

THE PETRIE EGYPTIAN  
COLLECTION AND  
EXCAVATIONS

# SHABTIS



2124

Bibliothèque Maison de l'Orient



034969

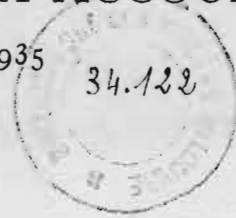
W. M. Flinders Petrie

C

22/4

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT  
AND EGYPTIAN RESEARCH ACCOUNT

\* FORTY-FIRST YEAR, 1935



---

SHABTIS

ILLUSTRATED BY THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION IN  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

WITH CATALOGUE OF FIGURES FROM MANY OTHER SOURCES

BY

FLINDERS PETRIE, Kt.

D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., D.Lit., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.B.A.

EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

---

LONDON

BRITISH SCHOOL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, GOWER ST. W.C. 1

AND

B. QUARITCH, 11 GRAFTON ST. NEW BOND ST. W. 1

1935

# BRITISH SCHOOL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

## PATRONS:

F.-M. VISCOUNT ALLENBY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.  
BARON LLOYD OF DOLOBRAN, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O.  
SIR JOHN CHANCELLOR, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O.  
LT. GEN. SIR ARTHUR WAUCHOPE, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O.

## GENERAL COMMITTEE (\*Executive Members)

HENRY BALFOUR	Dr. WILFRED HALL	J. R. OGDEN
Sir PERCY COX	THE PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE	Sir CHARLES PEERS
Mrs. J. W. CROWFOOT	E. S. LAMPLOUGH	Dr. RANDALL-MACIVER
*Sir PERCIVAL DAVID, BART.	*Dr. ERNEST MACKAY	Dr. G. A. REISNER
*G. EUMORFOPOULOS	*Sir CHARLES MARSTON ( <i>Vice-Chairman</i> )	Capt. E. G. SPENCER-CHURCHILL
N. EUMORFOPOULOS	Sir HENRY MIERS	Mrs. STRONG
Sir JAMES FRAZER	Dr. J. G. MILNE	THE PROVOST OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
*Prof. ERNEST GARDNER ( <i>Chairman</i> )	Prof. ELLIS MINNS	Sir HENRY S. WELLCOME
Prof. PERCY GARDNER	Sir ROBERT MOND	*Mrs. MORTIMER WHEELER
Rt. Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER	*Dr. M. A. MURRAY	Sir LEONARD WOOLLEY
Dr. A. C. HADDON	P. E. NEWBERRY	

*Honorary Director*—Sir FLINDERS PETRIE

*Honorary Treasurer*—\*C. H. CORBETT, J.P.

*Honorary Assistant Director and Organizing Secretary*—Lady PETRIE

*Donations may be sent (cheques crossed Barclay) to*

Lady PETRIE, or to Miss BONAR, University College, Gower St. W.C. 1,  
or to Lady PETRIE at address American School of Research, Jerusalem.

# CONTENTS

## CHAPTER I

### SUBSTITUTE FOR THE BODY

	PAGE
1. Position of the subject of shuabti . . . . .	1
2. Primitive removal of head . . . . .	1
3. Custom stated in texts . . . . .	1
4. Modern African custom . . . . .	1
5. Early figures of the dead . . . . .	2

## CHAPTER II

### THE SUBSTITUTE FOR THE MUMMY

6. Stone image of the mummy . . . . .	2
7. The kingdom of Osiris . . . . .	3
8. Examples of mummy figures . . . . .	3
9. Inscriptions on figures . . . . .	3
10. Misdated figures . . . . .	3

## CHAPTER III

### THE GROWTH OF THE SHUABTI

11. Rude wooden figures . . . . .	3
12. Inscriptions on rude figures . . . . .	4
13. Group of one family . . . . .	4
14. Conjunction described by Lucian . . . . .	4
15. The word <i>shuabti</i> . . . . .	5

## CHAPTER IV

### GROWTH OF THE SHUABTI FORMULA

16. Simplest formula . . . . .	5
17. Associated with royal offering . . . . .	5
18. Lengthened formula . . . . .	5
19. Clause of numbering . . . . .	5
20. Clause of business . . . . .	5
21. The title Osiris . . . . .	6
22. The direction <i>sehez</i> . . . . .	6
23. Beginning of the workers . . . . .	6
24. Clause of smiting evils . . . . .	6
25. Exceptional clauses . . . . .	7
26. Rise of task-masters . . . . .	7
27. Complete text of xxvith dynasty . . . . .	8

## CHAPTER V

### OTHER TEXTS ON SHUABTIS

	PAGE
28. Messages to the dead . . . . .	8
29. The Aten formula . . . . .	9
30. Forthcoming of offerings . . . . .	9
31. Royal gifts in honour . . . . .	9
32. Description as servants . . . . .	9
33. Short formulae . . . . .	9
34. Meaning of carrying sand . . . . .	10

## CHAPTER VI

### FORMS AND MATERIALS OF SHUABTIS

35. Use of names for dating . . . . .	10
36. Figures without tools . . . . .	11
37. Tools represented . . . . .	11
38. Task-masters . . . . .	11
39. Wood and stone figures . . . . .	11
40. Glaze, pottery, and mud figures . . . . .	12
41. Numbers in one burial . . . . .	12

## CHAPTER VII

### TRANSLITERATIONS

xviiith dynasty . . . . .	1-46	13
xviiiith " . . . . .	47-83	
xixth " . . . . .	85-221	
" " glazed . . . . .	222-245	
xxth " . . . . .	247-253	
xxist " blue . . . . .	254-265	
xxist-xxiind dynasties . . . . .	267-386	
Green painted clay . . . . .	390-407	
Coarse faded glaze . . . . .	408-411	
Wood, painted black . . . . .	424-432	
Pottery, painted . . . . .	433-461	
xxiind dynasty. Green glaze . . . . .	464-531	
xxvth " Incised stone . . . . .	532-543	
xxvith " Incised glaze . . . . .	544-578	
Band and column . . . . .	580-617	
Narrow, back inscribed . . . . .	620-639	
xxxth dynasty. Latest . . . . .	641-655	

For method of references, see end of Chapter V,  
p. 10.

## INDEX

## LIST OF PLATES

- I. Formula from XIIth to mid XVIIIth dynasties.
- II. " " mid XVIIIth to XXth dynasties.
- III. " " XIXth and XXth dynasties.
- IV. " " XXIst-XXXth dynasties.
- V. Table of growth of the formula.
- VI. Inscriptions 5-28, XVIIth dynasty.
- VII. " 29-46, XVIIth-XVIIIth dynasties.
- VIII. " 47-60, XVIIIth dynasty.
- IX. " 61-97, XVIIIth-XIXth dynasties.
- X. " 99-227, XIXth dynasty.
- XI. " 241-531, XXth-XXVth dynasties.
- XII. " 532-560, XXVIth dynasty.
- XIII. " 561-642, XXVIth-XXXth dynasties.
- XIV. " in hieratic. Tools.
- XV. Table of signs used in catalogue. Dated ushabtis.
- XVI. Index to XXVth dynasty A-O.
- XVII. " " " " O-P.
- XVIII. " " " " P-N.
- XIX. " " " " N-H.
- XX. " " " " H-T.
- XXI. " " " " T-Z.
- XXII. Index from XXVIth dynasty A-N.
- XXIII. " " " " N-Z.
- XXIV. Ushabtis 1-14, XIIth-XVIIth dynasties.
- XXV. " 15-29, XVIIth dynasty.
- XXVI. " 30-45, XVIIth dynasty.
- XXVII. " 47-57, to mid XVIIIth dynasty.
- XXVIII. " 58-72, mid XVIIIth dynasty.
- XXIX. " 73-84, late XVIIIth dynasty.
- XXX. " 85-109, early XIXth dynasty.
- XXXI. " 110-122, limestone; XIXth dynasty.
- XXXII. " 123-144, pottery; XIXth dynasty.
- XXXIII. " 145-161, pottery and wood; XIXth dynasty.
- XXXIV. " 152-153, with pottery boxes.
- XXXV. " 231-245, glazed; XIXth dynasty.
- XXXVI. " 246-266, glazed; XXth-XXIst dynasties.
- XXXVII. " 267-333, glazed; XXIst-XXIInd dynasties.

XXXVIII.	Ushabtis	335-362, glazed; XXII <sup>nd</sup> dynasty.
XXXIX.	"	363-415, glazed and clay; XXII <sup>nd</sup> dynasty.
XL.	"	424-448, wood and clay; XXIII <sup>rd</sup> dynasty.
XLI.	"	456-529, glazed, &c.; XXIII <sup>rd</sup> -XXV <sup>th</sup> dynasties.
XLII.	"	531-550, stone and glazed; XXV <sup>th</sup> -XXVI <sup>th</sup> dynasties.
XLIII.	"	554-573, glazed; XXVI <sup>th</sup> dynasty.
XLIV.	"	574-603, glazed; XXVI <sup>th</sup> -XXX <sup>th</sup> dynasties.
XLV.	"	604-656, glazed; XXX <sup>th</sup> dynasty.

---

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Lieb.</i>	=	LIEBLEIN, Dictionnaire de Noms.
<i>M.C.A.</i>	=	MASPERO, Cairo.
<i>N.T.N.</i>	=	NEWBERRY, Theban Necropolis.
<i>N.</i>	=	PETRIE, Naqada.
<i>P.C.A.</i>	=	PEET, Cemeteries of Abydos.
<i>P.S.B.A.</i>	=	Proceedings, Society of Biblical Archaeology.
<i>Rec.</i>	=	Recueil des Travaux.
<i>R.M.A.</i>	=	RANDALL MACIVER, El Amrah and Abydos.
<i>U.C.</i>	=	University College, London.
<i>Z.A.S.</i>	=	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache.
		Museum references, see pl. xv.

The pressure of getting out new results, in the four volumes on Ancient Gaza, has delayed the issue of the present volume on Shabti figures which belongs to the series illustrating the FLINDERS PETRIE collection (Edwards) in University College, London.

As an historical account of one of the principal funeral developments of the ancient Egyptians, it bears on the changes of Egyptian mentality not otherwise known.

The next two volumes to be issued will be those on:—

- (1) Our prospecting Expedition, autumn 1934, in Syria, to be followed by excavation there, in connection with Gaza; and
- (2) Discovery, spring 1935, of a frontier fortress of Shishak on the Egyptian border of Palestine. This defended a town overlying several earlier ones, all predecessors of Anthedon, "Flower of delights."

We are excavating from November, till March 1936, in this desert of Sinai, and hope to reach early history through the forty feet of ruins under the fortress. The School is also resuming work at Gaza. As we asked for no donations last year, in the uncertainty of prospects, we hope for generous help from all interested, that the work of our two expeditions be not hindered. Donations may be sent (cheques crossed Barclay) to British School of Egyptian Archaeology, University College, Gower St. W.C. 1, or, till end of February, to Lady PETRIE, Khan Yunis, South Palestine.

FLINDERS PETRIE

# MONOGRAPHS ON EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, 1935

## BASED ON FIELD WORK

The collection of Egyptian antiquities at University College, London, was gathered by me in order to study the development of civilisation of the past ages of Egypt. The nucleus of the series was the small collection of a few antiquities given by Miss EDWARDS who founded the professorship which I held. The opportunities of acquiring antiquities, when living in the country for forty years, were great, and many curious specimens, less saleable to the tourist, came my way. These purchased antiquities gained in value from comparison with the dated objects discovered in my excavations. From this there grew a view of serial development in primitive times and onwards. It eventually gave a basis for a series of monographs on different subjects, illustrated by my collection, and in some instances augmented from other collections, thus forming a library of Egyptian archaeology.

My clear time has more or less sufficed to complete such "catalogues." I proposed to issue twenty-one volumes altogether. Seventeen of these volumes were for the subjects which had to be worked up, and in addition there are four which are on subjects within the scope of other students. I might have issued more, if assistance had been provided, as much of my time in the preparation of them was occupied in the photographing and drawing of over 14,000 objects. Half of each year was swallowed in excavating and moreover a half-time post and pay, at the College, left no margin for keeping an assistant.

The following sixteen Catalogue Volumes have been completed, and one more got into order. The last four of the series can be delegated.

1. The first catalogue, *Amulets*, began the classifying of the subject in 275 kinds, with 1,700 photographs, and references to other collections. Constable issued it, but it was hit by the war so that no publishers will undertake such books. At the time, I was ordered to remain at the College, and that gave opportunity to prepare Catalogue Volumes, which could be issued annually to the subscribers of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology, while all excavations, and publication of results of field work, were suspended.

2. *Scarabs with names, and Cylinders* was the most important of the volumes, historically. The 2,300 named scarabs of the collection form a more complete series than the British Museum series, and no other museum collection is of half the size.

3. *Tools and Weapons* contains 3,200 figures, of which 960 are photographs from the College. The absence of any *corpus* of forms before it was published has made this the standard book of reference for this subject. It is always quoted as "T.W." in Germany.

4. *Prehistoric Egypt*, with discussion of the dating of predynastic objects, has over 1,000 figures. The newly conceived "Sequence Dating" was put into practice, and applied to distinguish differences of age through the prehistoric periods.

5. *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes*. This embodied in 61 plates more than 1,700 different pots, arranged according to their form for easy reference, and dated by Sequence Dating.

6. *Buttons and Design Scarabs* is complementary to the previous volume on scarabs, completing the subject. It contains 2,200 figures, classified.



7. *Ancient Weights and Measures* records over 5,000 weights, with 1,000 figures and full discussion of the various standards, superseding the previous theories on the subject.

8. *Glass Stamps and Weights*, the companion volume to this, deals with the Byzantine and Arab periods, and records the most complete series known. It contains over 700 photographs with transcripts and translations.

9. *Objects of Daily Use*, with 62 photographic plates, contains 1,600 figures. The classes comprise jewellery, toilet articles, carvings, furniture and basketry, games and writing.

10. *Shabtis*, the present volume, contains 400 figures, with analysis of the text and copies, and a catalogue of continental collections.

11. *Stone and Metal Vases* will follow next. This Catalogue gives drawings of 1,300 vases of various dates, mostly early, with some photographs to show texture.

12. *Corpus of Proto-Dynastic Pottery*, 30 plates with over 800 figures.

13. *The Funerary System* gives detailed descriptions, with catalogue of 650 objects.

The last three volumes named are already completed for press and will soon be issued, making a total of thirteen volumes, which will serve as text-books on the various subjects. Besides these, I wrote three more Catalogue Volumes:—

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 14. <i>Glass and Glazes,</i>                  | } |
| 15. <i>Textiles,</i>                          |   |
| 16. <i>Stone and Plaster Work,</i>            |   |
| 17. <i>Coptic Objects,</i> notes prepared on, |   |

but these volumes, together with the notes, have disappeared, in a clearance of College records which was made just before my return from Palestine in 1934.

There also remain to be prepared, by my successors, the Catalogues of:—

18. *Bead Necklaces*, illustrating the unique collection of over 1,000 strings, ranging from Badarian (earliest prehistoric) down to Coptic Age. The representation of these in colour has been purposely postponed, awaiting a photographic process which will give a continuous colour, without white spotting.

19. *Flint Implements.*

20. *Statuettes.*

21. *Inscriptions.*

FLINDERS PETRIE

(postal address)

American School of Research, Jerusalem.

# SHABTIS.

## CHAPTER I

### SUBSTITUTES FOR THE BODY.

1. Though the funeral statuettes are the commonest of antiquities from Egypt, they have never received more than an incomplete study of certain portions of the whole subject. The most usual form of the inscription was translated by BIRCH (*Z.A.S.* 1864, p. 89, 103; 1865, p. 4, 20); LORET gave an account of the Cairo figures, distinguishing three stages of the inscription, and describing general styles (*Rec.* 1883, p. 89; 1884, p. 70). The inscription has been principally discussed by BORCHARDT (*Z.A.S.* 1894, 111), and GARDINER (*Z.A.S.* 1906, 55). SPELEERS has given a general account of the subject (*Les Figurines Funéraires*), in 1923. With a few other shorter notices, this comprises all that has been collected; there is no systematic registration of details, no collection of all variants of inscription, and translations vary much. I owe to Prof. GUNN many transcriptions from the hieratic.

The material for the present study is mainly the collection which I have gathered at University College, London, of 650 different examples, and the notes of 565 figures in Italian and other museums. Also the copies in the principal publications have been used. This system of registration may help in future publications, and so it is well to suggest the lines of research.

2. When we seek for the starting point of the funeral figures, we pass back stage by stage till we reach the customs of primitive burial in Egypt, so we should begin with that. As soon as the prehistoric burials were recorded, it was noticed that in many instances the bodies had been intentionally dismembered (Naqada), and this has often been noticed since in other cemeteries, extending down to the vth dynasty (*Deshasheh* 20-24).

Here we are not concerned with the general dismemberment, repeatedly found to have been performed, though the bodies were subsequently

entirely wrapped up, bone by bone, and so re-composed (see *Diospolis* 34, *Deshasheh* 20-23, *Meydum* and *Memphis* iv, 19). Our present concern is with the head. It is clear from many instances that the head was removed, probably to be kept apart, and buried later than the body, or sometimes not buried at all in the grave. Among instances in *Naqada*, 30, there is one absolutely unopened grave in which the skull had been put in reversed. In three instances there was a pile of large stones placed in the grave, and the skull placed upright on the top of the pile (*N.* 31). In an intact grave, the skull has been put in reversed (*Diospolis* 32). In two instances necklaces were complete in the graves, once round the neck, and once beneath the skull, yet the skulls had been removed and set upright, one on the spine of the contracted body (*Labyrinth and Gerzeh* 8, 9). Such instances show that besides frequent dismemberment, the skull was specially kept apart, and later added to the body.

3. This custom is what is described in the early funeral ritual of the Pyramid Texts, and the Book of the Dead. We read "Geb has given thee thy head"; "Rise up Teta because thou hast received thy head"; "Nut comes to thee . . . thou movest because she has given thee thy head"; "Pepy Nefer-kara thou hast received thy head." For other extracts, from the Book of the Dead, see Wainwright in *Labyrinth and Gerzeh*, pp. 10-15.

The literary references accord with the actual treatment of the head, as frequently found. This custom seems to be the origin of placing a stone head of the deceased in the shaft of the tomb after the burial of the body (*Ancient Egypt* 1914, 125, and JUNKER). If the actual skull perished, the stone image of the head would remain and be ever ready for the benefit of the deceased (*Ancient Egypt* 1916, 48).

4. It is well known that in West Africa the skull of an ancestor is needed for the benefit of his

descendants, enshrined in the house, and receiving offerings at the family meals, in order to ensure the good will of the ancestral spirit (FROBENIUS, *Voice of Africa* 675). Such a primitive habit of thought, still surviving, well explains the purpose of the prehistoric Egyptian in removing the head from the body, and keeping it for some time before restoring it.

The next stage in this custom is to make a model of the head, and to keep it permanently above the tomb, in order to present the offerings before it. In New Calabar an image of the head and shoulders of a chief, or a whole seated figure, is carved in wood and placed on a wooden base or tray, sometimes with smaller images of the sons. The offerings are then laid on the tray before it. This serves as the centre of the daily or weekly worship, of which, as in Egypt, the eldest son is high priest (LEONARD, *Lower Niger* 162-5). Hence we see that the primitive veneration of the ancestral head passes into the veneration of a seated figure, and thus the rise of a system of funeral heads, and finally statues, is actually seen in practice at the present day.

5. Though the burial of a separate head in the tomb, carved in stone, was in use as late as the IVth dynasty, yet entire figures were made before that. The granite figure of the IIInd dynasty, found at Memphis (Cairo Mus. 3072) shows the offerer kneeling, evidently in supplication. The inscription reads "He gives an offering, the washer of the high priest of Tehuti, beloved by Tehuti, Dat." The earliest private seated figures, judging by the work, are probably of the IIIrd dynasty, such as the statues at Leyden and Naples (CAPART, *Recueil* ii, iii, li). These have long parted from the natural freshness of the 1st dynasty style, and are not yet influenced by the grand dignity of the IVth dynasty. Rather later, probably about the middle of the IIIrd dynasty, are the standing figures of Sepa and Nes (BISSING, *Denkmäler* 5). The function of these figures to receive offerings is not described in any text of the Old Kingdom, but the festivals are named. The same festivals recur in the prescribed ritual of the tomb of Hepzefa, of the Middle Kingdom, and hence that may be taken as giving a view of the function of the figures. On six great festivals in the year special offerings were made, and on most of them illuminations of the tomb, while on every day there was a loaf and a jug of beer placed before the statue. Such was the

material side of the devotion recorded in contracts; but we must read into it the craving for the union with the family spirit, the *ka*, who had been manifest in the ancestor, and was transmitted to his descendants. It was not only the *ka* of the ancestor, but the spirit of the lineage of which he had been the embodiment. On dying, a man went to his *ka*, the *ka* interceded with Ra for the dead, and the offerings were devoted to the *ka*, as being the protector of the dead. Such a dual view accords with modern African beliefs, and reconciles the apparently contradictory statements of the ancients (*Ancient Egypt* 1914, 162).

Inscriptions on the statues only give name and titles. The earliest theological reference is in the Vth dynasty, where the figure is called the *amakhu kher neter oa*, "worthy one before the great God." In the VIth dynasty appears, rarely, the list of royal offerings given for the worthy one, or granted from the royal food-rents due to the king. By the XIIth dynasty this was the constant formula; the royal food-rents are taxed to give an offering to a god, so that the god may provide for the deceased.

In tombs from the IVth dynasty onward, the stone figures were placed for safety in a closed shrine, or *serdab*, and were fed with drink and incense through open slits. In the Xth dynasty tombs of Antaeopolis, the provision of drink was supplied by a long channel which passed under the door of a shrine containing the statue, so as to reach the figure.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SUBSTITUTE FOR THE MUMMY.

6. In the XIIth dynasty a new style of figure appeared, the beginning of the true ushabti. The downfall of the Old Kingdom system, and the destruction of its tombs, had deeply impressed Egyptian thought, and had shown the futility of trusting to the conservation of the mummy. Now, as physical food could be ensured in perpetuity by models in imperishable stone, it was only a step further to replace the mummy by a stone figure. Such seems to have been the origin of the mummiform figures which begin in the XIIth dynasty. As late as the XIXth dynasty the figure is associated with the bird figure of the *ba*, or soul, as in figs. 98 and 99 here, and the touching figure in Cairo where the *ba* bird waits anxiously to enter the body.

7. In the earlier ages the soul was supposed to reside in the tomb, and to receive the offerings there deposited, and by its statue to benefit from the incense and food continually offered in the tomb chapel. To ensure the protection and comfort of the wandering soul, a model of a hut with food was placed at the side of the grave. It was later amplified as a house fitted with furniture. All this implied that the soul remained on earth; but after the XIIth dynasty a more spiritual theory arose, and it was believed that it belonged to the kingdom of Osiris, Prince of Eternity, Lord of Life. Instead of wandering on earth, dreading to eat dirt, the soul was to go to Osiris, and to be employed in the duties there, as on earth, and to have the pleasures also of its past life. This is familiar to us in the scenes on papyri of the XVIIIth dynasty. In order to perform these duties, hands are needed, and hence the mummy figure with visible hands.

8. The examples of the successive stages of this eschatology are as follows:—

Plain forms without hands, see pls. xxiv–xxvi, XIIth dynasty.

Called a royal offering, nos. 6–39, XVIIth dynasty.

Called a shabti, nos. 40–44, Shauabti 45, XVIIIth dynasty.

Wrapped figure with hands, nos. 47, 48.

With tools in the hands, 52, 53, and onward.

9. What appears to be the earliest type of inscription on these figures is that from Hawara, "A royal offering to Osiris lord of Restau that he may grant him (deceased) a coming forth to walk happily in the Duat, that he may behold Ra at his coming forth in the horizon." From the fine work, this is of the XIIth dynasty but, by its source, not before Amenemhat III. Another figure of the same age is inscribed "A royal offering to Osiris, lord of Zedu, that he may grant an oratory, food, and drink, for the *ka* of the lady of the house Hent-nefert" (figures, *Labyrinth* xxx). Another figure, of the same form, reads "Made by favour of the king for the keeper of the great house of the king, Amenqen (*Cem. Abyd.* II, xxxix 5). The type without arms or hands was also made later, as no. 49 under Tehutmes III, but it is rare. The type with arms also begins in the Middle Kingdom, as "Royal offering to Osiris for the *ka* of the Intendant of the North Land (Delta) Nekht," and of a priest Nekhta (*Arabeh* iii, vi).

10. It should be noted that MARIETTE attributed to the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties many ushabtis of a later style, and this has been followed by LORET and others. The texts on these are not of XIIth but of XVIIIth type. The absence of legs to animal hieroglyphs is not a proof of early age, as it occurs as late as the XXth dynasty (L.D. III 235–6), and on an ushabti at Florence of Aohmes praiser of Amen. Another reputedly XIIth dynasty ushabti of Ren-senb (*Cem. Abyd.* II, 113) omits *nesut da hetep* and has the vocative before "ushabti," and the phrase *aptu*, and the sowing and watering clauses, all of the XVIIIth or later. Whether this is the Ransenb of Tehutmes I (*Arabeh* xxii) is uncertain, as GARSTANG supplied no numbers and PEET made no plan, so the two accounts are unconnected. Another ushabti reputed to give the early text (Anhurmes in *Arabeh* 35) has the word *am* before clause 28, which is unknown till XXist dynasty, and the smiting clause, 22, which is not early. It is of the type of the revival in XXVth dynasty, like Harua and no. 545 in vertical columns.

It seems, then, that by the close of the Middle Kingdom the duplicate figure of the mummy had been provided with arms and hands in order to act, and that it was generally inscribed with the royal offering formula for the *ka* of the deceased. At this point we lose sight of it in the gloom of the Hyksos age until it reappears, further developed, in the XVIIIth dynasty.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE GROWTH OF THE SHUABTI.

11. Of recent years a large number of figures have been found at Thebes, which are evidently from a family cemetery, shortly before the XVIIIth dynasty. The only description at first hand is by NEWBERRY in *Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*. Scattered ones have come through dealers to the British Museum, and at Thebes I bought about forty.

They are closely linked in formula to the stone figures already described, all of mummy form without hands; but in the intervening centuries there was an enormous degradation. These are all of wood, roughly split and chopped, and some even show no difference between head and feet. Yet they retain the old formula, and represent mummies, as many of them have model coffins, see

nos. 3, 3 A, 39 A, pls. xxiv, xxv. Some had a model tomb also (*N.T.N.* 27).

Most of these bore the royal offering formula in rude hieroglyphics, but later ones have the ushabti formula in hieratic. There are 59 royal offerings, and 21 shuabtis at that date. The royal offering text, or plain names, are on nos. 5 to 46, transcribed on pls. vi, vii. Several have the provider's name, his mother or brother, "to cause his name to live." This does not therefore refer to the posterity continuing to live, but the name of the deceased living when called to serve in the kingdom of Osiris.

12. The god to whom the royal offering is made is Osiris on 34, Ptah on 5, Seker on 4 examples. The position of Ptah, as god of the dead, is notable at Thebes. The compounding of the gods is shown by the singular *daf*, or the plural *da-sen*. Ptah and Seker once remain separate, but otherwise united as Ptah-Seker-Osiris, or Ptah-Osiris. The formation of composite gods was just in progress at this age, and this implies the complete fusion of the different stocks of worshippers, perhaps due to the pressure of the Hyksos.

13. The group from 5 to 28 is entirely of one family of six brothers, sons of Antef and Sät-art. The successive deaths are traced by the names of the dedicators,

for the son Antef by Teta-nefer (12)  
for Teta-nefer by Teta-mes (19) and Teta-onkh (18)  
for Teta by Teta-mes (10) and Teta-onkh (17)  
for Teta-on by Teta-onkh (24)

Other royal offering formulas are on 31 to 39, and the shuabti formula on 40 to 45, all cursive hieratic.

14. At this point, in view of the mere scraps of wood which were to do all that the deceased could do in the underworld, we may well turn to an account which is a satire on this belief, as it still existed in Greek times. It is so entirely foreign to western magic that it is evidently a parody true to its surroundings. Lucian, in his dialogue on lying, gives a story by Eucrates as follows:—

"While I resided in Egypt, whither I was sent very young by my father, for the purposes of study, I conceived a desire to go up the Nile to Coptos for the sake of hearing Memnon, who at sunrise utters such surprising tones. (Coptos being the garrison town would be headquarters for a trip to Thebes.) I did hear him; not as the generality

do, yielding a bare sound without meaning, but I heard a real oracle out of Memnon's own mouth, in seven verses . . . On our return there happened to be in the same ship with me a man of Memphis, . . . of the sacred order, with a shaven crown, dressed entirely in linen, always absorbed in meditation, speaking very pure Greek, a tall man, lean, with a pendulous under-lip, and somewhat spindle-shanked . . . When I saw him, as often as we went on shore, among other surprising feats, ride upon crocodiles, and swim about among these and other aquatic animals, and perceived what respect they had for him by wagging their tails, I concluded that the man was holy, and sought to ingratiate myself with him that he might communicate to me his secrets. At length he persuaded me to leave my slaves at Memphis, and to follow him alone, telling me that we should not lack for servants. When we came to an inn, he would take the wooden bar of the door, or a broom, or the pestle of a mortar, put clothes on it, and speaking over it a magical formula, made it walk, and be taken by everybody for a man. This servant went to draw water for us, did the cooking, arranged the furniture, and showed itself in every respect an intelligent and active servant. Then when Pancrates no longer needed it, by a second enchantment it became a broom if it had been a broom, a pestle if it had been a pestle . . . One day hiding myself in a dark corner, I heard, unknown to him, the magic formula. It was a word of three syllables . . .

Next day when my Egyptian was occupied in the market place I took the pestle, I dressed it, and pronounced the three magic syllables and ordered it to go and fetch water. It brought me an amphora full. 'Enough,' I said, 'do not bring more water, become again a pestle.' But it would not obey me, it continued bringing water, and filled all the house. I knew not what to do. I feared Pancrates would be angry on his return, as he was when he did come. I seized an axe and split the pestle in two. Immediately each piece of wood took an amphora and went to fill it with water, so that in place of one servant I had two. At this point Pancrates returned, guessed at once what had happened, and turned again to wood my two water carriers, as they were before the enchantment. But some days afterwards he left me without my knowing it, and I have not known since what has become of him."

Now whether this was borrowed directly from the belief in the shuabti or no, the magic ideas are

closely the same. A shapeless piece of wood, like these early shuabtis, can by a magic formula be made to do all the work of a man; and even if split in two, as rudely as these shabtis are split, each piece will continue to have the same magic powers. Perhaps the word of three syllables referred to was Sha-uab-ti, as that is the word first uttered in conjuring the figures to do the work. This story has been revived in modern times in a French symphonic poem.

15. Various sources for the word *Shuabti* have been proposed. *Shau* to be useful, or serve, or appointment, or fitness (*sha* to appoint). *Uab* satisfaction, contenting, *uabti* he who is satisfied. *Usheb* to answer; but the figure is never commanded "*usheb*," but "*ka*," in reply. *Shuab* is the persea tree, but no figures of that wood are known. *Usheb* means also to eat or nourish, *Ushabti* nourisher, but the work was weaving or shifting sand, not providing food.

#### CHAPTER IV

##### GROWTH OF THE SHUABTI FORMULA.

16. The simplest type of formula, found on the earliest class of figure bearing the name of *shuabti*, is merely "O shabti of Sen-hetep, made by his brother making his name to live Aoh-hetep" (42). "Shauabti this, Aoh-mes Sa-pa-(ar)" (45). "O shauabti Sa-pa-art" (44). These simply assert that the figure in some way belongs to the deceased. A further step is to call it "shabti for the *ka* of Să-ra" (43). Thus the shabti is to act for the family spirit (see sect. 43, pls. vi, vii, xxiv-xxvi).

17. In only two instances do we find the royal offering formula associated with the shabti formula. This indicates a very brief overlap of the two formulae; when the shabti formula was once started, it was soon the only one accepted. No. 18 of NEWBERRY reads "Royal offering to Osiris lord of Zedu, great god, lord of Abydos, may he give an oratory, oxen, geese, clothing, incense, ointment ... for the *ka* of N... made by his mother who makes his name to live, M... Shabti, if one calls for me (to carry) sands of west to east, 'Behold me' reply thou." No. 19 of NEWBERRY gives a longer form, after the royal offering. "O Shabti this, if one summons thee in the west or in the east to carry sand or water, to weave clothes, then (reply) thou to Osiris 'I am doing it behold me' reply thou to him."

18. We next find the formula lengthened by a repetition, before being amplified by more subjects. The duplicated formulae are no. 28 *N.T.N.*, "Shuabti this, Aohmes, if one summons thee to all work in Kher-neter, 'I am doing' say thou, as a servant; if summoned to fill channels, or sand from east to west, 'I am doing' say thou." No. 32 *N.T.N.* is rather longer, "O Shauabuti this, if one is going to send in the name of Nefer-hetep, to carry sand of west to east, say thou 'Behold I am doing, behold me'; if summoned in the name of Nefer-hetep to works, say thou, repeat thou to him, 'Done' to him." For the general view of all this, and following inscriptions, see the tables pls. i-iv, and the general table of formula growth, pl. v.

19. The next idea that comes in is the reckoning of the workers; the work is to be not merely a casual order to be done when called for, but a numbering—*ap*—of the workers, counting them up. The hieratic shabti U.C. 41 reads "Shauabti this, if one calls and numbers such an one to do all works there in Kher-neter, 'Behold me' say thou." The same, rather fuller, appears for Teta-res (*Z.A.S.* xxxii, 113) "Shabti this, Teta-res, if is numbered Teta-res to do all works that are to be done in Kher-neter, to make grow the fields, to fill the channels, to produce ... to transport sand of the east to the west 'Behold me' say thou." This is the first extension of the formula to field cultivation, and there was also added the clause "to produce" (*sekheper*, something erased), which never occurs again. The details were still quite variable, and not yet crystallized. It is to be observed that the shabti is still called by the name of the man, Teta-res; it is to be identical with him in all claims for working.

20. The next new clause appears in the figure of Teta-on (*N.T.N.* 22), and best, perhaps, on that of Qed-hetep (*Arabah* xv). The latter reads "O shauabti this, if one numbers Qed-hetep in all works to be done in Kher-neter, as a man at his business, to cause to grow the fields, to cause to fill the channels, to transport the sand of the east to the west, 'I am doing it Behold me,' say thou." The new clause that the work is to be done "as a man at his business" is obscure, probably owing to its colloquialism; the "business," *kheriu*, means anything that is put under a man, within his power or control. RENOUF renders it as "abilities," LORET as "condition," we might also say work on subjects that he can do, or affairs. We should try to grasp

this in its form here, because soon after it becomes mixed up with another clause which complicates it. It might be paraphrased, "if the deceased is levied to do work of the kind of work that he understands and can perform."

21. At this point of development come in two new features, the title of Osiris for the deceased, and the phrase *sehez*. Before both become generally used together, there are noted 9 with *sehez* alone, and 5 Osiris alone; but each term was occasionally used alone in later times. The priority is settled by those with Osiris alone being of the rude style of figure, while those with *sehez* alone are of fine work. This shows that Osiris was of earlier introduction, but was not regularly used till after Nehi the viceroy of Tehutmes III. The earliest Osiride formulae (*N.T.N.* 30, 29) are "This Osiris Tetamesu. O Shauabti 'I am doing it, behold me with thee' (say) as one calls thee because of carrying from west to east"; also of the same man, "O Shauab this, if one numbers Osiris Tetamesu to all works to be done in Kher-neter, to cause to grow the fields (to cause to fill the channels), to transport the sand of the west to the east, 'I am doing it, behold me,' say thou." This shows that the assertion of the shauabti being the man in question continued until the man was Osirified, whatever that may mean; but evidently the co-deifying of the man must result in a separation between him and the figure which is to be ordered by Osiris. The Osiris title is the first occurrence of regarding the shabti as a slave, though a sign of that appears, probably earlier, on the figure of Aohmes (*N.T.N.* 28) where the shuabti is to reply "like a servant."

22. The meaning of the term *sehez*, which became universally applied to shabtis, is not yet settled. It means not only to make physically bright, but also to explain or interpret writings, as in our phrase "illuminating." It even becomes used for an overseer, *sehez per* being translated "overseer of the palace," the man who "brightened up" the place, as we say. It is by no means always joined with the Osiris title, often it is applied directly to the name of the man and, in one instance at least, to the shabti. ("*Sehez* shabti this of Osiris Tetanefer born of Baka," &c. *Z.A.S.* 1894, 115). It is certainly not an adjective, as it precedes the subject. It becomes universal in shabtis; it is rare, or unknown, on steles or other places. Hence it appears to be an order or declaration connected with the

shabti, and seems likely to be connected with the instruction by the deceased to the shabti.

The earliest dated formula of this type is of Senemaoh (47), under Tehutmes I, and this is identical with the figure of Nehi (48) governor of the Sudan under Tehutmes III, which may be taken as the finest work, and most complete type, of the early *sehez* form:—"Make clear, royal son of the land of the south, Nehi, *maot kheru*. He says, O Shuabti this, if one numbers the royal son of the land of the south, Nehi, in works to be done there in Kher-neter as a man at his business, to cause to grow the fields, to cause to fill the channels, to transport sands of east to west, 'Behold me' say thou."

23. With the coming in of the complete formula *sehez Asar*, is also another phrase unknown before, *ar heseb tu*, "if one reckons." The figure of Userhot (*U.C.* 52) shows the beginning of a new order of things. All the earlier figures were simply mummy figures or had hands shown, but at this point there appears a hoe in each hand and a bag at each side. The details of shabti tools are dealt with later (sect. 37, pl. xiv), but here we note that the radical change takes place with the later style of ribbed wig, the *sehez asar* formula, and the phrase of reckoning. The inscription of Userhot is "make clear, Osiris, scribe of the troops of the lord of two lands, Userhot; he says, O Shabti this, if one numbers, if one reckons in (all) works to be done in Kher-neter, as a man at his business . . ." (the remainder is lost). A rare link with the past is the early formula of a royal offering in a column down the back of the figure.

24. The next stage is the introduction of the clause about smiting evils. This is usually joined to the clause "there as a man at his business," but not always so; the other connection of it helps to show the sense. The smiting is to be by, or for, "him if numbered at any time." Now, the whole structure of the inscription is based on the following type:—"Says *he* to the Shabti, if *N.* is called to work, to carry sand, then one smites for *him* evils." *Him, f*, cannot here refer to the shabti, but to the person who is directing the shabti, and who is called on to work. Hence it cannot read "then shall he strike down evil," because the person is supposed to be quiescent. The sense therefore seems to limit the meaning, by the various contexts. Clauses that are sometimes omitted are here in [ ] and explanations in ( ), as follows:—In the

xviii<sup>th</sup> dynasty the person says, if he is called on to carry sand, "then thou (the shabti) shalt smite for him (the person) evils as a man at his business if numbered at any time,"—that is, to act as a body guard. In the xxv<sup>th</sup> dynasty the person says, if called on to work in Kher-neter, "then thou (shabti) shalt smite for him (person) evils as a man at his business (thoroughly), Behold me, reply ye, if numbered at any time to work there, to cause to grow the fields," &c. Thus when the person is called to work, the shabti is to work for him, and to protect the person.

The royal figure of Amenhetep II, no. 65 (see inscrip. pl. ix, 65) differs from private ushabtis in nature, not being called an ushabti. It reads, "make clear, king Oa-khepru-ra *maot kheru*; he says O, these (statuettes) of the eternal prince Amenhetep, *neter heq an*, if it is ordained, if one numbers, to do all works that are to be done in Kher-neter, then smite thou as a man at his business; behold say thou *maot kheru*."

25. During the xviii<sup>th</sup> dynasty the formula was by no means crystallized, but it fluctuated somewhat in order, and by new sentences added at the writer's discretion. This is seen, in the comparative table of texts, by the quantity of exceptions at this period. We shall here note the exceptional sentences in the order in which they occur in the standard text. The context of the standard is in ( ).

Between clauses 12 and 18 "(If one numbers, if one reckons) if I am sought at any time (to do all works, &c.)" (Cairo, no. 75, LORET).

Between 16 and 29 "(If thou art summoned, Aohmes) there go (to cause to fill the channels)" (*N.T.N.* 20).

Between 17 and 29 "(If one numbers, if one reckons, the Osiris Ra-user in Kher-neter) saying be strong with the hoe in the pools (to cause to fill the channels)" (*M.C.A.* 427). This gives the name for the hoe usually figured on the shabti, *aken-nu*.

After 22 "(thou shalt smite for him evils, as a man at his business) if thou art summoned daily" (Amenmes, U.C. 60).

After 28 "(to cause to grow the fields) united with its people." That is to say, along with the other serfs of the field.

After 29 "(to cause to fill the channels) who art of the court of servants." See nameless figure, *M.C.A.* 431.

Between 29 and 35 "(to cause to fill the channels), to do all messages to be done in Kher-neter. 'I am doing, behold me' reply thou in the condition of one carrying. The Osiris Bakenamen is harboured in peace at Amenti as chief of a city" (Cairo 97, LORET).

After 33 "(as a man in his business, to be numbered at any time) as thou repeatest well 'Me, behold,' reply likewise (ye) who daily for ever repeat (this)." Upuat-mes (Leiden, *Mon.* II, iii).

After 38 "(behold me reply thou) there; listen thou to him who made thee, do not listen to his enemies, as one calls thee because of carrying from west to east, (say) 'I am doing, behold me, with thee'" (Berlin, *Z.A.S.* 1895, 119).

After 38 "(reply thou) there in Kher-neter." Any (*R.M.A.* xli).

After 38 "(reply thou) there in the hour when following Unnefer, great god, prince of eternity." Tau (*M.C.A.* 425).

After 38 "(reply thou) if reckoned at any time in the business of every day." Ptahmes (*M.C.A.* 408).

After 38 (carrying sand) "if one calls, if I am sought in the timing of every day, I am doing, behold me." Neny (Leiden, *Mon.* II, x).

After 32 (carrying sand) "if I am sought at any time at all." Mehy-hetep (U.C. 106).

The figure of Huy (Leiden, *Mon.* xv) may be accepted as the most perfect text of the xviii<sup>th</sup> to xix<sup>th</sup> dynasty. It reads "Make clear, Osiris . . . Huy, He says O shuabti this if one numbers, if one reckons, the Osiris Huy to do all works to be done in Kher-neter, to cause to grow the fields, to cause to fill the channels, to transport the sand from east to west there, as a man at his business, smite for him evils there; if numbered at any time 'I am doing, behold me' say."

26. At the close of the xviii<sup>th</sup> dynasty there arises in the inscription the greater frequency of the clause "if numbered to work at every day" or "continually." This change was assigned by LORET as distinctive of his second version, in which he also included the change of the middle xviii<sup>th</sup> dynasty, introducing the clause of smiting evil. Indeed, it is not clear which of these changes he means when naming the second text. He places the beginning of the second text to Amenhetep III in three instances, Heq-er-neheh, Thuaä, and a sarcophagus; and among the seven shabtis of Thunure (Cairo 32) there is one of the first text, and the rest are of the second. In no clause is there at



all the clean division of date between a first, second and third text, such as has been assumed by various writers. The only statement that can cover the facts, is to date the order of introduction of the single clauses, and their period when possible, as we are doing here. The greater frequency of the continued work is associated with the conception of the figures as slaves, rather than as doubles of the deceased person. With this arises the idea of needing task masters, dressed in a waist-cloth and carrying a whip; the earliest of such figures belongs probably to the age of Sety I, as we shall notice further on. The shabtis of the XIXth to XXVth dynasties show a continual shortening and corruption of the inscriptions. The only distinct change is that the clause of "smiting evil thoroughly" begins to be placed before instead of after the triple field works, probably starting there in the XIXth dynasty (Ptahmes inlaid glaze, Cairo) and never found placed after the field works later than the XXth dynasty (Rameses IV).

27. The last great change in the history of the text was the establishment of a long standard edition at the beginning of the XXVIth dynasty, after which the only variation is shortening by omission. This new text was beginning about 690 B.C. as shown by the figures of Amenardas (U.C. 535-8) and her high steward Herua (540); to this class belong the figures of Nesiptah (534) and Anhurmes (542) which have no back pillar. Nesiptah has a beard, while the more completely inscribed Pedu-amenapt has none, showing an overlap of customary form. The next stage is that Shepenapt II, perhaps 650 B.C. has the introductory clauses with the name, but not the fullest text of Peduamenapt. This latter noble has left many shabtis, now all broken, disunited and scattered among many museums; they are of brown serpentine, of the finest engraving and the most complete text known. They serve as the standard text for all later time, and read thus:—"Make clear, Osiris, chief reciter, Pedu-amenapt; He says O Shabti this, if one calls, if one numbers, if one reckons, the Osiris, chief reciter, Peduamenapt to do all works that are to be done there in Kher-neter, then thou shalt smite evils there, as a man at his business; 'Behold him' say thou if one numbers at any time, to be done (act) there, to cause to grow the fields, to cause to fill the channels, to transport the sands of the west to east, and *vice-versa*, 'Behold me' say thou if one seeks the Osiris, chief reciter, Peduamenapt, 'I am

doing it, behold me' say thou." After this, there are no further changes except degradation, until the latest text appears at the end of the XXXth dynasty. For royal shabtis, the text was kept up almost to standard form until the last native king Nekht-her-heb.

## CHAPTER V

### OTHER TEXTS ON SHUABTIS.

28. Various other texts occasionally appear inscribed on the figures. The earliest such is on three rough wooden figures of the XVIIth dynasty (*N.T.N.* XX, 24-26). Prof. NEWBERRY's translation is much cleared by the relationships of the persons given by their shabtis already described, sect. 13. The person named Teta-res is probably the same as Teta-on, being written with the same eye sign, but with different spelling. Teta-nefer and Teta-on were brothers according to the relations shown by the shabtis, and Teta-nefer died before Teta-on. We can read the inscriptions in view of these facts. Explanations are in ( ).

No. 26. "O Teta-res wander to seek Teta-nefer (who died before) go around if (thy shabti) is bringing for thee sand." That is to say, he was to seek his elder brother and help him with his shabtis' share of carrying sand.

No. 24. "Royal offering to Osiris (lord of) Zedu, may he give an oratory, oxen and geese, for the *ka* of Teta-res (son of) Antef. (Message) Teta-res wander to seek and he will be found (Teta-nefer)."

No. 25. "Pa-medu wander to seek Teta-res, that he may call by name to the *ka* of Teta-nefer. If you are told to carry sand of west to east 'I go' say." Here a servant, Pa-medu, is told to seek Teta-res to give him a message for the guardian *ka* of Teta-nefer, and to accept orders from him to work.

These are very interesting, as messages given at burial to the corpse to be delivered to those previously deceased. This implies more of the interaction of the deceased than is generally supposed. The messages belong to the earliest period of the Theban royal wooden figures, as the family only use the royal offering formula, and never the word *shauabti*. These injunctions remind us of the old Scotch woman who was told, when dying, to take various messages, and replied "Hoot awa, ye dinna think I'll gae clack-clacking thro' hēven looking for your folk."

Another early formula (*N.T.N.* 15) resembles that of the oldest mummiform figure, desiring a coming forth in the Duat; it reads "Royal offering given to Osiris, great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give things good and pure, and entering and going forth in Restau, for the *ka* of Mesu." Restau, now Resht, was the port of Aalu on the Caspian Sea.

29. A formula of the time of Amenhetep III (Cairo, 50 LORET) names both Anubis and the Aten. It reads, "Royal offering to Anpu who is in the temple, the great god, lord of Amenti, that he may give a glorious coming forth to behold the Aten, to breathe the sweet wind of the north, for the *ka* of the Osiris greatly favoured by the good god."

The standard text of the orthodox Aten worshippers is given by two figures: C is one in Cairo (*Musée Egyptien* III, 27) and Z is one in Zurich (*P.S.B.A.* 1885, p. 202). These are identical except in the passages in [ ]. They read,— "Royal offering given to the living Aten who makes bright the earth with his beauties, may he give sweet wind of the north, a long duration of life in the excellent Amenti, C. gifts cool water, wine, milk, on the table of offerings of his tomb, C. [gifts of all young flowers, Z.] for the *ka* of the lieutenant Hot, C. [his sister, lady of the house, Qedet, Z.]" These figures are not at all alike, the Cairo one is of most exquisite carving of wood, that at Zurich of brown pottery; hence the text must have been general, because carved by artists in different materials.

30. Early in the XIXth dynasty, another formula is found (Leiden, *Mon.* II, xvi). "Royal offering given to Osiris Khent-amenti, to Ptah-seker lord of the *shethy* (shrine), to Anpu within the temple, that they may give an entering and going forth into Kher-neter, breathing sweet wind of the north, taking bread forth before the roll of rations of the lord of Ta-zeser, following Seker in Restau and Osiris in Zedu, and a good burial for the future, in the western temple of Memphis (DE ROUGÉ, *Geog.* 4), for the chief of the Memphite palace of the lord of the lands, Aohmes." Down the front of the dress, in one column, is "A forthcoming of everything upon their table of all things good and pure." This is parallel to the inscription on the front of the dress of Khoemuas (U.C. 99), "A forthcoming upon the table before the lord of Ta-zeser, for the king's son Khoemuas."

31. A form rarely found, in the XVIIIth dynasty, was to state that the figure was given in honour

(praises), *du em hesu*, of the man. A fine example here is U.C. 49, "Given in honour from the king for the praised (dead), who greatly filled the heart of the lord of both lands, child of the harym (*kep*), chief of the archers of Zaru, keeper of the horses, Monuna." The title *khred ne kep*, here rendered "child of the harym," occurs on other shabtis, as Senb (Cairo, *M.C.A.* 385), Mentu, Arab, and Amenmes (all Bologna) with the house determinative. Another such formula is *Du em hesu nt kher nesut*, "given in honour from the king, for the keeper of the cattle, fan bearer, Amen-qen" (Cairo, 45 LORET).

32. The idea of personal service was developed from the XIXth dynasty onward. Even in the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty, there is the injunction to act as a servant. Early in the XIXth there are figures of the deceased High Priest Ptahmes, grinding corn, inscribed "I am the servant of this god, his grinder." But this was a substitute or servant, not the person, as another inscription reads, "Says he I am the grinder of Osiris, servant of Nut, for the *ka* of the guardian of the treasury, Mery-mery" or Mery-y. The purpose of these figures is essentially different from the old figures of domestics of the VIth to XIIth dynasties; these are to work for the gods in lieu of the noble, the older figures were slaves to work for the noble himself. These belong to the heavenly kingdom of Osiris; the others belonged to the life of the dead on earth (*Z.A.S.* 1906, 55). The idea of a substitute being a servant grew in the XIXth dynasty, until one figure is inscribed "Servant of Tauekhned" (*Z.A.S.* 1911, 127). Yet even here the figure has the long full wig of the lady herself, and is therefore intended to personate her, although called a servant.

33. In the XIXth dynasty a new opening to the formula was sometimes used, "Speech made by the Osiris N., says he O Shabti, &c." (*Z.A.S.* 1905, 81). Here the word "speech" stands in place of *sehez*; this confirms the meaning of *sehez*, preceding the address to the shabti.

Very short formulae occur on the figures of Zedptah-auf-onkh of the XXIInd dynasty; on some "I am Z., behold thou"; others "I am the follower in Amenti" or "in Duat," or the follower of Osiris (*Rec.* V, 70). These seem to show at that time a weakening in the idea of service to Osiris, and there only remained the intention of providing a substitute for the mummy to follow the gods.

The latest appearance of some formulae may be noted here. The royal offering occurs in the middle

of the XVIIIth dynasty (Hor, Cairo 43, 61, and Huta 68) and in the XIXth (U.C. from Rifeh). *Ne ka ne* occurs on two figures of the XIXth dynasty (Bologna, U.C. 233). *Amakh*, after the early XVIIIth dynasty, was revived in the XXVth. *O shabti* after the early XVIIIth, was revived in the XXVth, XXVIth and XXXth dynasties.

34. Various questions regarding the usual formula do not seem to have had enough consideration. The nature of the work which Osiris would require of the deceased, and which was passed on to the shabti, is an essential matter. What appears to be the earliest requirement is the weaving of clothing, next the carrying of sand, then irrigation, and the last claim was for making the fields grow. The provision of tools does not appear till some generations later than the demand for works. It seems that the subjects of Osiris were to take part in an organized society, doing all the needful business of life, and not only agriculture. What then is the meaning of carrying the sand of the east to the west? In the cultivation of Egypt, as we know of it, there is no great carrying of sand. It has been suggested that it might refer to taking the *sebakh* dust from the towns bordering the Nile on the rocky eastern side, across to the broad cultivated plain on the western side. Although in two of the earliest texts, and some later ones, the word for carry is *fat*, which might mean by land or by water, yet the regular word here is *kheny* "to row," and the determinative of a boat is added. This strongly shows that the sand had to be moved across the water from east to west. The difficulty in supposing this to refer to *sebakh* is that there is no evidence that the town dust was utilised anciently as a fertiliser. If used as at present, some reference would surely be found to the interminable details of farm life in contracts on Roman papyri. It was used before 1800 A.D. as the ruins of Bubastis are shown dug out, in the French views of the *Description*; no high house walls could remain bare for centuries, in the Delta, without being weathered down flat. Also no trace of ancient digging over sites has been observed during modern excavations; town mounds of all ages still stand in their original strata and levels. It seems quite impossible that an extensive system of *sebakh* digging was a main labour in Egypt when the shabti instructions were framed. Again, it is questionable if town dust would be called *sho*, sand. The only labour in moving sand that we can imagine would be shifting back

the sand dunes which encroached on the cultivated land. In parts of the western edge of the Nile valley, high sand dunes slowly march forward and extinguish the fields; in one district, half a dozen ridges of dunes, about a furlong apart, line the valley edge, with grassy plains low enough to be inundated lying between them. Such masses, twenty to forty feet in height, could hardly be shifted by man, yet in other districts (as Saqqareh) low rolls of sand a foot or two high encroach on the cultivation. Where a water channel bordered the western edge (as it usually did, owing to that being lower than the rest of the alluvial plain), then shifting the sand by boat across from the fields to the desert, from east to west, might have been worth undertaking. This seems to be the least improbable sense of the instruction.

For references from the photographs of ushabtis to the text, first look in Chapter vii, transliterations, for the name corresponding to the number of the photograph. Refer the name to the alphabetical list of names, pls. xvi-xxiii: this will give the titles, name, and parentage, the form, material, arrangement and type of formula, also the museum reference, according to pl. xv. Next refer the number to the facsimile copy in pls. vi to xiv. The list of names and titles, xvi-xxiii, gives a catalogue of the shabtis of Bologna, British Museum, Cairo, Florence, Leyden, Naples, Collegio Romano, Turin, Vatican, as well as those in University College, London.

## CHAPTER VI

### FORM AND MATERIALS OF SHUABTIS.

35. The history of the form of the shabti should be considered with reference to the types of names associated with the forms. There is no published list of names giving the range of date of each, and therefore we need first to gain some idea of the changing fashions in names. The political importance of different centres brought certain gods into prominence at one time or another, and this is reflected in the devotion to those gods. But more important is the form of devotion. The child is ascribed to divine favour, as Amenhetep "Amen contents," or Erdune-ptah, "Ptah gave"; in later times dedication to a god is more usual, as Pen amen, "This is for Amen," Bak-ne-khensu, "Servant of Khonsu," Nesiptah "He who belongs to Ptah," Pedu amen "The gift of Amen." Here we can only

notice a few of the limits of age of certain forms of name which help in dating the shabtis. Names with *nekht* begin as early as the XIIth dynasty, see Amen-*nekht* (LIEB. *Dict.* 114) and Sebek-*nekht* (Scarab 12 E). Amen-*nekht* and Sebek-*nekht* occur under Amenhetep III, but the main period of the name was in the XIXth dynasty. Penaati occurs under Tehutmes III, and Penanher had a sister Hat-sheps (LIEB. 437), though the type of name was far commoner in the XIXth dynasty. Bak-names begin in the XVIIIth dynasty, as Baken-khensu who was high priest under Amenhetep III. Nesi was used in names of the Old Kingdom, as Neseimnau; in the Middle Kingdom, Nesonkh-senbef, and Nessesu. The earliest of the frequent *nesi*-names seems to have been given under Ramessu about 1140 B.C., Nesi-ba-neb-zedu of Tanis; a generation later the use of *nesi*- spread to Thebes, in the name Nesi-khensu. The form Pedu- first appears with Pedu-bast high priest under Ramessu III. The form Zed- is probably as early as the XIXth dynasty, in Zed-ne-skhoba-ast (LIEB. 975), but began to be usual with Zed-khensu-auf-onkh son of Panezem II. All of these points serve to show the limits of different classes of shabtis.

36. The figures with hands but without any tools are a sixth of the whole; they were usual for royal persons, as Sety I, Ramessu III and VI, Amenardus and Shepenapt. Of private persons with hands empty, the names are nearly all of the XVIIIth dynasty style, and the latest are three Ramessu names. One Zed-khensu is copied from the Vatican; in the glass cases the details are not seen, so the tools could not always be recorded. The purely mummy figure without tools ceases with the XVIIIth dynasty, except in royal persons or rare examples of private persons. The beginning of the representation of tools is more difficult to define, as the personal name does not entirely prove the date, for names tend to drag on. Of those here, User-hot (52) is probably the earliest and, from the style of work, apparently between Tehutmes III and Amenhetep III. The bronze figure of Any, found buried on the road to the shrine of Osiris at Abydos, has no tools in the hands, but model tools were buried with it. This I should attribute to Tehutmes III. It seems, then, as if the idea of the figures being fitted out for their work began after the great importation of slaves from the Asiatic wars of Tehutmes III, and became universal about 150 years later. One of the early stages of tools was when

a shabti was buried in a model coffin with wooden models of hoes, buckets and yoke, and brick mould, apparently to make bricks rather than to do cultivation (*El Amrah* xxxix). The tools were otherwise of bronze, inscribed with the owner's name, as a model bag (*El Amrah* xxxviii, xl) and model axe, chisels and hoes (*El Amrah* xlv).

37. The hoes are at first of two forms, broad and narrow (see 66 and pl. xiv); later they are usually only narrow. In the XXVth dynasty a pick with a short blade is always shown with the narrow hoe. This pick always has the blade tang inserted through the wooden handle (see 547 and 551, 553, pl. xiv).

The provision of water pots and yokes (see 113 and 112, pl. xiv) is less common, being only placed on about one in thirty. They are probably all of the time of Ramessu II, as not one of the twenty-four names need lie beyond that reign.

The baskets or bags were at first carried in the hands with the hoes (see 63, 66), but the position on the back hung over the shoulder became general (see 113 and pl. xiv). From the form and size they are for carrying seed, not earth.

38. The figures of overseers with a kilt begin in the XIXth dynasty, not a single name shows an earlier date. The earliest class (XV 52, see nos. 94, 100) is that with folded arms. The same is true of the class XV 58 with two hoes, and the type with 60 (see no. 85) *thet* and *zed* in the hands. The later classes (54, 56) are those with the whip in one hand, and the other arm down the side; these begin with the XIXth dynasty, as the beautiful Hor (here no. 253) belongs almost to the Akhenaten glazes, and the latest of this style with whip in right hand are of the XXIst dynasty, and with whip in left hand, of the XXIInd dynasty. The two figures with long robe are for Panezem I, XXIst, and Zed-bast-auf-onkh (477) probably of XXIInd dynasty. The overseer figures continue in very rude form, without names, down to the end of the XXIIIrd dynasty, but they are never found in the revived style of the XXVth dynasty and onward.

39. Regarding materials, the stone figures of the Middle Kingdom were usually of fine hard white limestone, or of dark brown serpentine. Wood rarely appears then; but it became the only material in the dark ages, as we find in the rude figures of the XVIIth dynasty. It was used for the finest work, as of Nehi (43) under Tehutmes III, and Thay (73), and it continued usual throughout

the XIXth dynasty. Some very rude figures, perhaps of the XXIIInd dynasty, are covered with green colour-wash, like the mud figures, to imitate glaze. After that it seems never to have been used.

The next material employed was soft limestone, as in the figure of Sen-em-aoḥ (47) under Tehutmes I, and this continued in common use till the XIXth dynasty. After that it only appears rarely in the XXVth dynasty, as Anhermes (542). A black limestone came into use, perhaps first for the figures of Amenhetep II; fine work in this material is seen in the figures of Min-mes (66), Sadiamia (68) and Mutnezem (Brit. Mus.). An easy imitation of this was the black steatite as in Mehy-nef (69) and Ta-neb-nefert (70). The use of this in the XIXth dynasty is seen in the figure of Kho-em-uas (99) and another (100), and the fine bust of that age (101). It does not appear to have been used later than Ramessu II.

Alabaster was occasionally used from the late XVIIIth to the XXth dynasty. Probably it was started by the alabaster carving of Akhenaten's age; though the names do not appear to be earlier than the XIXth dynasty. The end of it (as 249) was in the very rude pegs of stone, daubed with red and green wax, for Ramessu VI.

Serpentine, brown or green, was adopted in the revival of the XXVth dynasty, by Amenardus, Harua, Peduamenapt and Shepenapt.

Sandstone rarely appears, plain or painted, and only early in the XIXth dynasty. Red granite was used for the figures of Amenhetep III and Akhenaten; grey granite was used for Amenemant, in the XIXth dynasty.

Bronze very rarely appears, as for Any (under Tehutmes III? Brit. Mus.), Ramessu II (Louvre), and Ramessu III (Cairo).

40. Red pottery figures were made in the latter part of the XVIIIth dynasty. Those of Amenemant (U.C. 58, 59), were plain when baked, and engraved afterwards; some black ink shows that they were not stuccoed. Another incised figure of Amenmes (60) has traces of white stucco, and blue colour in the signs. The next step in manufacture was to carve one fine shabti, and then make a mould from it, and thus mould many copies in pottery; such are 61 and 62 of the high priest of Amen, Paser. Plain figures of pottery were used as a base for painting, as in the bust 79 and figure 78. This latter system rapidly

degenerated in the XIXth dynasty, from fairly good figures as 123, down to the rudest lumps at 155. Such figures are often inscribed in hieratic, see pl. xiv. For instances of the variety of rough pottery figures found together in the XIXth dynasty, see the groups in *Gizeh and Rifeh* (double volume), pl. xxxvii C.

The next stage was the adoption of glazing for figures. This naturally followed on the great development of glazing under Akhenaten. The shabti was not in favour at the close of the XVIIIth dynasty, but when it revived, glaze became the favourite material. At first glaze was on stone, as the schist figures of Sety I (Florence, U.C. 87, 89) of the vizier Paser (U.C. 93) and a figure of Nekhtamen (Florence). This soon vanished, and glazed pottery alone reigned supreme; beginning under Sety I (as U.C. 90, 91, 92) of fine work, it rapidly degraded. Some of the early examples are striking experiments; an exquisite one is of white glaze inlaid with violet signs (Cairo), some have red glaze faces and hands, and other colours inlaid, as U.C. 222. Under the XXIst dynasty an intense blue was used for the royal figures, but the inscriptions are coarse and very carelessly written. In the XXIIInd dynasty the figures degrade to very rough execution, and in the XXIIIrd they become at last almost shapeless and often without any pretence of inscription. In the XXVth dynasty, glazing was fully revived and was the constant material of shabtis, down to the brilliant ones of Nekht-her-heb.

Mud was used, covered over with a green or blue wash, to imitate glazed figures, in the XXIIInd to XXVth dynasties, at last degrading to tiny dumps of plain mud, as U.C. 513. Another treatment of mud was to varnish it over, and inscribe it with yellow paint as U.C. 431, 432.

Exceptional figures are found sometimes, as the solid blue glass shabti with gold leaf bands, found at Abydos, now in Cairo (*El Amrah* xxxix).

41. The number and mode of burial of the shabtis varied much. About the time of Tehutmes III, and on to Ramessu II, single figures were buried on the way to the reputed tomb of Osiris at Abydos. Single figures are likewise found in the tombs from the XIIth dynasty and XVIIIth dynasty; and it seems to be rare to find more than one shabti of a person before the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, except of kings. This accords with the view of the shabti being the substitute for the mummy. The reckoning

of the shabtis as servants, which became usual from the rise of the XIXth dynasty, naturally resulted in needing many figures of them, and led to the supply of an overseer. The numbers were yet small about the beginning of the XIXth dynasty; seven in one tomb (*Abydos* III, 50); in another was one of sandstone inscribed, two of limestone and five of rough pottery, uninscribed (*Tanis* II, *Nebesheh*, p. 20). In other tombs 6 glazed, or 2 limestone, or 3 red pottery, 10 glazed and 2 red pot, all of the XIXth dynasty (*Neb.*, p. 32). The royal shabtis of the XXIst dynasty were 75 of Pinezem I, 158 of Ramaka, but the full numbers do not seem to have been published. Of the XXIInd dynasty about 50 are together (p. 33). Of glazed shabtis in the XXVIth dynasty, 11 (1 inscribed), 16 (1 inscribed), 50 (5 inscribed), 325 (3 inscribed), and 266, in different graves (*Neb.*, pp. 21-22). Larger numbers were however quite usual; of the XXVth dynasty at Thebes there were two wooden boxes with each coffin, in one pair 200 and 203, total 403, in another pair 185 and 183, total 368, of rude little figures of mud (*Qurneh* 15). In the XXVIth dynasty at Hawara, the great burial of Horuza had two recesses for shabtis, one containing 203, the other 196, total 399 (*Kahun* 19). These shabtis had been made by many different hands, for 17 varieties of style could be traced; as the number of each style was always irregular, and different from the others, it seems that the making was not sub-let to workmen, but was done in one large factory. As late as the XXXth dynasty, at Abydos, a burial in the tomb of Zeher had two boxes, with 198 and 196 figures, total 394. The burial of Pedu-asar son of Zeher had 385 figures (*Abydos* I, 38, 39). A later burial (undated) at Abusir el Melek contained 365 ushabtis (*Z.A.S.* 1904, 8). In Cairo is a group of 397 figures of Pehem (LORET 507-904).

One view has been proposed that the Abusir find was to provide a figure for each day of the year; and a shabti (Berlin) with a month and day marked on it, has been considered to support this view (*Z.A.S.* 1904, 8). Unless we had several different days named on one group, the day might as likely be the day of death, or even the day of birth for a horoscope. That the numbers are in no other case 365 contradicts the year-day idea. Then it has been proposed that there were 365 and 1 overseer for every 10 men, or 401 in all. The actual totals stated above are 368, 403, 399, 394, 385, 397; none of them agreeing with either number proposed.

The main objection to the addition of a tenth of overseers is that there were no figures of overseers in these six groups of about 400: the figures were all alike in form, and we can only suppose that the purpose was to deposit about 400.

In the XVIIIth dynasty the sole shabti was sometimes placed in a model coffin of wood or pottery. In the XIXth dynasty, round pots were often made for this purpose, which have been confounded with canopic jars as they had heads of the four sons of Horus upon them; yet their contents were from 6 to 12 ushabtis of pottery (*El Amrah*, p. 78, lvi). Square boxes of pottery were also used for the rough pottery shabtis, pl. xxxiv. Later, wooden boxes of the form of a round-topped shrine were usual (*Qurneh* liii) sometimes painted on the sides with figures of the gods.

There is one curious evidence that the inscriptions were in some instances recited to the makers, who wrote down what they heard. There is at Bologna a shabti inscribed for Psemthek, son of Thes-net-peru, and one at Florence for the son of Thes-net-meru. Such an error could never arise in reading by eye, but would easily be due to mistaken hearing.

We have now reviewed the gradual changes and growth of an intimate subject of Egyptian thought, and seen how it was influenced by the revolutions of the civilisation. The beautiful work of the XIIth dynasty became degraded to rough sticks in the XVIIth; the noble figures of the XVIIIth rapidly waned to the rough granite and coarse wood, supplanted by a revival in fine glaze which degraded into mud dumps in the XXIIIrd; finally, the Ethiopian revival of the art in fine stone, dwindled in the XXXth dynasty to the roughest pottery. The Greek domination ended the ushabti, as also the scarab; the inherent ideas of Egypt were outworn, and the civilisation could never retrace its steps as it had repeatedly done before.

## CHAPTER VII

### TRANSLITERATION OF NAMES OF USHABTIS AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

(Materials uninscribed. 1 Wood. 2 Pottery. 3 Black Serpentine. 3a, White Limestone. 4 Wood. 5 and onward, see reference in catalogue by names.)

5-7 Teta. 8, 9 Teta-an. 10-17 Teta-sa-antef. 18-23 Teta-nefer. 24-7 Teta-on. 28 Antef. 29, 29 A Tehuti. 30 Ta-nehesyt. 31 User. 32 Antef. 33-4 Hetep-sa.

35 Tha. 36 Tunefer. 42-3 Sen-hetep. 44 Sa-ra. 45 Sa-pa-art. 46 Aohmes-sa-paar.

*XVIIIth dynasty.* 47 Sen-em-aoh. 48 Nehi. 49. Monuna. 50 Baka. 51 Aniy. 52 User-hot. 53 Ram-em-heb. 55 Mes. 56 Pe-kharu. 58-9 Amenemant. 60 Amen-mes. 61-2 Pa-ser. 63 Huy. 65 Amen-hetep (II). 66 Minmes. 67 Hather-pert. 68 Sadiomia. 69 Hentmehy. 70 Urt-neb-nefert. 71 Mer-ant. 73 Thay. 74 Set . . . 75 Mohu. 76 User-hot-amen-em-neheh. 77 Meh-y-hetep. 78 Neteth-khenti. 79 Kana. 80 Amen-hetep (III). 81-2 Akhenaten. 83 Kanure.

*XIXth dynasty.* 85 User-menth. 86-92 Sety (I). 93-5 Pa-ser. 96 Ta-ast. 99 Kho-em-uas (son of Ramessu II). 100 Huy. 102 Thenure. 103 Nashu. 104 Ramessu. 105 Set-mes. 106 Meh-y-hetep. 107 Hetep-asa. 108 Khnem-em-ua. 109 Piam. 110 Hent-nefu. 112-3 Bu-ar-er-tu-khemt. 114 Sunure. 115 Auy. 118-9 Hent-ur. 120 Baka. 121 Ymuda-taurt. 122 Nefer-ob-heb. 123 Res-su. 124 Mes. 125 Nekhtru-amen. 126 Kanure. 127 Khnem-pa-taui. 128 Shed-mes. 129 Mut-em-per. 130 Nafi. 131 Sebek-mes. 132 User-menth. 133 Nefer-her. 134 Kho-em . . . 135 Moaa. 136 Hot-aay. 137 Nefer-her. 138 Au. 139 Pa-ra-khou. 140 Thay-mes. 141 Bakuu, Nenoy. 142 Ast. 147-8 female figures with overseer. 152 Her-kho. Next a canopic pot of Hapi brother of Her, for priestess of lord of Matenu (Atfih), Rest. 153 Pay-denurga. 156 Rames. 157-8 Nerau-nefer. 159 Nes-pe-uah-maot. 160 Sunure. 162 User-menthu. 163 Amen-em-apt. 164 Ta-user. 165 Mery-ra. 166 Aymy. 167 Nefer-hetep. 168-9 Huy. 170-1 Nes-mut. 172-3 Nef-per-pa. 174-5 Mery-mo. 176 Hent-ef-nefer. 177 Neheh-nefert. 178 Ta-ur-em-her. 181 Ramessu-er-neheh. 182 Pa-ra-em-nenu-ra-neb. 183-4 Nefer-renpet. 185 Res-su. 190 Nefer-am. 191 Bak-amen. 192 Patnub-heb. 195 User-maot-ranekhtu. 196 Payutu-heri. 197 Meru-onkh. 198 Ta-ua-shed. 199 Amen-mes. 200 Mutnefert. 201 Bak-amen. 202 Hetep-mut. 203 Ta-urt. 204 Ta-on. 205 Ta-nekhtu-ra. 206 On-mut. 207 Oat-urt . . . 210 Nefu-nefer. 211 Pazay. 212 Neferu. 214 Mentu-hetep. 215 . . . Hat-her. 216 Suah, Sahu? 217 Mer-f . . . 219 Ta-nes. 220 Nebtu-her-ta. 221 Sebek-hetep.

*Glazed pottery. XIXth dynasty.* 222 Aaä. 223 Pa-ser. 224 Ast. 225 Refuy. 226 Urta. 227 Nekht-amen. 232 Nezem. 233 Ra-user-maot-nekht. 234 Nes-pa-ra. 235 Nefer-ta. 236 Amen-hetep. 237 Tehuti-mes. 238 Amen-mes. 239 Ray-ra. 240 Tehuti-mes. 241-2 Nes-pa-ra. 244-5 Amen-em-ant.

*XXth dynasty.* 247 Ramessu (IV). 248 Ramessu (VI). 250 Nehay. 253 Her.

*XXIst dynasty, blue glaze.* 254 Hent-taui (queen of Pionkh). 255 Painezem. 256 Kheper-kho-ra, setep-ne-amen (Painezem I). 257 Kheper-kho-ra. 258 Maot-ka-ra (queen of Painezem I). 260 Men-kheper-ra. 261 Mysa-hert. 262 Ast-ne-khebt (queen of Men-kheper-ra). 263 Hent-taui (queen of Nesi-ba-neb-zedu). 264 Pa-nezem (II). 265 Nesi-khensu (queen of Painezem II).

*XXIst-XXIInd dynasties.* 267 Mut-em-hot (queen of Usarken II). 268-9 Mut-mery, meht-ne-usekht (queen of Usarken II). 270 Ment-em-heb. 271 Res-thu. 272 Yimadua. 273 Pedu-amen. 274 Pipay. 275 Nesi-amen. 276 Nes-pa-her-on. 277 Amen-hetep. 278 Amen-hot-pa-masha(?). 279 Her. 280 Usarken. 281 Sekhmetu (?). 282 Pa-kharua. 283 Zed-ptah (auf-onkh), (son of Takerat II). 284 Pa-kharu. 287 Nef-nezem. 288 Mery. 289-90 Huy. 291 Hotu(?). 292 Nes-pa-ka (shuti). 293 Nes-neb-taui. 294 Bak-ne-mut. 295-7 Merth-ne-amen. 298 Nesi-aohta, see 312. 299 Pedu-mut. 300 Pa-pes-sa. 301 Her-ub . . . 302 Nes-ta-uzat-aakhet. 303 Thay-nefer. 304 Emkak-ra. 305 Ast-em-kheb. 306 Thent-mau. 307 Hent-taui. 308 Pa-shed-ne-khensu. 309-10 Nes-pa-her-ne-hot. 311 Then-amen. 312 Nesi-aohta, see 298. 313 Thet-du-amen. 314 Zed-menth-auf-onkh. 315 Zed-her-onkh. 316 Nesi-mut. 317 Neb-zed-ast. 318 Thent-her-kena. 319 Ta-nekht-mut. 320 Zed (or Nes-)ne-amen. 321 Nesi-hetep-amen. 322 Nesi-amen. 323 Nes-menth. 324 Tehuti-mes. 325 Pa-nes-taui(?). 326 Hent-taui. 329 Zedi-hetep-mut. 330 Ast. 331 Ast. 332 Yi-hetep-em-mut. 333-4 Nes-pa-nub. 335 Nebt-neheh. 336 Neb-neheht. 337-8 Her-taui. 339 Her-sekhen-ast. 340 Her-khebt. 341 Her. 342 Zetta-set(?). 343 Shaq-sha or Ha-qe-ha. 344 Bak-khensu. 345 Ym-hetep. 346 Zed-mut. 347 Pa-shed-khensu. 348 Thent-shedot. 349 Thent-th-shedu. 351 Pa-shed-khensu. 352-3 User-hot. 354 Ment-haus-onkh. 355 Ta-nebu-net. 356 Buararuhot. 357 Ta-nebu-net. 358 Mena Duat. 359 Pa-khred-ne-ast. 360 Men-am. 361-2 Bakhet. 363 Baky. 365 Neb-her-thes(?). 366 Thent-du-amen. 367 Ra-mes-user-taui. 368 Oaza-dep. 369 Net-urt. 370 Bak-khensu. 371 Amen(?). 372 Padu-amen. 373 Nesy-neb-taui. 374 Her. 375 Her-mut-nekht-khensu. 376-7 Pa-nekht-es-maot. 378 Padu-pa . . . 379 Buareru, see 356. 380 Tehuti. 382 Pa-du-amen. 383 Khensu-mes. 384 Thent-nun. 385 Onkh-ef-ne-khensu. 386 Her.

*Green painted clay.* 390-1 Onkh. 392 Onkh-ef. 393 Bak-ne-khensu. 394 Bak-ra. 395-6 Nes-ta-nezem. 397 Onkh-es-ne-mut. 399 Onkh-ef-amen. 400 Onkh-ef-ne-khensu. 401 Neb-aakhety. 402 Neb-aakhet-per.

403 Neb-aakhety. 404 Pa-user-amen. 405 Nesi-hetep-amen. 406 Onkh-es-ast. 407 Bak-ne-mut.

*Coarse green glaze, faded.* 408 Nes-pa-hent-taii. 409 Nes-pa-her. 410 Hot. 411 Teduament.

*Wood painted black.* 424 Pa-ari. 425 Bak-ne-khensu. 426 Hent-ma-ament(?). 427-8 Ur. 429 Huy. 430 Dada-sebek-mes. 431-2 Zed-khensu-auf-onkh.

*Pottery painted.* 433 Nes-ptah. 434-5 Onkhu-mut. 436-7 Hot . . . 438 Ast. 439 Amen-her . . . 442 Padut-khensu. 443 Nes-mut. 444 Zedu-maot-ast-onkh. 445 Pedu-her. 446 Khenm-khert-ne-khensu. 447 Paduat-ament. 448 Arer . . . 449 Onkhef-khensu. 450 Tabak-khensu. 451 Pa-du-amen. 453 Khenm-khert-ne-khensu. 454 Kha-os. 456 Nes-amen. 457 Nekhtu. 458 Pa-kharu. 459 Then-amen. 460 Onkhef-ne-khensu. 461 Onkhes-pa . . .

*Green glaze. XXIIInd dynasty.* 464-5 Uasarken, High Priest of Memphis. 466 Pedu-mut. 468 Hera. 469-72 Pa-tehuti. 473 Onkhes-en-ast. 474 Amenardas. 475-6 Uasarken, High Priest of Hermopolis. 477-8 Zed-bast-auf-onkh. 478 Great God (King) over the enemy Dut-pa . . . 479-80 Pa-duat. 481 Nes-khensu. 484 King Ra-user-maot, setep-ne-amen, sa-ra-amen-mer, sa-ne-Bastet (Sheshenq III). 485-8 Thes-theren. 493-4 Zed-tehuti-es-onkh. 495 Nes-mut-onkhet. 518 Nes-mut-seonkh. 531 Ast-ne-kheb (dau. Shabaka).

*Incised stone. XXVth dynasty.* 532-4 Pedu-amen-apt, standard text. 535-8 Amen-ardas (queen). 539 King's dau. of Paonkhy, queen Shep-en-apt. 540 Harua (Assasif tomb). 542 Anher-

mes. 543 Prince Nesptah born of Shebnet-sopdu.

*Incised glaze. XXVth dynasty.* 544 Tehuti-her. 545 Nes-her. 546 Pa-nef-anet. 547-53 Her-uza. 554 Aohmes-nefer-sekhmet. 554 and 557 older figures, reused with altered name. 555 Psemthek. 556 Pamau High priest, Thebes. 557 Asar-ardus. 558 Psemthek-ptah-mer. 560 Her-em-hetep. 561 Her-taii. 562 King Aohmes-sanet. 563 Her. 564 Zeher. 565-6 Zeser. 567 Hapnen. 568 Dut-em-hetepy-net. 569 Her-uza. 570 King Ra-uah-ab (Apries). 571 Ra-uah-ab-neb-heb. 572 Hesu. 573 Queen Net-khadeb-ar-bent (mother of Nekht-neb-ef). 574-6, 9 King Nekht-her-heb. 577 Tha-ne-heb. 578 Psem-thek.

*Band and column inscribed.* 580 Uah-ab-ra-em-aakhet. 582 Psemthek-onkh. 583 Her. 584 Oha. 585 Her. 586 Hap-men. 587 Aohmes. 589 Aohmes. 590 born of Renpet-nefer. 591 Uah-ab-ra. 592 Ka-em-hesuia. 593 An-hetepu. 594-7 Thent-aqera. 595 Ast-dus. 598 Amen-ardas. 599 Nayroarud. 601 Tehuti-em-hot. 602 Aohmes. 603, 8 Uza-her-ne-nesut-per. 607 Uah-ab-ra-ptah-mer. 609 Pa-du-amen. 610, 11, see 554. 612, 14 Ymhetep. 613 Pe-sa-ahet. 615 Pe-du-bastet. 616 Mera. 617 Arer.

*Narrow, usually inscribed back pillar. XXVII-XXXth dynasty.* 620 Her-kheb. 621 Auf-oa. 622 Un-men-hap. 623 Her. 624 Atmu-hetep. 625 Hepa. 626 Ptah-hetep. 628 Aoh-mes. 632 Apentet-neb-em. 634 Pe-du-ptah. 635-8 Hen-ka. 639 Mentu-hetep.

*Latest class.* 641 Zeher. 642 Pe-hoti. 643-4, 9 Pedu-asar. 645 Neferu. 646-8 Zeher. 651-5 uninscribed in tomb of Zeher (*Abydos* I, 37-9).



## INDEX

- Amakhu*, devoted to deceased, 2  
    revived in XXVIth dynasty, 10  
Aten formula on figure 9
- Bags on shabtis 11  
Baskets on shabtis 11  
Beard of shabtis 8
- Coffins, models for shabtis, 3
- Dismemberment of body 1
- Eschatology, stages of, 3  
Exceptional sentences 7
- Factories of shabtis 13  
Family provide shabtis 4  
Family spirit, or *ka*, 2  
Food offering 2  
Formula, simplest, 5
- Glass shabti 12  
Glazing, period of, 12  
Gods, compounded, 4  
Grinding corn by deceased 9
- Hands of shabtis 11  
Head, placed at African meals, 2  
    removed and kept, 1  
    stone, in grave, 1  
*Hesu* praises, honouring deceased, 9  
Hoes, two forms of, 11
- Ka*, the family spirit, 2
- Lucian's account of magic figure 4
- Magic servants 4  
Materials for shabtis 11  
Messengers to seek the dead 8  
Mummy-substitute carved 2, 3
- Name caused to live 4  
Names, periods of, 10  
North wind desired 9  
Number of shabtis 12
- Offerings to statues 2  
    at tomb, for spirit 3  
Osirification 6  
Osiris, kingdom of, 3, 9, 10  
Overseers, figures of, 11
- Pedamenapt shabtis scattered 8  
Pick on shabtis 11  
Pyramid Texts, restoration of head, 1
- References, method of, 10  
Royal offering formula 3, 4, 9
- Sand to be moved 10  
*Sehez* formula 6  
Seker to be followed 9  
Servant figures 9  
Smiting evils 6  
Statues in grave, origin, 2
- Table of offerings prayed for 9  
Taskmasters, origin of, 8  
Tools of shabtis 11
- Water pots of shabtis 11  
Wooden figures, rough split, 3  
Workers counted 5

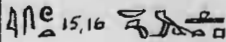
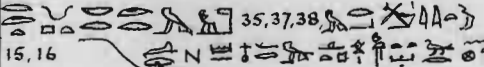
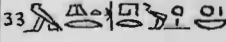
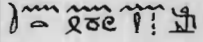
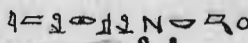
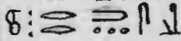
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
XII HENT-NEFERT. P.L.G.M.XXX																																						
? N.T.N. 18																																						
ATITA N.T.N. 19																																						
AOHMES N.T.N. 20																																						
AOHMES N.T.N. 28																																						
? N.T.N. 32																																						
TANEFERT N.T.N. 21																																						
TETA-RES Z.A.XXXII, 113																																						
TEHUTIMES N.T.N. 27																																						
BOOK OF THE DEAD VI																																						
TETA-ON N.T.N. 22																																						
QEDHETEP G.A.XV																																						
SA-PA-ARY N.T.N. 31																																						
TEHUTI Z.A.XXXII, 113																																						
TEHUTMES " " 112																																						
TETAMES N.T.N. 30																																						
TETAMES N.T.N. 29																																						
TETANEFER N.T.N. 23																																						
KHRED <sup>M</sup> MEH-SENB M.C.A. 385																																						
RENSENB P.C.A. 113																																						
SE-HEZ																																						
TETANEFER Z.A.XXXII, 115																																						
SAMENTU M.C.A. 403																																						
SAMUT M.C.A. 389																																						
" 390																																						
SA-PA-AR N.T.N. 39																																						
MEHYHU M.C.A. 397																																						
TEHUTI M.C.A. 404																																						
TAY [YIV, M.C.A. 401] N.T.N. 44																																						
SENEMAOH (TEHUTMES I) U.C. 47																																						
NEHI U.C. 48																																						
(TAHUTMES III) U.C.																																						
BAKA U.C. 50																																						
USERHAT U.C. 52																																						

BACK

Handwritten notes and symbols on the right side of the table, including a large '+40' and various hieroglyphs.



		2,3	4	5	6	7	9	10	11	12	13	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	28	29	31-2	33	35	36	37	38
ZAY	R.M.A. XLI																											
RA·AĀY	L.MON. II, XIX											28, 29, 31-2																
PASAR	U.C. 94																											
BAKENAMEN	REC. IV. 97																											
BAKENAMEN	" 97											31-2, 29, 28																
ANTUY	" 97																											
PTAHMES	M.C.A 408																											
?	" 431																											
AMENEMAPT	" 439		17																									
AMENMES	" 440																											
? ALABASTER	U.C. 57																											
MEHYHETEP	U.C. 106									CONFUSED																		
HETEP . . . . .	U.C. 107																											
AMENEMANT. B.M.	R.M.A. XXXIII							9																				
RUD·NERA·NEFER	U.C. 157																											
SUNURE	U.C. 114									CONFUSED																		
SUNURE	U.C. 160																											
HUY	U.C. 168-9																											
NEFERHETEP	U.C. 167																											
USERMENTU	U.C. 162																											
MERYRA	U.C. 165																											
GLAZED																												
NEKHTAMEN	U.C. 227																											
𓆎 𓆏 𓆐	U.C. 246																											
PIPAY	U.C. 274																											
NESIPARA	U.C. 241-2																											

 15, 16  
 35, 37, 38  
 33  
  
  




		23	4	5	6	7	9	10	11	12	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	27	28	29	31-2	33	34	35	37	38		
AAA	U.C. 222																															
HENT-TAUI II	U.C. 263																															
PA NEZEM II	U.C. 264																															
NESIKHENSU	U.C. 265																															
NESIPTAH	U.C. 543																															
ANHURMES	U.C. 542 G.A. XV																															
PEDA·AMENAPT	U.C. 532-4																															
AMENARDAS	U.C. 535-8																															
HERUA	U.C. 540																															
SHEPENAPT II	U.C. 539																															
HERUZA'	U.C. 547-53																															
UA·AUPEN	R.D.M. xiv																															
THENT//ARDAST "	xvi																															
ONKH·HAP	xvii																															
PANEFER	xviii																															
.....MES	xviii																															
URTAMT	XX																															
UAHABRA·EM·AAKHET ♂	XXIV																															
UAHABRA·EM·AAKHET ♀	XXI																															
IMHETEP																																
NEKHT·HER·HEB(KING)	XXV																															
HER	UC 563																															
PAHOTI	UC 642																															
AUFONKH LEPS·TODTENB.																																

15, 16, 35, 37

15, 16



5  
 6  
 7  
 8  
 10  
 11  
 12

9  
 13  
 14  
 15  
 16

17

18  
 19  
 20  
 21  
 22  
 23

24  
 25  
 26  
 27  
 28

29  
 30  
 31  
 32  
 33  
 34  
 35  
 36  
 37  
 38  
 39  
 40  
 41

42  
 43  
 44  
 45  
 46  
 H  
 J  
 K  
 P  
 Q  
 R

ROUGH COPY

B.G.



A 47  
 A 48

B 48  
 C B

C  
 D 50

D  
 E 51

E  
 52

F 53  
 G

H G  
 H

D 54  
 55

K 56  
 K  
 57

M  
 58 59

60  
 N

F.P.

49

61 62

Hieroglyphic line 61-62

COMPLETE TO NAME AT END.

63

A Hieroglyphic line 63-65

65

B Hieroglyphic line 66

A

Hieroglyphic line 67-68

68

C Hieroglyphic line 67

67

D Hieroglyphic line 69-71

70

Hieroglyphic line 71

Table with hieroglyphs and numbers

70

69

68

E Hieroglyphic line 73

73

F Hieroglyphic line 74-76

Hieroglyphic line 76

76

85 83 Hieroglyphic column

75 Hieroglyphic line

75

74 Hieroglyphic line

74

78

G Hieroglyphic line 77

77

Hieroglyphic line 79

79

89 87 Hieroglyphic column

Hieroglyphic line 86-88

86

93 Hieroglyphic column

Hieroglyphic line 90-92

90 91

VARIANT 88 92

VARIANTS 94 95 Hieroglyphic line

94

VARIANTS

95

AS AMENNES TO Hieroglyphic line 96

96

Hieroglyphic line 97

97

92

A

B

102

104

110

108

109

112-3

132

103

105

4 BANDS  
BLUNDERED

B

AROUND BACK  
FRONT SEE PHOT.

100

106

C

107

D

114

156

E

157 158

F

BLUNDERED

159

160

G

162

H

166

COL. BAND.

BACK

167

168

END

169

163

164

164

RIFEN

222

BACK BAND

227

6 BANDS  
AROUND

F.P.

241  
 242  
 241  
 242

A  
 247

B  
 263

250  
 260  
 261

C

D  
 264

E  
 265

E

BACK-BAND  
 274

F  
 361  
 362

F

424 425 426 427 428 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 442 443 444 445 447 448 449 450 451 453 454

456 457 458 460 462 464 465 466 469 472 468 473 475 476 477 478 481 479 480 484 485 488 493 494 495 531

532 - 534  
 A

B

C

D 535 TO 538

E

F 539

G 540

H

542 544

545

543

K 547 553

546 559 ON APPLIED COATING 554

555

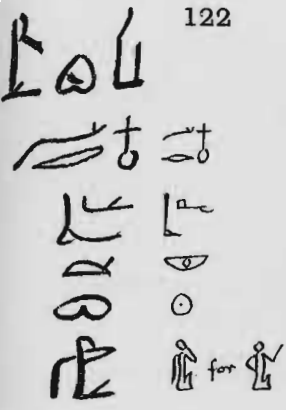
556

557

558

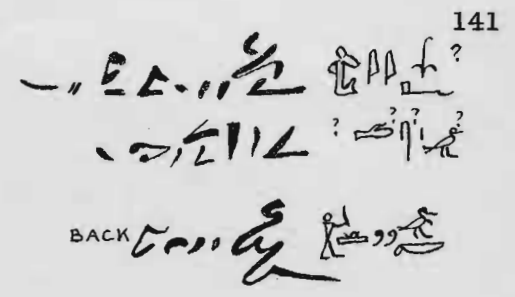
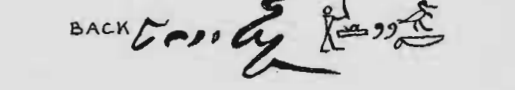
560 F.P

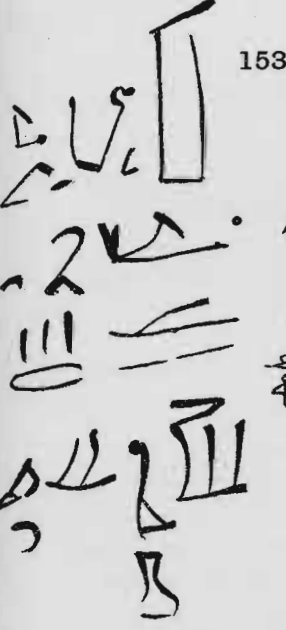
561 562 563  
 A 564 565 566 567  
 568 569 570  
 571 572 573  
 574-576 577 578  
 580 582 583 585 586 588 589  
 590 591 592 593 595 598 599 600 601 602 603  
 594 596 597 604 605 606 625  
 607 608 609 610 611 612 614 613 615 616 617 620 621 622 623 624  
 638 626 628 639 640 641 613 642 643  
 F.P.

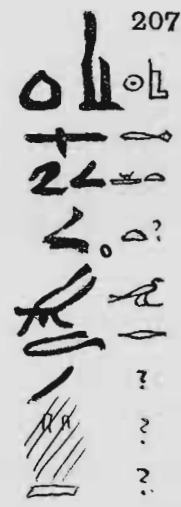
122  


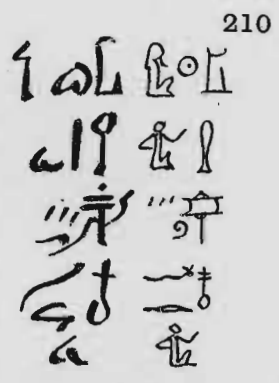
138  

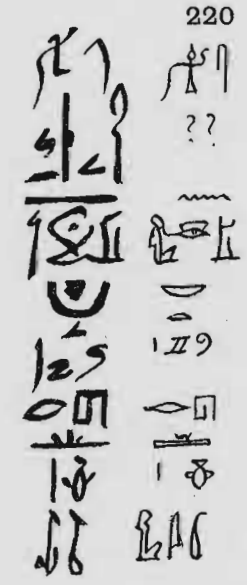

139  

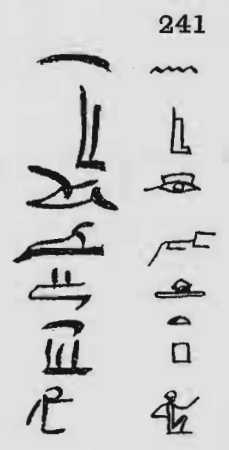

141  
  
 BACK 

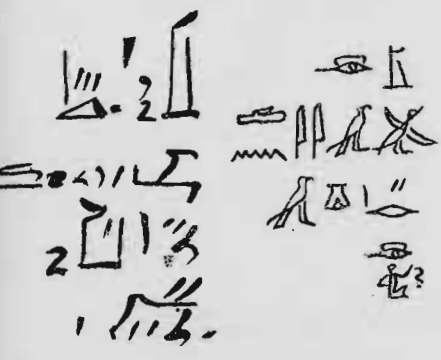
153  


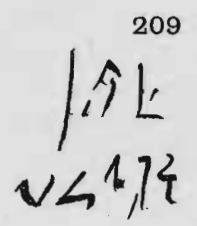
207  


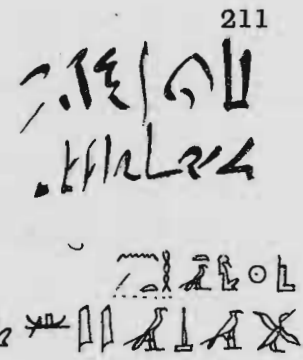
210  


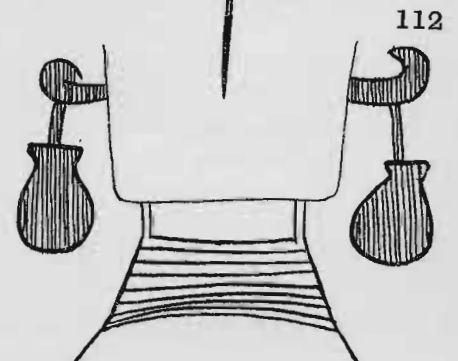
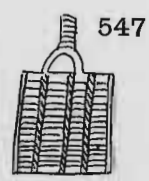
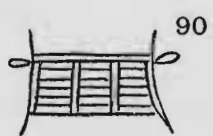
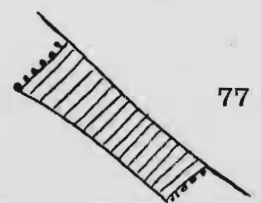
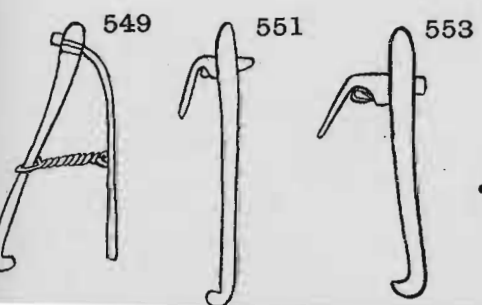
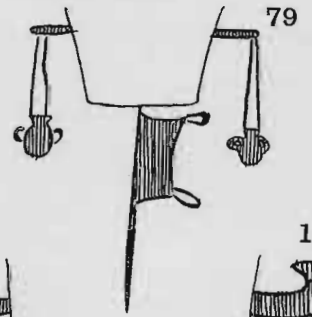
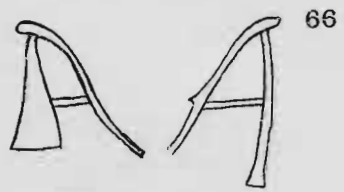
220  


241  


153  


209  


211  




IN LAST COLUMN, B=Bologna, B.M. BRITISH MUSEUM, C CAIRO, F FLORENCE, L LEYDEN  
 N NAPLES, R COLLEGIO ROMANO, T TURIN, V VATICAN. MUSEUM NUMBER PRECEDES LETTER.  
 NUMBERS WITHOUT FOLLOWING LETTER ARE IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

PAINTED	INCISED				
A 1 COLUMN FRONT	B	a alabaster	2	Bandaged mummy	α
		b blue glaze	4	" white & red	β
C 1 COLUMN BACK	D	C green glaze	6	No hands tools	γ
		d other colors	8	Hands, no tools	δ
E 2 COLUMNS FRONT	F	e inlaid glazes	10	- - - - - 1	ε
		f schist glazed	12	- - - - - 1	ζ
G 1 COL. FRONT, 1 BACK	H	g granite	14	1 - - - - - 1	η
		h serpentine	16	1 - - - - - 1	θ
J COLUMNS AROUND	K	i sandstone	18	1 1	ι
		j " painted	20	1 1 1 TO XXIV	κ
L LINES AROUND BACK PLAIN	M	k limestone plain	21	1 1 1 XXV ON	λ
		l " painted	22	2 - - - - - TO XXIV	μ
N LINES AROUND THE WHOLE	O	m mud, black	23	2 - - - - - XXV ON	ν
		n " brown	24	2 1	ξ
P LINES AROUND COLUMNS BACK	Q	o " white	26	2 BEARD	ο
		p " blue or green	28	(BACK UNSEEN)	π
R LINES AROUND COLUMNS FRONT	S	q " yellow	30	2 - - - - - 2	ρ
		r pottery plain	32	2 - - - - - 2	σ
T LINES AROUND 1 COLUMN FRONT	U	s " white	34	2 - - - - - 1 1	τ
		t " painted	36	2 - - - - - 1 - - - 2	υ
V LINES AROUND 1 COLUMN BACK	W	u black steatite or marble	38	2 1 2	φ
		v wood plain	40	2 - - - - - 1 1 2	χ
X 3 COLUMNS FRONT	X	w " painted	42	HOLDING	ψ
		x " black		KILT	ω
Y KILT LINES ROUND BACK	Z	y " inlaid	50	arms down	
		z " incised.	52	arms folded.	
			54	L. down, R. whip	
			56	R " L "	
			58	with 2 hoos	
			60	holding	
			70	LONG ROBE	
			72	L. down, R. along	

DATED USHABTIS. THE PRIVATE USE OF A NAME BEING 30-40 YRS AFTER ROYAL USE.

No.	Name	BC.	Name	B.C.	Name	B.C.
46	AOHMES SAPAAR	1550	261 MYSAUHERT	1050	531 ASTNEKHEB dau Shabaka	670
47	SENEMAOH	1520	262 ASTNEKHEBT	1030	539 SHEPNEAPT	660
48	NEHI	1450	264 PANEZEM II	1006	570 HAA-AB-RA	570
65	AMENHETEP II	1423	263 HENT-TAUI	1000	546 PEF-NEFA-NET	570
80	AMENHETEP III	1379	265-6 NESIKHENSU	1000	554 AOHMES after	540
82	AKHENATEN	1365	280 UASARKEN after	900	562 AOHMES	526
86-92	SETY I	1300	464-5 " "	900	573 NET-KHADEB-AR-BENT	350
93	PASER	1280	268-9 MEHTINE USEKHT	850	mother NEKHT-HOR-HEB	
232	NEZEM	1250	wife Uasarken II		599-600 NAYFOARUD	350
99	KHOEMUAS	1245	267 MUTEMHOT	850	574-9 NEKHT-HER-HEB	342
247	RAMESSU IV	1165	wife Uasarkull		635-8 HENKA	330
248	" VI	1156	283 ZED-PTAH-AUF-ONKH		born of HAKER	
254	HENT-TAUI	1080	son Takenat II	800	641 ZEHER	320
255-7	PAINEZEM I	1074	484 SHESHENQ III	781	646-8 ZEHER	320
258-9	MAOTKARA	1070	535-8 AMENARDAS	690	643-4 PEDUASAR son Zeher	300



Handwritten hieroglyphs and symbols on the left side of the page, including various signs and combinations.

Vertical column of text containing alphanumeric codes and numbers, such as 'Lw 8f F', 'M L 22T 78T', 'Lv 22v F', 'Ld 24φ 222', 'OL 24φ 65T', 'Ac 54E F', 'Ar 8p 138', 'Fc 21E B', 'ML 22T V', 'MK 8π 11T', 'ML 22v V', 'Ab 24E 259T', 'Wv 8φ B', 'ML 8p 56G51', 'Mv 8π B', 'Aw 8σ F', 'Ab 24λ F', '715.C', 'Uw 74α L', 'Mk 8z F', '46', 'Pw 24T 166', 'Ab 24E 356', 'AL8...63T Av 8v V', 'PL 30X 115', 'Ay 8λ V', '84 C', '10 C', 'Wv 8φ F', '3 C', '2 C', '24 C', 'Vd 24T F', '1 C', 'Mw 24T 132T', 'Et 24E 371', 'Ac 24λ 474', 'Mh 8η 535-8', 'Lw 22T B', 'Nl 22T T', '103 C', 'Ad 24σ B', 'Ad 22λ 139T', 'Aw 24σ B, Mu 30T F', 'Wv 24T F', '155 C', '64 C', 'Rw 22φ 163', 'R.M.A.XXXIII Kq 30T BM', 'AC 24K. B. 2445', 'Qr 6σ 58-9', 'Lb 24φ F', 'Av 8σ F', 'P.A.93 Ar 24p -', 'Mw 8T 87T', '179 C', '295-7', 'Ab 24E F', '70 C', 'Ua 60T L', 'Av 22σ V', 'Mw 22T 116T', '180 C', 'Lw 24σ B', 'Ow 24T 133T', 'Mk 8 30T', '118 C', 'Ag 8λ V', 'Ab 22σ 283T', 'At 8E F', 'Ov 22φ 198T', 'Md 6φ B

Handwritten hieroglyphs and symbols in the middle column, often appearing between the alphanumeric codes and the right column.

Vertical column of text on the right side, containing alphanumeric codes and numbers, such as 'Aw 22 p 199', '12 C', '44 C', '181 C', 'Qr 22σ 60', 'Ac 40 p 238', 'Pc 24 φ N', 'Bv 8T B', 'Mw 24T 18T', 'Aw 8σ B', 'Aw 8σ B', 'Aw 6σ 148-9T', 'Aw 6σ 89T', 'Lk 8π F', 'Aw 8σ 1167', '1183', 'Aw 8σ 166 T', 'Al 24σ 134T', 'Ab 24σ 282T', 'Ag 8E 278', 'Mv 8π 65', '23 C', 'Mv 8T T', 'Lb 24σ 195T', 'Ab 24v 244, 277', 'Ab 24v 262T', 'Ab 24v 248', '277-81T', 'Aw 24σ B', 'Av 6σ 96T', 'Ll 8T F', 'Ad 36E 236', 'Aw 8σ 182T', '45.74.C', 'CEM.ABYD.II.XXXIX.5 [45k]', 'Ad 30σ N', 'Mbronze 6π B.M.', 'Vw 8α 145T', 'ML 52p 51', 'At 24λ 144T', 'ML 8η F', '28 C', '11 C', '28, 32', 'Bk 8λ B', 'Aw 24σ F', '105-112 C', 'Ac 24E 224', 'Br 52μ 142, Ar 24 p 438', 'Ac 24.54E 330-1', 'At, 24 σ 434T', 'Nt 24 φ 262', 'Ab 24E 305', 'Aw 24λ 143T', 'Bt 24θ 531', 'Uu 60T L', '40 C', '122 C', 'Aw 6μ 207', 'Ab 36E 368', 'Aw 24 p 206', 'At 24σ 743T', '18 C', 'At 38E 396', 'Br 52μ 434', '435', 'At 24E 392', 'Ac 24E 399', 'P.A. Bt 24p -', 'Ag 24E 460', 'Ab 24E 385', 'Ab 24E 400', 'Av 24E -', 'As 24E 449', '168-70 C', 'Ap 24v F 406

⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Cc 22 𐀀 473
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ar 22 𐀀 461
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 24 𐀀 275T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ap 24 𐀀 397
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Vb 30 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 6 𐀀 —
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ll 38 𐀀 213T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 22 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	17C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 272
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 332
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	60C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Al 24 𐀀 121
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 345
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Mw 8 𐀀 68,153T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	At 24 𐀀 197T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ct 58 𐀀 199T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Cc 58 𐀀 4645
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ec 22 𐀀 476
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ec 24 𐀀 475
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Kv 74 𐀀 L
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Mu 24 𐀀 𐀀
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ak 8 22T, At 8 𐀀 V
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	At 8 𐀀 V, At 50 𐀀 384T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	302T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Lv 24 𐀀 75T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Mw 24 𐀀 85T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Lv 24 𐀀 79T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Bu 22 𐀀 70
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ad 42 𐀀 226
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ax 52 𐀀 427-8
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	31
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 36 𐀀 195
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	At 32 𐀀 132
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Lw 36 𐀀 162
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 42 𐀀 85
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	PA.105
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 8 —
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 353
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	352
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Px 24 𐀀 178T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ql 30 𐀀 52
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Vb 24 𐀀 52T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 32 𐀀 76
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	161C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 58 𐀀 B
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	1567C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	2C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	57C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 54 𐀀 379
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 356
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Bl 36 𐀀 112-3
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Lv 24 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Nb 24 𐀀 361-2
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Mk 8 𐀀 B
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ad 30 𐀀 N
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Av 22 𐀀 110T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Mk 8 𐀀 50
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Mk 8 𐀀 50
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 36 𐀀 191,201
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 24 𐀀 363
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Hl 24 𐀀 120
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Lr 6 𐀀 141
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Lw 22 𐀀 B
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	26,29,47,92C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	214-226C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 24 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 24 𐀀 B
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Apv 8 𐀀 407
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 24 𐀀 294
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	At 24 𐀀 751T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 8 𐀀 𐀀
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Lw 24 𐀀 B F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 —
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ap 24 𐀀 393
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 22 𐀀 425

⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Av 24 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 22 𐀀 V
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 344 370
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 F B
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 22 𐀀 394
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	182-213C Wv 24 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ax 24 𐀀 424
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Mv 22 𐀀 N
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 71T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	151C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ap 58 𐀀 404
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 14 𐀀 300
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 24 𐀀 196
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	65C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	EG 24 𐀀 R.F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	22C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 𐀀
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	G 𐀀 E 351
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Nb 24 𐀀 264
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Lr 58 𐀀 153
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 22 𐀀 255
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Bz 22 𐀀 182
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	102C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Nb 24 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ar 8 𐀀 139
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Mk 22 𐀀 B
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Lb 22 𐀀 282
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Lb 24 𐀀 𐀀
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 284
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ap 24 𐀀 458
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Mk 22 𐀀 56
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 24 𐀀 359
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Jw 6 𐀀 —
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	ML 8 𐀀 T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	ME 22 𐀀 61,62
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Qf 22 𐀀 93
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 24 𐀀 223
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Wv 30 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	53,54C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 351
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	308,347
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 24 𐀀 192
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 22 𐀀 447
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 22 𐀀 442
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 24 𐀀 376-7
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 24 𐀀 479,80
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 24 𐀀 372
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 24 𐀀 194T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 24 𐀀 273
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Yc 24 𐀀 382
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Am 24 𐀀 451
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	F. Ab 24 𐀀 240T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 24 𐀀 378
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 6 𐀀 211
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 24 𐀀 469-72
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Av 8 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Vc 24 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Pb 24 𐀀 274
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Wl 24 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	142C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Bl 24 𐀀 109
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	At 8 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ab 56 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	149-50C
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Ac 50 𐀀 151T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	At 4 𐀀 217T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Qz 24 𐀀 159
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 24 𐀀 B
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Lc 24 𐀀 F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 6 𐀀 T
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	{Aw 24 𐀀} F
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	Aw 8 𐀀 N
⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	⊕ ~ 4 𐀀	71-2C

	160C			Aw 22 E, B. A r 8 p 436-7
	Mk 2 T N			Ap 24 E F
	QV 24 T 156 T			Mw 22 T 171 T
	178 C			At 24 p 129
	87, 136 C			Ab 24 K 560-7
	101, 114 C	QUEEN USARKEN II		Ab 24 E 573-4
	4 C			Aw 24 E 267
	A r 8 E F			Aw 22 p 200
	Ab 24 E F			SEE
	Mc 24 η F			94-5 C
	Mh 22 T 532-4			55-9 C
	Bc 24 p 615			115-7 C
	At 24 399			At 24 E 130
	At 52 E 466			Bz 22 E 103
	As 22 E 445			67 C
	Aw 6 σ 83 T			Aw 8 σ B
	Ac 24 E F			Wk 24 T 105 T
	LL 24 φ F			Ap 54 E 403
	140-1 C			Aw 24 p 402
	Bc 22 E B			BL 14 K 83
	Ah 52 E F			Ab 24 λ F
	Gt 24 λ 135			Ua 42 σ B
	Aw 26 σ B			UL 52 σ F
	Lt 24 φ 742 T			U 52 σ F
	85 C			U 58 λ 14 T
	UL 52 T 17 T			Bk 8 λ V
	Av 52 λ F			97 C
	Ma 8 T B			At 24 λ F
	48 C			LL 30 φ 169 T
	Ew 6 σ 49			LL 30 T 170 T
	Lv 8 T F			Aw 24 λ T
	Lw 24 p 75			Mw 24 T 78 T
	At 24 σ 481, 746, 756 T			AL 22 E 42 T
	OL 8 T 45 T			Ab 24 E 336
	31 C			Ac 24 E 365
	Ab 24 σ 261			Ac 52 E 335
	Ac 22 E 558			Aw 22 σ F
	50 C			At 24 λ 751 T
	8.9 C			Aw 8 p 220
	Mu 30 φ 66			Aw 22 E F
	91 C			Ab 22 E 317
	KK // // // F			Mk 8 η F
	5 C			SEE 45 p BRIT. M.
	Mw 6 π B			AL 24 σ 70 T
	Ab 24 E 270			Ou 52 T F
	Lw 12 φ N			Aw 50 σ 73 T
	Av 22 σ 214			Aw 36 λ 172-3
	19 C			79 C
	Qu 24 p 71			Aw 6 λ 210
	Ab 24 E 288			Ab 24 E 287
	Ac 50 E 162 T			Aw 22 p 190
	Aw 34 p 174-5			86 C
	70 C			AL 8 λ 122
	Rw 36 T 165			ML 24 T F
	Aw 24 p 197			Ad 8 p 235
	Aw 24 p 217			UL 50 T F
	119 C			Hw 36 σ 183-4
	Ac 8 σ F			Wv 24 T F
	Ab 24 E 295-6			Vw 8 T F
	Ab 52 E 297			GUAROB RIFER
	Ab 24 E 360			At 24 p 137
	PL 36 φ 106			Lv 24 T 144 T
	PW 24 φ 77			QW 24 T 167
	Ab 24 E 268-9			ML 8 φ B
	ML 22 p 55			83 C
	Ar 22 λ 128			AV 24 E F
	At 22 E 124			Ad 24 σ F
	Mk 22 φ B			68 C
	Ab 24 σ 304			Ac 8 p 235
	Ac 24 E 297 T			153 C
	At 50 λ 485-9 T			{ ML 22 V
				{ Aw 8 K 209 T
				LL 24 T B
				LL 8 φ 66 T

Handwritten notes and symbols on the left margin, including various hieroglyphs and numbers.

Main column of hieroglyphs and corresponding alphanumeric labels such as LL24φ 597, Lz8φ 157-8, QL32φ 250, etc.

Second column of hieroglyphs and alphanumeric labels, including items like 158 C, Ac 24 E, Pb 24 p 239, etc.

Third column of hieroglyphs and alphanumeric labels, including items like 158 C, Ac 24 E, Pb 24 p 239, Mw 24 T F, etc.

Handwritten hieroglyphs and symbols on the left margin, including 'Bull shabti' and 'XII Dyn.'.

Table of hieroglyphs and their corresponding alphanumeric codes, such as 'Uk 60 T L', 'Mk 8 π III T', 'Qk 30 T', etc.

Handwritten hieroglyphs and symbols in the middle column, often appearing as groups or variations of the symbols in the table.

Table of alphanumeric codes and their corresponding hieroglyphs, such as 'Ar 24 p 127', 'UL 24 φ 108', 'Ao 24 ε, 446A53', etc.

Handwritten hieroglyphs and symbols on the left margin, including various signs and combinations.

Main column of text containing alphanumeric codes and numbers, such as 'Aw 36 p 198', 'Aw 8 B', 'Aw 24 p 200, 208', 'Qx 22 p', 'Aw 6 81 T', 'Aw 40 p 178', 'Rw 36 T 164', 'Ab 58 5 N', 'As 24 E 450', 'Bc 30 5 N', 'Td 30 p F', '{AL 22 7 60 T', '{Aw 24 7 265 T', 'Lv 24 p 76 T', '88 C', 'Lw 24 p F', 'Ab 58 E 357', 'Ab 58 E 355', 'Av 6 8 30', 'Ab 24 E 319', 'Aw 22 p 205', 'At 8 5 F', 'Aw 8 p 219', 'Aw 22 E F', 'At 8 E 263 T', '75 C', '41 C', 'Aw 8 E F', 'Jv 6 2 35', 'Ld 24 F F', 'Jv 6 2 36', 'Lv 24 p F', 'AL 24 5 F', 'Bt 23 T R', 'Awby, Aw6a, Ev6a 5-7', 'Jv6a, lid 8, 9', 'Gv60, Kv60, Jv6a 24-27', 'Jv6a, Av60, Gv60 18-23', 'Ok 22 T F', 'E0, J1, LA, JA, 10-17', 'Ac 24 E 411', 'Mz 8 p 73', 'Lw 8 p N', 'At 22 p 140', 'Av 6 5 84 T', 'Ag 56 E 303', 'Bg 20 p V', 'Ac 24 5 F', 'Ad 24 7 F', 'Ab 30 5 F', '39 C', '32-5 C', 'Uu 52 T 21 T', 'Uu 58 v 13 T', 'Aq 24 v 459', 'Ab 24 E F, 311', 'Aw 60 8 102', 'Ab 24 E', '78 C', 'Ab 24 E 306', 'Ab 24 E B', 'At 24 E 384', 'Ab 24 E 285 T', 'Ac 22 E 366', 'Ag 24 E 318', 'Ag 24 E 348', 'At 24 E B', 'Ab 54 E 349', 'Ac 24 E 366', '32-5 C', 'Ag 24 v F', '80 C', '15, 2 C

Handwritten hieroglyphs and symbols in the middle column, often corresponding to the alphanumeric codes in the adjacent column.

Right column of text containing alphanumeric codes and numbers, such as 'Ac 24 E 485-8', 'Ak 22 5 F', 'Ag 24 E 313', 'Aw 8 7 202', 'At 22 7 430', '73 C', 'Wv 22 F F', '10 C', '5 C', '18 C', 'Av 6 29, 29a', 'Ac 54 E 380', 'Mv 24 T F', 'Mk 8 T F', 'Ab 24 E 324', 'Ac 24 5 240', 'Ac 24 5 237', 'Mj 8 p F', 'At 24 5 267 T', 'Ab 24 E 342', 'Aw 24 5 210', 'Ab 24 E 283', 'Ab 24 E F', 'Cc 56 E 427', 'Tu 24 T 165 T', 'As 24 p 444', 'Ld 24 E F', 'Ac 58 E 314', 'Ac 58 E 354, A', 'Ab 24 E F', 'Ag 54 E 346', 'Ab 24 E F', 'Ac 22 v V', 'Ab 24 E 315', 'Ab 24 E 329', 'Ao 24 E 243 T', 'Aq 8 7 V', 'Am 56 E 431', 'Ao 22 E 432', 'Ab 24 E', 'Ab 24 E 493', 'Ab 56 E 494', 'At 24 E 440', 'At 24 5 439', 'Ab 54 E 280', 'Ah 6 7 117', 'Aw 6 2 180', 'LL 30 X 54', 'Ac 24 E', 'Ab 24 E 291', 'Ab 24 E 332', 'Ab 24 E 325', 'Ab 24 p 243', 'Lb 24 381', 'Ab 24 E 448', 'At 24 5 134', 'Aw 24 186', 'At 8 p 125', 'Vc 42 p 246', 'Bc 6 5 N', 'Kk 8 7 R', 'Ld 24 p F', 'Aw 6 K B', 'Ag 54 E 350

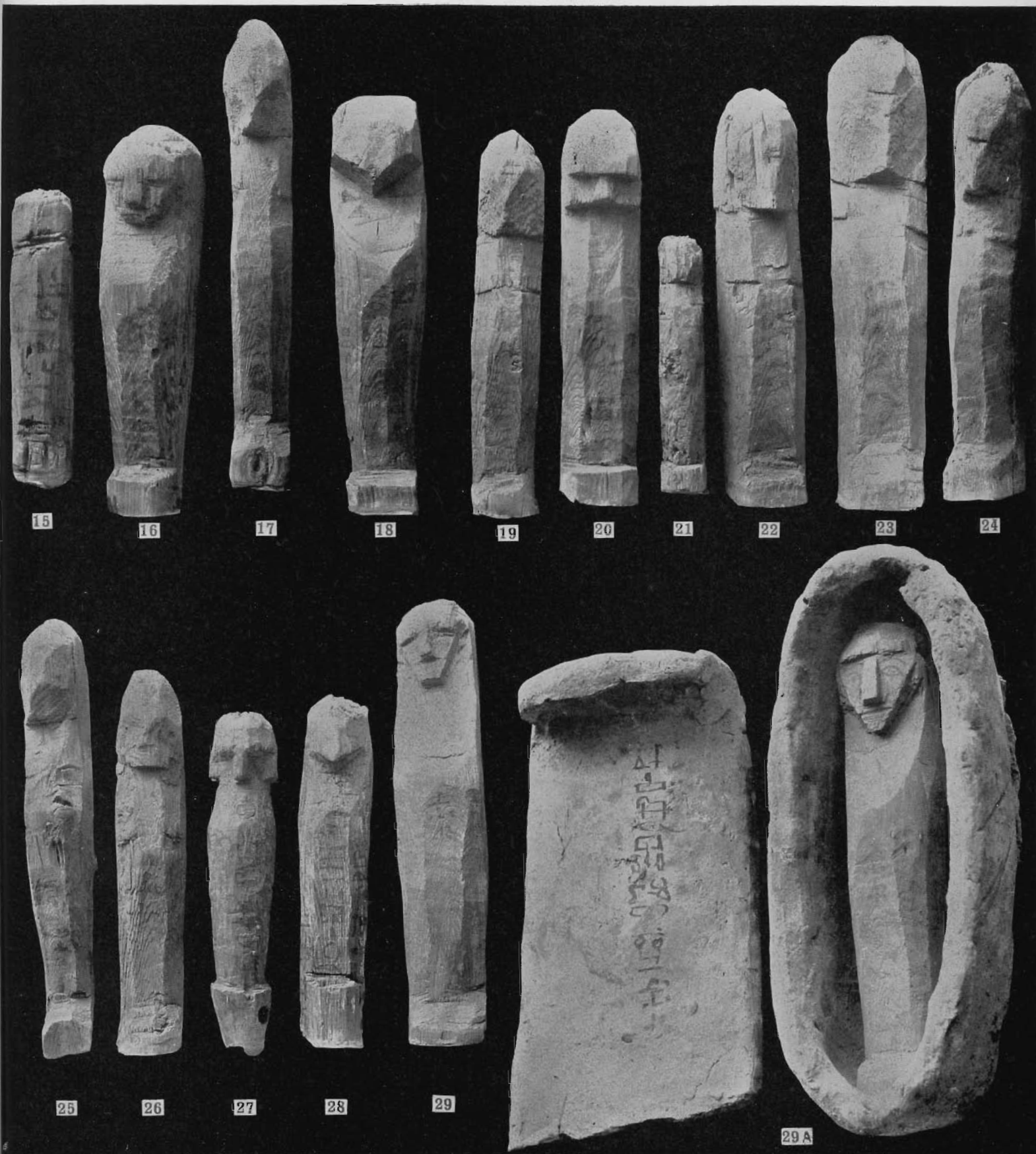
NAME	PARENT				
...	...	Bt 21 η 617	...	...	Ob 21 T 546
...	...	OC 21 T 562	...	...	Mc 21 P F
...	...	Bc 23 η 628	...	...	Mc 21 T V
...	...	Ob 21 T —	...	...	Sc 21 P 609
...	...	Bc 21 λ 589	...	...	Bc 21 E B
...	...	Sc 21 P 602	...	...	OC 21 η B
...	...	Bc 21 σ F	...	...	Mc 21 T 556
...	...	289-90C	...	...	Nc 21 η 256-7T
...	...	Sc 21 P 587	...	...	926 C
...	...	Mc 21 T B	...	...	483-506 C
...	...	Bc 21 P 610-11	...	...	507-904 C
...	...	Mc 21 T 554, 559, 605-6	...	...	Lb 21 η 642
...	...	483-506 C	...	...	Bt 23 θ 237 T
...	...	Dc 21 λ 621	...	...	Mc 21 T B
...	...	Mh 8 η 535-8	...	...	St 21 P 613
...	...	Fc 21 P 598	...	...	Sc 21 σ B
...	...	Mk 21 T N	...	...	Mc 21 T B
...	...	957-60C	...	...	Mc 21 T 123T
...	...	293-6 C	...	...	OC 21 T 555
...	...	Mc 21 T B	...	...	Bc 21 φ F
...	...	Bc 21 λ 593	...	...	Bc 21 φ B
...	...	Bc 21 λ —	...	...	Mb 21 η 93T
...	...	Qk 8 ζ 542	...	...	Mc 21 T F
...	...	557	...	...	Mc 21 T 578
...	...	Bc 23 λ B	...	...	Fb 21 P 582
...	...	246-281 C	...	...	Mc 21 T F
...	...	920 C	...	...	Mc 21 η F
...	...	Bc 21 P 595	...	...	550 Mc 21 φ V
...	...	Mc 21 T F	...	...	918C Hb 21 σ B
...	...	Kk 8 η R	...	...	917 C
...	...	Dt 21 λ 624	...	...	Kb 21 T F
...	...	914-6 C	...	...	913 C
...	...	Bc 21 σ N	...	...	Mb 21 T B
...	...	Sc 21 σ F	...	...	Dt 21 λ 626
...	...	Sc 21 σ B	...	...	Bc 21 T F
...	...	Wc 21 η B	...	...	Mc 21 η B
...	...	905, 908, C	...	...	Mc 21 T N
...	...	Mc 21 η B	...	...	532-3-4 Mc 22 T, B, FRN
...	...	Sc 21 σ 247T	...	...	Mc 24 η N
...	...	463-506 C	...	...	Mb 21 η 643-49
...	...	Bc 21 σ 286 T	...	...	Bc 21 σ N
...	...	Bc 21 P 584	...	...	Bc 21 σ N
...	...	Bc 21 σ F	...	...	Bc 21 P 615
...	...	Bc 21 σ B, F	...	...	Bc 21 P 634
...	...	Bc 21 E B	...	...	909-12 C
...	...	Bc 21 T F	...	...	Bc 21 η F
...	...	Mc 21 T 25T	...	...	Bc 23 B
...	...	Bc 21 η F	...	...	Mc 21 T B
...	...	Mc 21 η F	...	...	Bc 21 σ B
...	...	Mc 21 η B	...	...	Fc 21 η N
...	...	Bc 21 λ 612	...	...	963-70 C
...	...	614	...	...	Bb 21 λ 639
...	...	246-281 C	...	...	Bc 21 X 616
...	...	Bc 21 T F	...	...	Qc 21 φ N
...	...	Mc 21 T N	...	...	Bc 21 σ F
...	...	300-3 C	...	...	Bc 21 T F
...	...	Dc 18 P 622	...	...	Mb 24 T N
...	...	599, 600	...	...	377-506 C
...	...	963-70 C	...	...	292 C
...	...	Bc 21 φ 131T, V	...	...	Fc 21 P 599
...	...	482 C	...	...	Mc 21 T 125 T
...	...	Bc 21 λ N	...	...	Ab 22 645
...	...	Sc 21 P 603, 608	...	...	
...	...	297-9 C	...	...	
...	...	963-70 C	...	...	

907C  
 5c21σ F  
 Mc21T 5NT  
 Bc23ε B  
 291 C  
 574 Mc21T 575-6-9  
 Oc21T 543  
 Kt21T 545  
 906C  
 Bc21σ B  
 Mc21π 573  
 Bc21λ B  
 Mc21T 570  
 Bc21p 591  
 Bc23p V  
 Sc21p F  
 Bc21η B  
 Ac21λ 137T  
 Mc21T 48T  
 Sc21p 607  
 Mc21T V  
 Mc21T B  
 Mc21T 150T  
 Mc21T B  
 St21σ 580  
 Bc21σ B  
 Mc21 19T  
 Uc21σ B  
 Bc21σ B  
 Mc21T 571  
 Bc21σ B  
 Mc21T B  
 Bc21λ B  
 Mc21T B  
 Oc21X —  
 Mc21T N  
 Mc21T 24T  
 Mh21η 540  
 D basal 72ε 117T  
 Dc23ε 625  
 St21σ N  
 Mc21T B  
 Fc23ε V  
 Mc21T B  
 Mc21T 567-580  
 Ht23p 635-8  
 919C  
 282-8C  
 Bc21ε B  
 {Sc21p 583  
 304-376 C  
 Bc21λ B  
 Dc21λ 623  
 Bc21 585  
 Mc21T 563  
 Ub21σ B  
 Mc21T N  
 Mc21T 560

Bc21σ B  
 547-53  
 Sc21σ BN  
 Mc21T 200T  
 Mc21T 104T  
 Bc21σ B  
 Bc21σ B  
 928C  
 Ac21p 620  
 Bc21σ B  
 At21φ 161T  
 Kt21ε<sup>12,21T</sup> B  
 Mc24T N  
 Qc21T —  
 Mc21T 561  
 Ot21η —  
 Mc21T 569  
 Mc21T 572  
 Mc21T F  
 Mc21η  
 483-506C  
 Dc21M  
 Bc21σ F  
 963-970C  
 Mc21T 214T  
 539  
 Kc21T F.B  
 Sc21σ B  
 Bt21λ 592  
 Dc23σ 258T  
 Bt21λ B  
 Hc21σ B  
 Bc21T F  
 Bc21σ N  
 Oc21φ 568  
 Mc21φ 577  
 Bt21K B  
 Av6σ 84T  
 Mc21φ B  
 Bc21p 594-67  
 At70α 242T  
 Hc23λ T  
 Fc21p 601  
 Bc21p 544  
 Ac21T F  
 Lt21η 196T  
 Mc21T 564  
 At24 646-8  
 Bc24p 641  
 Mc21T 565-6  
 Sc21T F  
 Bc21σ N  
 Bc21σ 590  
 Bc21λ 588









30

31

32

33

34

35

36

37

38

39

40

41

42

43

44

45



47

48

49

53

51

52

50

54

55

56

57



58  
59

60

61

62

63

64

64 A



65

66

67

68

69

70

72

71





85



86



87



88



89



93



90



91



92



94



95



96



97



98



99



100



101



102



103



104



105



106



107



108



109













231



232



233



234



235



236



222



223



224



225



226



227



237



238



239



240



241



242



243



245



246



247



248



249



250



251



252



253



255



254



256



257



259



258



260



261



262



263



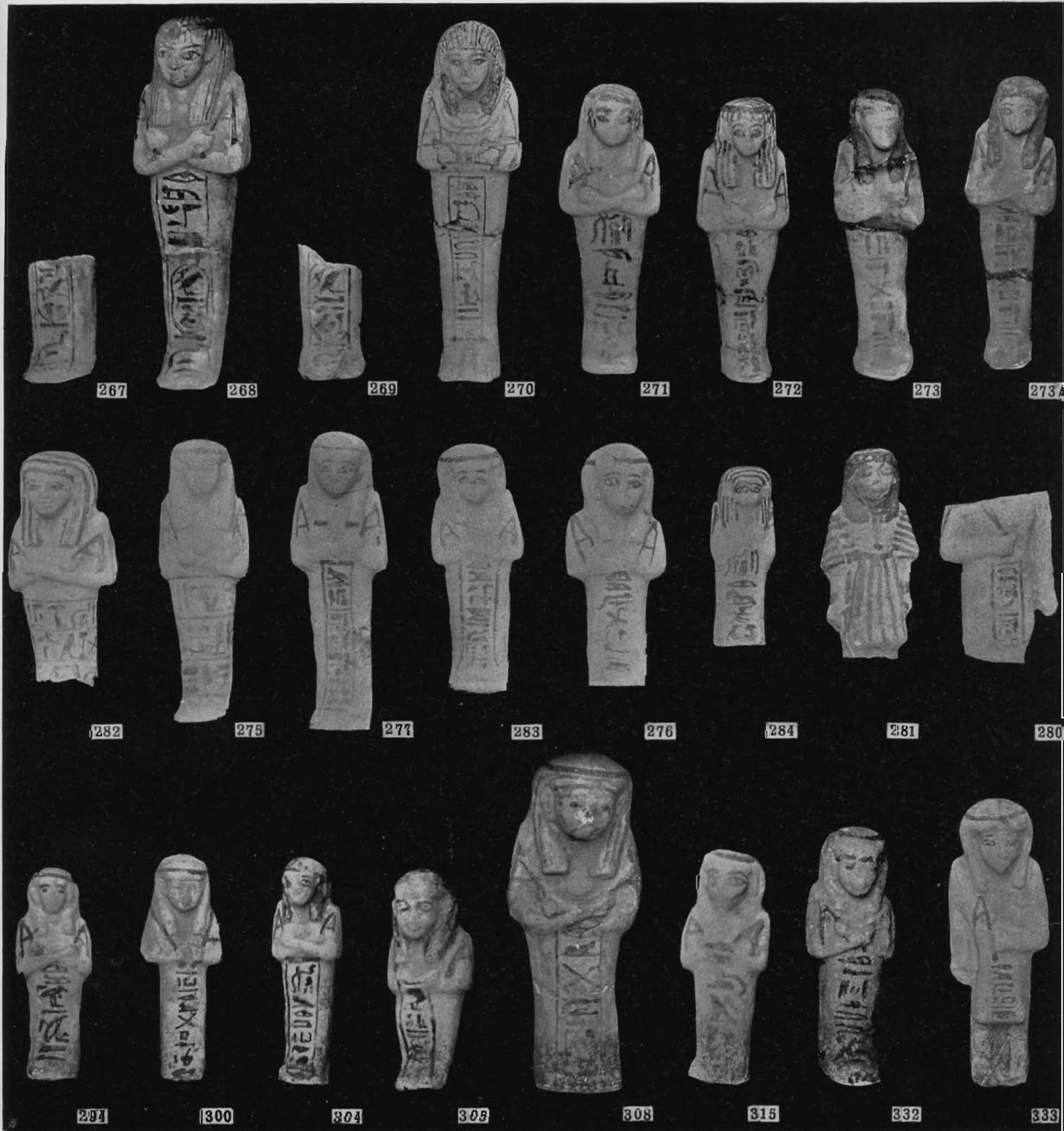
264



265



266



267

268

269

270

271

272

273

273A

282

275

277

283

276

284

281

280

294

300

304

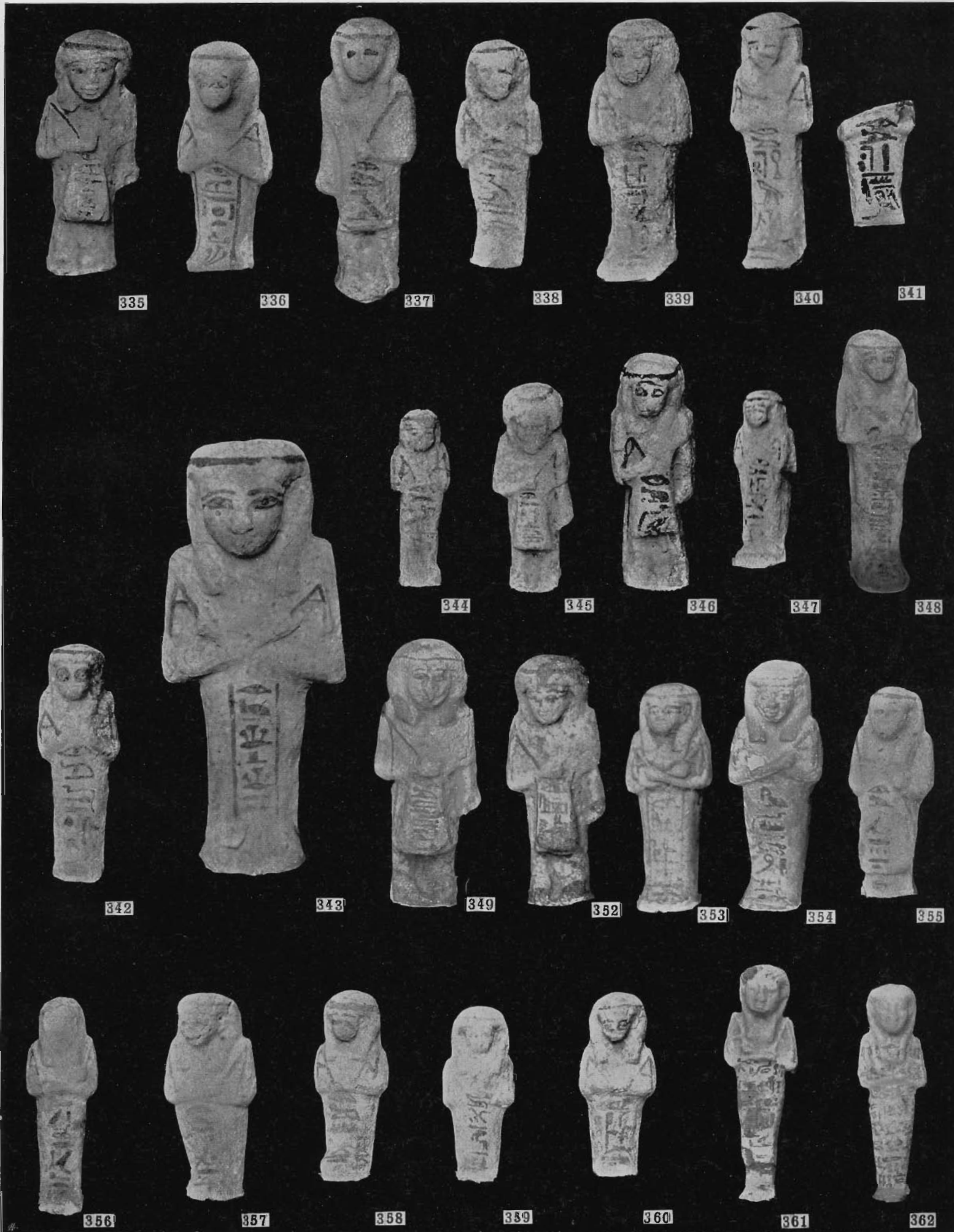
309

308

315

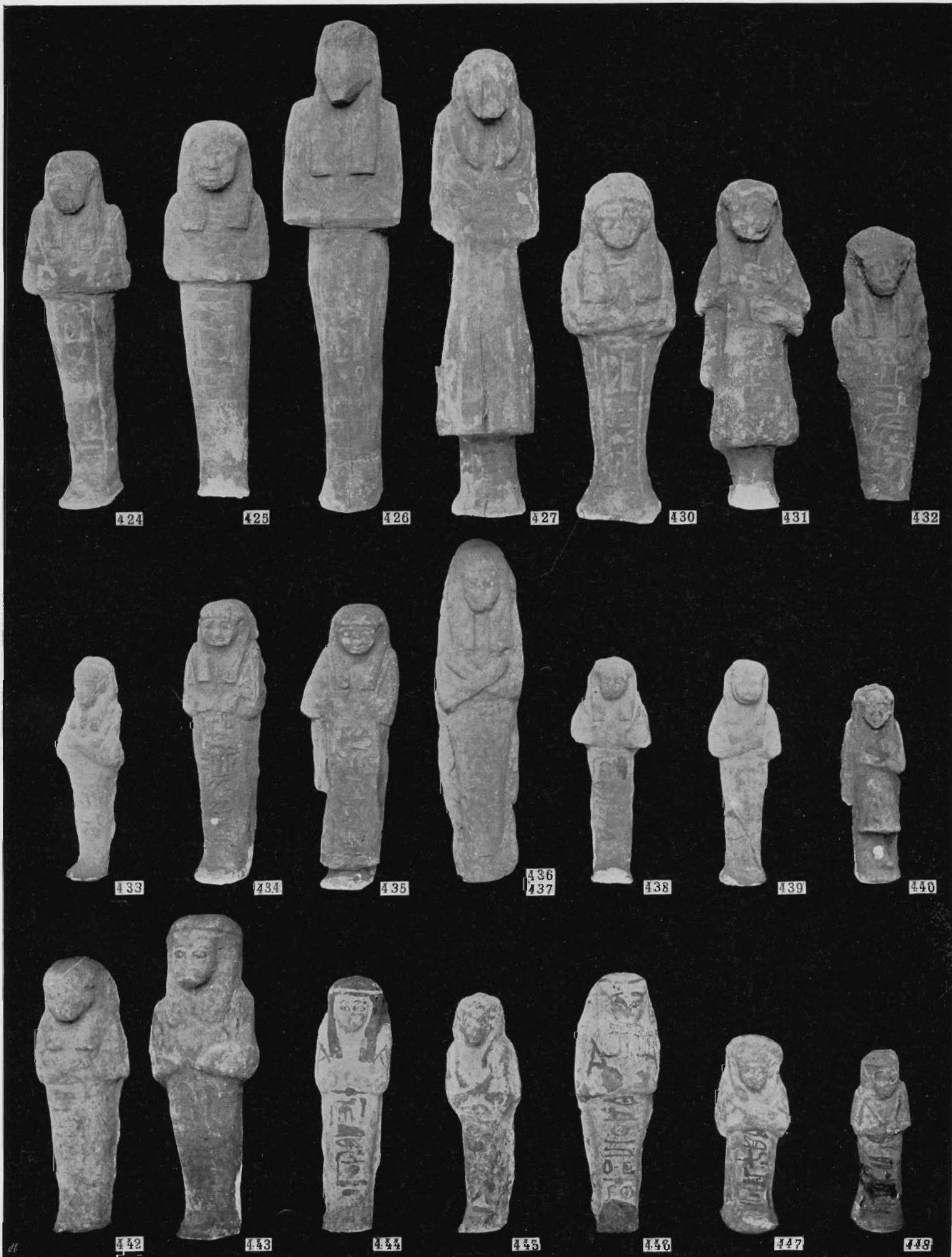
332

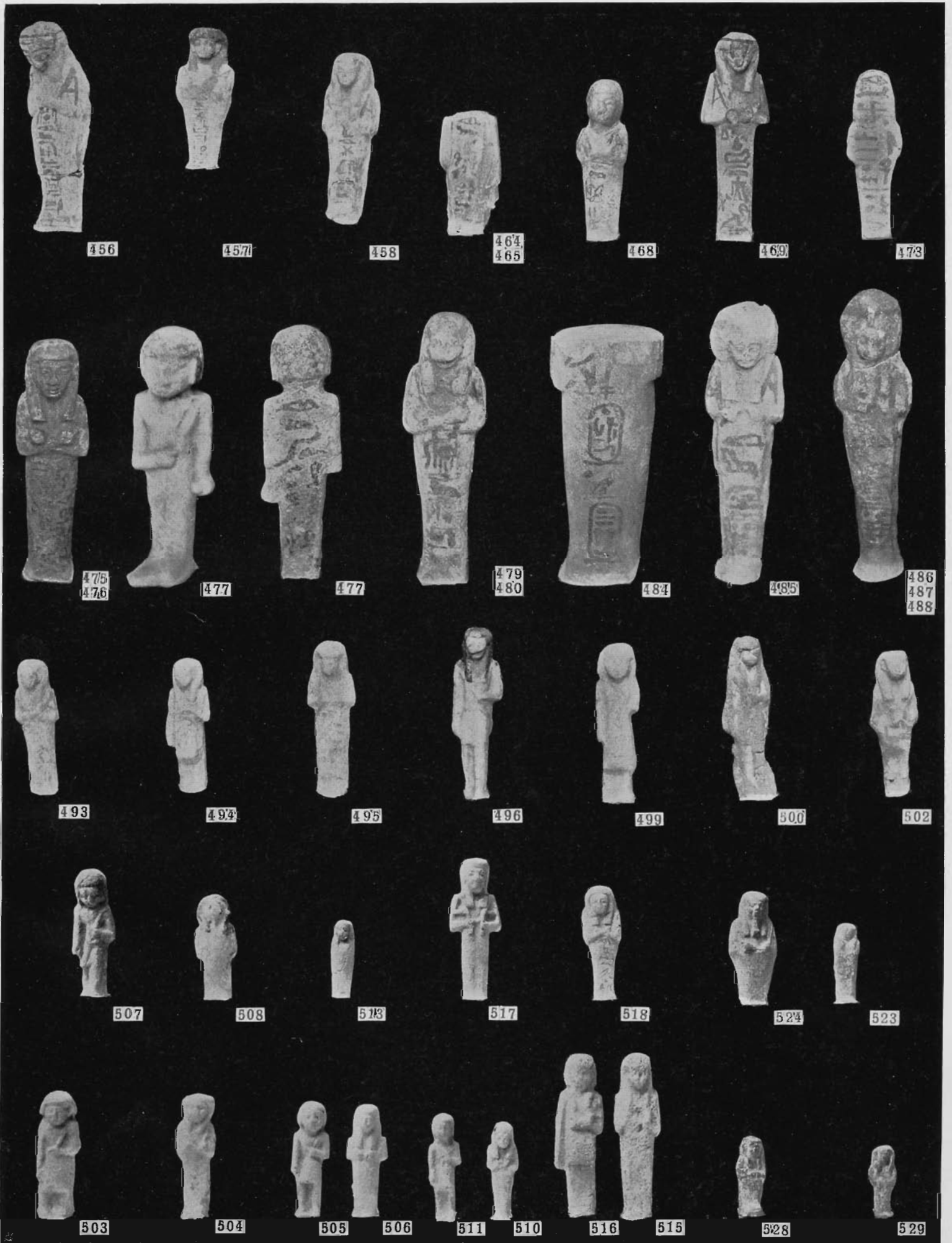
333

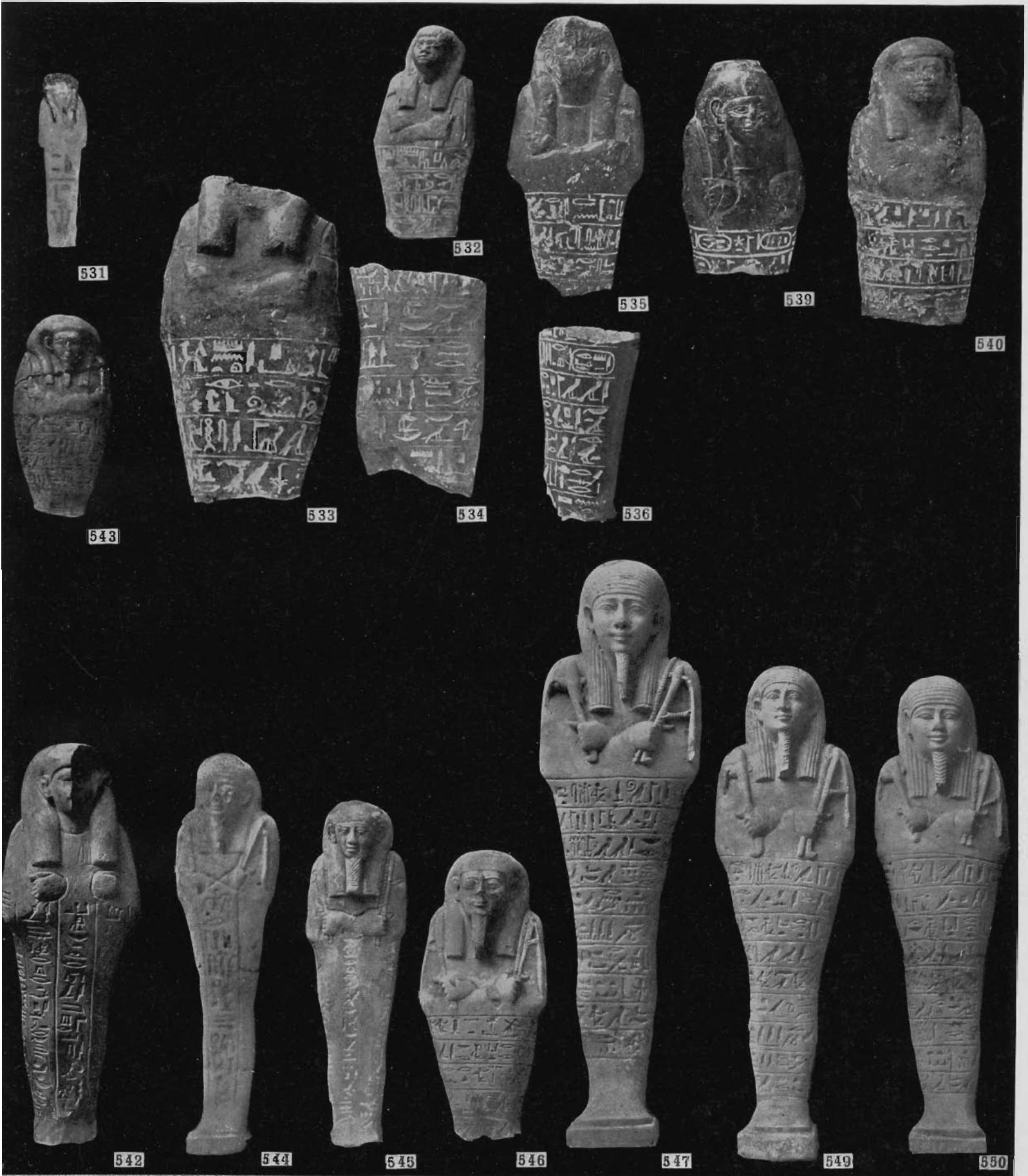














554



555



556



557



558



559



560



561



562



563



564



565



567



568



569



570



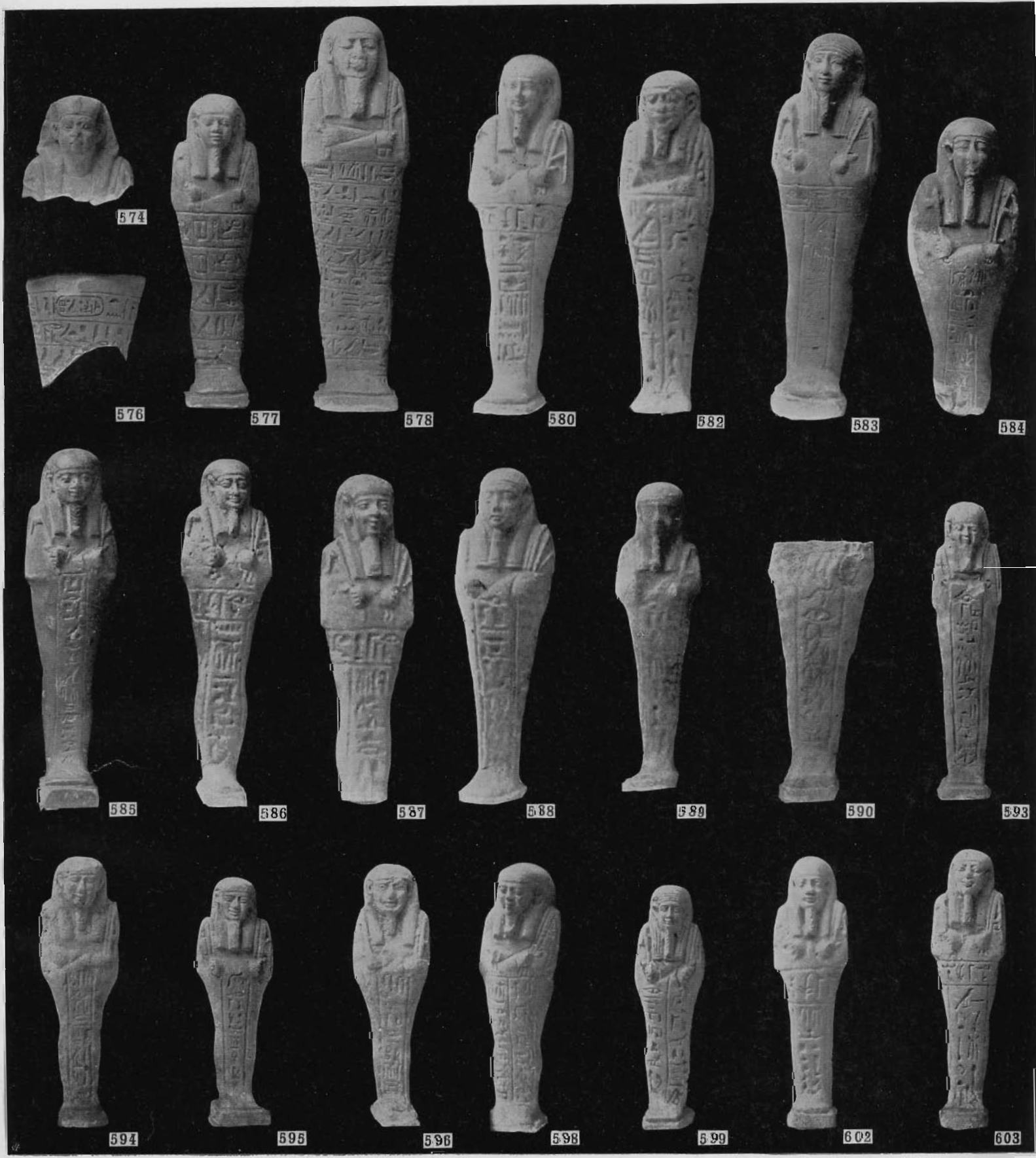
571

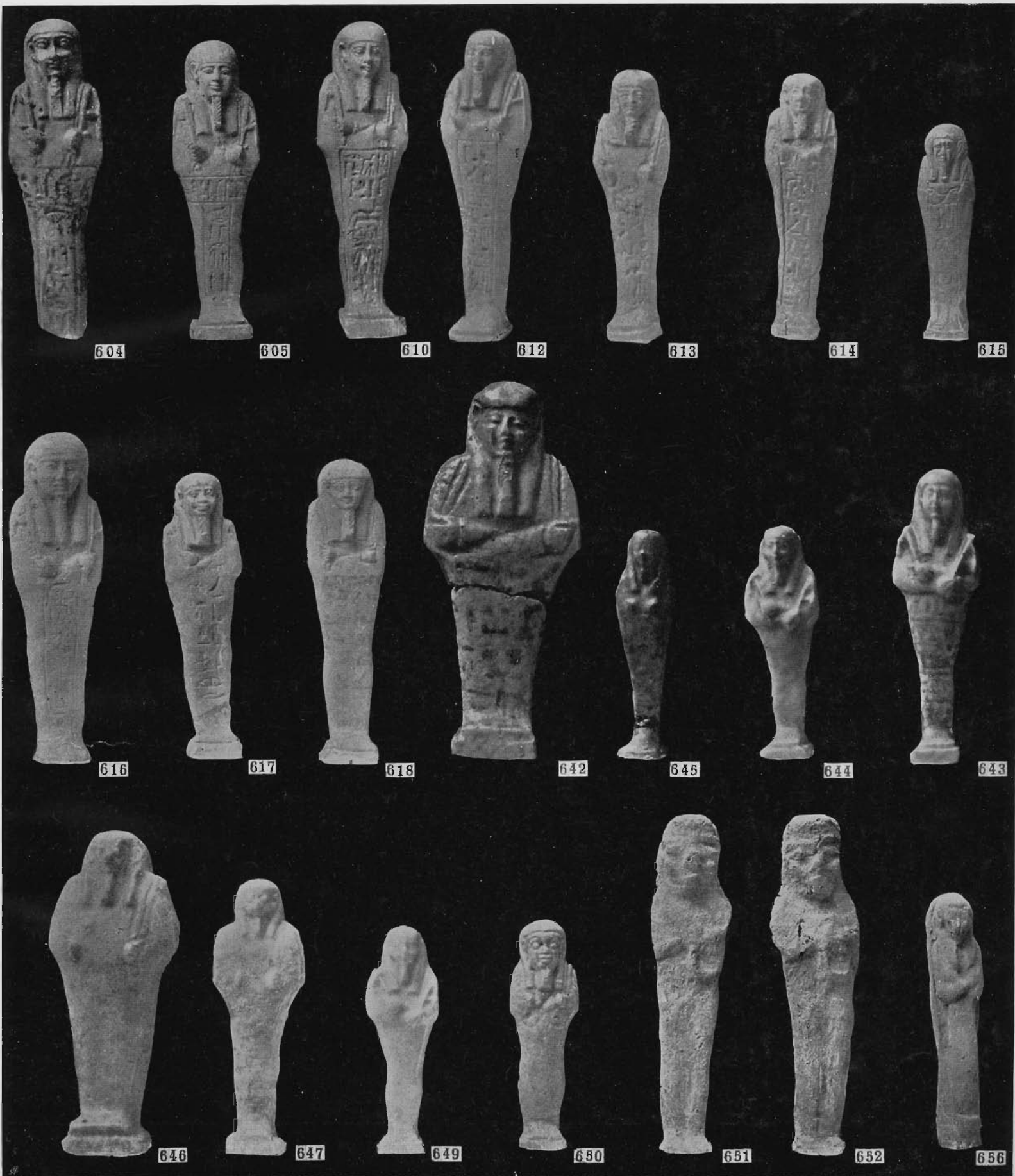


572



573





M N  
Louvre