DACIA

REVUE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE
ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

NOUVELLE SÉRIE

LXIV
2020

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE
INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « VASILE PÂRVAN »

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ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

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2020

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ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE
INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « VASILE PÂRVAN »

DACIA LXIV, 2020

REVUE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE
JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANCIENT HISTORY
ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ARCHÄOLOGIE UND GESCHICHTE DES ALTERTUMS

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ON THE *USHABTI*-BOX IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE "VASILE PÂRVAN" INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

RENATA-GABRIELA TATOMIR*

Key-words: *ushabti, ushabti*-box, Djedmwtesankh, Mihail C. Sutzu, "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology, Third Intermediate Period, Osiris-Khenti-amentiw, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Geb, Ra-Horakhty, Wennen-Nefer, Atum, Thebes, Deir el-Bahari

Abstract: The object E 67 belongs to the Ancient Egyptian Fund in the collections of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest. It is a singular piece, a wooden *ushabti*-box whose funerary utility was to house the statuettes of funerary servants of *shabti/shawabti/ushabti* type. The lid of the funerary casket is missing. From the inventory records we learn only that it comes from the Mihail C. Sutzu donation (made sometime after 1870). Therefore, it is impossible to determine from which site the piece originates. Furthermore, its typological classification and the identity of its owner are rather problematic, and as a result, this severely affects the possibility of exact dating. The wooden *ushabti*-box has been whitewashed then polychrome painted, and it still displays a hieroglyphic inscription which runs continuously, in columns, from right to left, on each of its four outer sides. The inscription consists of the offering formula addressed to several funerary deities: Osiris-Khenti-amentiw, Atum, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Ra-Horakhty, Wennen-nefer, Geb.

The inscription is recorded in semi-cursive hieroglyphic writing. The text is deteriorated to a significant extent, so that in some places the proposed reading can be reconstructed based on the information provided by similar offering formulas, due to the presence of relatively standardized expressions, or by association with other known formulas. In a few other cases, the difficulty of deciphering the inscription is caused by the fact that some hieroglyphs are drawn either extremely cursively, or it is possible that the scribe himself has confused the signs, or they are erased or partially damaged. This is the case of the back curved and shorter side 2 and front curved and shorter side 4 respectively, on which it can be noticed the quite visible traces of some erased hieroglyphs, as well as some other hieroglyphs which have been drawn carelessly.

The inscription mentions the female name of the owner, *ḏd-mwt-i*(*w*).*s-ʿnḫ*. This is a common name during the Third Intermediate Period (the 21st Dynasty and later), if we were to mention here only the case of a well-known feminine character, the homonymous Priestess with the high rank of Chantress of the God Amun and Chief of Amun's Harem of Thebes. The tomb where she is interred, MM60, is located at Deir el-Bahari, in the Theban Necropolis, on the west bank of the Nile in current Luxor. It is also the burial place of several high-ranking individuals dating to the 21st Dynasty. However, our current information does not suggest any connection between *ḏd-mwt-i*(*w*).*s-ʿnḫ*, the feminine owner of the *ushabti*-box E 67 from the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archeology in Bucharest, and the 21st Dynasty homonymous Priestess of Amun in Thebes.

Cuvinte-cheie: *ushabti*, cufăr-sicriu pentru *ushabti*, Djedmwtesankh, Mihail C. Sutzu, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan", A Treia Perioadă Intermediară, Osiris-Khenti-amentiw, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Geb, Ra-Horakhty, Wennen-Nefer, Atum, Teba, Deir el-Bahari

Rezumat: Piesa E 67 aparține fondului de antichități egiptene din colecțiile Institutului de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan" din București. Este o piesă unică, un cufăr-sicriu (casetă funerară) din lemn pentru *ushabti*, a cărei utilitate era să adăpostească statuetele servitorilor funerari de tip *shabti/shawabti/ushabti* în mormântul proprietarului defunct. Capacul cufărului lipsește. Din registrele-inventar aflăm doar că aceasta provine din donația Mihail C. Sutzu (făcută cândva după 1870). De aceea, este imposibil de determinat care este situl de proveniență al piesei. Mai mult, clasificarea sa tipologică,

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precum şi identitatea proprietarului, sunt mai degrabă problematice şi, în consecinţă, afectează grav posibilitatea datării cu exactitate. Cufărul pentru *ushabti* este tencuit şi apoi vopsit policrom, prezentând o inscripţie hieroglifică executată de-a lungul a câte patru coloane, dispuse continuu, de la dreapta la stânga, pe fiecare dintre cele patru feţe exterioare ale sale. Inscripţia constă în formula de ofrandă adresată mai multor divinităţi: Osiris-Khenti-amentiw, Atum, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Ra-Horakhty, Wennen-nefer, Geb.

Inscripţia este redactată în scrierea hieroglifică cursivă. Textul este deteriorat într-o măsură importantă, astfel încât, în câteva locuri, lectura propusă poate fi reconstituită pe baza informaţiilor pe care le avem din formulele de ofrandă similare, datorită prezenţei unor expresii relativ standardizate, sau prin asocierea cu alte formule cunoscute. În alte câteva cazuri, dificultatea descifrării inscripţiei este cauzată de faptul că unele hieroglife sunt trasate fie extrem de cursiv, fie este posibil ca scribul însuşi să fi confundat semnele, fie acestea sunt şterse sau parţial deteriorate. Este cazul feţelor exterioare mai scurte şi curbate posterioară 2 respectiv anterioară 4, pe care se pot observa urmele destul de vizibile ale unor hieroglife şterse, precum şi unele hieroglife care au fost trasate neglijent.

Inscripţia menţionează numele feminin al proprietarei, *ḏd-mwt-ỉ*(*w*).*s*-ᶜ*nḫ*. Acesta este un nume frecvent în A Treia Perioadă Intermediară (Dinastia a XXI-a şi ulterior), dacă ar fi să amintim aici doar cazul unui cunoscut personaj feminin omonim, Preoteasa având rangul înalt de Cântăreaţă a zeului Amun şi Şefa Haremului lui Amun de la Teba. Mormântul acesteia, MM60, situat la Deir el-Bahari, în necropola de la Teba, pe malul occidental al Nilului, în oraşul actual Luxor, este locul de înmormântare al mai multor particulari de rang înalt din Dinastia a XXI-a. Informaţiile pe care le deţinem în prezent nu indică, însă, nicio legătură între *ḏd-mwt-ỉ*(*w*)-*s*-ᶜ*nḫ*, proprietara cufărului-sicriu pentru *ushabti* E 67 de la Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan” din Bucureşti şi Preoteasa omonimă a lui Amun de la Teba, din Dinastia a XXI-a.

INTRODUCTION

Among the 150 pieces that make up the fund of the ancient Egyptian objects[1] in the collections of the “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest there are 31 statuettes of the *shabti/shawabti/ushabti* type[2] and one *ushabti*-container[3] for this kind of casket for the statuettes of funerary servants. This last object, an *ushabti*-box[4] to which the present paper is dedicated, has the inventory number E 67 and comes from the Mihail C. Sutzu donation[5]. The *ushabti*-box misses the lid.

So far, the *ushabti*-box did not benefit from a detailed study, either individually or within a typological category or even as part of the extensive collection of Egyptian objects within the Egyptian collections of antiquities of the “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology. Previously, the container was only mentioned

[1] The pieces come from various antiquarian private collections, and cover different kinds of materials and styles: *lapidarium*; ceramic and alabaster vessels; plastic; bronze statuettes; 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; Predynastic/Neolithic flint blades stone tools; mummies of birds and a fragment of a human mummy, as well as ecofacts. For further information see a history of the fund as well as a detailed presentation of the ancient Egyptian artifacts in the collections of the “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest in Damian, Tatomir 2019 and Tatomir 2019.

[2] For a study of the *shabtiw/shawabtiw/ushabtiw* statuettes in the ancient Egyptian collection of the “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest see Tatomir 2018-2019.

[3] For a preliminary presentation of the *shabti* containers see Tatomir 2018-2019, p. 30-31.

[4] According to Schneider, chronologically it belongs to the *ushabti* type of funerary caskets, see Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 112-113.

[5] For a detailed description of the fund of the ancient Egyptian objects and their donors the “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest see Damian, Tatomir 2019. Regarding the collection of Mihail C. Sutzu (Alexandrescu Vianu 1992) and its component related to the fund of Egyptian antiquities, it is known that his 1870 travel to Egypt resulted in studies of numismatics and Ptolemaic metrology, as well as the purchase of either pieces belonging to the Roman period, or to a number of ancient Egyptian artifacts (Alexandrescu Vianu 1992, p. 131; see also Cihó 1998-1999, p. 20 and note 4; Damian, Tatomir 2019, p. 116).

in the Miron Cihó's very brief description in a catalogue of the 1999 exhibit[6] and assigned to a certain Djed-Mut-uif-aukh[7] from the Third Intermediate Period. Except for the colors and dimensions of the funerary container the mentioned author did not provide any other information.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE CONTAINERS FOR FUNERARY STATUETTES OF *SHABTI/SHAWABTI/USHABTI* TYPE

Scientifically known as "*shawabti* box" this funerary container belongs to the funerary equipment and meant to host the mummiform statuettes of servants of the deceased working for him/her in the afterlife[8].

Due to the main aim of *shabti* figurines, that is to fully replicate the new dead state and copy the visual representation of the deceased, since their earliest types it was a common practice to place these mummiform statuettes inside miniature (model) wooden or pottery coffins or funerary containers.

Beginning with the 12th Dynasty (ca. 1985-1773 BCE), the constant presence of statuettes of funerary servants, the so-called *shabtiw*, becomes increasingly evident within the category of funerary goods. Precisely because of their intense diffusion and the stylistic changes they have undergone over time, these mummiform figurines are essential elements providing important factors for a more accurate dating, and thus often indispensable where a disturbed stratigraphy, reuse, or the lack of adequate archaeological documentation did not allow to obtain reliable chronological references of the context studied[9].

Often the mummiform figurines were kept inside funerary containers that, according to Paolo Marini, Egyptology has for a long time found difficult to recognize as objects with their own identity, so as to study and appreciate them independently of the statuettes they contained[10].

As any other artifact along the ancient Egyptian history, these containers too have known a specific evolution and development, in line with the developments of the funerary beliefs and practices. In this sense, while the funerary figurines from the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period followed the

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[6] Cihó 1999.

[7] Cihó 1999, no. 76.

[8] In his 1977 seminal study, Hans 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 the "production and consumption of the final product: food" (Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 8). The food process is symbolically reproduced by the personification of the mythical-archetypal relationship between "the master (Osiris) NN and his servant, the menial laborer", so that the *shabti* figurines "represent the Egyptian society '*in toto*'" (Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 8).

[9] Marini 2012, p. 83.

[10] Marini 2012, p. 83. For the sake of clarity, the author provides "a specific terminology created ad hoc", yet pointing out "that does not want to have any technical-scientific value" (p. 83, note 2). The nomenclature includes designations like: sarcophagus models (*i.e.*, small sarcophagi that hosted *shabtiw* from the Middle Kingdom), *ushabti*-holder vases (*i.e.*, terracotta vases attested mainly for the 19th and 20th Dynasty), *ushabti* cases (*i.e.*, shaped containers of *ỉtrt* chapel – single, double, triple and quadruple), *ushabti* boxes (containers produced starting from the 22nd Dynasty). See Marini 2012, p. 83, note 2. Regarding the shaped containers of *ỉtrt* chapel, in the *Wb-j* however one suggests that originally *ỉtr.t* was likely a royal palace as in , as well as with the determinative of house . With the determinative of temple there are at least three related meanings revolving around the idea of dwelling in connection with the sacred: God's dwelling in heaven and on earth; small chapel; niche for statues. Also personified for the beings living in the *ỉtr.t*. (Erman, Grapow 1971, vol. I, p. 147). Rainer Hannig (1995, p. 113) however provides as the first meaning "Reihe (*Menschen, Sträucher*)", with the determinatives of , det. , , while he relates only the second and the third meaning to – *rows* of – (sacred) niches and chapels. (I am very thankful to Adjunct Professor Dr. Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska for her suggestions on this notion in particular and on my whole analysis in general.)

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 *shawabtiw/ushabtiw* appeared. Sometimes, there were bands of inscriptions intercalated with images of gods[11].

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[12]. 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[13]. Some *shabti*-boxes were purposely manufactured to house a large number of *shabtiw* 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 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[14].

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONTAINERS FOR THE FUNERARY FIGURINES OF *SHABTI/SHAWABTI/USHABTI* TYPE

Compared to the extensive studies devoted to the *shabtiw/shawabtiw/ushabtiw*[15] statuettes, hitherto, only a limited number of accessible typological studies have been dedicated to the containers of the ancient Egyptian funerary figurines, of which only one is written in English[16], and another one is written in Italian[17].

The first relevant contribution written in English was the 1994 David A. Aston's study on *shabti*-boxes[18]. In his short yet seminal work, the major part of the wooden funerary containers preserved in the most important museums in the world was analysed. The author sub-divided them into eight types that follow one another from their beginning (18th Dynasty, ca. 1550-1295 BCE) up to the attestations from the 25th Dynasty (ca. 747-656 BCE). Furthermore, Aston points out that in the particular case of containers for the funerary

[11] Miniature figurines in mummiform containers were also discovered, yet they were not *shabtiw*. 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).

[12] Stewart 1995, p. 52.

[13] Stewart 1995, p. 53.

[14] 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 *shabtiw* and discovered by Auguste Mariette in the Serapeum, deposited in niches in the burial chamber similar to their parallels in the tombs of humans. Occasional findings of *shabtiw* in canopic jars with lids representing the sons of Horus pointed out the choice of common people of such cases as cheap *shabti*-containers (p. 57). See Tatomir 2018-2019, p. 30-31.

[15] On this topic the seminal work is that of Schneider 1977. However, other relevant studies are (chronologically) those of Speleers 1923; Aubert, Aubert 1974; Stewart 1995; Aubert 1998; Aubert, Aubert 2005.

[16] Aston 1994. Yet, already in his study on *shabtiw*, Hans D. Schneider pointed out that a special study of the *shabtiw*-containers is extremely needed (Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 309, note 46).

[17] Marini 2012.

[18] Other relevant studies are, chronologically, those of Turaev 1916; Cooney 1951; Peeters 1983; Marini 2012.

figurines any study must, of necessity, start with an analysis of the number of the statuettes discovered within a typical tomb group at different historical times because this obviously influenced the type and dimensions of the *shabti/shawabti/ushabti* box in use[19].

To this analysis must be added those of Paolo Marini, starting with his 2010 thesis[20], and followed by the 2012 study on the important corpus of *ushabti* containers in the Italian Egyptological heritage, in which the author reviews some fundamental aspects, as well as the typological subdivision, proposing a new typological classification, different from that of Aston and extended with two new classes[21]. As the author himself notes, this classification has undergone further change, due to new discoveries presented in a new 2018 study[22].

The analysis of the specific yet limited literature concerning the *shabtiw* containers has revealed the lack of a clear definition of the characteristics that determine the integration of a specific container into this class of objects. The issue is particularly important when the scholars deal with the possibility of the first attestations, some of them pointing to the ancient models of sarcophagus[23] found at Deir el-Bahari and placing the origins in the 11th Dynasty (2055-1985 BCE), while others link it directly to the *ỉtrt*[24] single-chapel caskets, widespread starting from the 18th Dynasty[25]. From this arises the essential issue to clarify as to whether the sarcophagus models should be considered containers for the funerary figurines as much as the caskets are or not[26]. According to Marini, it seems more likely that the use of a double model traces the custom, widespread starting from the late Middle Kingdom (1750-1650 BCE), which follows the arrangement of real mummies inside anthropoid sarcophagi[27], in turn placed inside rectangular sarcophagi, so that the latter could carry out a further protective function[28]. The reason behind this view is linked to the event that the mummy was damaged, so the anthropoid sarcophagus should have been in effect the substitute for the body of the deceased[29]. The sarcophagi models of the Middle Kingdom (2055-1650 BCE) and the Second Intermediate Period (1650-1550 BCE) follow the same stylistic evolution that had affected, roughly, the true contemporary sarcophagi[30].

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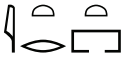
[19] Aston 1994, p. 21.

[20] Marini 2011, with a summary published in Marini 2012, and followed by another paper on some fragments of pottery *shabti*-boxes found in the Tomb M.I.D.A.N.05 (Marini 2013).

[21] The typological class Marini IV, dated to the 21st Dynasty, and the typological class Marini IX, dated to the 26th-27th Dynasties (Marini 2012, p. 99-101). The labeling Marini I, II, III, etc. has been adopted in order to distinguish his typological classes (2012, p. 86-87) from those of Aston (1994).

[22] Marini 2018.

[23] Jean-Luc Chappaz places them at the dawn of the 12th Dynasty (Chappaz 2003, p. 40).

[24] *ỉtrt* = row of shrines of Lower Egypt as seen at the *Sed*-festival in Middle Egyptian (Gardiner 1957 (2001), p. 556).  *ỉtrt* = shrine, *shawabti*-box in Late Egyptian (Lesko 2002, p. 52).

[25] Aston places them at the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period (1650-1550 BCE). See Aston 1994, p. 22. John D. Cooney, referring directly to the caskets, and therefore excluding the models from the category, moves the origins to the 18th Dynasty (1550-1295 BCE) (Cooney 1975, p. 231).

[26] Marini 2012, p. 84. While Aston does not address the point directly, he refers to the containers as *shabti*-boxes, including in the typological subdivision (Type I) two models of a rectangular-based sarcophagus containing the models of an anthropoid sarcophagus dated back to the 18th Dynasty (one from the British Museum – London BM EA 65372 – and one from the Museo Egizio di Torino – Torino 8338), and writes: "The fact that this shabti-box contained a model coffin is perhaps confirmation of the fact that boxes of this type are the earliest type of box known since there is still some confusion as to whether the shabtis should be housed in an anthropoid coffin or a true box" (Aston 1994, p. 22). Therefore, since the rectangular sarcophagus houses the model of an anthropoid sarcophagus the author considers that it should be considered "container".

[27] *LÄ* 1984, p. 432.

[28] Marini 2012, p. 84.

[29] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 64.

[30] Paul Whelan points out that from the 17th Dynasty (1580-1550 BCE) there are few models of anthropoid sarcophagi (Whelan 2011, p. 13-14).

In addition, the ideological aspect is equally important. Due to the fact that the *shabtiw* were small statuettes depicting the mummified deceased, while conceptually were seen as his "double"[31], making a rectangular sarcophagus model to protect an anthropoid sarcophagus model would only emphasize the attempt to emulate reality. However, double or single, the sarcophagus model did not intentionally protect the figurine it contained. The protection feature was a prerogative of the *shabtiw*-holder caskets, so much so that, when the concept of *shabti* evolved from a simple double of the deceased to one's complex magical double being in the afterlife, gaining also the capacity of a funerary servant of the deceased, it became obvious that it was no longer necessary to reproduce the shape of the sarcophagus. The choices derived from this reality were to expand the dimensions of the *shawabti* of the 18th Dynasty, as well as to keep the iconography – the *ỉtrt* chapel form, with a symbolic value. It was a very interesting peculiarity the fact that the Egyptians used to call the predynastic chapels and the *shabti*-holder caskets with the same term *ỉtrt*[32].

Wolfram Grajetzki considers that "the sarcophagus models evolved into caskets for ushabti"[33]. However, the latter must be understood as original artifacts, not only from the morphological point of view, but also because of their functionality, precisely because they were created to respond to a task: to really protect physically the funerary figurine as a precious object endowed with magical religious functions[34].

There is hitherto very little information regarding the Predynastic sanctuaries known as *ỉtrt* chapels. They were very simple constructions of mud bricks[35], consisting of a chamber covered by a barrel vault or a dome of reeds and rushes[36]. Schneider saw a connection between the Middle Kingdom *shabti* figurines and the *ỉtrt* chapels in the light of the statues for the *kꜣ*[37] of the deceased due to the similarity of the ideological principle: statues intended as "substitutes", or rather "doubles" of the deceased. While the statue for the *kꜣ* would represent the owner of the tomb as he was on earth, in an idealised form, the *shabti*, on the other hand, usually represented mummified, would personify the deceased in one's transition condition. Both statues were at the same time images of the deceased and servants of him/her[38].

During the 18th Dynasty the funerary figurines underwent an ennoblement in form and size, becoming very similar to the "real" statues, only that they have reduced dimensions and are mummiform, therefore they are not small easily manageable statuettes. Also, their position inside the caskets is standing and not lying down. This analogy would justify the choice of a small sanctuary to protect them as an appropriate place for a divine image. Furthermore, the casket in the shape of a naos is attested as a protective container for the statue of the *kꜣ* of the deceased[39].

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[31] On the identity of the *shabti* as either "double" or "slave", see Poole 1998; Silver 2009. The *shabti* served as a substitute of the deceased for all the required work in the afterlife, and the spells written on the figurine engaged the double to answer on behalf of the deceased for any working activity would be assigned to him. See Poo 2011, p. 27.

[32] The Predynastic chapels are known from reproductions dating to the end of the Predynastic period and to the Thinite period. Generally, two types of sacred buildings are represented, whose stylized forms are recognizable, starting with the 3rd Dynasty, in some graphemes determining the word *itrt* (Porta 1989, p. 68). The word *itrt* is also attested on some ostraca of the Ramesside age, to indicate *shabti*-boxes: *Ostr.* Turin 9592, p. 2-3 (Černý 1937, p. 188, note 1) and *Ostr.* Turin 9618, p. 9 (Janssen 1975, p. 242, note 173). On the second ostracon, one reads the following sentence: *ỉtr.w 2 n* (or *r*) *šꜣbwtỉ 12* "two shabti-boxes for 12 shabti" (Janssen 1975, p. 242, note 173). In TT 335 the *shabti*-box portrayed under the funerary bed is also called *itrt* (Marini 2012, p. 85; Marini 2018, p. 282).

[33] Grajetzki 2006, p. 6.

[34] Marini 2012, p. 86.

[35] Or perhaps wattle.

[36] Hayes 1959, p. 428; Donadoni 1994, p. 31.

[37] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 20.

[38] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 20.

[39] A well-known example is that of the large statue of the *kꜣ* of the Sovereign Hor (13th Dynasty, 1773 - after 1650 BCE) in Dashur found in his grave (de Morgan 1895, p. 91-92).

Marini stated that *shabti*-boxes make their appearance in the tombs of the Theban nobles during the middle of the 18th dynasty[40], thus being attested for the first time in this specific funerary context. In most cases the funerary recipient was made of wood[41]. In the Egyptian sources the box was called *ỉtrt*, *i.e.*, "chapel" or "shrine", very likely due to its shape resemblant to the Predynastic *ỉtrt*-chapel.

Afterwards, the iconography of *shabti*-boxes has developed in a specific manner. This evolution contributed to a more accurate dating of this category of artifacts on a stylistic basis.

An evolution is registered also with respect to the number of the funerary figurines placed inside their boxes. Whereas in the case of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period tombs there is little evidence regarding the number of the *shabtiw* in the burials, it appears that during the early New Kingdom their number varied[42]. Based on archaeological evidence it seems that from the late Middle Kingdom until the 18th Dynasty, no more than five *shabtiw/shawabtiw* were buried with the deceased in the cases of non-royal people. Then, in the early 19th Dynasty this number increased to ten statuettes.

Afterwards, an obvious change in the nature of the mummiform funerary figurines took place, correlated to a change in their magical-religious meaning. The result was that they were buried with the deceased in a much larger number which by the Third Intermediate Period had formalized into 401, *i.e.*, one for each day of the year to which have been added 36 overseers, one for each team of ten funerary servants[43]. This established number of 401 funerary figurines is found later on as far as the Ptolemaic period[44].

Currently, the typology of the *shabti*-boxes is, mainly and of necessity, a Theban containers-based one, as Thebes provided the most *shabti*-boxes so far[45]. For the accuracy of the typological and historical classification, any study on a new *shabti/shawabti/ushabti*-box must take into account both the eight Aston and nine Marini types which must be correlated in the sense indicated by Marini[46].

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[40] For the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, there is evidence of *shabtiw* often placed into small size models of sarcophagi. This funerary trend persisted until later, being attested also into the 21st Dynasty (*e.g.*, the sarcophagus scale model JE 48411 in Newberry 1937, p. 348-350 and Newberry 1957, pl. XVII; see also Marini 2018, p. 281, note 1). However, they were gradually replaced by *shabti*-boxes. These latter containers were completely different in form as well as in meaning, as ways to adapt to the functional change related to a conceptual evolution of the funerary figurines with smaller dimensions which appeared during the New Kingdom (Marini 2012, p. 84-86).

[41] However, a rare pottery production is also attested (Marini 2013).

[42] Yet textual sources indicate that it should be no less than two statuettes (Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 266-267).

[43] Edwards 1971, p. 120-124. Aston points out that the current evidence of New Kingdom overseer statuettes found at Gurob, Sedment and Balabish suggests that it is likely that the number of 40l was introduced in the late part of this period. See Brunton, Engelbach 1927, p. 18, pl. xlvi; Černý 1948, p. 121; Petrie, Brunton 1924, p. 21, pls. lxxvii-lxxviii; Wainwright, Whittemore 1920, p. 58; Aston 1994, p. 21. Furthermore, Schneider (1977, vol. I, p. 267) notices the case of the *shabti*-scribe, Brussels E.1869, of presumed Late New Kingdom date, inscribed with the number 403, which might indicate a full complement of 401 with the addition of a chief *reis* and a scribe. The Balabish examples from tomb B36 are almost certainly attributable to the 20th Dynasty. On the dating, see also Aston 1994, p. 21, notes 9 and 10.

[44] Aston 1994, p. 21.

[45] The other sites did not provide almost any comparative material. In rare instances when it is available (*e.g.*, Abydos, Tuna el Gebel, Lahun, Abusir el Meleq, Lahun, Saqqara, Tell Nebesheh – see Aston 1994, p. 39), it is rather suggestive of the fact that "different styles are to be found in different areas" (Aston 1994, p. 21).

[46] Marini 2012. For the Aston eight types see Aston 1994, p. 22 (types I-II), p. 22-25 (type III), p. 25-27 (type IV), p. 27-29 (type V, with subtypes a, b, and c), p. 29-32 (type VI, with subtypes a, b, and c), p. 32-35 (type VII, with subtypes a, b, c), p. 35-37 (type VIII, with subtypes a, b, and c). For the Marini nine types (with subtypes) see Marini 2012 as follows: for the New Kingdom: p. 86-87 (Ia: caskets with chapel *ỉtrt*), p. 87-90 (Ib: caskets with chapel *ỉtrt* depicted), p. 90-92 (IIa: caskets with a double chapel *ỉtrt* depicted with the motif of the false-door), p. 92 (IIb: casket with a double chapel *ỉtrt* depicted with the deceased couple), p. 93-96 (IIc: casket with a double chapel *ỉtrt* depicted with god), p. 96-98 (IIIa: casket with a triple chapel *ỉtrt* depicted with god), p. 98 (IIIb: casket with a triple chapel *ỉtrt* depicted, "*horror vacui*"); for the Third Intermediate Period: p. 99-101 (IV: casket with a quadruple chapel *ỉtrt*), p. 101-102 (Va: casket with a triple chapel *ỉtrt* depicted - large), p. 102-105 (VB: casket with a triple chapel *ỉtrt* inscribed), p. 105 (Vc: casket with a triple undecorated chapel *ỉtrt*), p. 105-107 (VIa: casket with a double *ỉtrt* depicted), p. 107 (VIb: casket with a double chapel *ỉtrt* inscribed), p. 107-108 (VIc: casket with a double chapel *ỉtrt* uninscribed), p. 108 (VIIa: rectangular undecorated boxes), p. 109-110 (rectangular inscribed boxes with columns), p. 110-113 (VIIc: rectangular boxes inscribed with horizontal band), p. 113-114 (VIIIa: "Pfostensarg" box with inscription in columns),

The classifications as well as the examples mentioned in the works of Aston and Marini help one to see whether the *ushabti*-box E 67 in the Ancient Egyptian fund of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology could be assigned or not to one of these types, as well as to reveal significant information regarding its owner, along with stylistic and historical peculiarities.

THE OFFERING FORMULA

The inscription on E 67 *ushabti*-box is a *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* ritualic formula. This is one of the most common uses of the relative forms found in a dedicatory formula. Along the ancient Egyptian history, it underwent a number of changes and developed through many different versions. Yet most examples have the same four elements in common on coffins, *stelae*, and other funerary objects[47]:

a) the dedication: the relative clause, *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw*(*t*): literally, "an offering that the king gives," *nswt* "king" being in honorary transposition[48];

b) the agent: the king's "gift" is not made by the king personally but by a local funerary establishment. Hence, the god of such establishments, usually Osiris or Anubis or another god, is viewed as the agent of the gift. His participation is usually recognized in the formula by the appearance of his name and epithets as a direct genitive after *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw*(*t*);

c) the offerings: the list of gifts included in the formula can be the most extensive part of the text. It either follows directly after the agent or is introduced by *dỉ.f* (plural *dỉ.sn*) "giving", an adverb clause with the *sḏm.f*, referring to the agent or agents. There are two basic gifts: burial and offerings. The first is ususally associated with "a royal offering of Anubis" and is usually described as *ḳrst nfrt m z*(*mỉ*)*t ỉmntt* "a good entombment in the western cemetery". The second, described as "a royal offering of Osiris", is an "invocation offering", which the presenter invites the deceased's spirit to partake in. This is described in Egyptian as *prt-ḫrw*, *i.e.*, "sending forth the voice". At its most basic, the offering consists of *prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kɜw ɜpdw* "an invocation offering of bread and beer, cattle and fowl". Other elements can be added to this, such as the *šsr mnḫt* "linen and clothing". It is possible that the frequently extant phrase in the formula - *ḫt nbt nfrt wꜥbt* "every good and pure thing" – actually represents an elaboration to make sure that nothing is missed;

d) the beneficiary[49]: the formula ends with the name of the deceased person to whom the "royal offering" is made. This is preceded by the dative *n* "for" or the fuller expressions *n ỉmɜḫy* "for the worthy", *n kɜ n ỉmɜḫy* "for the ka of the worthy", or *n kɜ n* "for the ka of". The deceased's name is usually followed by the phrase *mɜꜥ/mɜꜥ*(*t*) *ḫrw* "justified", sometimes also by the expression *nb/nb*(*t*) *ỉmɜḫ* "possessor of worth"[50].

Further, we will see how these structures are reflected in the composition of the *ushabti*-box E 67.

p. 114-115 (VIIIb: "Pfostensarg" box inscribed with horizontal band), p. 115-116 (VIIIc: "Pfostensarg" box with inscribed panel); for the Late and Ptolemaic periods: p. 117-119 (IX: *ushabti*-box with obelisk on the lid). With respect to the *ushabti*-boxes of the Late and Ptolemaic periods a further discussion should take into account whether the artifacts would rather be canopic chests. See Aston 2000, p. 171, pl. 13; Marini 2012, p. 120.

[47] Allen 2014, p. 373.

[48] It identifies the object on which it is inscribed as a funerary item authorized by the king himself: in effect, a royal funerary gift.

[49] Allen 2014, p. 374-375.

[50] Allen 2014, p. 375.

THE *USHABTI*-BOX E 67

General description (fig. 1)

The object E 67 belongs to the Ancient Egyptian Fund of the collections of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest. It is a singular piece, coming from a donation of Mihail C. Sutzu (after 1870), a wooden inscribed *ushabti*-box for housing the mummiform statuettes of *ushabti*-funerary servants. The lid of the casket is missing. As will be seen hereinafter, its typological classification and the identity of its owner are problematic. As a result, these issues severely affect the possibility of accurate dating. The *ushabti*-box is a rectangular whitewashed then polychrome painted object displaying a hieroglyphic inscription. The columns on each side are painted in red, yellow, white, turquoise, while the hieroglyphic inscription is written in black semi-cursive retrograde writing. It consists of four whitewashed and then polychrome painted panels, on the outer face (numbered below as fig. 2-5 in reading order), two longer and two shorter, and the fifth unpainted panel at the bottom. The first (back) shorter painted and inscribed side (fig. 2) is higher and curved, partially recalling the shape of the *ỉtrt* chapel – yet, the casket looks more like a wooden rectangular coffin. Although the lid of the box is missing, on top of the two outer long margins of each side, holes can be noticed, two on the right longer margin, and one on the left longer margin. The holes mark the places for closing the lid[51]. Upon the second (front) shorter side (fig. 3), by construction, there is no curved top section, as in the case of the first one[52].

The physical state of conservation of the box is of medium level. Besides the absence of its lid, the two longer inscribed panels (fig. 2 and 4 respectively) are very damaged: the one on the left (fig. 2), in proportion of one third (columns 2, 3 and 4 lacking the upper part), while the one on the right (fig. 4), more than half, the lower parts of all seven columns being destroyed.

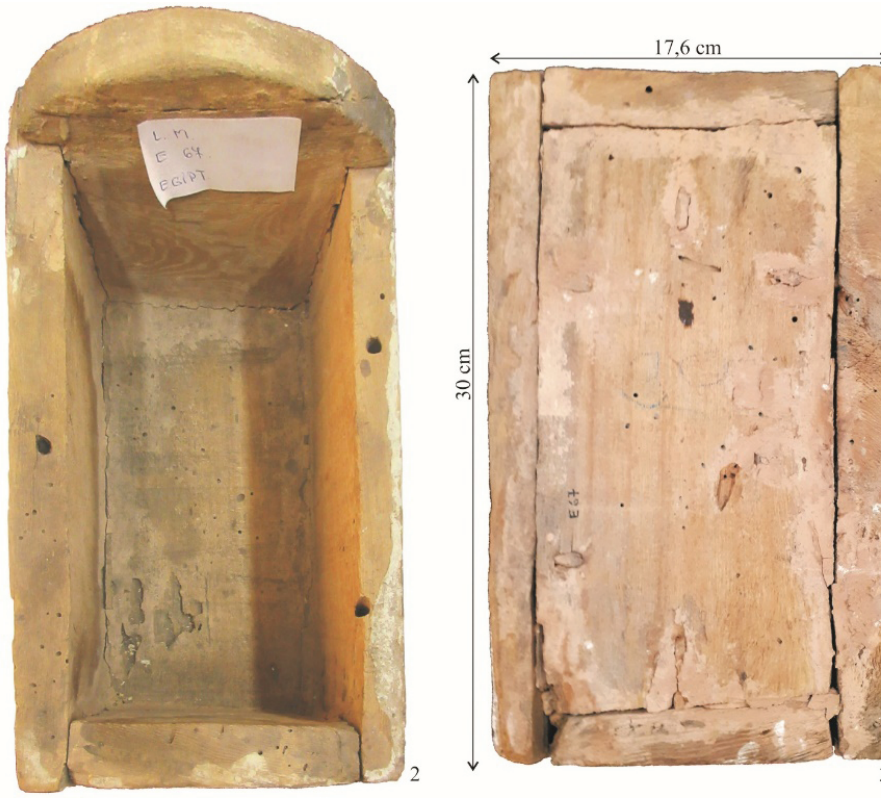

Fig. 1. The *ushabti*-box E 67.

[51] And maybe the possibility of another lid(s), as in the shape of a double/triple chapel?

[52] This second curved top section might very well be part of the missing lid.

Fig. 2. Left longer side.

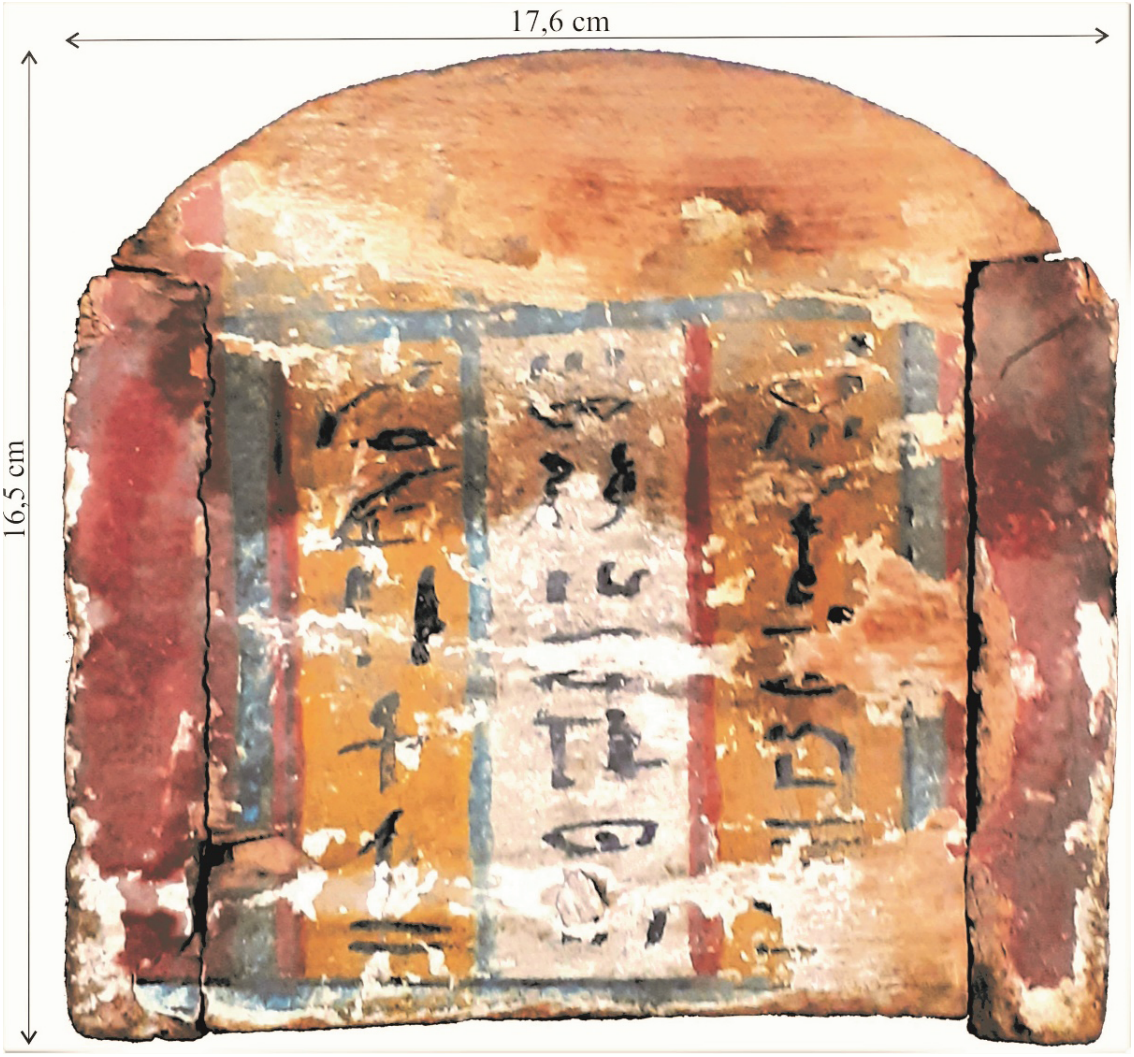

Fig. 3. Back curved and shorter side.

Fig. 4. Right longer side.

Fig. 5. Front shorter side.

Details of the *ushabti*-box

- **Provenance:** unknown (according to its style and names, presumably Theban?). From the inventory records we learn only that it comes from the Mihail C. Sutzu donation (made sometime after 1870), therefore, it is impossible to determine from which site the piece originates.
- **Location and inventory number:** Ancient Egyptian Fund, "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Romania; E 67.
- **Medium:** wood.
- **Technique:** whitewashed then polychrome painted wood**.**
- **Dimensions:** L × W × H: 30 cm × 17.6 cm × 16.5 cm (back panel), and 13 cm (front panel).
- **Type:**
  - according to Schneider's classification of statuettes of funerary servants: *ushabti*-box (Third Intermediate Period)[53];
  - according to Aston: although the structure of writing in columns brings it closer to the Type VIIb[54], however, it is more likely to include it in the category of Miscellaneous Theban *Shabti* Boxes[55];
  - according to Marini: based on the title and the brief description[56], the closest type is Type VIIb, "*cassette rettangolari iscritte con colonne*"[57].
- **The inscription**: the box displays a hieroglyphic inscription which runs continuously, in columns, recorded in retrograde semi-cursive simplified hieroglyphs, from right to left, on each of its four outer sides. The inscription consists of the offering formula addressed to several funerary deities: Osiris-Khenti-amentiw, Atum, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Ra-Horakhty, Wennen-nefer, Geb.

The text is deteriorated to a significant extent, so that in some places our proposed reading can be reconstructed based on the information provided by similar offering formulas, due to the presence of relatively standardized expressions, or by association with other known formulas. In a few other cases, the difficulty of deciphering the inscription is caused by the fact that some hieroglyphs are drawn either very simplified, with reduced forms to linear thinness, or it is possible that the scribe himself has misspelled some signs, while others were erased or partially damaged. This is the case of the fig. 3 and 5 respectively, on which one may notice the quite visible traces of some erased hieroglyphs, while others have been drawn carelessly and simplified.

On the two longer sides (fig. 2 and 4) the inscription is written in seven columns, painted in yellow and white alternatively with red borders, and placed in a turquoise frame, while on the two shorter sides (fig. 3 and 5), the inscription runs in three columns on each side, two painted in yellow with red border and turquoise border, and the middle one in white. On each side the text is flanked at the extremities by two red vertical sections, with a turquoise frame. The inscription runs circularly from the longer (wider) panel on the left (fig. 2), to the narrowest and highest one of the head (fig. 3), then to the next longer panel on the right (fig. 4) and reaching the second panel shorter and narrower (fig. 5).

The inscription consists of the *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw*(*t*) formula[58] written two times, on both long panels (fig. 2 and 4). The text consists of an offering formula addressed to a number of gods.

a) the dedication: the relative clause, *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw*(*t*): literally, "an offering that the king gives," *nsw(t)* "king" being in honorary transposition[59];

[53] Schneider 1977, vol. I, p. 112-113.
[54] Aston 1994, p. 33.
[55] Fig. 4, right longer side, column 7. See Aston 1994, p. 38.
[56] Marini 2012, p. 109, and note 175 citing Cooney 1975, p. 229, fig. 1.
[57] Marini 2012, p. 109.
[58] On the offering formula see Gardiner 1957, p. 170-173; Allen 2014, p. 373-375.
[59] It identifies the object as a funerary item authorized by the king himself: in effect, a royal funerary gift.

b) the agent: the king's "gift" is made by several gods, understood as the agent(s) of the gift: *hntỉ ỉmntỉw, (ỉ)tm, ptḥ-skr wsỉr, wnn-nfr, rᶜ-hr-ᶜḫty, gb*. The agent's participation is usually recognized in the formula by the appearance of the name and epithets as a direct genitive after *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw*(*t*);

c) the offerings: the list of gifts included *ḥtpt nb*(*w*) *ḏf*(*ɜw*);

d) the beneficiary: *nb.t pr ḏd-mwt-ỉ*(*w*).*s-ᶜnḫ*;

e) the possible names of her parents: father: *n-sw* […]; mother: *ỉdỉ.t / ỉdỉ / ỉdd*.

The names of the gods to whom the offering formula is addressed (the agents of the gift) are *hntỉ-ỉmntỉw, tm, ptḥ-skr wsỉr, wnn-nfr, rᶜ-ḥr-ᶜḫty, gb*. There are funerary syncretic divine characters revered during the Third Intermediate Period, Late Period until the Roman times.

Taking into account that the object E 67 is part of a donation and hitherto we do not have any records on its archaeological context, provenance and details of acquisition, it is almost impossible to emit a consistent hypothesis regarding who its owner was.

- **The name of the owner/deceased:** *ḏd-mwt-ỉ*(*w*).*s-ᶜnḫ*[60]. It is a common feminine name during the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. In the inscription on the E 67 *ushabti*-box the deceased owner has the (lowly) quality of *nb.t pr* (mistress of the house).

The owner's name appears on two of the four outer sides (fig. 3-4). According to Hermann Ranke[61], such name, *ḏd-mwt-ỉ*(*w?*)*s-ᶜnḫ*, is a sentence translated as "the (Goddess) Mut has said: she will live forever"[62]. According to Günter Vittmann, it may evoke the decision of an oracle in which the goddess Mut reassured the anxious parents that the child would survive[63]; yet, this does not mean that every individual who would fit into this pattern[64] necessarily owed his name to an oracular decision of a god/goddess[65].

The same name *ḏd-mwt-ỉ*(*w*).*s-ᶜnḫ* was archaeologically found in relation with burial goods from Upper Egypt, Thebes, Deir el-Bahari, if we were to mention here only the case of a well-known feminine character, the homonymous lady bearing the titles of Chief of the Harem of Amun and Chantress of Amun[66]. The tomb where this latter lady was interred, MM60, is located in Deir el-Bahari in the Theban Necropolis, on the west bank of the Nile in current Luxor[67].

However, since our *ushabti*-box E 67 from the Ancient Egyptian Fund of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest is dislocated from its original archaeological context, and hitherto we do not have any further evidence or information to suggest its original site, there is no reason to associate the name of its owner with any other artifact of other already known homonymous feminine characters coming from the same

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[60] The name-pattern is attested during the 21st Dynasty and Late Third Intermediate Period for several ranking priests and priestesses of Amun having possible kinship ties and in some instances with the members even belonging to the same family: the verb *ḏd* + name of a god + the particle *ỉ*(*w*) + a suffix pronoun *.s* (fem.) / *.f* (masc.) + the verb. See Ranke 1935, vol. I, p. 410, 15, 16. However, as Dr. Åke Engsheden has noted in an informal discussion, it is interesting is interesting that the writing *ỉ=s* instead of *ỉw=s* is often found during the 25th-26th Dynasties.

[61] Ranke 1926, p. 734-735.

[62] Ranke 1935, vol. I, p. 410, 16 provides the name in the way *ḏd-mwt-ỉ*(*w*).*s-ᶜnḫ* with the following translation: "die (Göttin) Mut hat gesagt: sie wird lebenỉ(*w*).*s ᶜnḫ* with the present tense.

[63] Because of the high rate of child mortality in antiquity, this was a very realistic concern.

[64] *E.g.*, *ḏd-ptḥ-ỉw.f-ᶜnḫ*, see Vittmann 2013b, p. 2.

[65] Other factors such as papponymy (*i.e.*, naming after the grandfather) would often determine the use of a given name (see Vittmann 2013a).

[66] See for instance Winlock's 1926 report on the funerary equipment discovered during the MMA excavations campaign, 1923-1924 in Tomb 60 in Upper Egypt, Thebes, Deir el-Bahri. See also Kitchen 1996, p. 67; Aston 2014; *Outer Coffin of Djedmutesankh,* 2000-2021; Pischikova, Budka, Griffin 2014; Hallmann 2015, p. 125; Dodson 2012, p. 289, note 31. On the role of the chantress in ancient Egypt see Onstine 2001.

[67] This tomb is also the burial place of several high-ranking individuals dating to the 21st Dynasty (Winlock 1926; Cooney 2011; Eldany 2011; *Shabti Box and Shabtis of Djedmutesankh,* 2000-2021).

or later period and from known burials in Upper Egypt. Therefore, for the sake of historical and archaeological objectivity we should say that our current state of information does not suggest any connection between *ḏd-mwt-i*(*w*).*s-ʿnḫ* who was the feminine owner of the *ushabti*-box E 67, and the 21st Dynasty homonymous Chantress of Amun in Thebes from the MM60 Tomb.

- **The name of the owner's father:** *n-sw* […] […][68].
- **The name of the owner's mother[69]:** possible suggested readings could be either *ỉdỉ.t* or *ỉdỉ* / *ỉdd*, as in [70]. As for the first variant, Ranke[71] however provides only the structure verb+possesive pronoun, *dỉ.t* which enters into the composition of names such as *dỉ.t ʿnḫ*[72] , attested during the Late Period.
- **The names of the funerary gods addressed to:** *hntỉ-ỉmntỉw, tm, ptḥ-skr wsỉr, wnn-nfr, rʿ-ḥr-ʿḥty, gb*.
- **Dating:** likely it belongs to either the 21st/22nd Dynasties of The Third Intermediate Period, or it could be rather later, coming from the 23rd to 25th Dynasty.

The patterns of the name of the deceased as well as of those suggested for her father and mother are attested during the 21st/22nd Dynasties, mainly according to Ranke[73], to which one might add the information coming from important archaeological findings[74].

According to the style of the box, there are at least two options:

a) a variant of either both the Marini and Aston Type VIIb, *i.e.*, Marini Type VIIb: rectangular boxes inscribed in columns[75]; Aston Type VIIb: boxes inscribed with chapter V of the Book of the Dead, with the *ḥtp-dỉ-nswt* formula, with the *ḏd mdw* formula[76] – and thus a date such as ca. 750-650 BCE is expected;

b) or rather a variant of Type VIIIa: "Pfostensarg" box with inscription in columns (Aston Type VIIIa: boxes inscribed with Chapter VI of the Book of the Dead). This type reveals a substantial change in shape which recalls that of the sarcophagi called *ḳrs.w* or "pillar sarcophagi" (*Pfostensarg*) introduced in the 8th century and developed during the 25th Dynasty, but their dimensions differ: ca. 30 cm × 45 cm × 30 cm. The boxes maintain their rectangular shape, but are closed at the top by a vaulted lid with four square-section pillars (one for each corner); they are stuccoed and painted, with the four sides inscribed with columns of hieroglyphs with a white or yellow background or with alternating white and yellow columns; boats with or without sail continue to be depicted on the barrel lid. Except for the lid that is missing, our E 67 *ushabti*-box it is very close to the description of this style, therefore its dating to the 25th Dynasty could be suggested[77].

[68] Maybe a variant of Ranke's *ns-pɜwty* (?) – 1935, vol. I, p. 175, no. 22.

[69] Fig. 5, front shorter side, columns 2-3. I am very grateful to Dr. Åke Engsheden who has made valuable suggestions as for the text and improved on the understanding of the hieroglyphic inscription.

[70] Ranke 1935, vol. I, p. 416, no. 14, p. 54, no. 19.2.

[71] Ranke 1935, vol. I, p. 431, no. 21.

[72] Ranke 1935, vol. I, p. 431, no. 21.

[73] Ranke 1935, vol. I, p. 54, 175, 410, 431. See also another variant, written slightly differently, yet possible, mentioned by Ranke 1935, vol. I, p. 53, no. 20.

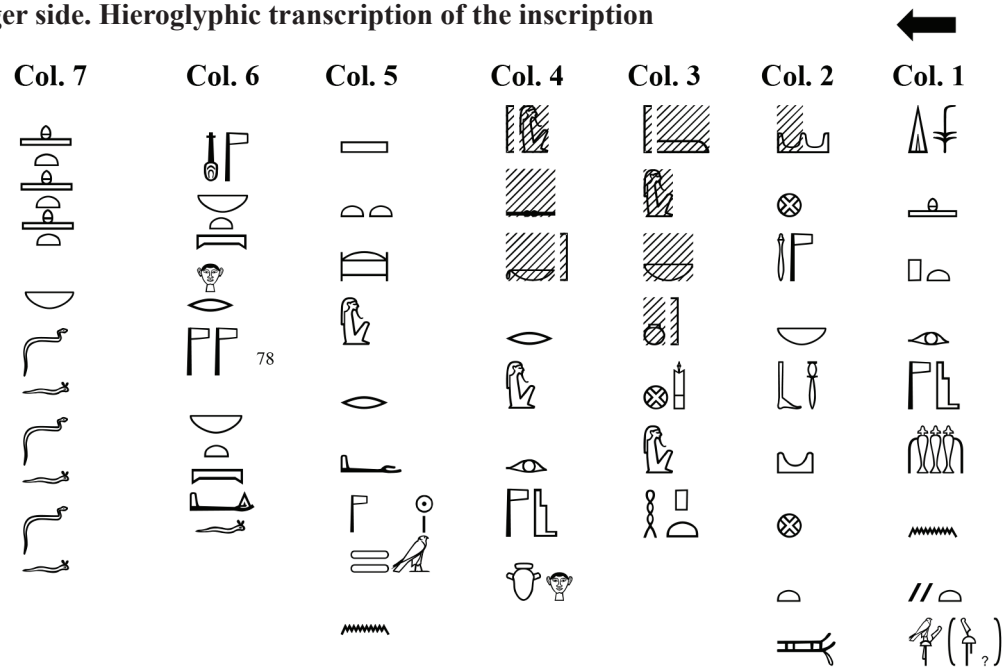
[74] Winlock 1926.

[75] Marini 2012, p. 109-110.

[76] Aston 1994, p. 32-35.

[77] Marini 2012, p. 113-114; Aston 1994, p. 35-37.

Fig. 2. Left longer side. Hieroglyphic transcription of the inscription

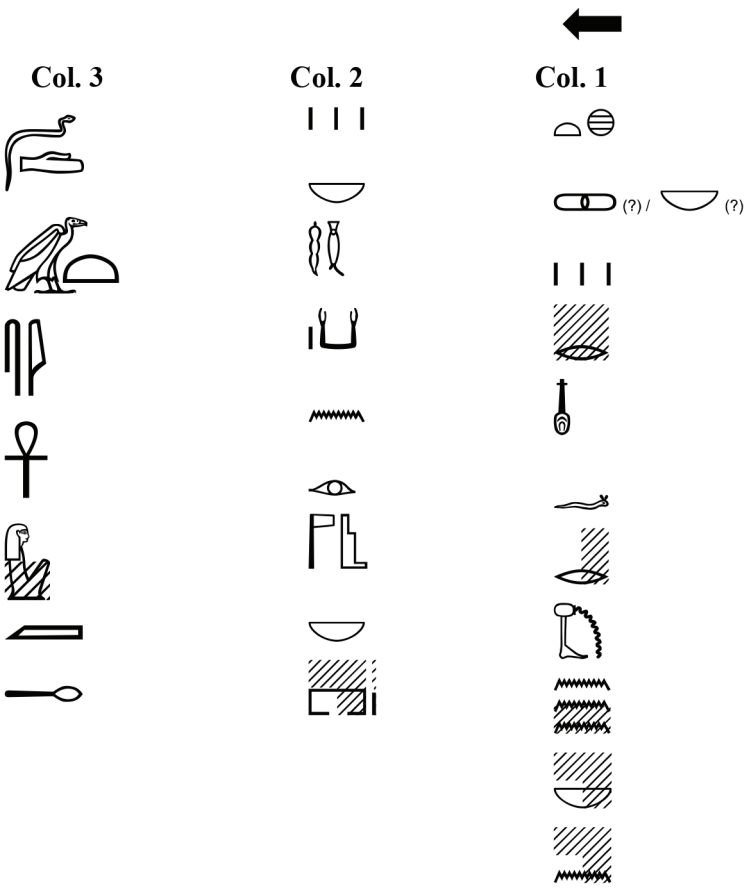


Column	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḥtp dỉ nsw wsỉr ḫnti-ỉmntỉw*	An offering which the king gives to Osiris Khenti-Imentiw,
2	*nṯr ᶜ ɜbḏw tm*	the great god of Abydos Atum,
3	*nb ỉwnw ptḥ*	the lord of Iwnw (Heliopolis) Ptah-
4	*skr wsỉr ḥry-ỉb*	-Sokar-Osiris Hery-ib
5	*šty.t rᶜ-ḥr-ᶜḥty n*	Shety.t Re-Horakhty of
6	*nṯr nfr nb.t p.t ḫry nṯrw nfr nb.t p.t dỉ.f*	the Perfect (/Good) God the Mistress of the Sky of the Perfect (/Good) God the Mistress of the Sky so that he gives
7	*ḥtpt nb*(*w*) *ḏf*(ɜ*w*)	all offering(s) and provision(s)

[78] For *ḥry-nṯrw* see Leitz 2002, vol. V, p. 368, no. 53: "der über den Göttern ist" / "der Oberste der Götter".

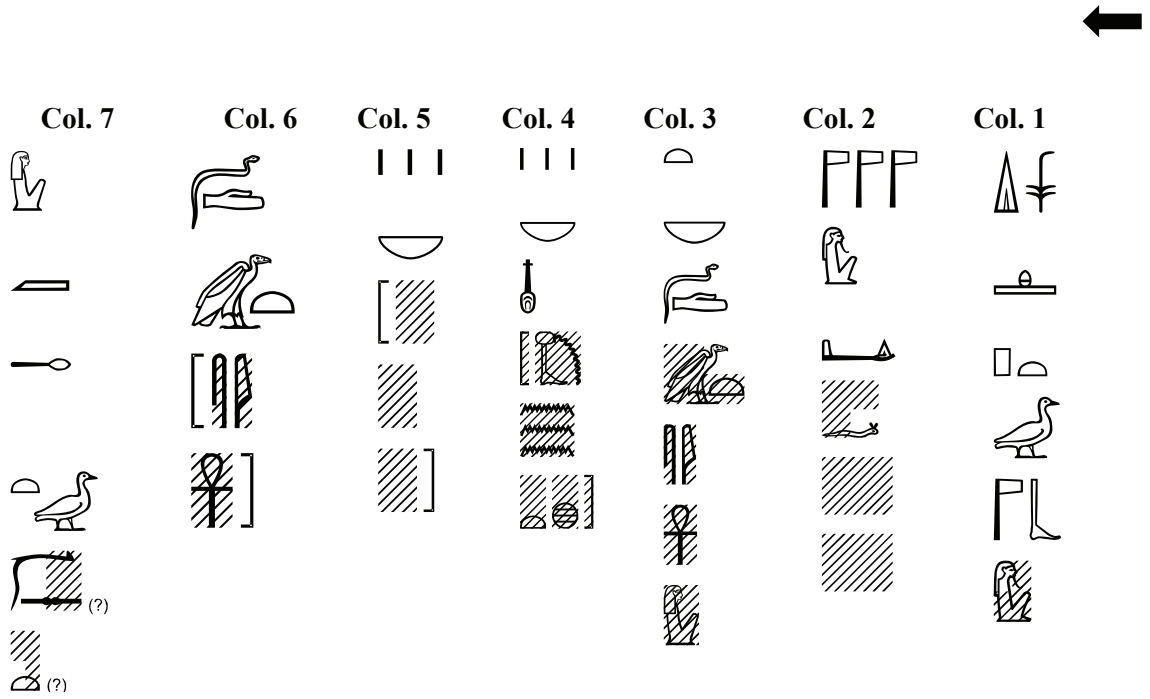
[79] For *ḥry-ỉb šty.t* as epithet of Seker and Osiris = "who is in the middle of Schetit", see Leitz, 2002, vol. V, p. 349; Erman, Grapow 1971, vol. IV, p. 559, 13. I am thankful to Dr. Åke Engsheden for his valuable remarks and suggestions.

Fig. 3. Back curved and shorter side. Hieroglyphic transcription of the inscription



Column	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḫt nbt* [*nfrt wꜥbt*] *nb n* (*?*) *nb*(*.t*) *bnr*(*.t*) *nḏm*(*.t*) (*n*) *kꜣ n wsir nb*(*.t*) [*pr*]	Everything [good and pure] (to?)2 Everything sweet and agreeable (for) the *kꜣ* of Osiris Mistress of the [House],
3	*ḏd-mwt-is-ꜥnḫ mꜣꜥ*(*.t*)*-ḫrw*	Djedmutisankh justified (~ deceased)

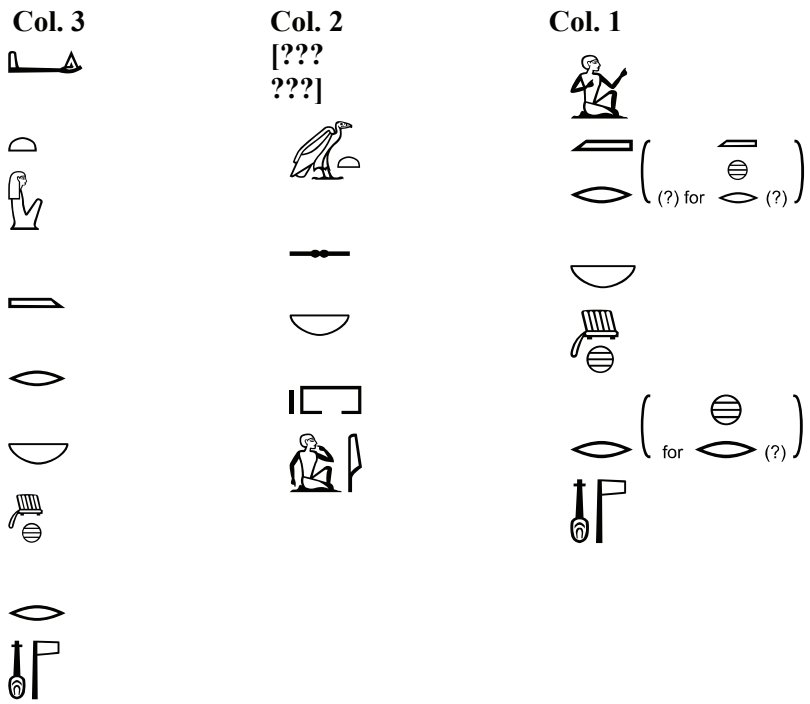
Fig. 4. Right longer side. Hieroglyphic transcription of the inscription



Column	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḥtp dì nsw gb…*	An offering which the king gives to Geb…
2	*nṯr.w dì.f…*	the gods he gives
3	*nb*(*.t*) *ḏd* [*mwt-ỉs-ꜥnḫ*]	Lady Djed[mwtisankh]
4	*nbt nfrt* [*wꜥbt ḫt*]	everything good and pure
5	*nbt* […*?*]	Lady / everything (?) […?]
6	*ḏd mwt*[*-ỉs-ꜥnḫ*]	Djed[mwtisankh]
7	*mɜꜥ.t ḫrw sɜ.t n-sw* (*?*) […][80]	justified (~ deceased) daughter of Nsw (?) […]

[80] This should be the name of the deceased's father, maybe a variant of Ranke's *ns-pɜwty* (?) – 1935, vol. I, p. 175, no. 22.

Fig. 5. Front shorter side. Hieroglyphic transcription of the inscription



Column	Transliteration	Translation
1	*mɜʿ(.t)-ḫrw ḥr nb imɜḫ ḥr nṯr nfr*	justified (~ deceased) before the revered lord before the perfect (good) god
2	[*???*] *mwt.s nb(.t) pr*	[???] her mother, Mistress of the house
3	*idi.t* (*?*) *mɜʿ(.t) ḫrw nb(.t) imɜḫ ḥr nṯr nfr*	Idit (?) justified (~ deceased) the revered lady before the perfect god

The complete inscription transliterated and translated (fig. 2-5)

Column	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḥtp dỉ nsw wsỉr ḫntỉ-ỉmntỉ*w	An offering which the king gives to Osiris Khenti-Imentiw,
2	*nṯr ꜥɜ ɜbḏw tm*	the great god of Abydos Atum,
3	*nb ỉwnw ptḥ*	the lord of Iwnw (Heliopolis) Ptah-
4	*skr wsỉr ḥry-ỉb*	-Sokar-Osiris Hery-ib
5	*šty.t rᵉ-ḥr-ꜥḫty n*	Shetyt Re-Horakhty to
6	*nṯr nfr nb.t p.t ḫry nṯrw nfr nb.t p.t dỉ.f*	the Perfect (/Good) God the Mistress of the Sky of the Perfect (/Good) God the Mistress of the Sky so that he gives
7	*ḥtpt nb*(*w*) *ḏf*(*ɜw*)	all offering(s) and provision(s)
8	*ḫt nbt* [*nfrt wᵉbt*] *nb n* (*?*)	Everything [good and pure] (to?)
9	*nb* (*.t*) *bnr*(*.t*) *nḏm*(*.t*) (*n*) *kɜ n wsỉr nb*(*t*) [*pr*]	Everything sweet and agreeable (for) the *kɜ* of Osiris Mistress of the [House],
10	*ḏd-mwt.ỉs-ꜥnḫ mɜᵉ*(*.t*) *ḫrw*	Djedmutisankh justified (~ deceased)
11	*ḥtp dỉ nsw gb…*	An offering which the king gives to Geb…
12	*nṯr.w dỉ.f…*	the gods he gives
13	*nb*(*.t*) *ḏd* [*mwt-ỉs-ꜥnḫ*]	Lady Djed[mwtisankh]
14	*nbt nfrt* [*wᵉbt ḫt*]	everything good [and pure]
15	*nbt* […*?*]	Lady / everything (?) […?]
16	*ḏd mwt*[*-ỉs-ꜥnḫ*]	Djedmw[tesankh]
17	*sɜ.t n-sw* (*?*) […][4]	daughter of Nsw (?) […]
18	*mɜᵉ*(*.t*)*-ḫrw ḫr nb ỉmɜḫ ḫr nṯr nfr*	justified (~ deceased) before the revered lord before the perfect (good) god
19	[*???*] *mwt.s nb*(*.t*) *pr*	[???] her mother, mistress of the house
20	*ỉdỉ.t* (*?*) *mɜᵉ*(*.t*) *ḫrw nb.t ỉmɜḫ ḫr nṯr nfr*	Idit (?) justified (~ deceased) the revered / lady before the perfect god

CONCLUSION

From the information above it turns out that the *ushabti*-box E 67 from the Ancient Egyptian fund of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology belongs to a certain woman who had been "mistress of the house", and named *ḏd-mwt-ỉ*(*w*).*s-ꜥnḫ*. Due to the onomastic and stylistic clues provided by the inscription and the box, correlated to other evidence we have so far, very likely the woman has lived in a time interval that covers the Third Intermediate Period, that is 21st to 25th Dynasties. Regarding its provenance, while it can be officially declared unknown, due to the stylistic type it is possible that the piece comes from Upper Egypt, the Theban necropolis, Deir el-Bahari. However, in the absence of any certain evidence and information on its provenance all what we can do is to compare and approach this object to the ones at disposal in other museums. The uncertainty is also caused by the fact that the lid is missing and, moreover, the inscription is damaged to a significant extent, likely exactly in that parts where the character's titles were written. Another difficulty is that we cannot associate it clearly with any of the types suggested by Aston and Marini.

GLOSSARY

ḥtp = rest, go to rest, set (of sun); altar, table of offerings
dì = related form of *rdì* = give, place, cause followed by *sḏm.f*
nsw (n., m.) = king
ḥtp dì nsw = a boon which the king gives opening words of the formula of funerary offerings
wsìr = Wsir, Osiris, local god, king of the dead, the dead king
ḫnt (prep.) = in front of, among, from; *ḫnty* (adj.), to the fore in, in front of
ìmnty = western
ḫntì-ìmntìw = Foremost of the Westerners / Chief of the Westerners, where Westerners refers to the dead
nṯr (n., m.) = god
ꜥɜ = (be) great
ɜbḏw = ‘Arabah el-Madfunah, Abydus, town in Upper Egypt
ṯm = var ‘Itm = the sun-god Atum
nb (n., m.) = lord, master
ỉwnw = El-Matariyah, Heliopolis, On of the Bible; *ỉwnw šmꜥw* = On of Upper Egypt, an epithet given to Thebes
ptḥ = Ptah, god of Memphis
skr = Sokar/Seker, the god of Memphis
ḥry-ib-šty.t = epithet of Sokar/Sker and Osiris, “who is in the middle of Schetit (sanctuary of the god Sokar of Memphis)”.
rꜥ-ḥr-ꜥḫty = Ra - Horus of the Horizon
n (prep.) = to, for, belonging to
nṯr nfr = the perfect/good god
nb.t (n., f.) = lady
p.t (n., f.) = sky
ḫr (prep.) = upon, in, at, from; *ḥry* (adj.) = who, which is over, upon, captain, chief
nṯrw (n., m., pl.) = gods
ḥry nṯrw = the chief of the gods
nfr (adj., n.) = good, perfect, beautiful
dì.f = he gives
ḥtpw (n., pl.), *ḥtpt* (n., f.) = offerings
ḥtpt (*ḥtp*(*w*) *nb*(*w*) = all the offerings
ḏf(*ɜ*) = provisions
ḥtpt ḏf(*ɜ.w*) = food-offerings
ḫt = things; *ḫt nbt* = everything, anything
wꜥb = (be) pure, clean
bnr = (be) sweet
nḏm = (be) sweet, agreeable
kɜ (n., m.) = soul, spirit, vital force
pr (n., m.) = house
nb(*t*) [*pr*] = mistress of the house
ḏd = say, think
mwt = mother; Mwt, the chief goddess of Karnak
ì(*w*).*s* = she will
ꜥnḫ = live
ḏd-mwt-ìs-ꜥnḫ = the (Goddess) Mut has said: she will live
mɜꜥ = be true, real, just
ḫrw = (vb.) = cry; (n.) = voice, sound
mɜꜥ(*t*)-*ḫrw* = (the one) with true voice = justified, deceased
gb = Geb, the Earth-god
sɜ.t (n., f.) = daughter
n-sw = for *ny sw* = he belongs to
ìmɜḫ = venerated state; *ìmɜḫw*, *ìmɜḫy* = revered, honoured
(*ì*)*dì.t* = you (poss. pron. 2nd pers., f.) give

Acknowledgments

I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep and sincere appreciation and gratitude to all distinguished scholars who, with infinite patience and precious suggestions, have made possible this research and supported me in one way or the other. My gratitude goes to all my colleagues from the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology: Dr. Eugen Nicolae, Director; Dr. Oana Damian, Head of the National Museum of Antiquities Department; Dr. Liana Oța, Head of the Department of Graeco-Roman Archaeology and Epigraphy; Dr. Roxana Dobrescu, Head of the Archives; the late Professor Dr. Alexandru Barnea; Mrs. Iuliana Barnea, from the Drawing Department (whose suggestions and patience were of very much help for obtaining good quality illustrations for this article); Mr. Cătălin Nicolae, from the Photo Department; Dr. Raluca Kogălniceanu, from the Editing and Publications Department; Professor Dr. Alexandru Avram (Université du Maine/"Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology).

I would also like to send my sincere appreciation and heartfelt thanks to Dr. Åke Engsheden (Stockholm University), and to Adjunct Professor Dr. Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Department of Ancient Egyptian and Near East Cultures) for their in-depth knowledge and for offering me valuable suggestions as for this study.

And as always, my gratitude goes also to Professor Dr. Bernard Mathieu (Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier 3) for his invaluable and unconditional support, encouragement, honesty, and high expertise.

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Whelan 2011 – P. Whelan, *Small yet perfectly formed-some observations on Theban stick shabti coffins of the 17th and early 18th Dynasty*, EVO 34, 2011, p. 9-22.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
ABSA – Annual of the British School at Athens, Athens
ActaArchCarp – Acta Archaeologica Carpathica. Polish Academy of Sciences – Cracow Branch, Kraków
ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Judeţean de Istorie şi Artă, Zalău
ActaTS – Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis. Institutul pentru Cercetarea Patrimoniului Cultural Transilvănean în Context European, Sibiu
AÉ – L'Année épigraphique, Paris
AEM – Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien
AIG – Anuarul Institutului Geologic
AIGG – Anuarul Institutului de Geologie şi Geofizică
AJA – American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America
AM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung, Athen
American Antiquity – American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology, Washington
Anatolian Studies – Anatolian Studies. British Institute at Ankara, Ankara
Anatolica – Anatolica. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden
AnB (S.N.) – Analele Banatului (Serie Nouă), Muzeul Banatului, Timişoara
Antiquity – Antiquity. A Review of World Archaeology, Durham University, Durham
AnUBucureşti – Analele Universităţii Bucureşti, Bucureşti
AO – Arhivele Olteniei. Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane „C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopşor", Craiova
Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Naţional al Unirii, Alba Iulia
ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iaşi
ArheologijaKiev – Arheologija. Nacional'na Akademija Nauk Ukrajni, Institut Arheologij NAN Ukrajni, Kijv
ArheologijaSSSR – Arheologija SSSR: Svod arheologičeskih istočnikov. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut arheologii, Moskva
ArchÉrt – Archeológiai Értesítő. A Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat Tudományos Folyóirata, Budapest
Argesis – Argesis. Muzeul Judeţean Argeş, Piteşti
BABesch – Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving. Archaeologisch Instituut, Leiden
Balcanica – Balcanica. Annuaire de l'Institut des Études Balkaniques, Bucarest
Banatica – Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reşiţa
BASOR – Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, The University of Chicago Press
BayVgBl – Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter. Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Verbindung mit dem Bayerischen Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und der Archäologische Staatssammlung, München
BiblThrac – Bibliotheca Thracologica, Bucureşti
BICS – Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Oxford University Press
BIFAO – Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo
BMC Peloponnesus – P. Gardner, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Greek coins: Peloponnesus*, Bologna, 1981
BMSAES – The British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan. Department of Egypt and Sudan, British Museum, London
BSNR – Buletinul Societăţii Numismatice Române, Bucureşti
Bucureşti.MIM – Bucureşti. Materiale de Istorie şi Muzeografie. Muzeul Municipiului Bucureşti
Buridava – Buridava. Studii şi materiale. Muzeul Judeţean „Aurelian Sacerdoţeanu" Vâlcea, Râmnicu Vâlcea
Caiete ARA – Caiete ARA. Arhitectură, Restaurare, Arheologie. Asociaţia ARA, Bucureşti
CCA, campania ….. – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
CCDJ – Cultură şi Civilizaţie la Dunărea de Jos. Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călăraşi

DACIA N.S., tome LXIV, Bucarest, 2020, p. 327-330

CDLI – *Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative* (https://cdli.ucla.edu/), 2020
CH – Coin Hoards, London
Chiron – Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München
ClQ – The Classical Quarterly. The Classical Association, Cambridge University Press
CN – Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a României, Bucureşti
CNA – Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică. Foaie de informații a Societății Numismatice Române, București
CNI 1915 – Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, vol. VII. Veneto (Venezia, Parte I - dalle origini a Marino Grimani), Roma, 1915
ComArchHung – Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest
Dacia – Dacia. Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie, Bucureşti
Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine. Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan », Bucureşti
DHA – Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne. Université de Franche-Comté, Besançon
Drobeta – Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porţilor de Fier, Drobeta-Turnu Severin
D.S. Inst. Geol. – Dări de Seamă ale Şedinţelor Institutului Geologic
D.S. Com. Geol. – Dări de Seamă ale Şedinţelor Comitetului Geologic
D.S. Com. St. Geol. – Dări de Seamă ale Şedinţelor Comitetului de Stat al Geologiei
EJA – European Journal of Archaeology. European Association of Archaeologists, Cambridge University Press
EphemDac – Ephemeris Dacoromana. Annuario della Scuola Romena di Roma
EpigrAnat – Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens, Bonn
EVO – Egitto e Vicino Oriente. Rivista della sezione di Egittologia e Scienze Storiche del Vicino Oriente, Dipartimento di Civiltà e Forme del Sapere dell' Università degli studi di Pisa
Gallia – Gallia. Archéologie de la France Antique. CNRS Éditions
Greece & Rome – Greece & Rome. The Classical Association, Cambridge University Press
Hermes – Hermes. Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
Hesperia – Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
IAph2007 – J. Reynolds, C. Roueché, G. Bodard, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*, 2007
IG IV², 1 – F.H. von Gaertringen, *Inscriptiones Graecae,* IV. *Inscriptiones Argolidis*, 2nd ed., fasc. 1, *Inscriptiones Epidauri*, Berlin, 1929
IG IX, 2 – O. Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae,* IX, 2. *Inscriptiones Thessaliae*, Berlin, 1908
IK Iznik – S. Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia) / İznik Müzesi Antik Yazıtlar Kataloğu (deutsch – türkisch)*, *part 1, nos. 1-633 (Stadtgebiet und die nächste Umgebung der Stadt / Şehir ve Yakın Çevresi)*, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 9, Bonn, 1979
IK Strat. III – M.Ç. Şahin, *The Inscriptions of Stratonikeia*, Part III, Inschriften griechischer Städte in Kleinasien 68, Bonn, 2010
Il Mar Nero – Il Mar Nero. Annali di archeologia e storia, Roma
IOSPE I² – V.V. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae, aliorum locorum a Danubio usque ad regnum Bosporanum*, 2nd ed., Sankt Petersburg, 1916
ISIMU – Isimu. Revista sobre Oriente Próximo y Egipto en la Antigüedad, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Centro Superior de Estudios de Oriente Próximo y Egipto, Madrid
ISM I – D.M. Pippidi, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae,* I. *Inscriptiones Histriae et viciniae*, București, 1983
ISM III – A. Avram, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae,* III. *Callatis et territorium*, Bucureşti, 1999
Istros – Istros. Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I", Brăila
IstMitt – Istanbuler Mitteilungen. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul
IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Nacionalnija arheologičeski Institut, Sofia
JARCE – Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Lockwood Press
JAS – Journal of Archaeological Science, Elsevier
JAMT – Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory, Springer Science + Business Media, New York
JAR – Journal of Anthropological Research
JAS – Journal of Archaeological Sciences, London – New York
JDAI – Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin

JBL – Journal of Biblical Literature. Society of Biblical Literature, SBL Press
JHS – The Journal of Hellenic Studies. Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Cambridge University Press
JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies. The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago
JNG – Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte. Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft, München
JÖAI – Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Wien
JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
KölnJb – Kölner Jahrbuch. Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln, Archäologischen Gesellschaft, Köln
KSIAMoskva – Kratkie soobščenija Instituta arheologii, Moskva
LÄ 1984 – W. Helck, E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. V, Wiesbaden, 1984
LexMyth – W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1886-1937
LGPN IV – P.M. Fraser, E. Matthews (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names,* vol. IV. *Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea*, Oxford, 2005
LIMC – Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae, Zürich, 1981-1999
Litua – Litua. Studii şi cercetări. Muzeul Județean Gorj „Alexandru Ștefulescu”, Târgu Jiu
LSJ – H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones (eds.), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, Clarendon Press (9th edition), 1940
MCA – Materiale şi Cercetări Arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, Bucureşti
MEFRA – Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome. Antiquité, Roma
MFMÉ-SA – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica. Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged
Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletin Ştiinţific al Muzeului Judeţean Buzău
NABU – Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires. Société pour l’étude du Proche-Orient ancien
NC – The Numismatic Chronicle. Royal Numismatic Society, London
OJA – Oxford Journal of Archaeology. School of Archaeology, University of Oxford
Olba – Olba. Research Center of Cilician Archaeology, Mersin University
Oltenia – Oltenia. Studii şi comunicări. Arheologie-Istorie, Muzeul Olteniei, Craiova
OMRO – Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden
Opuscula archaeologica – Opuscula archaeologica. Arheološki zavod Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, Zagreb
Paléo – Paléo. Revue d’Archéologie Préhistorique, Les Eyzies, France
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
Pontica – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Naţională şi Arheologie, Constanţa
Praehistoria – International Prehistory Journal of the University of Miskolc, Budapest
Quartär – Quartär. International Yearbook for Ice Age and Stone Age Research
RAN – Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise, Montpellier
RCAN – Revista de cercetări arheologice şi numismatice, Muzeul Municipiului Bucureşti
RCRFActa – Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta
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
RÉSEE – 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

RM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung, Rom
RMM-MIA – Revista muzeelor şi monumentelor - Monumente istorice şi de artă, Bucureşti
RRH – Revue roumaine d'histoire. Academia Română, Bucureşti
SA – Sovetskaja Arheologija. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut arheologii, Moskva
SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica. Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Iaşi
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 Civilizaţiei 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
SNG III – E.S.G. Robinson, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum,* vol. III. *The Lockett Collection*, London, 1938-1949
SNG IX.1 – M.J. Price, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain,* vol. IX. *British Museum,* Part 1. *The Black Sea*, London, 1993
SNG XI – W. Stancomb, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain,* vol. XI. *The William Stancomb Collection of Coins of the Black Sea Region*, Oxford, 2000
SP – Studii de Preistorie, Asociaţia Română de Arheologie, Bucureşti
StCl – Studii Clasice, Societatea de Studii Clasice din România, Bucureşti
StComSatuMare – Satu Mare. Studii şi Comunicări. Muzeul Judeţean Satu Mare, Satu Mare
Stratum plus – Stratum plus. Arheologija i kulturnaja antropologija. Vyssaja Antropologičeskaja Škola, St. Peterburg-Chişinău-Odessa-Bucureşti
Suceava – Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Naţional al Bucovinei, Suceava
ThesCRA III – *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, vol. III. *Divination. Prayer. Veneration. Hikesia. Asylia. Malediction. Profanation. Magic Rituals, and Addendum to Vol. II. Consecration,* Los Angeles, 2005
Thraco-Dacica – Thraco-Dacica. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan", Bucureşti
Transylvanian Review – Transylvanian Review. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca
TÜBA-AR – Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi, Ankara
TYCHE – TYCHE. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Wien
Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Moldovei, Chişinău
Tyragetia International – Tyragetia International. Serie a Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Moldovei, Chişinău
UPA – Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
VAHD – Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku. Arheološki muzej Split
VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii. Otdelenie istoriko-filologičeskih nauk Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moskva
WVDOG – Wissenschaftlichen Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, 1900-1941, 1957-
Zargidava – Zargidava. Revistă de Istorie. Societatea de Ştiinţe Istorice din România – filiala Bacău, Fundaţia Cultural-Ştiinţifică „Iulian Antonescu", Bacău
ZfE – Zeitschrift für Ethnologie
ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn