

DATABASES FOR SHABTIS OF THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (c. 1069-656 BC)

Iset-em-Khebit D

3s.t-m-3h-bi.t



Supreme Chief of the Harem of Amen

Third Intermediate Period, mid to late 21st Dynasty

From Western Thebes, Deir el-Bahari, DB 320, Cache I, the Royal Cache



Iset-em-Khebit D

Faience, blue glaze, details added in black

Third Intermediate Period, mid to late 21st Dynasty

From Western Thebes, Deir el-Bahari, DB 320, Cache I, the Royal Cache

H. 14.2 cm. W. 4.6 cm. D. 3.6 cm.

ex Horace A. Owen (1910–1993) Collection (West Hampstead, London)

Published: Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002), pp. 59-60 [no. 29]

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

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



A mummiform *ushabti* wearing a tripartite wig that is painted black; just below the front lappets of the wig are a small pair of breasts. The arms, which are well modelled and have protruding elbows, are crossed right over left above the waist and the hands hold hoes that are modelled in low relief and painted black. A trapezoidal basket with square-hatched design is neatly painted with carrying straps below the rear lappet of the wig. The face is comparatively well modelled with chubby cheeks, a broad nose and a faintly smiling mouth. The eyes are somewhat recessed and crudely painted in black with barely discernable eye brows. The left ear protrudes in front of the side lappet of the wig, but the right ear is really non-existent. Four horizontal bands of a crudely painted inscription with guide lines names the owner Iset-em-

Khebit (Isis is in Khemmis = Akhmim) with the title of Supreme Chief of the Harem of Amen. In terms of chronology, she is referred to as Iset-em-Khebit D.

Ushabtis for Iset-em-Khebit D are recorded as coming from the Royal Cache at Deir el-Bahari in Western Thebes, DB 320.²

Iset-em-Khebit was a daughter of the High-Priest of Amen, Men-Kheper-Re as recorded, for example, on the rims of bronze vessels from the Royal Cache (see below). Men-Kheper-Re ruled Upper Egypt from Thebes during the 21st Dynasty (c. 1045–992 BC). As well as being his half-sister, Iset-em-Khebit was the second wife of Pinudjem II, the successor of Men-Kheper-Re to rule as High-Priest of Amen.³ Pinudjem married Iset-em-Khebit after the death of his first wife, Nesy-Khonsu.³ Iset-em-Khebit

and Pinudjem had three children – a son called Pa-seba-kha-en-niwt (Greek Psusennes II) who became his father's successor as High-Priest of Amen at Thebes and eventually became the last king of the 21st Dynasty (c. 959–945 BC), and daughters Her-webkhet and Henut-tawy (D). Iset-em-Khebit outlived her husband by several years and died after Year 13 of Psusennes II.⁴

Various elements from Iset-em-Khebit's burial group, the most complete to be recovered from the Royal Cache, are to be found in Cairo (GEM and the NMEC). Her coffins (CG 61031A–C = JE 26198) represent a fine set, the outer one being a truly superb example with gilded hands and face all intact (see Figs. 1a & 2a).⁵ These elements were removed from the inner coffin and the mummy board (see Figs. 1b, 2b & 3). Ikram and Dodson suggest this was probably done by the workmen who were responsible for burying Pinudjem II's body in the Cache several years later.⁶ According to Niwiński, Iset-em-Khebit had two sets of coffins made for her although some twenty years apart. The earlier set was usurped by Pinudjem II's first wife, Nesy-Khonsu.⁷

The mummy wrapping of Iset-em-Khebit (CG 61093) is considered to be the finest example of the period and because of this it has never been unwrapped (see Fig. 1b).⁸ X-ray images have shown that there are several amulets and other objects in the mummy wrappings.⁹ A funerary papyrus (Cairo S.R.IV.525 = JE 26228 bis), which has never been fully published, was found inside an Osiris figure (see Fig. 4).¹⁰ There is a set of four alabaster canopic jars (Cairo JE 26254A–D) that have painted lids (see Fig. 6)¹¹ and two *ushabti* boxes (JE 26275 & TR 14/12/27/3 – see Fig. 7).¹² Another *shabti* box has been attributed to Iset-em-Khebit, indeed it is inscribed with her name, but it has been suggested that it was usurped by Nesy-Khonsu. If that was the case, one must perhaps question why her name was not written on it.¹³ Iset-em-Khebit's name was erased when her coffins were usurped for Nesy-Khonsu. Maspero comments that the *ushabti* boxes were found as remnants among the debris in the tomb and that they were going to be restored.¹⁴ There appears to be signs of water damage on the boxes, as is also found on the foot of Iset-em-Khebit's outer coffin. Since there is no evidence of water entering DB 320 it has been suggested that this damage must have happened whilst the *ushabti* boxes and coffin were in another tomb prior to their removal and reburial in the Cache.¹⁵

Also of note is a large chest or box, perhaps intended for holding linen (JE number unknown – see Fig. 9). Of special interest is a leather funerary tent or canopy (Cairo JE 26276), the purpose of which has aroused much speculation (see Figs. 10 & 11).¹⁶ There is also a mummified gazelle, probably Iset-em-Khebit's pet, that was found inside a wooden case (JE 26227),¹⁷ and various baskets containing food offerings,¹⁸ as well as bronze stands (JE 26265A & 26265B) and libation vessels or vases (Copenhagen National Museum 6619 – ex Hilton Price Collection [no. 1514], Moscow PM I.1.a 5937 and London BM EA 25566 (see Fig. 5).¹⁹ A large wig was found in a basket (JE 26270)²⁰ and there were a further eight wigs lying loose in the tomb (JE 26252A–H).²¹

On her *ushabtis*, Iset-em-Khebit has the title of Supreme Chief of the Harem of Amen. Her coffins and papyrus give several other titles including those of Prophetess of Mut, Prophetess of Min, Horus and Isis in Koptos, and Prophetess of Osiris, Horus and Isis in Abydos.

Maspero says that the *ushabtis* for Iset-em-Khebit were very cumbersome and barbaric in their execution and that the glaze is less beautiful than others from the Royal Cache.²² These comments are perhaps a little harsh!

The word *ushabti*, which translates as 'answerer,' is written in the inscription on figurines for Iset-em-Khebit as well as those for her

husband Pinudjem II and others for Nesy-per-nub from the Priests of Amen Cache, Bab el Gasus. These are the first examples inscribed with the word *ushabti* that would eventually be used throughout the Late Period and the Ptolemaic Period with the odd exception.²³

In 2015, 37 *ushabtis* were on display in the Cairo Museum (JE 26237 – see pp. 9–10 & 12) comprising 31 workers and six 'overseers.' Although there are some *ushabtis* for Iset-em-Khebit that bear no title, the majority are inscribed with that of Supreme Chief of the Harem of Amen.

As can be seen in the following database (see pp. 11–23) the worker *ushabtis* basically fall into four groups: those with arms crossed left over right on the chest with either horizontal bands of inscription or vertical columns of inscription, and others that have the arms crossed right over left with horizontal bands of inscription or vertical columns of inscription. The colour of the glaze varies within these groups, being either brilliant bright blue or light blue. *Shabti* scholar Dik van Bommel has separated the colour variation and proposed groups for the two colours of glaze.²⁴ The present author has not followed this proposal because the colour of the glaze of the *ushabtis* is not always easy to accurately distinguish in photos to be found in museum catalogues or online databases and the variations are sometimes very small in any case, thus making it difficult to assign them to the appropriate group with any degree of certainty. Illustrations in catalogues cited often vary in the shade of the colour of the glaze even where the same *ushabti* is illustrated more than once. In the author's opinion this difference in the colour of the glaze was surely coincidental in the manufacturing process and serves no functional purpose.

There are two types of 'overseers' although one type seems to be unique with only one example seemingly known. Both types have the right arm folded across the waist, the hand holding a whip on the right shoulder, while the left arm is hanging down by the side of the body usually holding a shorter whip or stick that is modelled in relief and painted.

Regarding the following database – the baskets on the backs of the worker *ushabtis* have not been seen in many cases, including all of those on display in the Cairo Museum, so comments regarding them are quite brief.

It has not been possible to ascertain where some the *ushabtis* that were in the old collections of Amherst, Bethell, de Rustafjaell, Hilton Price, Hoffman, Martyn Kennard, Lady Meux, and MacGregor are now (see below) or to assign them to an *ushabti* type. It seems that the collection provenance did not follow these *ushabtis* in most cases.

Inscription



Wsir hr.yt wr.t hnr.t (tp.yt) n Imn 3s.t-m-3h-bi.t m3°.t-hrw dd.s i wsb.tyw ip.tw

The Osiris, the Supreme Chief of the Harem of Amen, Iset-em-Khebit, justified, she speaks: O, *ushabtis* when you are called.



Figs. 1a & b.

The outer coffin lid (left), the reverse of the mummy board and mummy of Iset-em-Khebit D (right).

(Photos: left – courtesy of VB, 2015; right – Maspero & Brugsch 1881, pl. 16).



Figs. 2a & b.

The upper part of the lid of the outer coffin of Iset-em-Khebit (left) and of the inner coffin (right).

(GJ, 2020 & VB, 2020).



Fig. 3. The inner coffin of Iset-em-Khebit D lying in the base of the outer coffin (Cairo S.R.IV.525 = JE 26228 bis).
(Photo: courtesy of VB, 2020).



Fig. 4. The opening vignette of Iset-em-Khebit D's Book of the Dead papyrus showing the owner making offerings to Osiris-Khenty-imentiu-Wen-nefer Foremost of the West (Cairo S.R.IV.525 = JE 26228 bis).
(Photo: courtesy of VB, 2024).



Fig. 5. A bronze vase inscribed on the rim for Iset-em-Khebit D (London, BM EA 25566).
(Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 6. The canopic jars of Iset-em-Khebit D (Cairo JE 26254A–D).
(Photos: courtesy of CESRAS, Moscow).

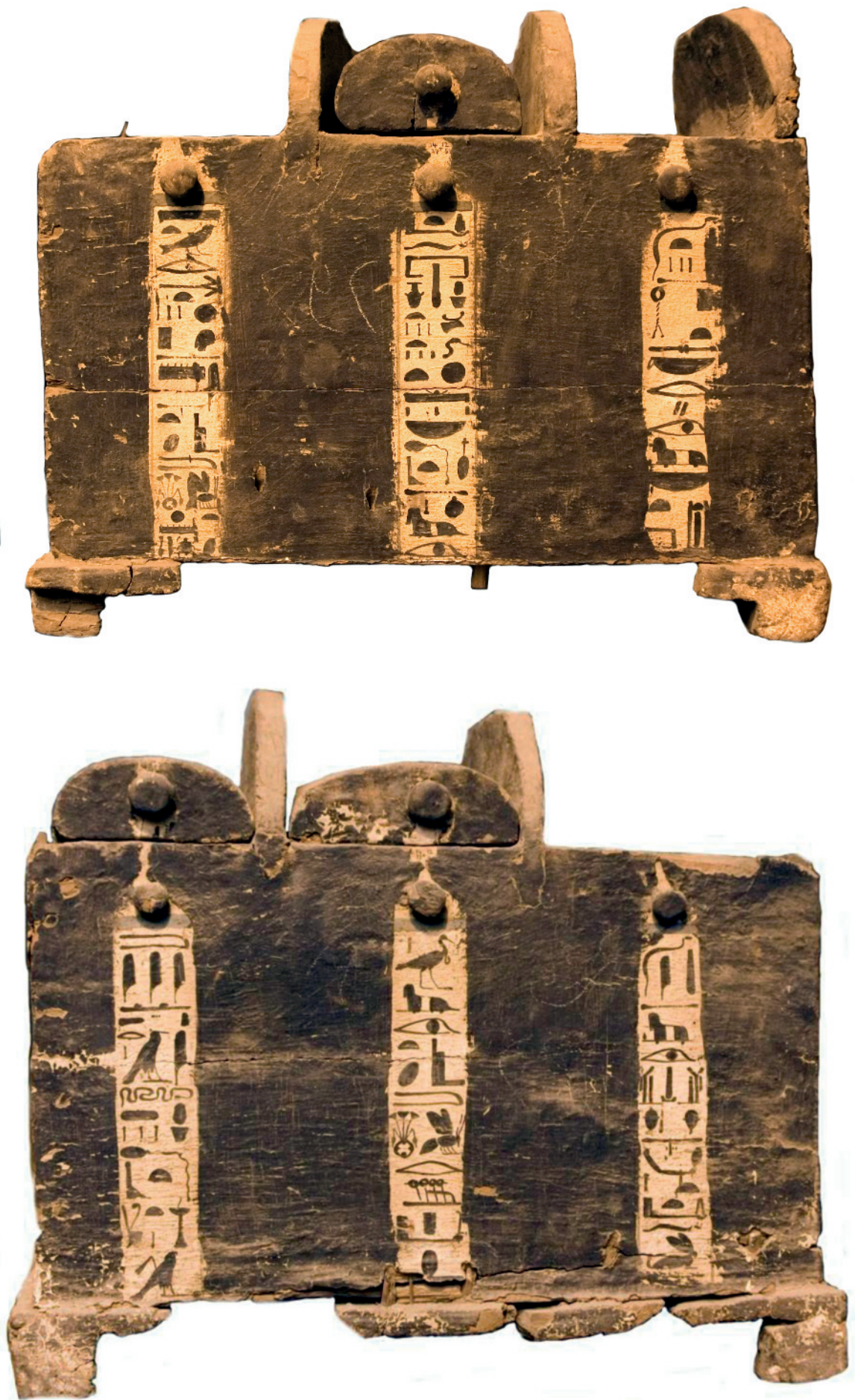


Fig. 7. Two *shabti* boxes inscribed for Iset-em-Khebit (Cairo, JE 26275 & TR 14/12/27/3). (Photos: courtesy of CESRAS, Moscow).



Fig. 8.

Another *shabti* box that is inscribed for Iset-em-Khebit D although it is considered that it was usurped by Nesy-Khonsu although her name was not written on it (Cairo, JE 26275).



Fig. 9.

A box or chest perhaps used to hold linen clothing for Iset-em-Khebit (Cairo, JE number unknown).

(Photos: courtesy of CESRAS, Moscow).



Fig. 10.

The funerary tent of Iset-em-Khebit D in the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization, Cairo.

(Photo: after VB 2021).



Fig. 11.

The funerary tent of Iset-em-Khebit D as drawn by Villiers Stuart (*The Funeral tent of an Egyptian Queen*, London 1882).



2150





Typology and database of parallel *ushabtis* for Iset-em-Khebit D

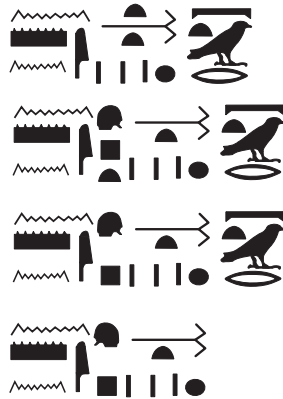
Inscription elements and variants

1. Preliminary

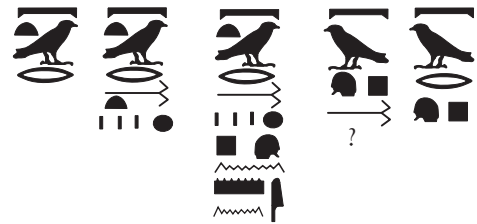


Wsir
The Osiris

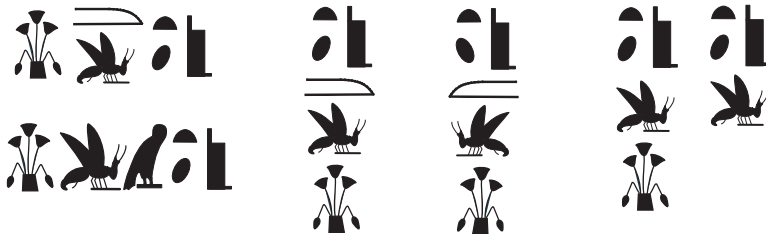
2. Title



hr.yt wr.t hnr.t tp.yt n 'Imn
Supreme Chief of the Harem of Amen

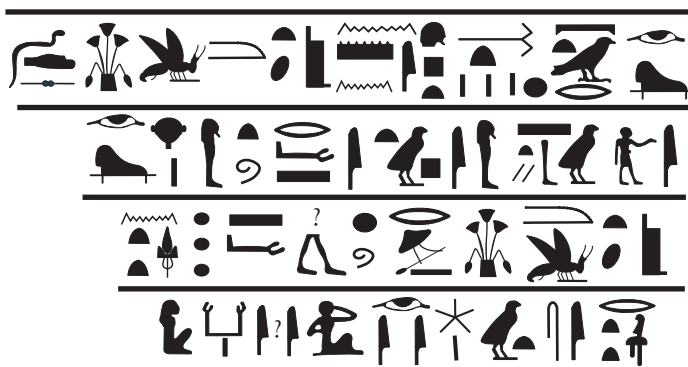


3. Name



3s.t-m-3h-bi.t
Iset-em-Khebit

4. Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead – often a very abbreviated version that is difficult to read



Wsir hr.yt wr.t hnr.t tp.yt n 'Imn 3s.t-m-3h-bi.t
dd.s

The Osiris, the Supreme Chief of the Harem of Amen, Iset-em-Khebit, she speaks: (Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead with variants)

After London, BM EA 24396.

5. Ending (sometimes omitted)



m3^c.t-hrw
justified

Comments on Iset-em-Khebit's *shabtis* in the Cairo Museum (37 were on display in 2015 – see pp. 9–10, 12)

Note – Newberry records inventory numbers CG 48528 (a worker) and CG 48530 (an 'overseer' with a basket being carried on the back). It is impossible to know which type CG 48528 falls into regarding the crossing of the arms. The colour of the glaze is simply described by Newberry as being 'blue of fine quality.'²⁵



Shabti types and subtypes from a study of parallel examples to be found in museum collections, private collections and those offered for sale at auctions and by dealers (images are not to scale).

WORKER I – mummiform; mid to refulgent bright blue glazed faience; black painted details; fully painted voluminous tripartite wig; breasts below lappets (most); face is usually well modelled; full cheeks with an unsmiling mouth giving a somewhat stern expression; eyes are modelled and sometimes quite sunken and outlined and with eyeballs in black and with eyebrows boldly painted, some being quite arched; ears not always discernable although some are well modelled and protrude in front of the lappets of the wig; very well modelled arms are crossed left over right above the waist; clenched hands hold a pair of hoes in shallow relief and painted or just painted; square, trapezoidal or rectangular shaped basket with square-hatched, diamond-hatched or horizontal line detail basket is painted in the centre of the back in varying sizes; fairly short body length below the crossed arms that curves inwards before flaring out at the feet; most are inscribed with preliminary, Iset-em-Khebit's title and name followed by a shortened version of Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead*; some have a justified ending; the inscription is written in three, four or five horizontal bands within framing lines often with overspills of hieroglyphs outside of the lower marked line.
c. 14.0–16.8 cm in height.

There were 17 *ushabtis* of this type on display in the Cairo Museum (2015).
Adelaide (SAnM A40528).²⁶
Amsterdam (APM 9468).²⁷ ①
Berlin (ÄM 8541, 8543 & 8544).²⁸ ②–④
Boston (MFA 64.2249).²⁹ ⑤
Brooklyn (BRM 39.92).³⁰
Cambridge (FWME.62.1932³¹ ⑥; MAA 1948.2683).³² ⑦
Chicago (OIM 17356;³³ AI 1894.1940).³⁴
Chiddingstone (EDECC:01.2396 ⑧ & 01.2398).³⁵ ⑨
Colmar (stolen in 1972).³⁶
Cortona (MAC 201, 234 & 236).³⁷
Figeac (MCh E 158 – now in Cahors).³⁸
Florence (MANF 6158 ⑩ & 6160).³⁹
Geneva (MAH 021028).⁴⁰ ⑪
Jerusalem (IM 97.63.81).⁴¹
Leiden (RMO F 1931/10.2).⁴² ⑫
London (BM EA 24396, 30040, 35218).⁴³ ⑬–⑮
Moscow (PM I.1.a 1576 & 1716).⁴⁴ ⑯ ⑰
Madrid (MAN 15768).⁴⁵
New York (MMA 90.6.264).⁴⁶ ⑱
Oxford (ASH 1884.48).⁴⁷ ⑲
Paris (MdL E 7660 ⑳, E 7661㉑, 20145㉒, 22124㉓ & 25418).⁴⁸
Roanne (MJD 239).⁴⁹
Aubert Collection. One example.⁵⁰
Memphis Collection (NH-192 – ex Batemans 2008, lot 582㉔, NH-261 – ex Chauviré Courant 2018, lot 35㉕ – ex Y. & J. Deschamps Collection [no. 157] – same *shabti* as Pescheteau-Badin 1992, lot 35, NH-279 – ex Millon 2018, lot 123 – ex Claude Harel Collection (1932–2016), ㉖ NH-366 – Pandolfini 2022, lot 59).⁵¹ ㉗
Swiss private collection (Freiburg).⁵²
Ader 2023, lot 12. ㉘
Artemis 2023, lot 0003A – ex Vero Beach, Florida, USA collection, see also Olbrantz⁵³ where the *ushabti* is erroneously dated as being New Kingdom 18th Dynasty and Brockway & MacCleod,⁵⁴ illustrated. ㉙
Bergé 2005, lot 742.
Bergé 2006, lot 628 – now in a Belgian private collection. ㉚
Blanchet & Associés 2012, lot 89.
Boisgirard-Antonini 2014, lot 2. ㉛
Bonhams 2009 lot 53 – now in a Belgian private collection. ㉜
Bonhams 2023, part of lot 289. ㉝
Bonhams & Brooks 2001, lot 440.
Bonhams & Brooks 2001, lot 282 – same *ushabti* as Bonham & Brooks 2001.
Carlsen Gallery, Inc. 2022, part of lot 0057. ㉞
Christie's 1977, lot 496, arm position unknown but assumed to be left over right – ex Ernest Brummer Collection; Christie's 1980, lot 256 – now in Chiddingstone Castle Collection (EDECC:01.2396).
Christie's 1980, lot 189.
Christie's 1980, lot 91 – now in Chiddingstone Castle Collection (EDECC:01.2398).
Christie's 1983, lot 90.
Christie's 1993, lot 104 – ex Llewellyn Phillips Collection.
Christie's 2009, lot 155.
Christie's 2009, lot 6.
De Maigret 2012, lot 65 – ex Charles Bouché Collection.
Dessaut 2015, lot 106 – formerly sold by Sineau 1990, lot 104 – now in a Dutch private collection (VB-1162). ㉟
Drouot 2001, lot 59; HVMC 2023, lot 35 – same *ushabti* as Tessier & Sarrou 2015, lot 103. ㊱
Morelle 1982, lot 34.
Pescheteau-Badin 1992, lot 36.
Pescheteau-Badin 2009, lot 32.
Pescheteau-Badin 2012, lot 179 – same *ushabti* as Blanchet & Associés 2012, lot 89.
Phillips 1998, lot 37.
Sotheby's 1970, lot 38.
Sotheby's 1979, lot 99.
Sotheby's 1984, lot 121 – arm position unknown but assumed to be left over right, & lot 139.
Sotheby's 1989, lot 367.
Sotheby's 2004, lot 45 – ex Charles Pankow Collection.
Sineau 1990, lot 104 – see Dessaut above.
Tessier & Sarrou 2015, lot 103.
Eberwein 2013, no. 16.



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

WORKER 2 – mummiform; mid to refulgent bright blue glazed faience; black painted details; fully painted voluminous tripartite wig; most are without breasts below the front lappets; face is quite small and usually well modelled; full cheeks; eyes are modelled and sometimes quite sunken and outlined and with pupils in black and with eye brows boldly painted, some being quite arched; ears, some well modelled, protrude in front of the lappets of the wig (rare); very well modelled arms are crossed right over left above the waist; clenched hands hold a pair of hoes modelled in relief and painted; square-hatched or diamond-hatched trapezoidal or square basket is painted in the centre of the back; longer body length below the crossed arms than Worker 1; most are inscribed with preliminary, Iset-em-Khebit's title and name followed by a version of Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead*; some have a justified ending; the inscription is written in three, four or five horizontal bands within framing lines.
c. 14.0–16.5 cm in height.

There were two *ushabtis* of this type on display in the Cairo Museum (2015).

Cambridge (FWM E.SU.148).⁵⁵ ①

Chicago (OIM 17357;⁵⁶ AI 1894.1941).⁵⁷

Cortona (MAC 267).⁵⁸

Durham (DUROM.1953.10 – ex Rawnsley Collection).⁵⁹ ②

Edinburgh (NMS A.1965.39 – ex Hilton Price Collection although not noted in the catalogue or manuscript of his collection).⁶⁰ ③

Hildesheim (RPM 313).⁶¹ ④

London (UC 39867).⁶² ⑤

Madrid (MAN 15787).⁶³

Oxford (ASH 1884.46).⁶⁴ ⑥

Princeton (PUAM y1961–113).⁶⁵ ⑦

Roanne (MJD 238).⁶⁶

Kemehu Collection.⁶⁷ ⑧

Memphis Collection (NH-444 – ex Bonhams 2023, lot 292; ⑨

NH-464 – ex Arteas Ltd; ⑩ NH-492 – ex Carnegie Auction Gallery 2024, lot 0409).⁶⁸ ⑪

Beaussant Lefèvre 2012, lot 8.

Bergé 2006, lot 627.

Bergé 2017, lot 60. ⑫

Bonhams 2023, part of lot 289. ⑬

Choppin de Janvry 2010, lot 40.

Christie's 1980, lot 189.

Christie's 1994, lot 183.

Christie's 1996, lot 213.

Christie's 2016, lot 19 – ex Toledo Museum of Art. ⑭

Dore & Ress 2024, part of lot 1316. ⑮

Laurin – Guilloux – Buffetaud – Tailleur 1992, lot 36.

Pescheteau–Badin 2009, lot 31.

Pescheteau–Badin 2010, lot 142.

Sotheby's 2017, lot 107. ⑯





WORKER 3 – mummiform; light to refulgent bright blue glazed faience; black painted details; fully painted voluminous tripartite wig; breasts below lappets (most); face is usually well modelled; eyes with brows boldly painted; ears protrude in front of the lappets of the wig (rare); very well modelled arms are crossed left over right above the waist; clenched hands hold a pair of hoes; square-hatched or diamond-hatched trapezoidal or square basket is painted in centre of the back; fairly short body length below the crossed arms: inscribed with preliminary, title and Iset-em-Khebit's name, but some do not give a title; some have a justified ending(?); the inscription is written in a single column, two columns or four columns with framing lines closed at the top.
c. 15.0–15.9 cm in height.

There were nine *ushabtis* of this type on display in the Cairo Museum (2015).

Florence (MANF 6159).⁶⁷ ①

Hildesheim (RPM 310).⁶⁸ ②

London (BM EA 22760).⁶⁹ ③

Madrid (MAN 15773 & 15777).⁷⁰

Moscow (PM I.1a 1585).⁷¹ ④

New York (MMA 90.6.263⁷² ⑤; YPM ANT.006094.002).⁷³

Paris (MdL E 7662 ⑥ & E 20324).⁷⁴ ⑦

Laurin – Guilloux – Buffetaud – Tailleur 1992, lot 35.



①



②



③



④



⑤



⑥



⑦

WORKER 4 – mummiform; refulgent mid–light blue glazed faience; black painted details; fully painted voluminous tripartite wig; breasts below lappets; face is quite small and oval in shape and the definition is fairly mediocre; eyes are modelled and outlined and with pupils in black and with eyebrows; ears protrude in front of the lappets of the wig, some being well defined; well modelled arms crossed right over left above the waist; clenched hands hold a pair of hoes modelled in shallow relief and painted; square–hatched trapezoidal or rectangular shaped basket is painted in the centre of the back; the overall proportions vary from being quite broad to slender, some have a short body below the crossed arms; all are inscribed with preliminary, Iset–em–Khebit's title (double inscription column examples only); some have a justified ending(?); the inscription is written in a single column or in two columns (rare) with framing lines closed at the top.

c. 11.5–15.7 cm in height.

There were two *ushabtis* of this type on display in the Cairo Museum (2015).

Hildesheim (RPM 303).⁷⁵ ①

Istanbul (AOM 10191).⁷⁶

London (BM EA 58958).⁷⁷ ②

Paris (MdL E 14725).⁷⁸ ③

Christie's 2023 part of lot 87. ④

De Maigret 2012, lot 66 – ex Charles Bouché Collection.



OVERSEER I – dress of daily life – a long near ankle–length triangular projecting apron but no obvious tunic; light blue to refulgent bright blue glazed faience; black painted details; fully painted bipartite wig with fairly short and narrow front lappets; faces are somewhat small and some have a rather doleful expression and with the mouth and chin pushed markedly forwards; eyes are modelled and outlined and with eyeballs added in black and eyebrows; faintly indicated ears protrude in front of the lappets of the wig (some); quite square shoulders; chest is modelled to perhaps suggest breasts if a female figure is intended or the musculature of the chest for a male (more likely?); left arm hanging by the side; right arm folded across the waist and a clenched hand holds a whip that is painted in front of the right shoulder; some carry a short stick or whip(?) in the left hand that is shown in relief and painted black; ankles and feet clearly modelled; the feet are somewhat pigeon–toed; some are inscribed with the Osiris preliminary and Iset–em–Khebit's name within framing lines closed at the top (most); only three examples (Atlanta, Cairo and Chicago (FM)) give a title; some have a justified ending.

c. 14.0–14.7 cm in height.

There were five *ushabtis* of this type on display in the Cairo Museum (2015).

Atlanta (MCCM 2000.013.002).⁷⁹ ①

Berlin (ÄM 8539 & 8540 – types undetermined).⁸⁰

Bournemouth (BNSS C2S214).⁸¹ ②

Chicago (AI 1894.637 ③);⁸² FM 31024 ④).⁸³

London (BM EA 30401 ⑤ & 35094 ⑥).⁸⁴

Menton (MPRM.H 5451).⁸⁵ ⑦

New York (MMA 90.6.262 – uninscribed).⁸⁶

Oxford (ASH 1884.49).⁸⁷ ⑧

Paris (MdL E 20309).⁸⁸ ⑨

Vienna (KHM 9480).⁸⁹ ⑩

Former Hoffmann Collection (no. 226).⁹⁰

Christie's 1979, lot 109 – noted as being 17 cm. in height – this is mostly likely to be erroneous.



①



②



③



④



⑤



⑥



⑦



⑧



⑨



⑩

OVERSEER 2 – dress of daily life – a knee-length triangular projecting apron but no tunic; light blue glazed faience; black painted details; fully painted bipartite wig – more voluminous than Overseer 1; fairly well modelled face; eyes with eyebrows painted high above the eyes; ears protrude in front of the lappets of the wig; high, broad and square shoulders; the left arm is hanging by the side; the right arm is folded across the chest and a clenched hand holds a whip in front of the right shoulder; ankles and feet clearly modelled; inscribed with preliminary and Iset-em-Khebit's name in a vertical column within framing lines closed at the top on the front of the apron. c. 14.5 cm in height.

There was one *ushabti* of this type on display in the Cairo Museum (2015). ①



①

Position of arms and *shabti* types unknown.

St. Petersburg (HERM 4726? & 18842?).⁹¹

Former Amherst Collection. Two examples.⁹²

Former Bethell Collection. One example.⁹³

Former de Rustafjaell Collection. Two examples that were acquired from Hilton Price (see below).⁹⁴

Former Hilton Price Collection (1541 & 1542 – described as being ‘a curious squat figure with a large head.’ The manuscripts of the Hilton Price Collection (vol. 3) state that the *ushabti* was ‘bought at Boulak for £1.’ It is not known which way the arms are crossed on the second example.⁹⁵

Former Hoffmann Collection (nos. 223 & 224).⁹⁶

Former Lady Meux Collection (no. 84).⁹⁷

Former MacGregor Collection. One example.⁹⁸

Former Hoffmann Collection (nos. 225 & 227 – the latter is now in the Aubert Collection (see below).⁹⁹

Former Martyn Kennard Collection. Two examples.¹⁰⁰

Aubert Collection (one example – acquired Drouot 20th October 1976, lot 103 – ex Hoffmann Collection no. 227 – see below).¹⁰¹

Photo credits

GJ with the exceptions of **WORKER 1**: Berlin = © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung; Andreas Paasch; Boston = © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Brooklyn = courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum; Florence = © Museo Archeologico Nazionale; Geneva = © Musée d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève. Don de Mme John Keane en souvenir de son mari, 1972; London = courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum and courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology, UCL; Memphis Collection = courtesy of NH; Moscow = © The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts; New York = © The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Paris = © 2018 Musée du Louvre; Ader = © Nordmann & Dominique Ader, Paris; Artemis = © Artemis Gallery, Louisville; Bergé = © Pierre Bergé, Paris; Boisgirard–Antonini = © Boisgirard–Antonini, Paris; Bonhams = © Bonhams, London; Carlsen Gallery = © Carlsen Gallery, Freehold; Christie's = © Christie's, London & New York; Dessaut = © Dessaut = © Benoit Dessaut Chalon-sur-Saône; HVMC = Hôtel des Ventes de Monte-Carlo – auctioneers, Monaco. **WORKER 2**: Durham = courtesy of Durham Oriental Museum, Durham University; Hildesheim = © Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim GmbH; London = courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology, UCL; Courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL; Princeton = © Princeton University Art Museum; Bergé = © Pierre Bergé, Paris; Bonhams = © Bonhams, London; Christie's = © Christie's, London & New York; Sotheby's = © Sotheby's, London. **WORKER 3**: Florence = © Museo Archeologico Nazionale; Hildesheim = © Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim GmbH; Moscow = © The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts; New York = © The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Paris = © 2018 Musée du Louvre. **WORKER 4**: Hildesheim = © Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim GmbH; London = courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum; Paris = © 2018 Musée du Louvre; Christie's = © Christie's, London. **OVERSEER 1**: Atlanta = © Michael C. Carlos Emery Museum; Bournemouth = courtesy of Joyce Navarro; Chicago = © Art Institute and © Field Museum; London = courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum; Menton = Musée de Préhistoire Régionale de Menton; Paris = © 2018 Musée du Louvre; Vienna = © Kunsthistorisches Museum.

1. Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glückstadt, 1935–1952) p. 4 (3).
2. PM I/2, pp. 663–664 [no. 7]; Jansen-Winkel, K., *Inscriben der Spätzeit* vol. 1 *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007) pp. 183–185 [no. 11]; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) pp. 226–227 [TG 918]; Loring, E., contributor in *The Royal Cache TT 320: a re-examination* (Graefe, E. & Belova, G. eds.) (Cairo, 2010) pp. 74–75.
3. Kitchen, K. A., *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster, 1986), pp. 64–65; Dodson, A. & Hilton, A., *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2004), pp. 200–201, 203–204, 206. See also Niwiński, A., 'The wives of Pinudjem II – a topic for discussion,' *JEA* 74, pp. 226–230 (London, 1988), pp. 226–230 where it is suggested that Iset-em-Khebit was Pinudjem II's first wife.
4. Niwiński, A. *ibid.*, pp. 226–230; Loring, E., contributor in *The Royal Cache TT 320: a re-examination* (Graefe, E. & Belova, G. eds.) (Cairo, 2010) p. 74.
5. Daressy, G., *Cercueils des Cachettes Royales* (Cairo, 1909), pp. 134–171, pls. L–LIII; Niwiński, A. *21st Dynasty coffins from Thebes* (Mainz, 1988) p. 115 [no. 66], pls. X & XVII; Reeves, C. N., *Valley of the Kings* (London, 1990), p. 213 [no. 18]; Partridge, R. B., *Faces of Pharaohs – Royal Mummies and Coffins from Ancient Thebes* (London, 1994) pp. 210–213, figs. 187–190; Jansen-Winkel, K., *Inscriben der Spätzeit* vol. 1 *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007) pp. 183–184 [no. 11]; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 226; Cooney, K., *Recycling for Death – Coffin Reuse and the Theban Royal Caches* (Cairo and New York, 2024) pp. 377–390, figs. 7.19.1 – 7.21.8.
6. Ikram, S. & Dodson, A., *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity* (London, 1988) p. 330.
7. Maspero G., *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889) p. 577 [no. 9]; Niwiński, A., *21st Dynasty coffins from Thebes* (Mainz, 1988) pp. 74, 77–78, 115 [nos. 66 & 67]; Niwiński, A., 'The wives of Pinudjem II – a topic for discussion,' *JEA* 74, pp. 226–230 (London, 1988) p. 227; Jansen-Winkel, K., *Inscriben der Spätzeit* vol. 1 *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007) p. 118 [no. 21]; *ibid.* pp. 183–184 [no. 11]; Cooney, K., *Recycling for Death – Coffin Reuse and the Theban Royal Caches* (Cairo and New York, 2024) pp. 362–376, figs. 7.16.1 – 7.18.5.
8. Maspero, G. & Brugsch, M. E., *La trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari* 2 vols. (Cairo, 1881) vol. 1, pp. 35, pl. 16; Maspero, G., *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889) p. 577, pl. VIc; Smith, G. E., *The Royal Mummies* (Cairo, 1912) pp. 106–107, pl. LXXX; Partridge, R. B., *Faces of Pharaohs – Royal Mummies and Coffins from Ancient Thebes* (London, 1994) p. 210; Ikram, S. & Dodson, A., *Royal Mummies in the Egyptian Museum* (Cairo, 1997) p. 56.
9. Harris, J. E. & Wente, E. F., *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies* (Chicago, 1980) p. 170, fig. 5.12.
10. Niwiński, A., *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B. C.* (Göttingen, 1989) p. 254 [Cairo 1]; Jansen-Winkel, K., *Inscriben der Spätzeit* vol. 1 *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007), p. 184; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 226. For a full panoramic view of the papyrus, see the website of shabti scholar Dik van Bommel: <https://www.ushabtis.com/>
11. Maspero, G. & Brugsch, M. E., *La trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari* 2 vols. (Cairo, 1881), vol. 2, pl. 29; Maspero, G., *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889) p. 589; Dodson, A., *The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt* (London and New York, 1994) p. 83, pl. XXXVIa; Jansen-Winkel, K., *Inscriben der Spätzeit* vol. 1 *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007) p. 184; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 226.
12. Maspero, G., *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889) p. 590 [7]; PM I/2, p. 666; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 226.
13. See the website of the Russian Academy of Sciences: <http://www.cesras.org/Ding/Boxes/Uschebti-boxes-IsstemchebD.html>
14. Maspero, G., *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889) p. 590.
15. Loring, E., contributor in *The Royal Cache TT 320: a re-examination* (Graefe, E. & Belova, G. eds.) (Cairo, 2010) p. 74–75.
16. Maspero, G. & Brugsch, M. E., *La trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari* 2 vols. (Cairo, 1881) vol. 1, pp. 35–36, pl. 17; Stuart 1882; Maspero, G., *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889) pp. 584–589; Jansen-Winkel, K., *Inscriben der Spätzeit* vol. 1 *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007) pp. 184–185; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 226.
17. Maspero, G. & Brugsch, M. E., *La trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari* 2 vols. (Cairo, 1881) vol. 2, pl. 27; Maspero, G., *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889) pl. XXIB; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 226.
18. Maspero, G. & Brugsch, M. E., *La trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari* 2 vols. (Cairo, 1881) vol. 1, p. 36, pl. 18; Maspero, G., *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889) p. 589, pl. XXIIIa; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 226.
19. Maspero, G. & Brugsch, M. E., *La trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari* 2 vols. (Cairo, 1881) vol. 1, p. 35, pl. 14; Maspero, G., *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889) p. 589, pl. XXIIIb; PM I/2, p. 666; Jansen-Winkel, K., *Inscriben der Spätzeit* vol. 1 *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007) p. 184; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 226. For Copenhagen 6619, see Hilton Price, F. G., *A Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the possession of F. G. Hilton Price* vol. 1 (London, 1897) p. 152 [no. 1514]. For Moscow I.1.a 5937, see Pavlov V. & Khodzash S., *Khudozhestvennoe remeslo frevnigo Egipta* (Moscow, 1959) p. 94, pls. 25 & 25A.
20. Maspero, G. & Brugsch, M. E., *La trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari* 2 vols. (Cairo, 1881) vol. 2, pl. 28; Maspero, G., *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889) p. 590, pls. XXIIc, XXIIIc; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 226.
21. Maspero, G., *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889) p. 590; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009), p. 226.
22. Maspero, G., *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889) p. 591.
23. 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* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1977) vol. 1 p. 138; Janes, G., *The Shabti Collections 5 – A selection from the Manchester Museum* (Lymm, 2012) pp. 435–438 [nos. 219a–g] for examples dating from the Late Period – Ptolemaic Period describing the figures as shabtis.
24. See the website of shabti scholar Dik van Bommel: <https://www.ushabtis.com/>
25. Newberry, P. E., *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi – Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 3 vols. (Cairo, 1930–57) pp. 390–391 where single ushabtis are noted.
26. Communication with Stephen Zagala.
27. Van Haarlem, W. M. & Lunsingh Scheurleer, R. A., *Gids voor de afdeling Egypte* (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 80–81; Van Haarlem, W., *Shabtis CAA Fascicle II* 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1990), Fasc. II/1 pp. 116–119; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 226.
28. Roeder, G., *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin II*, (Leipzig, 1924) pp. 337–338. ÄM 8542, 8545 & 8546 were lost in World War II. Communication with Prof. Dr. Jan Moje.
29. See the website of the Museum of Fine Arts: <https://www.mfa.org/>
30. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 226. See also the website of Brooklyn Museum: <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/>
31. Budge, E. A. W., *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1893) p. 71 [no. 25]; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston 2009, p. 227. See also the website of The Fitzwilliam Museum: <https://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/52792>
32. Communication with Inogen Gunn. See also the website of the museum of Archaeology and Anthropology: <https://maa.cam.ac.uk/>
33. Allen, T. G., *The Egyptian Book of the Dead – Documents in the Oriental Institute of the Museum at the University of Chicago*, OIP 82 (Chicago, 1960) pp. 12, 65, 75, pl. CXXV; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial*

- Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago: <https://oi.uchicago.edu/>
34. Allen, T. G., *The Art Institute of Chicago. A Handbook of the Egyptian Collections* (Chicago, 1923) pp. 67–68 – with illustration; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the Art Institute of Chicago: <https://www.artic.edu/>
 35. Communication with Maria Essain.
 36. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227.
 37. Botti, G., *Le Antichità egiziane del Museo dell'Accademia di Cortona, ordinate e descritte* (Cortona, 1955) p. 70 – for no. 234, see pl. X; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227.
 38. Dewachter, M., *La collection Égyptiennes du Musée Champollion* (Figeac, 1986) pp. 64–65 [no. 69]; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 226.
 39. Pellegrini, A., 'Statuette funeraria del Museo Archeologico di Firenze,' *Bessarione* 4, pp. 1–32, 248–269 (Rome, 1900) pp. 14 [no. 66 = 6160], 255–256 [no. 238 = 6158 – wrongly identified as no. 88]; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. Communication with Dr. Maria Cristina Guidotti.
 40. Chappaz, J. –L., *Les figurines funéraires Égyptiennes du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire et de quelques collections privées* (Geneva, 1982) pp. 42–42 [no. 023]; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire: <https://www.mahmah.ch/collection/oeuvres/figurine-funeraire/021028>
 41. Ben-Tor, D., *The Immortals of Ancient Egypt – From the Abraham Guterman Collection of Ancient Egyptian Art* (Jerusalem, 1997) p. 140 [no. 117]; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) pp. 227. See also the website of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem: <https://www.imj.org.il/en/collections/313565-0>
 42. 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* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1977) vol. 2, p. 116 & pl. 114, vol. 3, pl. 46 [no. 4.3.0.1]; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227; Giovetti, P. & Picchi, D. (ed.) *Egypt. Millenary Splendour. The Leiden Collection in Bologna* (Milan, 2016) p. 421 [no. VII.2].
 43. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the British Museum: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/>
 44. Rubinstein, R. I., 'Shawabti in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts,' *Journal of Ancient History* 3 (153) (Moscow, 1980) p. 71; Hodjash, S., *The Way to Immortality – Monuments of ancient Egyptian art from the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts* (Moscow, 2002) p. 121 [nos. 338 & 339]. Communication with Dr. Olga Dyuzheva via Kirill Gribov.
 45. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional: <http://www.man.es/man/coleccion/catalogo-general.html>
 46. Gillett, Rev. C. R., *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in Halls 3 and 4 – The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1898) p. 14 [no. 62]. See also the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: <https://www.metmuseum.org/>
 47. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the Ashmolean Museum: <https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/452337>
 48. For E 7660, see Revillout, E., 'Nouvelles acquisitions du musée égyptien,' *RevEg* 3 (Paris, 1885) p. 44; Aubert, L., contributor in exhibition catalogue *Tanis – L'or des pharaons*, pp. 118–154 (Paris, 1987) pp. 124–125 [no. 8]; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Bovot, J. –L., *Chaouabtis – Des travailleurs pharaoniques pour l'éternité* (Paris, 2003) p. 31; Bovot, J. –L., 'À propos de l'exposition du Louvre "Chaouabtis : des travailleurs pharaoniques pour l'éternité,"' *EAO* 29 (Montségur, 2003) p. 59; Bovot, J. –L., 'Les figurines funéraires du Louvre provenant de la Cachette Royale (DB 320),' *EAO* 38 (Montségur, 2005) pp. 15, 18, 28–30, figs. 2 & 19; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227; Bovot, J. –L., contributor in *Servir les dieux d'Égypte – Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d'Amon à Thèbes* (Grenoble, 2018) p. 330 (cat. No. 153a); see also <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010006372>. For E 7661, see Revillout, E., 'Nouvelles acquisitions du musée égyptien,' *RevEg* 3 (Paris, 1885) p. 44; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Bovot, J. –L., *Chaouabtis – Des travailleurs pharaoniques pour l'éternité* (Paris, 2003) p. 85 [no. 89]; Bovot, J. –L., 'Les figurines funéraires du Louvre provenant de la Cachette Royale (DB 320),' *EAO* 38 (Montségur, 2005) pp. 18, 28–30, fig. 19; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227; Bovot, J. –L., contributor in *Servir les dieux d'Égypte – Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d'Amon à Thèbes* (Grenoble, 2018) p. 330 (cat. No. 153a); see also <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010006373>. For E 20145, see Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Bovot, J. –L., 'Les figurines funéraires du Louvre provenant de la Cachette Royale (DB 320),' *EAO* 38 (Montségur, 2005) pp. 18, 28–30, fig. 19; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227; Bovot, J. –L., contributor in *Servir les dieux d'Égypte – Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d'Amon à Thèbes* (Grenoble, 2018) p. 330 (cat. No. 153a); see also <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010003982>. For 25418, see Bovot, J. –L., 'Les figurines funéraires du Louvre provenant de la Cachette Royale (DB 320),' *EAO* 38 (Montségur, 2005) pp. 18, 28–30, fig. 19; Bovot, J. –L., contributor in *Servir les dieux d'Égypte – Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d'Amon à Thèbes* (Grenoble, 2018) p. 330 footnote 5; see also <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010002639>.
 49. Gabolde, M., *Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée Joseph Déchelette* (Roanne, 1990) pp. 94–95, fig. 6 [no. 75]; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227.
 50. Aubert, J. –F. & Aubert, L. *Statuettes Égyptiennes – Chaouabtis, Oucheptis* (Paris, 1974) pp. 144–145, 293, pl. 30 fig. 66.
 51. De Haan, N., *The "Memphis" collection of Egyptian antiquities – A catalogue of a Dutch private collection. Vol. 2 Shabtis from the Deir el Bahri caches* (printed for private circulation, 2025), pp. 15–17. For NH–192, see the website of shabti scholar Niek de Haan: <https://www.shabticollections.com/> [no. SC/135].
 52. Schlögl, H. & Brodbeck, A., *Ägyptische Totenfiguren aus öffentlichen und privaten sammlungen der Schweiz* (Göttingen, 1990) pp. 157–158 [no. 93].
 53. Olbrantz, J., *Ancient Glass: Selections from the Richard Brockway Collection – Hallie Ford Museum of Art at Willamette University* (Salem, 2007).
 54. Brockway, R. & Macleod, L., *Collecting Ancient Glass in Antiques and Art around Florida* (Florida, 2010).
 55. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of The Fitzwilliam Museum: <https://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/65193>
 56. Allen, T. G., *The Egyptian Book of the Dead – Documents in the Oriental Institute of the Museum at the University of Chicago*, OIP 82 (Chicago, 1960) pp. 12, 65, 75, pl. CXXV; see also the website of the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago: <https://oi.uchicago.edu/>
 57. Allen, T. G., *The Art Institute of Chicago. A Handbook of the Egyptian Collections* (Chicago, 1923) pp. 67–68. See also the website of the Art Institute of Chicago: <https://www.artic.edu/>

58. Botti, G., *Le Antichità egiziane del Museo dell'Accademia di Cortona, ordinate e descritte* (Cortona, 1955) p. 70.
59. See the website of the Oriental Museum, University of Durham: <https://iif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=a427>
60. See the website of the National Museum Scotland: <https://www.nms.ac.uk/>
61. Roeder, G., *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim* (Berlin, 1921) p. 113; Schmitz, B., catalogue entry in *Nofret die Schöne. Die Frau im Alten Ägypten* (Mainz, 1985) pp. 127–128 [no. 161c]; Schmitz, B., catalogue entry in *Suche nach Unsterblichkeit* (Hildesheim, 1990) pp. 70–71; Kohl, T., *Diener für die Ewigkeit – Die Uschebti-Sammlung im Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 2018) pp. 122–124 [no. 27].
62. Petrie, W. M. F., *Shabtis* (London, 1935) p. 14, pls. XI, XVI, XXXVI [no. 262]; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology: <https://collections.ucl.ac.uk>
63. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60. See also the website of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional: <http://www.man.es/man/coleccion/catalogo-general.html>
64. Communication with Dr. Helen Whitehouse. See also the website of the Ashmolean Museum: <https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/452388>
65. Princeton, 'Recent Acquisitions,' *Record of the Art Museum* vol. 21 no. 1 (Princeton, 1961) p. 26 – part of a group of 67 Egyptian antiquities gifted by Horace Mayer. See also the website of the Princeton University Art Museum: <https://artmuseum.princeton.edu>
66. Gabolde, M., *Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée Joseph Déchelette* (Roanne, 1990) pp. 93–94, fig. 6 [no. 74]; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227.
67. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002), pp. 59–60 [no. 29].
68. De Haan, N., *The "Memphis" collection of Egyptian antiquities – A catalogue of a Dutch private collection. Vol. 2 Shabtis from the Deir el Bahri caches* (printed for private circulation, 2025), pp. 15–17.
69. Pellegrini, A., 'Statuette funerarie del Museo Archeologico di Firenze,' *Bessarione* 4, pp. 1–32, 248–269 (Rome, 1900) pp. 255–256 [no. 238 as 88, but should read 6159]. Communication with Dr. Maria Cristina Guidotti.
70. Roeder, G., *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim* (Berlin, 1921) p. 113; Schmitz, B., catalogue entry in *Suche nach Unsterblichkeit* (Hildesheim, 1990) pp. 70–71; Kohl, T., *Diener für die Ewigkeit – Die Uschebti-Sammlung im Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 2018) pp. 120–121 [no. 26].
71. See the website of the British Museum: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/>
72. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional: <http://www.man.es/man/coleccion/catalogo-general.html>
73. Rubinstein, R. I., 'Shawabti in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts,' *Journal of Ancient History* 3 (153) (Moscow, 1980) p. 71; Hodjash, S., *The Way to Immortality – Monuments of ancient Egyptian art from the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts* (Moscow, 2002) p. 120 [no. 335]. Communication with Dr. Olga Dyuzheva via Kirill Gribov.
74. Gillett, Rev. C. R., *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in Halls 3 and 4 – The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1898) p. 15 [no. 65]. See also the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: <https://www.metmuseum.org/>
75. See the website of the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale, New York <http://peabody.yale.edu/collections>
76. For E 7662, see Revillout, E., 'Nouvelles acquisitions du musée égyptien,' *RevEg* 3 (Paris, 1885) p. 44; Bovot, J. –L., 'Les figurines funéraires du Louvre provenant de la Cachette Royale (DB 320),' *EAO* 38 (Montségur, 2005) pp. 18, 28–30, fig. 19; Bovot, J. –L., contributor in *Servir les dieux d'Égypte – Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d'Amon à Thèbes* (Grenoble, 2018) p. 330 footnote 5; see also <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010006375>. For E 20324, see Bovot, J. –L., 'Les figurines funéraires du Louvre provenant de la Cachette Royale (DB 320),' *EAO* 38 (Montségur, 2005) pp. 15, 18, 28–39, figs. 3 & 19; see also <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010005806>
77. Roeder, G., *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim* (Berlin, 1921) p. 113; Speleers, L., *Les Figurines Funéraires Égyptiennes* (Brussels, 1923) pl. 26; Kohl, T., *Diener für die Ewigkeit – Die Uschebti-Sammlung im Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 2018) pp. 118–119 [no. 25].
78. Written communication with Halil Özek. Aykul, H. A., *Istanbul Archeology Museum: Ancient Orient Museum and in some private collection* 2 volumes (PhD thesis available on Academia: <https://www.academia.edu/>) (Istanbul, 1998) vol. 1 p. 125, vol. 2 pp. 25, 51.
79. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the British Museum: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/>
80. Bovot, J. –L., 'Les figurines funéraires du Louvre provenant de la Cachette Royale (DB 320),' *EAO* 38 (Montségur, 2005) pp. 18, 28–30, fig. 19; Bovot, J. –L., contributor in *Servir les dieux d'Égypte – Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d'Amon à Thèbes* (Grenoble, 2018) p. 330 footnote 5; see also <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010013971>
81. Communication with Dr. Melinda Hartwig. See the website of the Michael C. Carlos Emory Museum: <https://carlos.emory.edu/>
82. Roeder, G., *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin II*, (Leipzig, 1924) p. 335. ÄM 8539 was lost in World War II. Communication with Prof. Dr. Jan Moje.
83. Communication with Joyce Navarro.
84. Allen, T. G., *The Art Institute of Chicago. A Handbook of the Egyptian Collections* (Chicago, 1923) pp. 67–68 – with illustration; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the Art Institute: <https://www.artic.edu/>
85. See the website of the Field Museum: <https://www.fieldmuseum.org/collection/africa-collections>
86. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the British Museum: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/>
87. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60. Communication with Jean-Michel Sablon.
88. Gillett, Rev. C. R., *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in Halls 3 and 4 – The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1898) pp. 15–15 [no. 64]; Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: <https://www.metmuseum.org/>
89. Janes, G., *Shabtis – A Private View. Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections* (Paris, 2002) p. 60; Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227. See also the website of the Ashmolean Museum: <https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/452338>
90. Bovot, J. –L., 'Les figurines funéraires du Louvre provenant de la Cachette Royale (DB 320),' *EAO* 38 (Montségur, 2005) pp. 17–18, 28–30, figs. 5 & 19; Bovot, J. –L., contributor in *Servir les dieux d'Égypte – Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d'Amon à Thèbes* (Grenoble, 2018) p. 330 footnotes 4 & 5; see also <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010002729>
91. Communication with Dr. Elfriede Haslauer.
92. Legrain, G., *Collection H. Hoffmann – Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes* (Paris, 1894) p. 68; Aubert 1974, pp. 145–146.
93. Listed by Aston, D. A., *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25; Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009) p. 227 but with no references to confirm the *ushabtis* are in the museum collections.
94. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of The Amherst Collection of Egyptian & Oriental Antiquities* (London, 13th–17th June, 1921) lot 19.
95. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of Egyptian, Greek, Roman & Babylonian Antiquities etc. comprising First and Second day's sale, The Collection of Egyptian Antiquities formed by the Hon. R. Bethell, Third Day's sale, the Property of Captain Anthony Hamilton, D.S.O.* (London, 15th–17th December, 1924) part of lot 15.
96. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of the remaining part of the valuable collection of Egyptian Antiquities formed by Robert de Rustafjaell, Esq. comprising flint & stone implements of varied date, figures, vases & other objects, in porphyry, basalt and stone, alabaster vases, pre-dynastic and later pottery, including some very remarkable models of dwellings, figures of gods, vases, weapons, &c. in bronze, silver and faience, wood carvings, textiles, a unique series of paintings on canvas,*

mummies, a remarkable find of papyrus rolls, a large and very interesting series of bead necklaces, vases in coloured and plain glass or paste, etc. (London, 20th–25th January, 1913) lots 640 & 641.

97. Hilton Price, F. G., *A Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the possession of F. G. Hilton Price* vol. 1 (London, 1897) pp. 158–159; Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of the Important and extensive Collection of Egyptian Antiquities – the property of the late F. G. Hilton–Price, Esq.* (London, 20th July, 1911) lots 1154 [no. 1542] & 1155 [no. 1541].
98. Legrain, G., *Collection H. Hoffmann – Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes* (Paris, 1894) p. 68.
99. Budge, E. A. W., *Some Account of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities in the possession of Lady Meux, of Theobald's Park, Waltham Cross* (London, 1896) p. 162 [no. 84]; Waring & Gillow, *Catalogue of the Furniture & Contents of the Mansion together with certain items removed from 41, Park Lane and comprising: Equipments of 30 Bedrooms & 6 Reception Rooms; a valuable collection of Rare Antique Silver Plate dating from Queen Elizabeth to George I., and together with items of later date amounting to OVER 1000 OUNCES; an Historical Elizabethan Carved Oak Staircase; a Museum of Egyptian Antiquities collected and arranged by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum; a Collection of Finely Sculpted Marble Statuary; Sixteenth Century Carved Stone Ornaments; a Quantity of ornamental items and other effects* (London, May 15th–16th, 18th–19th, 22nd–23rd, 25th–26th May, 1911) part of lot 1544.
100. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* (London, 26th June–6th July 1922) part of lot 1362.
101. Legrain, G., *Collection H. Hoffmann – Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes* (Paris, 1894) p. 68.
102. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of the Important Collection of Egyptian Antiquities formed by the late H. Martyn Kennard, Esq.* (London, 17th July 1912) lot 357 – described as having four carelessly written vertical 'lines' of inscription & 358.
103. Aubert, J. –F., 'Nouvelles observations sur les chaouabts de Deir el Bahari et autres de la 21^e dynastie,' *CdE* 61, pp. 15–30 (Brussels, 1981) pp. 19–20.

For numerous references, see the website of the Institute of Egyptology and Coptology, Munster University, and the database of Prof. Dr. Erhart Graefe: <https://www1.ivv1.uni-muenster.de/litw3/Aegyptologie/index04.htm>

See also the website of *shabti* scholar Dik van Bommel: <https://www.ushabtis.com/>

Abbreviations

AI	Art Institute (Chicago).
ÄM	Ägyptisches Museum (Berlin).
AOM	Ancient Orient Museum (Istanbul).
APM	Allard Pierson Museum (Amsterdam).
ASH	Ashmolean Museum (Oxford).
BM	The British Museum (London).
BNSS	Bournemouth Natural Science Society.
BRM	Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn).
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte (Brussels).
CESRAS	The Centre for Egyptological Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow).
CG	Catalogue général du musée du Caire.
DUROM	Durham Oriental Museum (Durham University).
EAO	Egypt – Afrique & Orient (Montségur).
EDECC	Chiddingstone Castle (Edenbridge).
FM	Field Museum (Chicago).
FWM	Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge).
GEM	Grand Egyptian Museum (Cairo).
HERM	The State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg).
IM	Israel Museum (Jerusalem).
JE	Journal d'entrée du musée du Caire.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London).
KHM	Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna).
MAA	Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology (University of Cambridge).
MAC	Museo dell'Accademia di Cortona (Cortona).
MAH	Museum of Art and History (Geneva).
MAN	Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid).
MANF	Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze (Florence).
MCCM	Michael C. Carlos Emery Museum (Atlanta).
MCh	Musée Champollion (Figeac).
MdL	Musée du Louvre (Paris).
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts (Boston).
MJD	Musée Joseph Déchelette (Roanne).
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York).
MPRM.H	Musée de Préhistoire Régionale de Menton – collections Historiques (Menton).
NMEC	National Museum of Egyptian Civilization (Cairo).
NMS	National Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh).
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum (University of Chicago).
PM	The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts (Moscow).
PM I/2:	Porter, Bertha and Rosalind. L. B. Moss (1964) <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, Volume I: The Theban Necropolis, Part 2: Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press. 2nd edition.
PUAM	Princeton University Art Museum (USA).
RevEg	<i>Revue égyptologique</i> (Paris).
RMO	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden).
RPM	Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum (Hildesheim).
SAnM	South Australian Museum (Adelaide, Australia).
S.R.	Special Register (Cairo Museum).
TR	Temporary number (Cairo Museum).
UC	University College, London (Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology).
YPM	Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History (New York).

Auction and dealer catalogue references

Ader, Nordmann & Dominique (auctioneers, Paris), *Archéologie – Arts de l'Islam et l'Inde* (Paris, 10th February, 2023).
 Artemis Gallery (dealer/auctioneers, Louisville), *Exceptional Ancient, Ethnographic, & Fine Art* (Louisville, 9th March, 2023).
 Batemans (auctioneers, Stamford), auction details not known (Stamford, 2008).

Beussant Lefèvre (auctioneers, Paris), *Antiquités – Aer Nègre – Dessins et Tableaux Anciens – Objets d'Art et de Bel Ameublement – Tapisseries – Tapis* (Paris, 2nd February, 2012).

Bergé, P. (auctioneers, Paris), *Vente Archéologie, Miniatures orientales, Art de la Chine* (Paris, 15th–16th October, 2005); *Vente Archéologie* (Paris, 27th–28th October, 2006); *Archéologie* (Paris, 2nd February, 2017).

Blanchet & Associés (auctioneers, Paris), *Tableaux anciens – Antiquité Romaine – Archéologie – Armes anciennes – Objets d'art – Moblier* (Paris, 27th March, 2012).

Boisgirard & Antonini (auctioneers, Paris), *Archéologie – Arts d'Orient* (Paris, 18th June).

Bonhams (auctioneers, London), *Antiquities* (London, 28th October, 2009); *Antiquities* (London, 6th July, 2023); *Antiquities* (London, 7th December, 2023).

Bonhams & Brooks (auctioneers, London), *Antiquities* (London, 26th April, 2001); *Antiquities* (London, 8th November, 2001).

Carlsen Gallery, Inc. (auctioneers, Freehold, USA), *Antiques & Fine Art Auction including the Collection of the late Norman Rice* (Freehold, 4th December, 2022).

Carnegie Auction Gallery (California, USA): *Art, Ethnographic item, Jewelry, Collectibles and Books* (Los Angeles, 24th November, 2024).

Chauviré Courant (auctioneers, Angers), *Archéologie–Asie, Collection Deschamps* (Angers, 2nd October, 2018).

Choppin de Janvry (auctioneers, Paris), *Archéologie–Orient* (Paris, 8th February, 2010).

Christie's (auctioneers, London, New York and Paris), *Fine Antiquities* (London, 17th–18th November, 1977); *Antiquities* (London, 20th July, 1979); *Antiquities* (London, 23rd April, 1980); *Fine Antiquities* (London, 11th June, 1980); *Fine Antiquities* (London, 29th October, 1980); *Fine Antiquities* (London, 13th–14th December, 1983); *Fine Antiquities* (London, 7th July, 1993); *Antiquities* (London, 23rd April, 1980); *Fine Antiquities* (London, 4th July, 1996); *Antiquities including the Plesch Collection of Ancient Glass* (London, 28th April, 2009); *Antiquities* (New York, 3rd June, 2009); *Storied Treasures: Antiquities from the Toledo Museum of Art* (New York, 19th–26th October, 2016 – online auction); *Antiquities* (London, 5th July, 2023).

De Maigret, Thierry (auctioneers, Paris), *Collection Charles Bouché* (Paris, 24th October, 2012).

Dessaut, Benoît (auctioneers, Chalon-sur-Saône), details not known (Chalon-sur-Saône, 18th October, 2015).

Dore & Rees (auctioneers, Frome), *The Private Collection Of The Late 'Great' George Withers including Furniture, Pictures, Silver, Asian Art, European Ceramics, Works of Art, Antiquities and more* (Frome, 21st–23rd February, 2024).

Drouot (auctioneers, Paris) details not known (Paris, 2001).

Eberwein, R. (dealer), *Antike Kunst* cat. No. 2 (Göttingen, 2013).

HVMC (Hôtel des Ventes de Monte-Carlo – auctioneers, Monaco), *Une Collection privée Française, Archéologie, Armes, Souvenirs Historiques, Extrême Orient* (Monaco, 10th November, 2023).

Laurin – Guilloux – Buffetaud – Tailleur (auctioneers, Paris), *Archeologie Égyptienne et Gréco Romaine* (Paris, 29th June, 1992).

Millon & Associés (auctioneers, Paris), *Archéologie & Préhistoire* (Paris, 12th June, 2018).

Morelle, J. (auctioneers, Paris), *Tableaux – Dessins – Gravures – Antique* (Paris, 24th November, 1982).

Pandolfini casa d'Aste (auctioneers, Florence – Milan – Rome), *Archeologia* (Florence, 9th February, 2022).

Pescheteau-Badin (auctioneers, Paris), *Archéologie – Orient* (Paris, 29th June 1992); *Archéologie – Orient* (Paris, 12th October 2009); *Archéologie – Orient* (Paris, 5th July 2010).

Phillips (auctioneers, London), *Tribal Art & Antiquities* (London, 25th June, 1999).

Sineau, A. (auctioneers, Auxerre), details not known (1st April, 1990).

Sotheby's (including Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., and Sotheby & Co.) (auctioneers, London and New York), *Catalogue of Egyptian, Western Asiatic, Greek and Roman Antiquities, Islamic Pottery, Metalwork, Glass and Textiles* (London, 8th December, 1970); *Antiquities* (London, 21st May, 1984); *Antiquities and Islamic Art* (New York, 29th November, 1989); *Antiquities* (New York, 8th December, 2004); *Ancient Sculpture and Works of Art* (London, 29th November, 2017).

Tessier & Sarrou (auctioneers, Paris), *Tableaux, Meubles et Objet's d'Art, Art Précolombien* (Paris, 16th December, 2015).