yet the statuette is well moulded, the features are almost clear
Basic shape: fragment of a miniature mummy-shaped figurine with postiche beard and distinct features; the arms are crossed over the chest; back pillar; plain tripartite wig
Arms position: crossed over the chest, right over the left, the tools are impressed on the side
Tools: almost distinct, including the seed pouch over the shoulder on the back
The underlying Schneider typology: Class XA.4[318]
The Egyptian antiquities fund of the NMA

IAB 25/99 (Fig. 50)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: fragment of a brown faience coarsely moulded of miniature mummiform *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: none
Titles: none
Lineage: none
Medium: coarsely faience without glaze
Date: Late Period
Dimensions: l = 5.85 cm; w = 1.2 cm; d = 1 cm
Production technique: mediocre faience moulding
Condition: fragment of a coarse faience miniature statuette in bad preserved condition without glaze; the statuette is broken in the height of the legs; the features are effaced and the pigment faded; no glaze
Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine with difficult to distinguish features and a postiche beard; it seems that the arms are crossed over the chest; back pillar; plain tripartite wig one with the back pillar
Tools: indistinct
The underlying Schneider typology: Class XA.4[319]
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E 52 (Fig. 51)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: fragment of a yellow-brown faience coarsely moulded of miniature mummiform *ushabti* (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)

[317] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 221, 225.
[318] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 225.
[319] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 225.

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: none
Titles: none
Lineage: none
Medium: coarse faience without glaze
Date: Late Period
Dimensions: l = 7.8 cm; w = 1.2 cm; d = 1 cm
Production technique: mediocre faience moulding
Condition: fragment of a yellow-brown coarse faience miniature statuette in bad preserved condition without glaze; the statuette is broken in the height of the legs; the features are effaced and the pigment faded; no glaze; the base is missing
Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine with difficult to distinguish features and a postiche beard; it seems that the arms are crossed over the chest; back pillar; plain tripartite wig; the base is missing
Tools: indistinct
The underlying Schneider typology: Class XA.4[320]
Papazoglu collection, in the Egyptian antiquities fund of NMA

E 23 (Fig. 52)

GENERAL PRESENTATION: blue-turquoise glazed faience moulded of a mummiform *ushabti* with traces of black paint on the back of the wig and on the lower part of the frontal legs (mummiform funerary figurine of simultaneously deceased owner and agricultural respondent servant in the afterlife working in the name of the deceased)

DETAILED DESCRIPTION
Name: none
Titles: none
Lineage: none
Medium: glazed faience
Date: Late Period
Dimensions: l = 5.85 cm; w = 3.1 cm; d = 1.2 cm
Production technique: mediocre faience moulding
Condition: bad preserved blue-turquoise faience statuette with traces of black paint on the back of the wig and yellow spots on the chest; the features are effaced and the pigment faded
Basic shape: mummy-shaped figurine with difficult to distinguish features; no beard; the arms are crossed over the chest; no back pillar; plain tripartite wig
Tools: indistinct
The underlying Schneider typology: Class XA.1(?)[321]
Papazoglu collection, in the Egyptian antiquities fund of NMA

IV. CONCLUSION

My attempt was to put in concordance the results of the in-depth research on funerary figurines with the information obtained from the analysis of the pieces in the collections of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology.

My approach is to give a description as detailed as possible of each object, to integrate it from a historical, chronological, social and stylistic point of view in the wider framework of the ancient Egyptian artifacts of the same type and, as far as possible, to identify the original owners of these funerary goods and to contribute to the reconstitution of their funerary treasure, and by means of this, of their role and status in the ancient Egyptian society.

Last but not least, another goal would be the identification of the route of origin of the antiquarian type of acquisition.

Although extensive, the present study is just the first part of a much larger volume which will include the detailed catalogue descriptions of all Egyptian pieces in the collections of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology.

[320] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 225.
[321] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 225-226.

GLOSSARY

1. General terms (the *Ushabti* formula)

sḥḏ (n., epithet) = The *sehedj* / The Iluminate
nb.t (n., f.) = Lady
pr (n.) = house
nb.t pr (n.) = The Lady of the House / housewife
mɜꜥ ḫrw (epithet) = justified / true of voice
ms (adj.) = born
n (prep., particle) = belonging to, of
ỉpn ~ ỉptw (demonstr. adj., pl.) = these (G.)
ỉr (initial form of prep. *r*) = as to; if, foll. by *sḏm.f*
ỉp.tw = ỉpn + tw (vb., *sḏm.tw* = f. form, passive) = count
r (prep.) = in, beside, near
ḏd (vb., indic.) = say
f (suff. pron. 3rd pers., sg.) = he
wšɜbty (n., m., sg.) = *ushabty*
ỉr.t (*ỉry*) (vb., f.. end. *.t* , sing.) = do, work
kɜ(.w)t (*kɜ.t*) (n., pl., f..) = work
nb.(w)t (adj. + f. pl. end. *.(w)t*) = everything, anything
ỉr.t (*ỉry*) (vb., + f. pl. end. = work
ỉm (adv. local.) = there
m (prep.) = in
ḫrt-nṯr (comp. n., sg.) = necropolis (the god's domain / realm of the dead)
ỉs(t) (conj.) = but, however
ḥwỉ (vb.) = stumbling
sdbw (*sḏbw*) (n., pl.) = misfortune, obstacles, misery
s (z) (n., sg., m.) = man
ḫr.t (n., m., pl.) = duty, need
mk (non-encl. particle, interj.) = behold
wỉ (dep. pron, 1st pers., m., sg.) = I
sw (dep. pron, 3rd pers., m., sg.) = he, him
kɜ. (vb., indic.) = say
k (suff. pron. 2nd pers., m., sg.) = you
ptw (vb., indic.) = check, examine, investigate
tn (suff. pron., depend. pron., 2nd pers. [l.) = you
n (prep., var.) = in (of time)
nw (n., m., sg.) = time
srwḏ (*srd*) (vb., indic.) = plant, cultivate
sḫ.wt (*sḫ.t*) (n., pl.) = field
smḥ.y (vb., indic.) = irrigate, water
wḏb.w (*wdb*) (n., pl.) = river banks, shores
ḫn.t (vb., indic.) = ferry, carry, row
šꜥỉ (n., m., sg.) = sand
ỉmnt.t (n., f.) = west
ỉɜbt.t (n., f.) = east
ṯs pḫr (adv.) = vice versa

2. Official, military, and religious ranks and epithets

ḥm-nṯr = god's servant (= priest; during the Late Period (particularly during its late part) the ancient Greek conventional equivalent of this Egyptian religious title was "prophet")
ḥm-nṯr ptḥ = priest (literally, servant of god) of Ptah
ḫry-ḥb ḥry-tp = chief lector priest
ḥry-sštɜ st-wr = hry-sštɜ st-wr, master of the secrets of the Great Place
ḥry-mšꜥ = Chief of the Troops (military)
ỉt nṯr = the Divine Father (high rank of priests)
ḥry-(ḫt)-nṯr, ḥr(y?)*-nṯr*(w?) = Her(y?)-netjer(w?) = Master/controller of the things/property of the god (religious epithet)

3. Proper nouns (owners, gods etc.)

ꜥn-ḥr / ḥr-ꜥn = Ankhor / Horannkh
ɜst = Ast (= Isis)
ɜs.ty(*.ti*) = Asty
ɜst-nb (*w.t?*)-[*pr?*] = Asetnebwtper
wɜḥ-ib-rꜥ = Wahibre
wɜḥ-ib-rꜥ mr(*i*)*-ptḥ* = Wahibremeriptah
wɜḏ.t-m-ḥɜ.t = Wadjitemhat
wsir = Osiris
iꜥḥms = Iahmes
imn = Amun
irty-rw = Irtyrw
bɜs?*t.t ir* (*nb*?) (*dis*?) / *ir nb*(*.t*) = Bastetirneb(ir)dis/neb(et)
pɜ-ḫɜꜥ.s = Pakhaaas
pɜ-di-imn-(*m-*?)*-ip*(*ɜ*?)*t* = Padiamen(m)ipet
pɜ-di-pp = Padipep
pɜ-di-(*mɜi*?)*-ḥsɜ* (?) / *ḥst* (?) = Padi(mai)hsa/hst
pɜ-šdidi = Pashedidi
pɜ-šri = Pasheri
p(*ɜy*?).*f* = Paief
p(*ɜ*?)*ꜥnḫ* (*.z*?) = Paankhez
ptḥ = Ptah
nbt-pr-ꜥnḫ-s = Nebetperankhes
ns-(*i*) = Nes-(i)
nfr.i = Neferi
nfr-ir-(*w*?) *i* (?) = Neferiru
nfr-sḫmt = Nefer-Sekhmet
ḥtp(*t*?) = Hetep(et?)
(*t*)*ɜ-šdidi* = Tashedidi
tɜ-šrit (?) / *tɜ-šš* / *tɜ-šṯ.t* (?) = Tasherit/Tashesh/Tashetche

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E 38 (x)

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

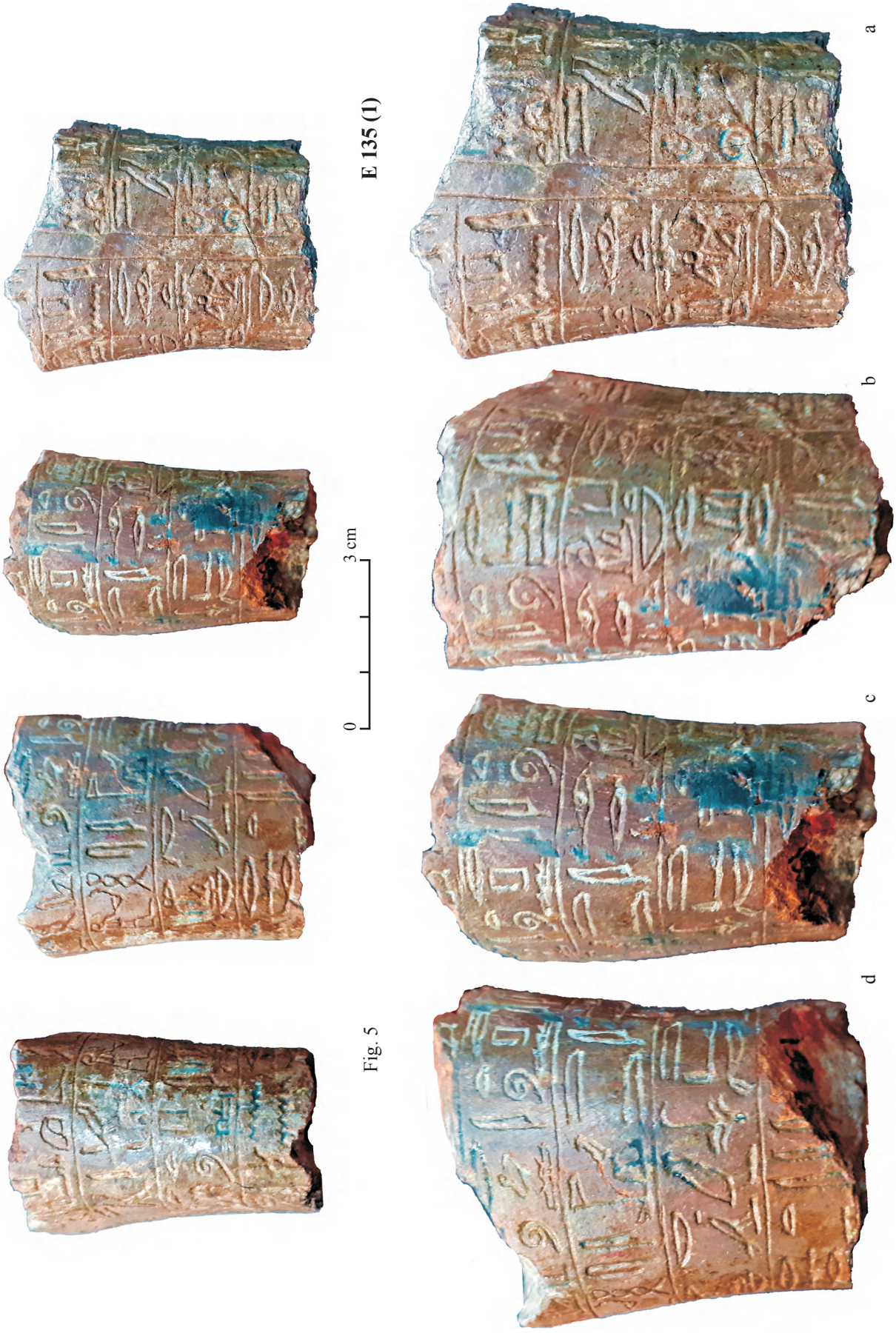

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

IAB 1/99 (1)

0 3 cm

Fig. 7

IAB 1/99 (2)

0 3 cm

Fig. 8

c b a

IAB 1/99 (3)

e d

Fig. 9

h g f

IAB 1/99 (4)

k j i

Fig. 10

IAB 1/99 (5)

m

l

p

o

n

Fig. 11

IAB 2/99 (1)

Fig. 12

IAB 2/99 (2)

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

IAB 5/99 (1)

Fig. 15

IAB 5/99 (2)

Fig. 16

Fig. 17

IAB 6/99 (1)

0 3 cm

Fig. 18

IAB 6/99 (2)

Fig. 19

Fig. 20

IAB 6/99 (4)

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

IAB 22/99 (1)

Fig. 23

IAB 22/99 (2)

0 3 cm

Fig. 24

IAB 22/99 (3)

Fig. 25

Fig. 26

IAB 23/99 (1)

Fig. 27

IAB 23/99 (2)

0 3 cm

Fig. 28

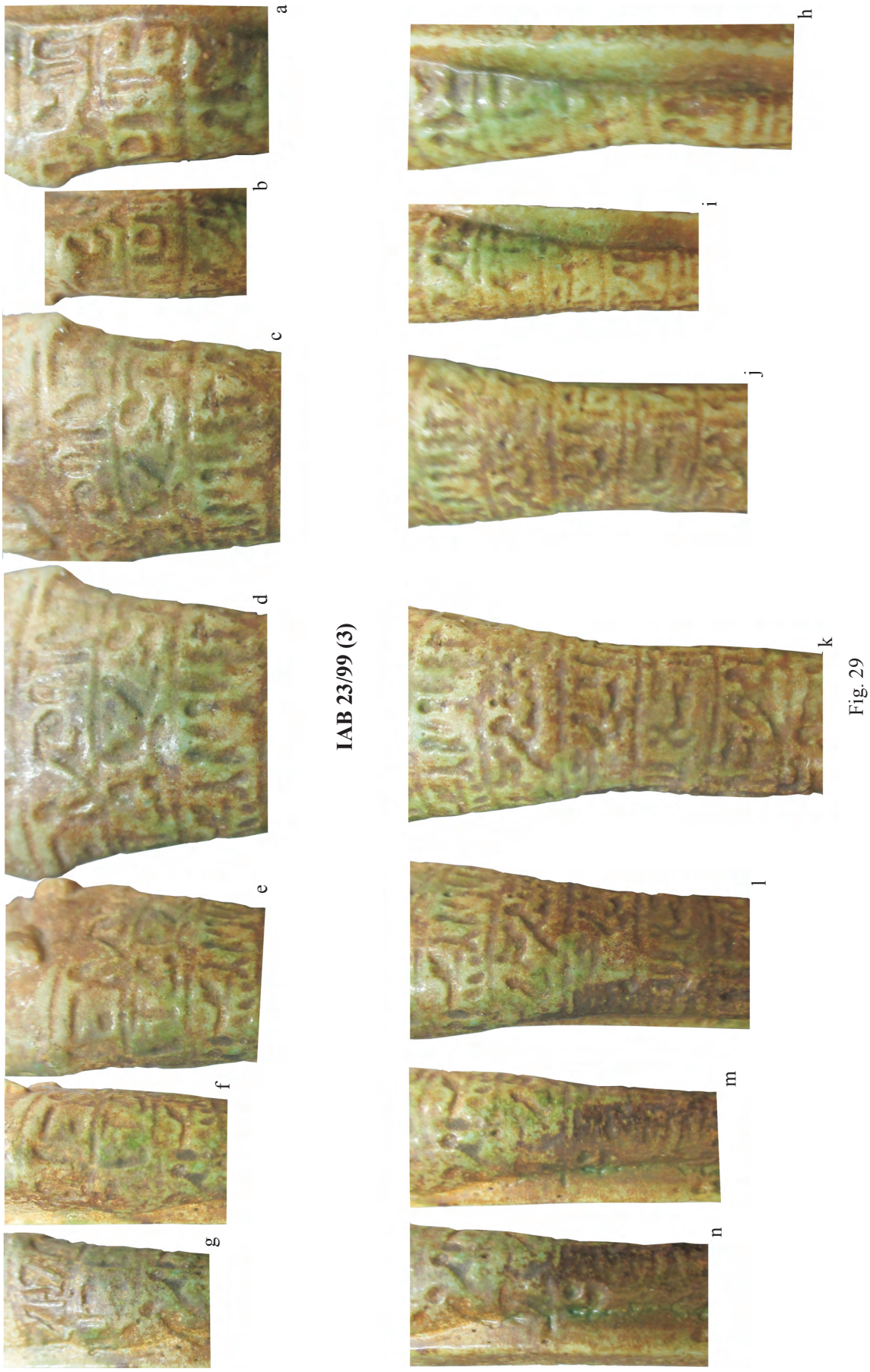

Fig. 29

Fig. 30

Fig. 31

IAB 3/2019

Fig. 32

IAB 21/99

Fig. 33

E 46

Fig. 34

E 45

Fig. 35

Fig. 36

Fig. 37

Fig. 38

Fig. 39

Fig. 40

E 66 (1)

0 3 cm

Fig. 41

E 66 (2)

Fig. 42

Fig. 43

Fig. 44

Fig. 45

Fig. 46

Fig. 47

Fig. 48

Fig. 49

Fig. 50

Fig. 51

Fig. 52

ABRÉVIATIONS

AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
AAR – Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia. Institut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów
ACSS – Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia, Leiden
ActaAntHung – Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ActaArch – Acta Archaeologica, København
ActaArchCarp – Acta Archaeologica Carpathica. Polish Academy of Sciences – Cracow Branch, Kraków
ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
Acta Hargitensia – Acta Hargitensia, Anuarul Muzeelor din judeţul Harghita, Miercurea Ciuc
ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
ActaMT – Acta Musei Tutovensis. Istorie Veche şi Arheologie. Muzeul „Vasile Pârvan", Bârlad
Aegyptus – Aegyptus. Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia. Scuola di Papirologia dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano
AfO – Archiv für Orientforschung. Institut für Orientalistik, Wien
AJA – American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America, Boston
AJAH – American Journal of Ancient History. Harvard University
Aluta – Aluta. Revista Muzeului Naţional Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe
AM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung, Athen
AMI(T) – Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (und Turan). Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien Abteilung, Außenstelle Teheran, Berlin.
Analele Brăilei – Analele Brăilei. Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I", Brăila
Anthropozoologica – Anthropozoologica. Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, Paris
Antiquity – Antiquity. A Review of World Archaeology, Durham University, Durham
Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Naţional al Unirii, Alba Iulia
ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iaşi
ArhVestnik – Arheološki vestnik. Inštitut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana
Arheologija SSSR – Arheologija SSSR: Svod arheologičeskih istočnikov. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut arheologii, Moskva
Archaeometry – Archaeometry. University of Oxford
ArchBulg – Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
ArchÉrt – Archeológiai Értesítő. A Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat Tudományos Folyóirata, Budapest
ArchIug – Archaeologia Iugoslavica. Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije, Beograd
ArchKorr – Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz
Argesis – Argesis. Muzeul Judeţean Argeş, Piteşti
Arta – Arta: Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology
AS – Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute at Ankara, Cambridge University Press
ASAE – Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte, Le Caire
AŞUI – Analele Ştiinţifice ale Universităţii „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iaşi
AW – Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte, Darmstadt
Banatica – Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reşiţa
BARBrSer – British Archaeological Reports, British Series, Oxford
BARIntSer – British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford
BARSuppSer – British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series, Oxford
BASOR – Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, The University of Chicago Press
BCMI – Buletinul Comisiunii/Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice, Bucureşti
BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
BiblIstrPont-SA – Biblioteca Istro-Pontică. Seria Arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă Simion", Tulcea

DACIA N.S., tome LXII-LXIII, Bucarest, 2018-2019, p. 417-421

BiblMusAp – Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, Bucureşti
BSNR – Buletinul Societăţii Numismatice Române, Bucureşti
BSS – Black Sea Studies, Aarhus
Bucureşti.MIM – Bucureşti. Materiale de Istorie şi Muzeografie. Muzeul Municipiului Bucureşti
CA – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a României, Bucureşti
CAH – Cambridge Ancient History, 14 volumes, Cambridge University Press, 1970-2005
CAJ – Cambridge Archaeological Journal. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge
Carpica – Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu" Bacău
CCA, campania ….. – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
CCDJ – Cultură şi Civilizaţie la Dunărea de Jos, Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călăraşi
CEFR – Collection de l'École Française de Rome
CercIst – Cercetări Istorice. Complexul Național Muzeal „Moldova", Iaşi, Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei, Iași
Chiron – Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München
CIGP – P. Kovács (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicarum (editio maior)*, Hungarian Polis Studies (HPS) 8, Debrecen, 2001
CII I.1 – R. Schmitt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Part I: *Inscriptions of Ancient Iran*, vol. I: *The Old Persian Inscriptions, Texts I: The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great. Old Persian Text*, London, 1991
CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 17 volumes, Berlin, 1853-
Classical Review – The Classical Review. The Classical Association, Cambridge University Press
ClQ – The Classical Quaterly, The Classical Association, Cambridge University Press
CN – Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a României, Bucureşti
CNA – Cronica Numismatică şi Arheologică. Foaie de informaţii a Societăţii Numismatice Române, Bucureşti
Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine. Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan », Bucureşti
Danubius – Danubius, Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galaţi
Drevnosti Bospora – Drevnosti Bospora. Institut Arheologii, Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moskva
Drobeta – Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porţilor de Fier, Drobeta-Turnu Severin
Electrum – Electrum. Journal of Ancient History. Department of Ancient History at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow
ESA – Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua. Bulletin et mémoirs consacrés à l'archéologie et l'ethnographie de l'Europe orientale et de l'Asie du Nord, Helsinki
EO I – *Erdélyi Okmánytár I (1023-1301).* Bevezető tanulmánnyal és jegyzetekkel regesztákban közzéteszi Zs. Jakó, Budapest, 1997
FGrH – F. Jacoby (hg.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* Berlin (und Leiden) 1923-
Gallia – Gallia. Archéologie de la France Antique. CNRS Éditions
Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
GlasnikSarajevo – Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
GM – Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion, Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen
Godišnjak – Godišnjak. Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
Hierasus – Hierasus. Muzeul Județean Botoşani
Historia – Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
Historia Urbana – Historia Urbana. Comisia de Istorie a Oraşelor din România, Academia Română, Sibiu
Histria Antiqua – Histria Antiqua. Institute društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, Zagreb
Hrvatska revija – Hrvatska revija. Matica hrvatska, Zagreb
HS – Historische Sprachforschung. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlag, Göttingen
HSCP – Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Harvard University Press
IDR – *Inscripţiile Daciei romane*, Editura Academiei, Bucureşti, 1975-

IG – *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1903-
IGLR – E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România*, București, 1976
ILD – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscripţii Latine din Dacia,* Bucureşti, I (2005), II (2016)
ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae,* Berlin, I (1892), II.1 (1902), II.2 (1906), III (1914/1916)
Iran – Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies, London
Istros – Istros, Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I", Brăila
IzvestijaHaskovo – Izvestija na Istoričeski Muzej Haskovo. Regionalen Istoričeski Muzej - Haskovo
IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Nacionalnija arheologičeski Institut, Sofia
JAMÉ – A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
JEA – European Journal of Archaeology (continues Journal of European Archaeology). European Association of Archaeologists, Cambridge University Press
JIES – Journal of Indo-European Studies, Washington
JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies. The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago
JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
Kêmi – Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes, Cambridge University Press
Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Berlin
KRI I – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volume I. *Ramesses I, Sethos I, and contemporaries*, Oxford, 1975
KRI II – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volume II. *Ramesses II, royal inscriptions*, Oxford, 1979
KRI IV – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volume IV. *Merenptah and the late 19th dynasty*, Oxford, 1982
KRI V – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volume V. *Setnakht, Ramesses III, and contemporaries*, Oxford, 1983
KSIAMoskva – Kratkie soobščenija Instituta arheologii, Moskva
KSIIMK – Kratkie soobščenija o dokladah i polevyh issledovanijah Instituta istorii material'noj kul'tury, Moskva
LRBC – *Late Roman Bronze Coinage A.D. 324-498*; part I. *The Bronze Coinage of the House of Constantine A.D. 324-346* (P.V. Hill, J.P.C. Kent) ; part II. *Bronze Roman Imperial Coinage of the Later Empire A.D. 346-498* (R.A.G. Carson, J.P.C. Kent), London, 1965
MAA – Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica. Makedonsko Arheološko Naučno Društvo, Skopje
MAInstUngAk – Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest
Marisia – Marisia. Muzeul Judeţean Mureş, Târgu Mureş
Meander – Meander. Rocznik wydawany przez Komitet Nauk o Kulturze Antycznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego
MCA – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan", București
MemAnt – Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis. Complexul Muzeal Național Neamț, Piatra-Neamţ
MIA – Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii SSSR, Moskva
MIBE – W. Hahn, M.A. Metlich, *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire (Anastasius I – Iustinian I, 491-565)*, Vienna, 2000
Mnemosyne – Mnemosyne, A Journal of Classical Studies, Brill, Leiden
MonAnt – Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura delle Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Roma
MonHungHist – *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* 2, Scriptores 1-38, Pest-Budapest, 1857-1906.
Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletin Ştiinţific al Muzeului Judeţean Buzău
NABU – Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires. Société pour l'étude du Proche-Orient ancien Nature – Nature, scientific journal, London
OJA – Oxford Journal of Archaeology. School of Archaeology, University of Oxford
Opuscula archaeologica – Opuscula archaeologica. Arheološki zavod Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, Zagreb

OREA – Oriental and European Archaeology. Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna
PamArch – Památky Archeologické, Praha
PAS – Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa. Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie Berlin
PBF – Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Seminar für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a. M., Abteilung für Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie des Historischen Seminars der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
Peuce – Peuce. Studii şi note de istorie veche şi arheologie. Muzeul Delta Dunării / Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea
Peuce S.N. – Peuce, serie nouă. Studii şi cercetări de istorie şi arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă Simion", Tulcea
Philologus – Philologus. Zeitschrift für Antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption, Berlin
Phoenix – Phoenix. Journal of the Classical Association of Canada, Toronto
PIFK – Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury. Magnitogorsk
PMMB – Publicaţiile Muzeului Municipiului Bucureşti
Pontica – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Naţională şi Arheologie, Constanţa
Praehistorica – Praehistorica. Univerzita Karlova, Praha
PZ – Praehistorische Zeitschrift. Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
Radiocarbon – Radiocarbon. An International Journal of Cosmogenic Isotope Research, Cambridge University Press
RAnt – Res Antiquae, Bruxelles
RBN(S) – Revue Belge de Numismatique (et de Sigillographie). Société Royale de Numismatique de Belgique, Bruxelles.
RE – Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1893-
REA – Revue des Études Anciennes. Maison de l'Archéologie, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, Pessac
REG – Revue des Études Grecques. L'associations pour l'Encouragement des Études grecques en France, Paris
RESEE – Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română, Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europeene, Bucureşti
Revista Arheologică – Revista Arheologică. Academia de Ştiinţe a Moldovei, Institutul Patrimoniului Cultural, Chişinău
RevBistr – Revista Bistriţei. Complexul Muzeal Bistriţa-Năsăud, Bistriţa
RevMuz – Revista Muzeelor, Bucureşti
RIC V.2 – P.H. Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, V.2. *Probus – Amandus,* London, 1933 (reprinted 1968)
RIC VI – C.H.V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, VI. *From Diocletian's reform (A.D. 294) to the death of Maximinus (A.D. 313*), London, 1967
RIC VII – P.M. Bruun, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, VII. *Constantine and Licinius A.D. 313-337*, London, 1966
RIC VIII – J.P.C. Kent, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, VIII. *The Family of Constantine I A.D. 337-364*, London, 1981
RIC X – J.P.C. Kent, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, X. *The Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts A.D. 395-491)*, London, 1994
RMI – Revista Monumentelor Istorice, Bucureşti
RMM-MIA – Revista muzeelor şi monumentelor - Monumente istorice şi de artă, Bucureşti
RossArh – Rossijskaja Arheologija. Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Institut arheologii, Moskva
RPRP – Reports of Prehistoric Research Projects. Prehistory Foundation, Sofia
SA – Sovetskaja Arheologija. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut arheologii, Moskva
SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica. Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Iaşi
SAAC – Studies in Ancient Art and Civilisation. Jagiellonian University Institute of Archaeology, Kraków
Saeculum – Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte. Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen
SAI – Studii şi Articole de Istorie. Societatea de Ştiinţe Istorice din România, Bucureşti
Sargetia – Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice şi Romane, Deva

SCIV(A) – Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche (şi Arheologie). Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, Bucureşti
SCN – Studii şi Cercetări de Numismatică. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, Bucureşti
Situla – Situla Journal: Dissertationes Musei Nationalis Sloveniae, Ljubljana
SlovArch – Slovenská Archeológia. Archeologický ústav SAV, Nitra
Sovetskaja Etnografija – Sovetskaja Etnografija. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut etnografii, Moskva
SSH – Social Science History. Social Science History Association, Cambridge University Press
Starinar – Starinar. Naučni časopis Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu, Beograd
StComSibiu – Studii şi Comunicări, Sibiu
Stratum plus – Stratum plus. Arheologija i kulturnaja antropologija, Vyssšaja Antropologičeskaja Škola, St. Peterburg-Chişinău-Odessa-Bucureşti
Studia Hercynia – Studia Hercynia. Ústav pro klasickou archeologii, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, Praha
Suceava – Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Naţional al Bucovinei, Suceava
SympThrac – Symposia Thracologica
SzO V – L. Szádeczky Kardoss (ed.), *Székely Oklevéltár V*, Kolozsvár, 1896
Talanta – Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, Amsterdam
Thraco-Dacica – Thraco-Dacica. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, Bucureşti
TIR – *Tabula Imperii Romani*
TÜBA-AR – Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi, Ankara
Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Moldovei, Chişinău
Ub. II – F. Zimmermann, C. Werner, G. Müller (hrsg.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen II*, Hermannstadt, 1897
Ub. IV – G. Gündisch, F. Zimmermann (hrsg.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen IV*, Hermannstadt, 1937
Ub. V – G. Gündisch, F. Zimmermann (hrsg.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen V*, Bucureşti, 1975
UF – Ugarit Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas. Institut für Altorientalistik und die Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Münster
UPA – Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
VAHD – Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku. Arheološki muzej Split
Valachica – Valachica. Studii şi cercetări de istorie şi istoria culturii. Complexul Naţional Muzeal Curtea Domnească, Târgovişte
VAMZ – Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb
VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii. Otdelenie istoriko-filologičeskih nauk Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moskva
VHAD – Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva, Zagreb
Vizantijskij vremennik – Vizantijskij vremennik. Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moskva
WPZ – Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift. Wiener Prähistorische Gesellschaft, Wien
ŽA – Živa Antika / Antiquité Vivante. Društvo za antički studii na SRM, Seminar na klasična filologija, Filozofski fakultet, Skopje
Ziridava – Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica. Complexul Muzeal Arad
ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn