

DATABASES FOR SHABTIS OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

(c. 2125-1650 BC)

Kemehu

Kmh.w



Middle Kingdom, early 13th Dynasty

From Abydos, North Cemetery: North-east zone



Kemehu

Alabaster with paste inlay
Middle Kingdom, early 13th Dynasty
From Abydos, North Cemetery: North-east zone
H. 13.5 cm. W. 4.2 cm. D. 3.6 cm.
ex Emilé Brugsch Collection

Published: Mariette, A., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880), p. 51 [no. 391]; Loret, V., 'Les statuettes funéraires du Musée de Boulaq,' *RecTrav* 4, (Paris, 1883), p. 113; Lange, H. O., & H. Schäfer. H., *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo. Vol. 2, Text zu No. 20400 - 20780. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 20001-20780* (Berlin, 1908), p. 355 (footnote 1); Aubert, J.-F. & Aubert, L., *Statuettes Égyptiennes – Chaouabtis, Ouchebtis* (Paris, 1974), p. 20; Simpson, W. K., *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (New Haven & Pennsylvania, 1974), pp. 20, 25 [ANOC 48.3]; Schneider, H. D., *Shabtis – An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with A Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden, 1977), vol. 1 pp. 75 (footnote 74), 181; Franke, D., *Personendarten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrhundert v. Chr. - Dossiers 1-796* ÄA 41 (Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 416 [no. 717]; Ricoulès, François de., *Archéologie – provenant des Collections Koutoulakis, Krief, Maspéro, Brugsch–Pasha (2^e partie) et à divers amateurs* (Paris, 29th–30th September, 1997), lot 714; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002), pp. 3–5 [no. 1]; Aubert, J.-F. & Aubert, L., *Statuettes funéraires égyptiennes du département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques* (Paris, 2005), p. 16; Marée, M., *Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The monuments in the National Museum of arsa* BMSAES 12 (London, 2009), p. 41; Franke, D. (ed. Marée, M.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum from the 13th to 17th Dynasties* vol. 1 (London, 2013), p. 173.

Exhibited: 'Shabtis,' Cybele Gallery, Paris, 2003

'Shabtis: Suspended Truth in Context,' The Manchester Museum, 2017

Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, 2007-2012

A mummiform funerary statuette wearing a plain tripartite wig with fairly short lappets. The arms and hands are not indicated in the modelling. The face is well carved and is round in shape and has chubby cheeks. The eyes are well modelled and there are traces of black paint on the upper and lower eyelids and the eyeballs. The eyebrows are indicated by lightly incised crescent-shaped lines. The nose is fairly broad and flat with no indication of the nostrils. The mouth has quite thick lips and wears a faint smile. There is a slight depression between the lower lip and the chin. The ears are well defined and protrude in front of the lappets of the wig. The back of the figure is very gently shaped. The body of the statuette has seven horizontal bands of an incised hieroglyphic inscription that is filled with blue-green paste. The owner is named as the Apprentice Hall-keeper of the Kitchen,¹ Kemehu,² son of Pepi,³ born to Petu.⁴

The title Apprentice Hall-keeper of the Kitchen (*iry-^c.t sb3.y n ^c.t hnk.t*) suggests that Kemehu was a palace official although the title is subject to differing translations. For example, Marée (see below) reads it as Doorkeeper and Instructor of the Chamber of Incoming goods.⁵ Černý reads the *sb3.y* element of the title as 'star' thus suggesting Kemehu was an Astronomer on the Roof of the Palace.⁶ Ermand & Grapow

translate the same element as Apprentice.⁷ Aubert & Aubert, after Yoyotte, suggest Guardian and Astronomer of the Chamber of Offerings,⁸ while Tiano reads the title as the Timekeeper and Attendant of the Offering Chamber.⁹

This important figure is among the earliest surviving funerary statuettes. It was excavated at Abydos by Auguste Mariette in the 'Nécropole du Nord – zone du nord-est' in the late 1800s and published by him in 1880.¹⁰ It is not known whether Mariette himself found the figurine as unfortunately he did not write full accounts of his excavations. He often left the site, leaving one of his assistants or the local *sebbakhîn* in charge.

Mariette comments that the funerary statuettes from Abydos are few in number. Eighteen examples are recorded in his publication of which nine are illustrated (for a compilation, see Appendix).¹¹ However, it should be noted that of these eighteen examples only nine actually date from the Middle Kingdom, the others are New Kingdom in date.

Although funerary statuettes were often placed in pairs in tombs during the Middle Kingdom, no other figure for Kemehu is recorded. It is not known if it was found in a model coffin as was sometimes the custom at this date. The figure may be considered to be an extra-sepulchral funerary statuette as no tomb is known for Kemehu. Many individuals made pilgrimages



to Abydos since it was reputed to be the burial place of Osiris and thus was the most important religious centre in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom. It was quite common for owners to deposit such statuettes together with stelae in offering-chapels. With their votive deposits, the people would hope to be able to participate in the festivals of Osiris posthumously. Schneider writes: '[the deceased] wished to be present on those very locations [e.g. Abydos] where he might be able to influence any decisions to be taken by the Lords of the Hereafter regarding the necessities of the life in the beyond.'¹²

The inscription on this statuette is unique. It is not inscribed with the offering formula that is found on several figures from this date, or Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead*, which was becoming the customary text on *shabtis*. Instead, the figure is inscribed with a resurrection text, which, unlike Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead*, likens the deceased to Horus rather than Osiris.

An interesting feature regarding the inscription is the use of mutilated hieroglyphs. Those of the birds and a single hieroglyph depicting a human figure are depicted with their legs missing. Hieroglyphs had the same capability as figures in funerary scenes to come into 3-dimensional reality by magic. Mutilation of those depicting dangerous or malevolent creatures rendered them incapable even if they came to life. Other funerary statuettes with mutilated hieroglyphs, complete with model coffins in which they were placed, have been excavated at Lisht by the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition. These belong to the Hall-Keeper of the Palace, Bener (model coffin MMA 11.151.763: *shabti* MMA 44.4.5 – see Fig. 1) and the Royal Adherent, Wahneferhotep

(model coffin MMA 14.3.69 A–B: *shawabti* MMA 14.3.70 – see Fig. 2). Both are further examples of extra-sepulchral funerary statuettes. These have been dated to the late 12th or early 13th Dynasty.¹³ According to Peter Dorman, the custom of writing mutilated hieroglyphs in the late Middle Kingdom began towards the end of the 12th Dynasty during the second half of the reign of Amenemhet III.¹⁴ Such hieroglyphs are first evident on the altar and coffins of Neferu-Ptah, daughter of Amenemhet III, from Lisht. The idea evidently spread to Abydos. There are several other examples of statuettes with mutilated hieroglyphs that are from Abydos. These include those for the Retainer, Renseneb (London BM EA 493439¹⁵ and Brussels MRAH E.322810)¹⁶ and the Steward of the Divine Offerings, Ipu (Chiddingstone EDECC:01.0322) – see Figs.3a–c.¹⁷

Kemehu himself is also known from a statuette that is to be found in the Cairo Museum that is described as being made of dark brown stone, probably greywacke. Also coming from the Necropolis of the North at Abydos the statuette shows Kemehu sitting with his legs tucked underneath (CG 482 – see Fig. 4).¹⁸ His hands face downwards and are resting on the top of his thighs. On his head Kemehu wears a voluminous plain shoulder-length wig that leaves his ears exposed. The upper eyelids are modelled in raised relief and the eyes are almond-shaped. His face has prominent cheek bones. He wears a long wrap-over kilt that is tied under his right breast. The statuette bears an incised inscription on the front of the kilt comprising three vertical columns and one horizontal band and with a further horizontal band that extends along the front of a trapezoidal-shaped base upon which Kemehu is seated. He has



Fig. 1. *Shabti* (alabaster with traces of blue pigment) and model coffin (wood with yellow and black paint) for Bener (MMA 44.4.5 & 11.151.763a, b).
 (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).



Fig. 2. *Shawabti* (wood with gold foil and blue/black paint) and coffin (wood with gold foil and black and blue paint) of Wahneferhotep (MMA 14.3.70 & 14.3.69a, b).
 (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).



Fig. 3a–c. Funerary statuettes for Renseneb (London BM EA 49343 & Brussels MRAH E322810) and Ipu (Chiddingstone EDECC:01.0322).
(Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London, VB and GJ)).



Fig. 4. A seated statuette of Kemehu in the Cairo Museum (CG 482).
(Simpson, W. K., *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (New Haven & Pennsylvania, 1974), pl. 66 [ANOC 48.2]).



*ḥtp di nsw.t Wsir ḥnty Imn.tyw ntr 3 nb 3bdw Hr Bhd.ty 3s.t wr.t
mwt nt Hr di.sn t3w ndm n ʿnh ršr(š).t iry-ʿ.t sb3.y Kmḥ.w ms n
nbt-pr Ptw m3ʿ.t-ḥrw*

An offering that the King gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Abydos; to Horus, the Beheditite; and to Isis, the Great, the mother of Horus, that they may grant the sweet breath of life for the Apprentice Hall-keeper of the Kitchen, Kemehu, born to the Lady of the House, Petu, justified.

Fig. 5. The inscription on the statuette for Kemehu in the Cairo Museum ((CG 482) after Borchard, L., *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Cairo*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1925) p. 63.

the title Apprentice Hall-keeper of the Kitchen and the name and title of his mother – the Lady of the House, Petu. The inscription mentions Horus the Beheditite who was the god of the midday sun. He was revered at Edfu.

Three stelae are known for Kemehu. One from Abydos is to be found in the Cairo Museum (CG 20725 – see Fig. 6).¹⁹ Made of limestone, the stela has six rather poorly defined registers with scenes including Kemehu sitting on a low-backed chair with the legs in the form of the front and hind legs of a lion. Before him is an offering table and with four men with their right legs advanced bringing offerings. Other registers shows scenes in a slaughter yard and the roasting of meat and geese, scenes from a brewery, shepherds, harvesting and the making of cakes.



Fig. 6. A stela for Kemehu in the Cairo Museum (CG 20725).
(Simpson, W. K., *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (New Haven & Pennsylvania, 1974), pl. 66 [ANOC 48.1]).

Another stela that is also from Abydos is to be found in the British Museum (EA 506 – see Fig. 7).²⁰ Made of black granite,

this rectangular stela is crudely worked with inscriptions on all four sides as well as the top. The main scene on one of the wider sides shows two seated figures facing each other. On the left is Kemehu and on the right is Sa-hi with an offering table in between. Marée and Franke suggest that Kemehu had no wife or son and therefore, rather than being a family member, Sa-hi, who was a Lector-priest, probably officiated in the rituals at the cenotaph chapel of Kemehu at Abydos.

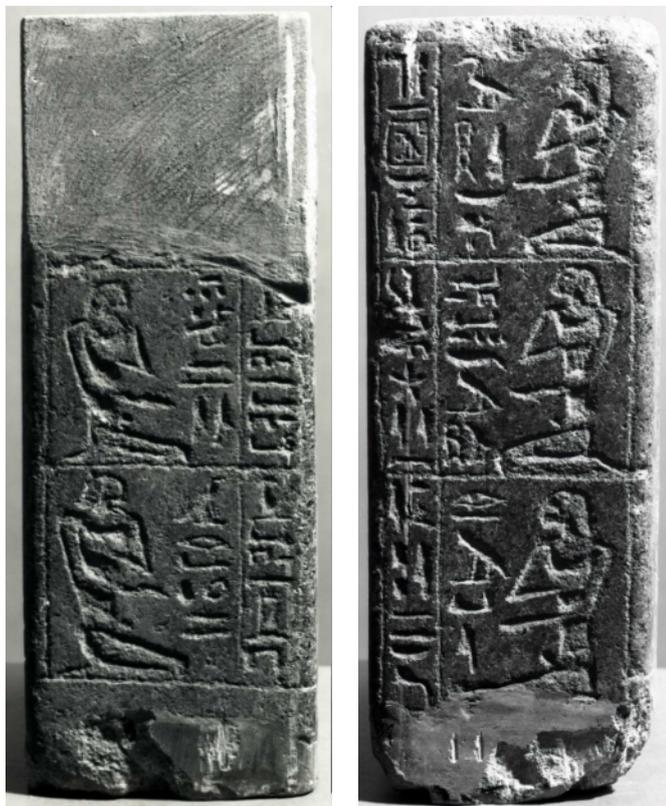


Fig. 7. A stela for Kemehu in the British Museum (EA 506).
(© The Trustees of the British Museum).

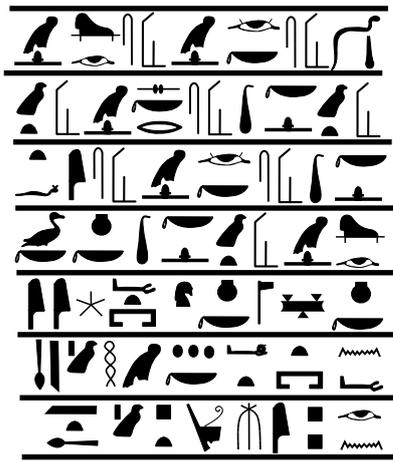
A third stela for Kemehu was found in Edfu in a so-called deposit room in a 6th Dynasty mastaba that belonged to a certain Isi. Made of limesone, it is rather fine and now to be found in Warsaw (NMW 141263 – see Fig. 8).²¹ With the title of Doorkeeper of the Chamber of incoming goods, Kemehu is seated upon a low-backed chair with the legs in the form of the front and hind legs of a lion. Under the chair the name of Kemehu's brother is given as Hor-Ra. He has no title but his name is also found on the stela that is to be found in London (BM EA 506) where he has the title of Chamber-Keeper of the Palace. Before Kemehu is a low table piled with long loaves of bread. Beneath the table is an ointment jar with a flaring top. Further offerings including lettuce, bread, meat and poultry are shown placed on two mats above the table. Marée suggests that this stela is Kemehu's earliest surviving object in view of the lesser title of Door-keeper of the Chamber of incoming goods, as opposed to Chamber-keeper as noted on the other stela, which are therefore presumed to be later testaments to Kemehu's career.

With the exception of the funerary statuette under discussion, there are no mutilated hieroglyphs in the inscriptions on any of the other objects related to Kemehu. This particular palaeography is unique to this figurine.



Fig. 8. A stela for Kemehu in Warsaw (MNW 141263).
(© The University of Warsaw).

Inscription



*dd mdw rs.k m htp rs Wsir m htp rs.tw.k htp.ti rs Skr m htp
rs.tw.k htp.ti rs.k m htp rs it f Wsir m htp rs.tw.k htp.ti ink s3.k
ink Hr ink iry-^c.t sb3.y n ^c.t hnk.t Kmḥ.w m3^c-hrw ir n Pp.i ms n
Pt w m3^c.t-hrw*

Words spoken: May you awake in peace! Awake Osiris in peace for you are awakened peacefully! Awake Soker in peace for you are awakened peacefully! May you awake in peace! Awake father Osiris in peace for you are awakened peacefully! I am your son: I am Horus: I am the Apprentice Hall-keeper of the Kitchen, Kemehu, justified, son of Pepi, born to Petu, justified.²²

1. Ward, W. A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), p. 60 [no. 486].
2. Lieblein, J., *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 116 [no. 346]; Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 345 (13).
3. *ibid.*, p. 131 (12).
4. *ibid.*, p. 137 (25).
5. Marée, M., *Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw BMSAES 12* (London, 2009), p. 41.
6. Černý, J., A possible Egyptian word for 'astronomer' *JEA* 49 (London, 1963) p. 173. See also
7. *Wb.* IV, p. 85 [no. 8].
8. Aubert, J.-F. & Aubert, L., *Statuettes Égyptiennes – Chaouabtis, Ouchebtis* (Paris, 1974) p. 20. The title was later shortened to Guardian and Astronomer, see Aubert, J.-F. & Aubert, L., *Statuettes funéraires égyptiennes du département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques* (Paris, 2005) p. 16.
9. Tiano, O., *Archéologie – provenant des Collections Koutoulakis, Krief, Maspero, Brugsch-Pasha (2^e partie) et à divers amateurs* (Riquelès, François de., Paris, 29th–30th September, 1997), p. 102 lot 714.
10. Mariette, A., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880), p. 51 [no. 391].
11. *ibid.*, pp. 47–56 [nos. 383–400].
12. Schneider, H., *Shabti – An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with A Catalogue of the Collection of Shabti in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1977) vol. 1 p. 268.
13. Arnold, D., *The South Cemeteries of Lisht vol. I The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (New York, 1988) pp. 34–39 [nos. 1, 2, 4 & 5], Figs. 7a, 7b, 8, 9 and pls. 13a–e, 14a–b & 15a–f. Dorman, P., in Arnold, D., *The South Cemeteries of Lisht vol. I The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (New York, 1988) Appendix I pp. 147–149. See also the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: <https://www.metmuseum.org/>
14. Dorman, P., in Arnold, D., *The South Cemeteries of Lisht vol. I The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (New York, 1988) Appendix I p. 147.
15. See the website of the British Museum: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA49343
16. See the website of the Royal Museum of Art and History, Brussels: <https://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be:443/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=78648&viewType=detailView>
17. Whelan, P., *An Unusual Shabti for a Steward of Divine Offerings of Abydos RdE 65* (Paris, 2014) pp. 141–63.
18. Mariette, A., *Notices des Principaux Monuments du Musée de Boulaq* (Paris, 1872), p. 183 [no. 465]; Mariette, A., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880), p. 37 [no. 362]; Borchardt, L. 1925. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*. Nr. 1–1294. Vol. 2, Text und Tafeln Nr. 381–653 CCG nos. 1–1294 (Berlin, 1925), p. 63, pl. 80 [no. 482]; Vandier, J., *Manuel d'archéologie Égyptienne – La statuaire Égyptienne*, vol. 3 *Les Grandes Époques la Statuaire* (Paris, 1958), p. 589; PM V, pp. 59–60 [no. 481]; Münster, M., *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Herausgegeben von Hans Wolfgang Müller und Wolfhart Westendorf – *Munchner Ägyptologische Studien 11* (Berlin, 1968), p. 160; Simpson, W. K., *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*. Publications of the Pennsylvania–Yale Expedition to Egypt 5 (New Haven & Pennsylvania, 1974), p. 20, pl. 66 [ANOC 48.2]; Scott, G. D. I., "The history and development of the ancient Egyptian scribe statue," (New Haven, 1989), pp. 260–261 [no. 99]; Connor, S., *Être et paraître, Statues royales et privées de la fin du Moyen Empire et de la Deuxième Période intermédiaire (1850-1550 av. J.–C.)*. Middle Kingdom studies 10 (London, 2020), pp. 63, 211, 326.
19. Lange, H. O., and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo* Vol. 4, Tafeln nos. 20001–20780 CCG (Berlin, 1902) pl. LIV [no. 20725]; Lange, H. O., & H. Schäfer. 1908. *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo* Vol. 2, Text nos. 20400–20780 CCG (Berlin, 1908) pp. 355–357 [no. 20725]; Simpson, W. K., *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*. Publications of the Pennsylvania–Yale Expedition to Egypt 5. (New Haven & Philadelphia, 1974) pp. 20, 25, pl. 66 [ANOC 48.1].
20. Franke, D., *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum from the 13th–17th Dynasties* Vol. 1, pt. 1 *Descriptions* (London, 2013) pp. 169–173, pls. 42–46. See the website of the British Museum: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA506
21. Marée, M., *Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw* in *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan 12* (London, 2009) pp. 41–42, Fig. 5. See also the website of the National Museum of Warsaw: <https://cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/en/catalog/488743>
22. I am most grateful to Dr James Allen for the transliteration and translation (1999).

Mention must be made of the invaluable online database 'Persons and Names of the Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom' created by Alexander Ilin–Tomich of the Johannes Gutenberg–Universität Mainz: <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/name/2719>

Abbreviations

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden, 1894).
ANOC	Abydos North Offering Chapel.
BMAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (London).
CCG	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> (Brussels).
CG	Catalogue général du musée du Caire.
EDECC	Chiddingstone Castle, Edenbridge.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London).
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
MRAH	Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Brussels).

NMW National Museum (Warsaw).
 PM V Porter, Bertha and Rosalind. L. B. Moss (1974) *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, Volume V: Upper Egypt: Sites (Deir Rifa to Aswân, excluding Thebes and the Temples of Abydos, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, Kôm Ombo and Philae)* (Oxford, 1962).
 RdE *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris).
 RecTrav *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (Paris).
 Wb *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache* (Erman, A., & Grapow, H., Berlin, 1982 edition)

Appendix



Mariette's illustration of funerary statuettes from Abydos that he attributes to the 13th Dynasty (Mariette, A., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880) op. p. 48.



The funerary statuettes illustrated by Mariette and a compilation of those that to be found on display in the Cairo Museum.

(Courtesy of VB and GJ).

- 1 Mariette, A., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880) p. 47 [no. 383 – see Fig. 9 [no. 1 – for the Lady of the House, Imy, limestone, 14.5 cm in height]]; Loret, V., 'Les statuettes funéraires du Musée de Boulaq,' *RecTrav* 4 (Paris,1883) p. 93, I,1, as 13th Dynasty; Newberry, P. E., *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi – Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 3 vols. (Cairo, 1930–57) pp. 187–188 CG 47641 as 30th Dynasty(!); Schneider, H., *Shabtis – An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with A Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1977) vol. 1 p. 180, vol. 3 Fig. 19 as 13th Dynasty; Moje, J., 'Uschebtis mit *hꜣ*-Vasen – Zeugnisse sich wandelnder Bedeutung altägyptischer Totenstatuetten,' *CdE* 83 (Brussels, 2008) p. 10.
- 2 Mariette, A., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880), p. 48 [no. 384 – see Fig. 1 [no. 2 – for the Overseer of ships of the Palace–approach, Ren–seneb, born to Iby, limestone, 25 cm in height]]; Loret, V., 'Les statuettes funéraires du Musée de Boulaq,' *RecTrav* 4 (Paris,1883), p. 94 I/3, as 13th Dynasty; Newberry, P. E., *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi – Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 3 vols. (Cairo, 1930–57) p. 178, pl. XII CG 47619 as Intermediate Period; Schneider, H., *Shabtis – An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with A Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1977) vol. 1 p. 180, vol. 3 Fig. 19 as 13th Dynasty.
- 3 Mariette, A., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880) p. 49 [no. 386 – see Fig. 1 [no. 3 – for the Child of the Inner Palace, Seneb, limestone, 16.5 cm in height]]; Newberry, P. E., *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi – Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 3 vols. (Cairo, 1930–57) pp. 178–179 CG 46721 as 18th Dynasty.
- 4 Mariette, A., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880) p. 49 [no. 387 – see Fig. 1 [no. 4 – for Iby, born to the Lady of the House, Iby, black granite, 14 cm in height]]; Loret, V., 'Les statuettes funéraires du Musée de Boulaq,' *RecTrav* 4 (Paris,1883), p. 93 I/2, as 13th Dynasty; Newberry, P. E., *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi – Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 3 vols. (Cairo, 1930–57) p. 178, pl. XII CG 47620 as black serpentine and Intermediate Period; Schneider, H., *Shabtis – An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with A Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1977) vol. 1 p. 181, vol. 3 Fig. 19 as 13th Dynasty; Moje, J., 'Uschebtis mit *hꜣ*-Vasen – Zeugnisse sich wandelnder Bedeutung altägyptischer Totenstatuetten,' *CdE* 83 (Brussels, 2008), p. 10.
- 5 Mariette, A., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880) pp. 49–50 [no. 388 – see Fig. 1 [no. 5 – for the Second God's Servant of Amen, Sa–Mut, basalt, 11 cm in height]]; Newberry, P. E., *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi – Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 3 vols. (Cairo, 1930–57) pp. 6–7, pl. XII CG 46539 as reddish–black serpentine, mid–18th Dynasty; Petrie, W. M. F., *Shabtis* (London, 1935), pl. XVIII; Helck, W., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* vol. 21 *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* (Berlin, 1958) p. 1950 [no. 733.4]; Schneider, H., *Shabtis – An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with A Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1977) vol. 1 p. 189 as 18th Dynasty.
- 6 Mariette, A., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880) pp. 52–53 [no. 394 – see Fig. 1 [no. 6 – for Ahmose, wood, 18.5 cm in height]]; Newberry, P. E., *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi – Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 3 vols. (Cairo, 1930–57) pp. 21– 22, pl. X CG 46566 as 18th Dynasty; Schneider, H., *Shabtis – An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with A Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1977) vol. 1 p. 186 as early 18th Dynasty.
- 7 Mariette, A., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880) p. 54 [no. 396 – see Fig. 1 [no. 7 – for Ptah–senefer, limestone, 24 cm in height]]; Loret, V., 'Les statuettes funéraires du Musée de Boulaq,' *RecTrav* 4 (Paris,1883), p. 94 I/4; Newberry, P. E., *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi – Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 3 vols. (Cairo, 1930–57) p. 182, pl. XII CG 47629 as 17th or early 18th Dynasty; Schneider, H., *Shabtis – An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with A Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1977) vol. 1 p. 181, vol. 3 Fig. 19 as 13th Dynasty.
- 8 Mariette, A., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880) p. 55 [no. 398 – see Fig. 1 [no. 8 – anonymous (name space left blank), limestone, 23.5 cm in height]]; Newberry, P. E., *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi – Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 3 vols. (Cairo, 1930–57) p. 107, pl. XV CG 47229 as 18th Dynasty; Schneider, H., *Shabtis – An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with A Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1977) vol. 1 p. 204, vol. 3 Fig. 24 as 19th Dynasty.
- 9 Mariette no. 9 is a mystery as it does not appear to be mentioned by number in the text.