

# USHEBTIS OF THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD FROM THE CHAPEL OF HATSHEPSUT IN THE QUEEN'S TEMPLE AT DEIR EL-BAHARI

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**Abstract:** A collection of 619 whole and fragmentary ushebti figurines dating from the Third Intermediate Period was recovered between 2004 and 2007 by the Polish team excavating in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, an integral part of the Queen Pharaoh's mortuary temple in Deir el-Bahari. The figurines include objects of faience, clay and painted clay, all relatively small and roughly modelled. They represent a category of objects that is seldom published separately. The paper presents a typology of the ushebtis based primarily on the material from which they were produced, discussing their chronology and find contexts as well.

**Keywords:** ushebti, ushabti/shabti, Third Intermediate Period, typology, faience, clay, Hatshepsut temple, Deir el-Bahari

Ushebti figurines were part of the funerary equipment found by the Polish team excavating between 2004 and 2007 in the area of the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the Queen's mortuary temple in Deir el-Bahari. A large number of the figurines was collected from seven shaft tombs hewn in the rock floor of the chapel (for the excavation results, see interim reports in Szafranski 2005: 226–230; 2007: 245–251; 2008: 274–280; 2010: 255–259). Six of the tombs dated from the Third Intermediate Period (Barwik 2003; Szafranski 2011), whereas a seventh was associated with a Coptic church installed in the chapel (Szafranski 2010: 256–259). The archaeological material

from the shafts was disturbed and totally mixed with fragments of the same ushebti being scattered across different shafts. The situation was the result of repeated robberies and work undertaken by early explorers as revealed by newspaper scraps (like a masthead with the date “January 7, 189...”) and a cardboard Kodak-film box with the expiration date in March 1934, found among others in the fill of the tombs.

## THE COLLECTION

The collection consists of 619 figurines, most of which are preserved in fragmentary condition with only 44 being complete. Some of them consist of two or three fragments glued together. The number

of figurines may be treated however as a minimum number of objects, because every effort was made to recombine fragments wherever possible.

A formal division of the finds into three groups by material as well as a cataloguing system for ushebtis from the temple excavations carried out after 2000 by the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission to the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari was created by the present author (see Szafrński 2010: 262, there under her maiden name Niemirka).<sup>1</sup> Group I comprised clay objects; it is the largest one, counting 325 ushebtis. Group II consisted of 63 figurines made of clay that was painted white and/or blue to imitate faience (Aston 2009: 361). Finally, group III was made up of 223 ushebtis of faience [see *Table 1*]. In all three cases, the material was commonly used for mass produced items during the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>2</sup>

Figurine types were distinguished based on similarity of shape, modeling and morphological features and, especially, the properties of the material they were made of (color, sort and quantity of admixture, surface treatment). It is likely that specimens representing the same

type originated from the same workshop<sup>3</sup> or even the same set of ushebtis, a so-called gang. Sixteen different types were distinguished following a thorough examination. Three of these were far more numerous than the others (IA.1, IB.1 and IIIA.1, respectively 236, 59 and 222 figurines). At the same time, figurines of these types were attested sporadically at best in the archaeological assemblage from other locations on the Upper Terrace [see *Table 2*].<sup>4</sup> This homogeneity is evidence that items from the Chapel of Hatshepsut were not mixed significantly with artifacts from other archaeological contexts.

Mass production entailed rough craftsmanship. The figurines were cast in open moulds, often very carelessly, and left unfinished on the back. Poor-quality materials were used and the baking process was insufficient in many cases.

The discussed ushebtis were relatively small. They varied from 4.3 cm to 7.5 cm in height, having all the details carved in relief.

Most of the figurines represented mummiform “workers” with tapering or perpendicular sides, but not always armed with their distinctive attributes, that is, whips. Only six figurines depicted

<sup>1</sup> The crude and simple character of the discussed figurines precludes their classification according to systems proposed by other authors for ushebtis from the Theban area. However, these typologies include simplified ushebtis, corresponding to a certain extent with clay figurines from the Chapel of Hatshepsut (e.g., Castel and Meeks 1980: 34, Pls IX–XI; Graefe 2003: 184–192, Pls 109–110). The typology created by D.A. Aston is also not sufficient for classifying all the figurines from the discussed assemblage.

<sup>2</sup> Stone and wood were seldom used at this time, stone being reserved for people of higher status (Budka 2010: 268; Tiradritti 1998: 6; 2004: 170–171). A revival of stone ushebtis in the Kushite Period resulted from a renaissance of Middle and New Kingdom traditions (Schneider 1977: 234; Budka 2010: 268; Aston 2009: 361).

<sup>3</sup> There were no workshops specialized in the production of ushebtis. These figurines were made in workshops specialized according to materials, not according to categories of objects. Titles such as “ushebti maker” did not exist (Schneider 1977: 240). Workshops were attached to temples and to royal palaces (*Hwt-nbw*); private ones, if they ever existed, are not known.

<sup>4</sup> Of the 335 ushebtis found outside the Chapel of Hatshepsut and analyzed to date, only 31, mostly from the courtyard of the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult adjacent to the chapel, represent the types attested in the discussed collection.

“overseers” (type IIB.2). One can see faces mostly without details, feet, sometimes beards and wigs; other particulars are rare. According to a practice that was peculiar during the Third Intermediate Period<sup>5</sup> all statuettes were depersonalized. None of the discussed figurines have well-defined female features, such as a relatively small face and form of wig (van Haarlem 1990: 99).

The material, color of the glaze and some details can be used as dating criteria (Schneider 1977: *passim*; Aston 2009: 361–364; Budka 2010: 269–273; van Haarlem 1990: *passim*), but the number of such features is limited as the ushebti from the collection are fairly schematic. The presence of a beard is a feature of this kind; during the Third Intermediate Period it is attested only in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, while ushebti without beards existed up to the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Budka 2010: 269; Aston 2011: 25, 29, Figs 7, 8). Moreover, an iconographic analysis of the ushebti can suggest the place of manufacture.

The surface is worn in many cases owing to post-depositional conditions; this concerns figurines of type II in particular. A large number of the ushebti were contaminated by animal feces that were difficult to remove.

Fragments of a dozen or so cartonnages were discovered in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Szafranski 2010: 262), suggesting at least the same number of burials. Therefore, the number of ushebti is much too low to equip all of

these burials: a gang for one deceased would have consisted, at least in theory, of 365 workers with 36 overseers, that is, altogether 401 figurines. A number hardly ever attained in tomb practice (Aston 2009: 374), but still the collection is necessarily not complete. Many whole figurines and almost certainly all those that were inscribed with the names and titles of their owners (figurines from the Third Intermediate Period usually did not bear any more information, see Schneider 1977: 330) were surely removed. In any case, no inscribed examples were recorded at this time. Neither were there any fragments evidently belonging to ushebti boxes (Aston 1994; 2009: 364–374) recovered from the present excavations in the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

## TYOLOGY

### Group I

Group I consists of figurines made of baked clay and sun-dried mud (subtype IA.2). Clay was in wide use as an inexpensive material for as long as gangs of ushebti were in fashion, until the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (after that only faience ushebti were made, see Schneider 1977: 234). The first clay ushebti appeared in the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Schneider 1977: 237). Sun-dried mud ushebti were common from the Twenty-first/Twenty-second Dynasty to the end of the Third Intermediate Period.

The figurines were cast in open terracotta moulds. Four types with subtypes were distinguished in this group

<sup>5</sup> Ushebti were considered as *hmw*, servants or even slaves, required to perform their duties in replacement of the owner (Schneider 1977: 319, 330; Milde 2012: 5). Some contracts between dealers and buyers of ushebti are known (Schneider 1977: 323–325, 329; Edwards 1971; Černý 1942: 105–118; Bovot 2003: 13–14); it might suggest they could be bought from the artificer just like slaves were acquired on the market. The problems with conception of the ushebti in the Third Intermediate Period were studied in great detail by F. Poole (1998; 2005; 2010).

(IA.1, IA.2, IB.1, IB.2, IB.3, IC.1, ID.1), based on morphological features and differing with regard to the preparation of the clay that they were made from. All can be dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty or the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty based on the presence of a beard. They wear lappet wigs with moulded front surfaces. The bottom parts of the figurines were narrowed towards the feet, which were shaped after removing the figurine from the mould.

### Group II

The group is formed of painted pottery figurines imitating faience ushebti. It is relatively small, but varied. Four distinctive types with subtypes were distinguished. Type IIB merits special attention as it comprises mummiform workers (IIB.1) and overseer ushebti (IIB.2) originating evidently from the same set. Natural pigments were used to paint the surface. They were applied after baking, hence the poor durability of the paint, which deteriorates easily in depositional conditions.

### Group III

The discussed group contains 223 figurines, most of them in fragments, made of Egyptian faience,<sup>6</sup> an optimal material for cheap mass production.<sup>7</sup> The color of glaze, blue or green in the Third Intermediate Period, is considered a chronological diagnostic, a marked division occurring around 850 BC, the blue being earlier in time, but never entirely abandoned (Aston 2009: 360).

All faience ushebti collected from the Chapel of Hatshepsut are blue-glazed,

while the names deciphered on the fragments of cartonnages, coffins and on a linen shroud have demonstrated that the burials, from which the figurines issued, dated to the second part of the Third Intermediate Period, after 850 BC, and the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Szafranski 2011: 144). However, the figurines must have been made before the Kushite Period, when faience ushebti became extremely rare (Aston 2011: 25). At the same time, they seem to be later than the Twenty-second Dynasty based on an analysis of morphological features.

The poor quality of the faience, friable and coarse-grained, used in mass production made it impossible to express more details, which were executed usually using black, brown or dark-blue paint applied to the glaze. No such example appears in the assemblage from the Chapel of Hatshepsut. The mummiform figurines with tapering sides were of simple shape with no details modelled in the mould. Only the shoulders and elbows were marked strongly in outline, gently rounded but schematic; the position of the hands is difficult to recognize.

### STATE OF PRESERVATION

Only 44 (out of 619 items found, that is 7%) are complete figurines [*Table 1*]. Some of them were discovered in fragments and then recomposed after matching fragments were found. Legs formed the largest group in the entire collection (244 fragments), followed by upper body pieces (201 fragments). The most numerous set of complete figurines represented subtype IB.1, whereas only one ushebti of original height was preserved for subtype IA.1.

<sup>6</sup> J.L. Chappaz (1984: 8) considered the term "le pâte égyptienne" more appropriate as stressing the difference between the examined material and faience used in Europe after the Middle Ages.

<sup>7</sup> Faience was in use for ushebti from the Middle Kingdom to the end of the Ptolemaic Period (Schneider 1977: 235).

Table 1. State of preservation of the ushebti

Type / subtype	Complete	Head and body	Head only	Body only	Legs only
IA.1	1	96	–	63	76
IA.2	–	2	–	–	2
IB.1	10	14	4	17	14
IB.2	2	4	–	1	6
IB.3	–	1	–	1	3
IC.1	1	2	–	1	3
ID.1	–	1	–	–	–
IIA.1	7	4	1	–	6
IIB.1	9	9	–	–	12
IIB.2	4	–	–	–	2
IIC.1	1	–	–	–	2
IIC.2	–	1	–	–	2
IID.1	–	1	–	1	–
IID.6	1	–	–	–	–
IIIA.1	8	65	16	23	110
IIIB.1	–	1	–	–	–
No specific type	–	–	1	1	6
TOTAL	44	201	22	108	244

This may be connected conceivably with the quality of the firing. Figurines of subtype IIIA.1 exemplify this relation: only eight complete ones for 222 fragments.

#### CONTEXTS AND CHRONOLOGY

Priests and royal family members were buried in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. The tombs were used repeatedly, by several generations (Szafranski 2011: 143), which

means that figurines of different date could originate from the same shaft.

Fragments of several cartonnages, sometimes represented by single elements, were recorded among the finds from the Chapel. There is no way to determine the exact number of the deceased buried in the tombs on this basis. A study of the ushebti cannot solve this problem because one gang could consist of a number of different figurine types, for instance large inscribed specimens and small uninscribed ones (Schneider 1977: 322).<sup>8</sup>

The fine quality of the coffins and cartonnages contradicts the poor standard of the ushebti now recovered from the Chapel, leaving no doubt that an unknown number of the more sophisticated, and probably also inscribed examples, had been discovered and removed in the past.

An analysis of the distribution of the figurines inside the Chapel of Hatshepsut [Table 2] demonstrated that the greatest number of ushebti, 382, came from Tomb VIII, followed by Tomb IX with 152 finds from this category. Conclusions cannot be drawn based on this data on account of looting in antiquity and excavation work conducted in the past, but still the data in the table are worthy of consideration.

A large set of figurines of subtypes IA.1, IB.1 and IIB.1 dated to the Twenty-fifth–beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty were found in Tomb VIII. There was also a significant collection of ushebti of subtype IIIA.1 coming from the same context, but their chronology is not so clear; they

<sup>8</sup> For example, several thousand fragments of ushebti were found during excavations conducted from 1992 in the tomb of Senneferi (TT.99). The vast majority represents a schematic, uninscribed type common in tombs of the middle and later Third Intermediate Period. Researchers identified more than 80 different types made of faience and sun-dried mud. Most of the types were represented by one or two examples, wherein the number of burials was relatively small, as believed by Strudwick (2000: 254).

Table 2. *Distribution of ushebtis from the Chapel of Hatshepsut (plus figurines from the temple grounds outside the chapel) presented by provenance*

Group / subtypes	Total in CH (including outside chapel)	Tomb VIII	Tomb IX	Tombs VIII and IX	Tomb X	Tomb XI	Tomb XII	Tomb S.2/06 (unfinished)	Coptic tomb	Pavement area	No context	Outside CH
<b>Group I</b>	<b>325</b>											
IA.1	236 (241)	115	84	-	1	1	30	1	1	3	-	5
IA.2	4 (5)	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IB.1	59 (60)	45	10	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	1
IB.2	13 (17)	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
IB.3	5 (6)	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IC.1	7	1	4	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
ID.1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Group II</b>	<b>63</b>											
IIA.1	18 (19)	1	-	-	-	2	12	-	3	-	-	1
IIB.1	30	22	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IIB.2	6	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IIC.1	3 (11)	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
IIC.2	3 (8)	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
IID.1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
IID.6	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Group III</b>	<b>223</b>											
IIIA.1	222 (227)	168	38	1	7	2	-	-	-	3	3	5
IIIB.1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No specific type	8	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>619 (650)</b>	<b>382</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>31</b>

may be slightly earlier. Many figurines of subtypes IA.1 and IIIA.1 were discovered in the fill of Tomb IX as well.

It should be noted that a significant part of the cartonnage of the vizier Padiamonet came from Tomb VIII (Szafranski 2007: 251; 2008: 279, Fig. 8; 2011: 144). Frédéric Payraudeau, who is working on the cartonnages from the Chapel of Hatshepsut, has dated it stylistically to 775–725 BC (personal communication). A linen shroud, found in the same tomb, bears an incomplete inscription: “the 27th regnal year of the King of Lower and Upper Egypt, User-maat-Re, son of Re...” (Szafranski 2011: 144, Fig. 7a). This prenominal and the high regnal date, as well as the style of Padiamonet's cartonnage may point to either Piankhy or Osorkon III. If it were Piankhy, then it could be 725 BC, but Payraudeau (personal communication) believes it could be the 27th regnal year of Osorkon III, that is, about 760 BC, in view of the style. This could correspond with the dating of ushebtis of subtypes IIIA.1 and IIIB.1.

Tomb VIII also yielded cartonnage fragments bearing the name of Shepenhutaat with a few single pieces coming from Tombs IX and X. The craftsmanship of the cartonnage is indicative of the early 8th century BC (Szafranski 2010: 262, Fig. 11).

The name of the priest Paenmi(u) is attested on a fragment of a coffin from the Chapel tomb. He belongs to the same family as the vizier Padiamonet, but lived at least two generations later. His burial is one of the latest in the discussed area, coming from the very late Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Szafranski 2008: Fig. 8; 2010: 262, 264; 2011: 144). Few ushebtis came from the shaft of Tomb X, from where the coffin fragment issued; the clay figurines, types I and II, could have been the property of either Paenmi(u) or someone yet to be identified, who was buried there during the Twenty-fifth or at the very beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

The data hardly suffice for a reconstruction of relations between particular types of ushebtis and specific tombs or their owners. Generally, two principal chronological groups can be distinguished in the assemblage: figurines dated to the Kushite Period or to the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (subtypes I, IIA.1, IIB.1, IID.6 and probably IID.1)<sup>9</sup> and older ones, later than the Twenty-second Dynasty, probably from the Twenty-third Dynasty (types IIC.1, IIC.2, IIIA.1, IIIB.1).<sup>10</sup> A similar division into two chronological groups was observed with regard to the wooden objects from the area.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Figurines of types IA.1, IB.2, IB.3, IC.1, ID.1, IID.6 correspond to types G and I in D.A. Aston's typology (Aston 2009: 357–358), attributed to the Kushite Period (Aston 2011: 25, 29). Attribution to Aston's typology can be difficult, for example, type IB.1 corresponds to Aston's type I, but with different position of the hands and implements. Sun-dried mud ushebtis of type IA.2 correspond to Aston's type K (Aston 2009: 358–359), which was common throughout the Third Intermediate Period (Aston 2011: *passim*). The typology proposed by Aston does not include *rais* ushebtis, hence type IIB.2 could not be classified in his system.

<sup>10</sup> These subtypes fail to fit in any of Aston's types; the figurines all have smooth bodies and no arms, beards or headbands.

<sup>11</sup> The collection from the Chapel studied by the author consisted of fragments of wooden *šwtj* crowns of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Raven's types III and IV (Raven 1978–1979: 263–271; Schreiber 2008: 61; Aston 2011: 29), and fragments of falcon and jackal figurines from *krsw* coffins made in the Kushite period (Aston 2011: 23–30, Figs 7–8). Earlier artifacts included fragments of black-painted crowns of Osiris, Raven's types IA–IB, from the Twenty-first and beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty, wherein type IA occurred even later, up to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Raven 1978–1979: 260).

**TYPE IA** [Fig. 1]*Quantity and state of preservation*

Total: 240; subtype IA.1: 1 complete figurine and 235 fragments; subtype IA.2: 4 fragments [see *Table 1*]

*Material*

The two subtypes, IA.1 and IA.2, are differentiated by the material, baked clay in the former case and sun-dried mud in the latter (only four examples).

With regard to variant IA.1, the matrices varied (Munsell 5YR 4/6; 10YR 4/1-4/2; 7.5YR 5/4; 7.5YR 4/2; 5YR 5/4; 5YR 5/6; figurines from Tomb XII 7.5YR 6/4), inclusions consisting of fine chaff, black grains, limestone particles, fine- and middle-sized sand and finely crushed pottery. The quality of firing was rather poor. There are numerous cracks and irregularities on the surface. The section was bicolored (7.5YR 4/1 and 5YR 5/4).

The temper in the sun-dried clay were large pieces of chaff (Munsell 10YR 5/1 or 10YR 5/2).

*Typological description*

One of the most numerous types of mummiform figurines, cast in one or several, almost identical moulds. Oval faces with illegible details except for the beards are a characteristic feature. The head is finger-flattened on top and there are fingerprints on the back, attesting to the clay being pressed deep into the mould. Arms and hands are not indicated and there are no implements to be seen. The modeling of the legs and feet is crude. The back is roughly finished.

According to Schneider: Cl. VIIIA.1/W35a H0 I5 B0 Tp0<sup>12</sup>

*Dimensions*

Height of complete figurine: 7.5 cm; widest point at the shoulders or wigged head: 1.7–2.0 cm.

*Provenance*

Most of the figurines were found in Tombs VIII and IX. A considerable number came from Tomb XII and the clay used for these was specific. Just a few ushebtis of the subtype IA.1 came from the other shafts in the Chapel. Only five examples were found outside the Chapel and of these two came from Tombs XIX and XX located in the Courtyard of the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult [see *Table 2*].

<sup>12</sup> Typology code proposed by Schneider: type of wig – W, hands position – H, implements – I, bag – B, amulets and attributes – A, and text position – Tp (Schneider 1977: 165–174, Figs 11–13).





Fig. 1. Ushebtis of subtypes IA.1 and IA.2

**TYPE IB** [Fig. 2]*Quantity and state of preservation*

Total 77; subtype IB.1: 10 complete figurines and 49 fragments; subtype IB.2: 2 complete figurines and 11 fragments; subtype IB.3: 5 fragments [see *Table 1*]

*Material*

The clay in subtype IB.1 is either reddish or brick-red (Munsell 7.5YR 5/6, 7.5YR 6/6, 7.5YR 6/4). The matrix in the case of the reddish clay contains small amounts of chaff and mica, limestone particles and micro-sized grains of sand. The brick-red clay includes mica, black grains and a small amount of chaff. The porous matrix of subtype IB.2 contains less inclusions, which comprise mica and limestone particles. In the case of subtype IB.3, the clay is dark gray, porous and has less inclusions compared to IB.1; inclusions include limestone particles and micro-sized grains of sand beside the black grains and mica. Numerous superficial cracks are the result of firing.

*Typological description*

The three variants of mummiform figurines are differentiated by the material and the legibility of the details. The beards and wigs are well-defined, while the details of the faces are illegible. Lappet wigs can be seen only on the front; the lappets are straight or arched, descending to the shoulders. Legs are tapered.

The arms in the case of subtype IB.1 are gently modeled, crossed left over right and sleeveless. The figurines carry hoes in both hands, the hoe on the right side being more visible. The reverse side is roughly finished and fingerprint marks in the clay evince the hand of the artificer pressing the clay into the mould. Slight differences in minor details of the figurines in this collection suggest the use of more than one mould for their manufacture.

Figurines of subtypes IB.2 and IB.3 were more schematic. The arms and implements are hardly visible and excess clay was not removed. The back is roughly finished and arched in section.

According to Schneider: subtype IB.1: Cl. VIIIA.1/W35a H8 I5 B0 Tp0; subtype IB.2: Cl. VIIIA.1/W35a H? I5 B0 Tp0; subtype IB.3: Cl. VIIIA.1/W35a H0 I0 B0 Tp0

*Dimensions*

Based on the relatively large number of complete figurines, it can be said that the type is visibly smaller than type IA, the height of the figurines ranging between 4.3 and 5.6 cm. The maximum width of the figurines, at the elbows, is 1.2–1.8 cm.

*Provenance*

Three-fourths of the ushebti of subtype IB.1 and all the ushebti of subtypes IB.2 and IB.3 came from Tomb VIII.

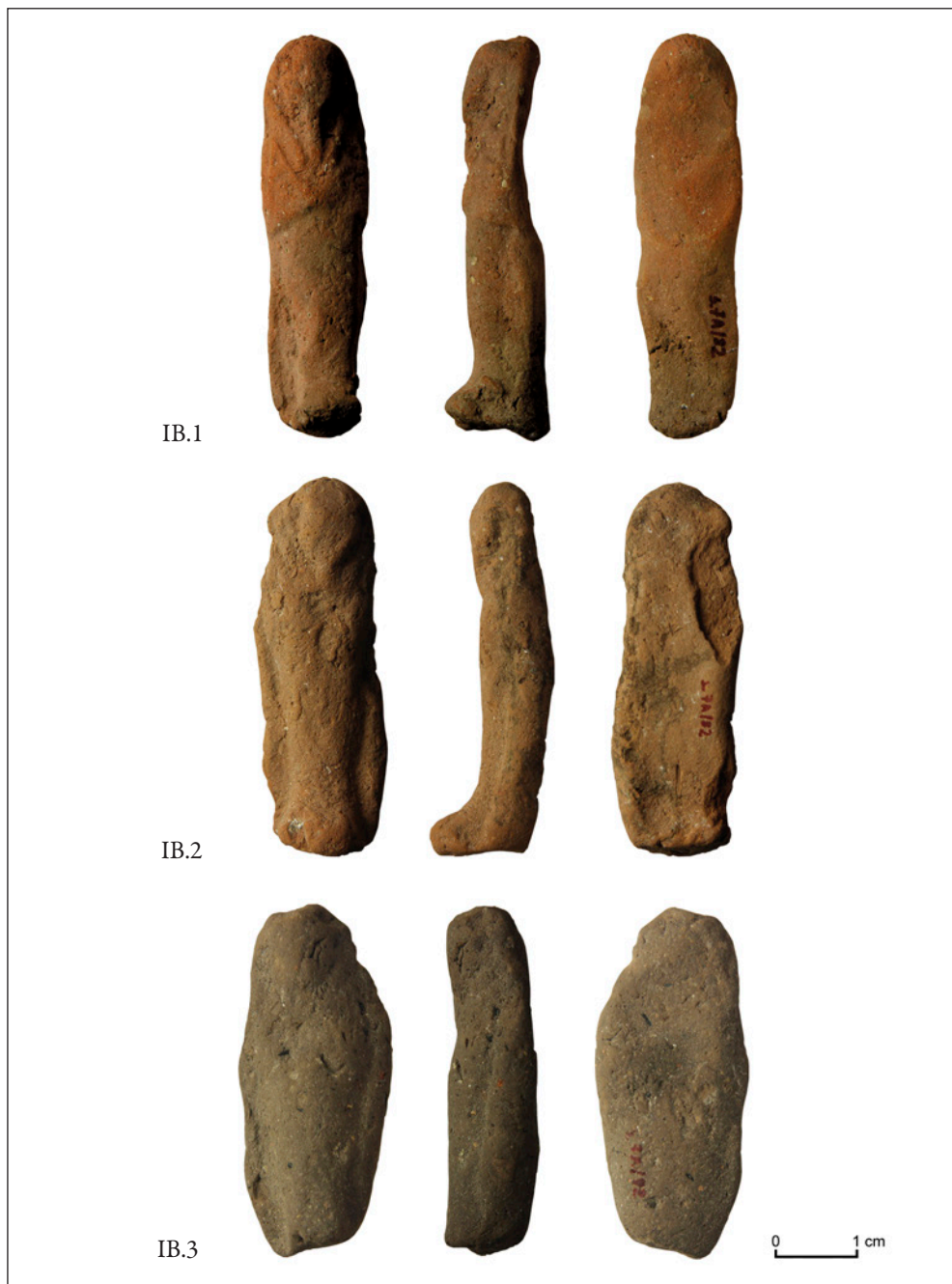


Fig. 2. *Ushebtis* of subtypes IB.1, IB.2 and IB.3

**TYPE IC: subtype IC.1 [Fig. 3]***Quantity and state of preservation*

Subtype IC.1: 1 complete figurine and 6 fragments [see *Table 1*]

*Material*

Grey clay (Munsell 10YR 5/1) tempered with pink-colored grains and often relatively large limestone particles (Dia. 4 mm), mica and fine grains of sand. Surface cracked.

*Typological description*

Despite the fragmentary condition of the figurines, they were almost certainly made from the same mould. The faces are round, carefully modeled, the features all in place: eyes, eyebrows, nose and ears with traced auricles. The beard is clearly marked. A tripartite wig covers the head, naturally descending onto the shoulders, the top is shaped, the anterior side visible. Both hands, not very distinct in the details, are holding hoes. Legs are tapered, the feet extend to the front and are relatively large. The back is flat with the artificer's fingerprints visible where the clay was pressed into the mould.

According to Schneider: Cl.VIIIA.1/W35a H30 I5 B0 Tp0

*Dimensions*

Height of complete figurine: 5.3 cm; width: 1.5 cm; thickness 0.9 cm.

*Provenance*

Four of the seven ushebti came from Tomb IX.

**TYPE ID: subtype ID.1 [Fig. 4]***Quantity and state of preservation*

Subtype ID.1: 1 fragment [see *Table 1*]

*Material*

Clay (Munsell 5YR 6/4), tempered with mica, limestone particles and fine grains of sand, well baked, showing some cracks on the surface.

*Typological description*

One incomplete mummiform figurine, rather petite in size, but with all the features rendered with extra care and precision: small face with expressive eyes, eyebrows, nose, ears, a detailed auricle and beard. The tripartite wig is present only on the front. The lappets are angled in. The hands are rendered as a slight bulge below the chest. Traces of pressing and fingerprints are clearly in evidence on the flat back. Excess clay from the mould was left unremoved.

According to Schneider: Cl.VIIIA.1/W35a H0 I0 B0 Tp0

*Dimensions*

Height (withouth the missing legs): 3.5 cm; width: 1 cm.

*Provenance*

Tomb X.



*Fig. 3. Ushebti of subtype IC.1*



*Fig. 4. Ushebti of subtype ID.1*

**TYPE IIA: subtype IIA.1 [Fig. 5]***Quantity and state of preservation*

Subtype IIA.1: 7 complete figurines (five recomposed) and 11 fragments [see *Table 1*]

*Material*

Mixed clay (Munsell 5YR 5/6) with fine grains of sand, limestone particles and occasionally black grains; the holes in the matrix are evidence of fine chaff as temper. The surface is covered with a white slip and painted blue; the paint has worn off, particularly at the edges, and is best preserved in the cavities.

*Typological description*

These ushebti have convex, elongated faces with lightly marked details (eyes, eyebrows, nose and ears). The lappet wig is rendered precisely; narrow, sloping lappets meet on the chest. A subtle bulge below the face could possibly be a beard. The arms are outlined distinctly, the elbows sticking out and turning in at a sharp angle. Hands and hoes are marked; the hoe held in the right hand is wider and more distinct; the tool in the left hand is not clear. The legs are separated by a groove and modelled with care. Feet project forward. They were located probably at the edge of the matrix to facilitate removal of the cast. The back is flat.

According to Schneider: Cl. VIIIA.2/W35a or W16 H10 I5 B0 Tp0

*Dimensions*

Height ranges from 5.2 to 5.5 cm.

*Provenance*

Most of the figurines were found in the fill of Tomb XII.

*Remarks*

Some morphological features including the moulding of the legs with the separating groove, form of wig and overall appearance correspond to certain ushebti from the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam (van Haarlem 1990: 150–153). They are dated, “according to the type”, to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The sloping wig lappets also point to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (F. Payraudeau, personal communication).

Mummiform figurines with perpendicular sides from the Third Intermediate Period (the author’s type IIA) are best suited to Schneider’s Cl. VIIIA.2 (1977: 219, Fig. 28). Curiously, van Haarlem in his catalogue presented very similar and similarly dated figurines, but assigned them to Schneider’s Cl. XB, which Schneider had intended for ushebti from the Late Period. Figurines from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Schneider subsumed into the Late Period (hence his Cl. X), but at the same time he discussed the Twenty-fifth Dynasty together with the Third Intermediate Period (Schneider 1977: 336). Schneider’s Cl. VIII and IX, both used for the Third Intermediate Period, were selected for the ushebti from the Chapel of Hatshepsut because Cl. X does not include either clay figurines or overseer ushebti.



*Fig. 5. Ushebtis of subtype IIA.1*

**TYPE IIB** [Fig. 6]*Quantity and state of preservation*

Subtype IIB.1: 9 complete figurines and 21 fragments; subtype IIB.2: 4 complete figurines and 2 fragments [Table 1]

*Material*

Clay mixed (IIB.1: Munsell 7.5YR 6/4, 2.5YR 5/6, 7.5YR 5/2; IIB.2: Munsell 7.5YR 5/3, 5YR 5/4), slightly porous, tempered with limestone particles, mica, fine sand and bright red, angular grains. Well fired. Painted blue over a white slip.

*Typological description*

Two subtypes, IIB.1 mummiform workers and IIB.2 *rais* ushebti, dressed as for daily life, were made using the same clay and presenting the same morphological characteristics and technical details. It is likely that they came from the same set.

The figurines are worked in detail. The workers are shown in lappet wigs, naturally descending onto the shoulders. The ushebti have round faces with distinct eyes and noses and no beards. The hands are opposed with the thumbs indicated, but they do not hold any implements. The legs, separated by a groove, have perpendicular sides. Feet project forward.

The *rais* ushebti wear short wigs with no filler, which is common on these figurines (Chappaz 1984: 8). They have round faces with convex eyes, eyebrows, noses and mouths worked in detail. The right hand is shown hanging down along the side, while the left is bent across the chest. The hands may be holding whips, a typical attribute of the *rais* ushebti (Schneider 1977: 170) or batons, but the objects are hardly visible. The left leg is depicted forward and in stride. The back is flat, roughly finished.

According to Schneider: subtype IIB.1: Cl. VIIIA.2/W16 H10 I0 B0 Tp0; subtype IIB.2: Cl. IXE/W1 H33 I? B0 Tp0

*Dimensions*

Subtypes IIB.1 and IIB.2 are comparable in technical terms. Height ranges from 4.8 to 5.2 cm.

*Provenance*

Subtypes IIB.1 and IIB.2 came mostly from Tomb VIII; only a few were found in Tomb IX.

*Remarks*

Overseer ushebti were part of the funerary equipment from the Ramesside Period to the early Saite Period (Stewart 1995: 35). Unlike worker figurines, the overseer ushebti were always male (Aston 2009: 364; Aubert 1981: 28).

The moulding of the legs seems to be typical of ushebti dating to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, as are also the round faces, hand position and sloping wig lappets (see van Haarlem 1990: 154–157). Figurines of subtype IIB.2 are a perfect illustration of how clay quality and moulding precision affected the number of visible details.





Fig. 6. *Ushebtis* of subtypes IIB.1 and IIB.2

**TYPE IIC** [Fig. 7]*Quantity and state of preservation*

Subtype IIC.1: 1 complete figurine and 2 fragments; subtype IIC.2: 3 fragments [Table 1]

*Material*

Grey paste (Munsell 2.5Y 7/1 or 7/2) with few inclusions comprising black grains, fine sand and mica. White slip on the surface (IIC.1), traces of blue paint on the surface (IIC.2).

*Typological description*

Very schematic, mummiform ushebtis of elongated shape (two subtypes). Head and lappets of the tripartite wig lightly marked. No arms or implements present. The legs are tapered and the feet are disproportionately large. The back is flat.

According to Schneider: Cl. VIIIA.1/W16 H0 I0 B0 Tp0

*Dimensions*

Height of complete figurine: 4.6 cm.

*Provenance*

Tombs VIII and IX. However, most figurines of this type originated from outside the Chapel.

**TYPE IID** [Fig. 8]*Quantity and state of preservation*

Subtype IID.1: 2 fragments; subtype IID.6: 1 complete figurine [Table 1]

*Material*

Grey clay (Munsell 2.5Y 5/1 or 5/2) tempered with small quantities of limestone particles, mica and black grains. White slip coating; containing a relative abundance of limestone particles (up to 2 mm in diameter).

*Typological description*

Roughly modelled flat mummiform figurines. Oval, convex faces with no features. The tripartite wigs distinctive only on the front. Wig lappets angled in, even meeting under the beard in subtype IID.6. Hands indicated as slight bulges below the chest.

Subtype IID.1 with separated legs and feet simply bent up and pushed forward slightly, and sloping wig lappets. The separated legs and sloping lappets are typical of ushebtis from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (see van Haarlem 1990: 150–157). Excess clay from the mould was not removed. There is evidence on the back side of the figurine of the clay being pushed down into the mould.

The subtype IID.6 figurine wears a wig adorned with a fillet(?), executed in relief. The hoes can be seen. The excess clay from the mould was not removed beside the face and the feet.

According to Schneider: subtype IID.1: Cl. VIIIA.1/W16 H14 or H30 I0 B0 Tp0; subtype IID.6: Cl. VIIIA.1/W35a H? I? B0 Tp0

*Dimensions*

Subtype IID.1: fragmentary figurines, reconstructed height about 5.5 cm; subtype IID.6: complete figure, 4.9 cm.

*Provenance*

Figurines of subtype IID.1 found in the fill of the Coptic tomb and the unfinished tomb S.2/06, whereas the one example of subtype IID.6 came from Tomb VIII.



Fig. 7. Ushebtis of subtypes IIC.1 and IIC.2



Fig. 8. Ushebtis of subtypes IID.1 and IID.6

**TYPE IIIA: subtype IIIA.1 [Fig. 9]***Quantity and state of preservation*

Subtype IIIA.1: 8 complete figurines and 214 fragments [Table 1]

*Material*

Blue faience.

*Typological description*

Mummiform figurines were cast in several, almost identical shallow moulds. Only heads, torso, legs and projecting feet were rendered, occasionally also the oval faces with no details of the features and the wig lappets. A cloth fabric impression on the surface.

According to Schneider: Cl. VIIIA.1/W16 H0 I0 B0 Tp0

*Dimensions*

Height of complete figurines from 4.8 to 5.4 cm.

*Provenance*

Most of the figurines came from Tombs VIII and IX with just a few scattered in the fill of four other tombs [Table 2].

*Remarks*

The ushebti were made in the same workshop and probably made up a single gang.

**TYPE IIIB: subtype IIIB.1 [Fig. 10]***Quantity and state of preservation*

Subtype IIIB.1: 1 fragment [Table 1]

*Material*

Porous, crumbly faience, the surface of dark blue color.

*Typological description*

Roughly modelled mummiform figurine, preserving the upper part with elongated face and legible wig. The head was slight flattened from the top. No other details present.

According to Schneider: Cl. VIIIA.1/W16 H0 I0 B0 Tp0

*Dimensions*

Height of fragment 3.2 cm; originally it would have been about 5 cm.

*Provenance*

Tomb X.



Fig. 9. *Ushebti of subtype III A.1*



Fig. 10. *Ushebti of subtype III B.1*

## CONCLUSIONS

The present study has demonstrated the effectiveness of distinguishing ushebti coming from a single gang or from the same workshop by examining macroscopically the paste used in their production. It is particularly applicable to ushebtis made of clay. There can be no doubt that paste examination should play no less important role than analyses of iconography and morphology. Establishing description standards for ushebti, particularly technological features, seems to be a crucial task for scholars studying this class of objects.

This criterion should be taken into consideration in further studies, among others on thousands of ushebtis from Western Thebes awaiting publication, especially the simplified, uninscribed examples, analogous to those discussed here. To consider just the temple of Hatshepsut and its surroundings, ushebtis (mentioned only in archaeological reports) were discovered in the course of all of the work undertaken in the area, starting with Auguste Mariette's operations in the mid-19th century, later Edouard Naville's undertakings (D'Auria, Lacovara, and Roehrig 1988: 173–175),

Herbert E. Winlock's investigations (Winlock 1924: 26–28, Figs 27–29 and 29–30, Figs 32–34) and Émil Baraize's discoveries (Aubert and Aubert 1974: 172–173). A great number of the figurines dating from the Twenty-first Dynasty originated from the Royal Cache (TT 320) and the Priests of Amun Cache at Bab el-Gusus (L. Aubert 1998; J.F. Aubert 1981: 25; Aubert and Aubert 1974: 169–171; Janes 2010: VI–XIII; Schneider 1977: 336; Stewart 1995: 25–26), but they are scattered all over the world. The same may have happened to the ushebtis from the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Many of them have been published in catalogs of particular museums.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, museum catalogs tend to disregard figurines that are crude and schematic.

Research on correspondingly large groups of figurines, including the entire range of ancient production, will foster an understanding of workshops making ushebtis, their distribution and chronology. And in turn, more attention on this category of finds in current excavation reports will aid investigation of the material culture of ancient Egypt.

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<sup>13</sup> E.g., a few select and well published collections in Great Britain (Janes 2010: VI–XIII, 6–10, 13–19; 2011: i, 48–49, 62–63, 65; 2012a: 9–10; 2012b: 249, 257, 271, 301), the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam (van Haarlem 1990: *passim*); the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Oslo (Naguib 1985: *passim*); the Liebieghaus in Frankfurt am Main (Schlick-Nolte and von Droste zu Hülshoff 1984: *passim*); see also Aubert 1976: 61–69.

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