

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

Pen-Amen

P3-n-Imn



Third Intermediate Period, early 21st Dynasty
Probably from Western Thebes, potentially a Third Cache



Pen-Amen

- a Faience, bright blue glaze, details added in black
Third Intermediate Period, early 21st Dynasty
Probably from Western Thebes, potentially a Third Cache
H. 10.1 cm. W. 3.1 cm. D. 2.4 cm.
ex Orient–Occident Gallery, Paris
Published: Pierre Bergé, *Archéologie*, Paris, 16th December, 2015 lot 62
Exhibited: 'Shabtis: Suspended Truth in Context,' The Manchester Museum, 2017
'Adventure in Egypt: Mrs Goodison & Other Travellers,' The Atkinson, Southport, 2017
- b Faience, turquoise–blue glaze, details added in black
Third Intermediate Period, early 21st Dynasty
Probably from Western Thebes, potentially a Third Cache
H. 10.7 cm. W. 3.6 cm. D. 2.1 cm.
Published: Charles Ede Ltd, *Small Sculpture from Ancient Egyptian*, 2000 [no. 44]; Pierre Bergé, *Archéologie*, Paris, 16th December, 2015 lot 63
Exhibited: 'Shabtis: Suspended Truth in Context,' The Manchester Museum, 2017



A pair of *shabtis* for the same owner, one being a worker and the other an 'overseer.'

The mummiform worker *shabti* (a) wears a tripartite wig detailed with black painted striations. The front lappets terminate in horizontal bands. The arms are crossed right over left above the waist and the clenched hands carry a pair of hoes that are added in black. A bracelet is painted on the right wrist and a *wesekh*–collar comprising of three stands and ending in a row of drop-shaped beads, is painted across the chest. The face is somewhat simply modelled and has quite chubby cheeks. The details of a small and pouting mouth, the large eyes and eyebrows are added in black. The ears are clearly modelled and they protrude in front of the lappets of the wig. On the reverse, a basket is subtly integrated into the relief. The basket itself is

trapezoidal in shape and is painted with square-hatched detail and has carrying straps that fall alongside the rear lappet of the wig after initially being held in the hands. The back of the arms are indicated in relief. A vertical column of a painted hieroglyphic inscription on the front of the *shabti* names the owner as Pen-Amen (The one belonging to Amen)¹ with the titles of *wab*–priest and Craftsman of the Domain of Amen. The front of a mount upon which the *shabti* stands reads – Ushabti of PENAMON, Chief of the Temple of Amon XX1st Dyn cir B.C.1050 [Der el bahari, 1881], while underneath the mount an old label reads – Purchased from Lawrence Wandsworth. Although the stated provenance points to the Royal Cache at Deir el-Bahari (DB 320), this claim is contradicted by two key facts. Firstly, no other *shabtis* for Pen-Amen have ever been



b

securely documented from DB 320 and secondly, museum records show that several parallel examples were already in collections prior to the cache's official 1881 discovery (see the following database).

The 'overseer' *shabti* (b) wears a fully painted, short bipartite wig, featuring crudely painted striations restricted to the short front lappets. The wig sports a blue *seshed*-headband that lacks a tie at the back – a feature also seen on Type 2 worker *shabtis* (see the following database). The figure wears a long, triangular projecting apron and a short-sleeved tunic, the dress of daily life associated with 'overseer' *shabtis*. The left arm is held across the waist and the clenched hand carries a black-painted whip modelled in relief. The whip is positioned in front of the right shoulder. The right hand hangs down by the side of the body and is adorned with a bracelet at the wrist and holds what appears to be a lotus flower. A parallel example to be found in London (see the following database) appears to have the stem of the flower hanging down by the side of the leg, though the stem is not evident on the present example. The face is simply modelled and has heavily painted eyes with eyebrows and an unsmiling mouth added in black. A *wesekh*-collar comprising of three strands is worn across the chest and terminates in a row of drop-shaped beads. On the reverse, the bodily curvature and arms are modelled in relief, while the ankles and feet are faintly suggested at the base. A vertical column of a painted hieroglyphic inscription within a closed-topped frame on the front of the apron that names the owner as Pen-Amen. No titles are given. The preliminary – 'The illuminated one' is written in a very abbreviated form using only the  hieroglyph.

Pen-Amen belonged to an illustrious Theban family whose lineage has been clarified in a recent chronological study by Dr. Julien Siesse. Siesse identifies Suty-mes as Pen-Amen's father (see also below and Fig. 1), noting that he held many of the same titles as his son – most significantly, Chief of the Scribes in the Domain of Amen.² Within Siesse's proposed sequence for the



Fig. 1. A *shabti* for the Chief Scribe of the Treasury, Suty-mes. (Not to scale – © The Kemehu Collection).



Fig. 2. A *shabti* for the Chief Scribe in the Domain of Amen, Hor-em-Khebit (BM EA 8902). (Not to scale – © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 3. A *shabti* for Henut-netjeru (BM EA 33964 – acquired in 1868).
(Not to scale – © The Trustees of the British Museum).

holders of this office, Khonsu-mes and Hor-em-Khebit (see Fig. 2) are also integrated. Khonsu-mes possesses wooden *shabtis* that resemble the Worker type 4 *shabtis* of Pen-Amen (see Fig. 4). Finally, Pen-Amen's maternal lineage is established through his mother, Henut-netjeru (see Fig. 3).³

Although no individual tomb has been identified for Pen-Amen, Siesse suggests the existence of a communal family vault – potentially a 'Third Cache' within the Theban necropolis. This collective tomb may have contained the burials of Suty-mes, Khonsu-mes, and Tcha-wen-huy, all of whom shared the same titles.⁴ Supporting this hypothesis, various elements of their respective funerary assemblages were brought to light between 1815 and 1835. Niwiński suggests that there may have been 'one or two cachettes with many coffins, ... similar to the caches later discovered in the tombs of Inhapy (i.e. DB 320) and the Bab el-Gusus, were found in those day.'⁵ Aston writes: '... it was obvious that the large number of similar coffins, Books of the Dead, *shabti* boxes and ushebti, acquired from collections made in the 1820's and 1830's by a number of travellers who visited Egypt around that time, were clearly of Theban origin, and could be dated to the Twenty-first Dynasty, with the implied suggestion that a 'Third Cache' must have been discovered sometime in the early 1820s.'⁶

Dautant specifically notes that a *tombe collective*, discovered in the autumn of 1820, contained coffins, papyri, statuettes, *shabtis*, and *shabti* boxes belonging to Khonsu-mes, his wife Tent-Amen, and their daughter Tayu-heret.⁷ This individual is likely the same Khonsu-mes noted above, who held numerous illustrious titles, including Chief of the Scribes in the Domain of Amen. Consequently, Pen-Amen and his family may have also been interred in this same tomb.

Regarding the *shabtis* for Pen-Amen, three distinct worker types are made in faience, alongside a potential fourth type made from polychrome wood. This fourth type was recently attributed to the same assemblage by Dr. Julien Siesse.⁸ They are inscribed with the same title of Chief of the Scribes in the Domain of Amen as found on some of faience examples. In the context of Third Intermediate Period funerary practices, a single owner possessing a highly mixed, hybrid assemblage of both faience and wooden worker *shabtis* would be completely unique. Could the wooden series, which is highly characteristic of the 20th Dynasty, belong to the father of Pen-Amen, the owner of the faience *shabtis*? In ancient Egypt it was entirely common for a father and son to share both identical names and professional titles. Given the chronological shift in craftsmanship, attributing the wooden figures to an elder Pen-Amen offers a highly

plausible explanation for the dual assemblages. However, this proposal is immediately eliminated because the name of Pen-Amen's father is written in the second of two hieratic graffiti on the outer coffin of Amen-hotep I as being Suty-mes, albeit somewhat indistinct. Pen-Amen was responsible for renewing Amen-hotep's mummy wrappings – 'Year 16, 4th month of Peret, day 7: High Priest of Amen-Re, king of the gods, Masaharta, son of Pinudjem [I], son of Pi-ankh, went to renew the wrappings of the god [Amen-hotep I], through the agency of the Scribe of the Treasury, Pen-Amen, son of Suty-mes.'⁹ The coffin and the mummy of Amen-hotep I were eventually recovered from the first Royal Cache (DB 320), which was discovered in 1881 as noted earlier.¹⁰

A particularly large group of faience *shabtis* for Pen-Amen is to be found in the British Museum, London (see the following database). The *shabtis* are inscribed with a wide range of titles including Chief Scribe of the Treasury, *wab*-priest, *wab*-priest of Amen, Chief Craftsman, Scribe of the Temple, Chief Temple Scribe, Scribe of the God's Books, Chief Scribe of the Domain of Amen and Archivist in Chief in the Treasury of the Domain of Amen. Some of these titles are often rather indistinct. Several *shabtis* in the group are without titles.

Several figurines within these worker types feature iconography more closely aligned with New Kingdom traditions, such as the *wesekh*-collar, an element rarely observed on Third Intermediate Period *shabtis*. Intriguingly, three known parallel worker *shabtis* feature a pair of water pots suspended from a yoke that is added in black paint across the back. To the author's knowledge, this attribute is entirely absent from other Third Intermediate Period *shabti* assemblages, save for those belonging to Pen-Amen's father, Suty-mes (see Fig. 1). Furthermore, a specific specimen in London (BM EA 8922) holds a clearly painted and obviously intended broad-bladed hoe in the left hand and a narrow-bladed hoe in the right. The difference in the identity of the blade of the hoes was phased out and they were simply stylised during the early Third Intermediate Period. This archaising tendency matches the stylistically late New Kingdom profile of Pen-Amen's controversial wooden *shabti* set – a material rarely utilized during the Third Intermediate Period. Finally, the Type 1 worker *shabtis* do not wear a *seshed*-headband although Type 2 workers and the 'overseer' *shabtis* feature a headband lacking rear ties. While Aubert & Aubert suggest that the *seshed*-headband, which characteristically includes a rear tie, did not appear until the reign of Masaharta,¹¹ its presence on the *shabtis* of Suty-mes counters this timeline. Instead, it suggests the attribute was introduced earlier, during the reign of Pinudjem I, when Suty-mes served as Chief of the Scribes of the Domain of Amun.

A second potential type of 'overseer' is proposed. Although only a high-quality fragment of a head and upper body remains, it is tentatively attributed by the author to the British Museum's collection of Pen-Amen's *shabtis* based on the sequential inventory numbering. Lacking an inscription, EA 18607 sits within a cluster of *shabtis* (EA 18603 to 18608) explicitly identified as belonging to Pen-Amen because they are inscribed with his name (see the following database).

The iconographic variants noted above perhaps suggest that the *shabtis* of Pen-Amen and his father, Suty-mes, were produced during the dynastic transition in the early Third Intermediate Period.

A faintly inscribed *shabti* box of Ramesside date, now to be found in Paris (MdL N 2942? = Salt 3299 – acquired in 1826 – see Fig. 4), contained a *shabti* for Tcha-wen-huy (Salt 3300),

two for Khonsu-mes (Salt 3301–3302) and one wooden *shabti* for Pen-Amen (Salt 3303) – see the following database.¹²

As well as restoring the burial of Amen-hotep I, Pen-Amen may have also documented the transfer of Ramesses IV's body from his tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 2) after it had been vandalised, to the tomb of Amen-hotep II (KV 35). Hieratic graffiti on the east wall of the first corridor (Corridor B) in

Ramesses IV's tomb (KV 2) records the removal of the king's body to the tomb of Amen-hotep II (KV 35) by a Scribe called Pen-Amen.¹³ KV 35 served as a secondary mummy cache during the Third Intermediate Period. Discovered by Victor Loret in 1898, this second Royal Cache contained the coffins and mummies of several rulers from the 18th, 19th, and 20th Dynasties.¹⁴



Fig. 4. A polychrome wooden *shabti* box and four *shabtis* it contained that are inscribed (left to right) for Tcha-wen-huy, Khonsu-mes (2 examples) and Pen-Amen that are now to be found in Paris (MdL N 2942? = Salt 3299; Salt 3300; Salt 3301 & 3302; Salt 3303).
(Not to scale – © Musée du Louvre / Département des Antiquités égyptiennes).

Inscriptions

*shd Wsir w^cb hmw(w) n pr Imn
P3-n-Imn m3^c-hrw*

The illuminated one, the Osiris,
the *wab*-priest, Craftsman of the
Domain of Amen, Pen-Amen,
justified.

a



shd Wsir P3-n-Imn m3^c-hrw

The illuminated one, the Osiris,
Pen-Amen, justified.

b



Typology and database of parallel *shabtis* for Pen–Amen

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; refulgent bright blue glazed faience; details are added in black; striated tripartite wig with the rear lappet usually being outlined and closed by a horizontal line, although some are left open; the striations are mostly boldly added, although on some examples they are more delicate in their execution; none of the examples wear a *seshed*–headband; the arms are crossed right over left above the waist; a hoe is carried in each hand; most examples carry a basket that are only outlined or have diamond–hatched (very rare), vertical (very rare) or square–hatched detail with their shape being trapezoidal, rectangular or square, and with carryings straps; some have faint loops in the upper corners of the basket; some *shabtis* have a basket faintly modelled in raised relief below the rear lappet of the wig; a pair of water jars suspended from a yoke are carried behind the shoulders on two of the known examples; a *wesekh*–collar is worn across the chest, most ending in a row of drop–shaped beads; faces can be quite small and simply defined; large outlined eyes with eyebrows and a usually unsmiling mouth are added in black; ears protrude in front of the side lappets of the wig, some being outlined in black; the back of the elbows is sometimes defined in the modelling; a vertical column of a painted hieroglyphic inscription is added on the front with framing lines closed at the top, sometimes with a pair of horizontal lines, or with a single line that is thicker than those used for the vertical elements of the frame; the owner is named Pen–Amen.
c. 9.9–10.4 cm in height.

Cambridge (FWM E.34a.1887–E.34b.1887, E.34d.1887 – bought by E. A. Wallis Budge in 1887).¹⁵ ①–③

Edinburgh (NMS A.1965.40).¹⁶ ④

Florence (ME 6602B, 6602C?, 6606, 6607 (both read as being for Hotep–Amen – collected by Ernesto Schiaparelli in Egypt (1884–1885) & 6611 – also collected by Ernesto Schiaparelli in Egypt (1884–1885)).¹⁷ ⑤–⑨

Liverpool (WM M14022 – gift of Joseph Mayer in 1867).¹⁷ ⑩

London (BM EA 8907–8914, 8916, 8920, 8923 – purchased from Joseph Sams in 1834, 18589, 18591, 18594–18595, 18598, 18600, 18603–18606, 18608 – purchased through E. A. Wallis Budge in 1887, 34031, 34147 – purchased from Joseph Sams in 1834, & 67137 – purchased from Sir Hector Lethbridge in 1969).¹⁸ ⑪–⑬

Lyon (MBA G 332).¹⁹ ⑭

Oxford (ASH QCL 291).²⁰ ⑮

Paris (MdL E 20308).²¹ ⑯

Trento (CdB – 664).²²

Former Hilton Price Collection [nos. 1553–1556 – given by Sir Francis Grenfell] – assumed to be with horizontal striations above the forehead.²³

Former Lady Meux Collection [no. 94 – assumed to be with horizontal striations above the forehead].²⁴

Kemehu Collection.^⑰

Christie's 1984, lot 201.

De Maigret 2012, lot 86 – ex Charles Bouché Collection.^⑱

De Maigret 2015, lot 113 – same *shabti* as sold in 2012.

De Maigret 2015, lot 30 – same *shabti* again.

Laurin – Guilloux – Buffetaud – Tailleur 1992, lot 42.

Ede 2007, [no. 44].





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WORKER 2 – mummiform; refulgent mid to bright blue glazed faience; details are added in black; tripartite wig with vertical striations above the brow; striations are boldly painted; a *seshed* headband is worn at the height of the front of the wig or just above it; none have a tie at the back; the rear lappet is outlined on some examples, the lower edge ending with a thick horizontal line; several *shabtis* have a basket faintly modelled in raised relief below the rear lappet of the wig; only one example has a painted basket, this being square-hatched and with carrying straps; the arms are crossed right over left above the waist; the hands are sometimes outlined in black and both carry a hoe; some hoes are shown as being broad-bladed and narrow-bladed (very rare); the wrists sometimes wear a bracelet; the faces are usually small and simply defined although some are larger and faintly sculpted; large eyes with eyebrows and a sometimes faintly smiling mouth are added in black; the elbows are shaped in the modelling on the back of the *shabti*; a vertical column of a painted hieroglyphic inscription is added on the front with framing lines that are closed at the top; the owner is named Pen-Amen.

c. 9.7–10.6 cm in height.

Cambridge (FWM E.34c.1887 – bought by E. A. Wallis Budge in 1887).²⁵ ①

Liverpool (WM M14021 – gift of Joseph Mayer in 1867).²⁶ ②

London (BM EA 8917–8919, 8921–8922 – purchased from Joseph Sams in 1834, 18590, 18592–18593, 18596, 18600–18602 – purchased through E. A. Wallis Budge in 1887, 33975 & 34030 – purchased from Joseph Sams in 1834; ③–⑤ V & A 3769–1853 – ex Bandinel Collection).²⁷ ⑥

Oxford (ASH QCL 290).²⁸ ⑦

Trento (CdB 601).²⁹

Vienna (KHM ÄS 10066).³⁰ ⑧

Bonhams 1995, lot 268.



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WORKER 3 – mummiform – short and squat in comparison to others in the series for this owner; bright blue glazed faience; details are added in black; wear a tripartite wig with striations added in black; a *wesekh*-collar is worn across the chest ending in a row of drop-shaped beads; arms are crossed right over left on the chest; a small pair of hoes are carried in the clenched hands; a square-hatched basket with carrying straps is added on the back; the face is poorly defined; the front has a vertical column a painted hieroglyphic inscription with framing lines closed at the top; the owner is named Pen-Amen. 8.5 cm in height.

London (BM EA 18599 – purchased through Budge in 1887).³¹ ①



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OVERSEER 1 – wearing the dress of daily life comprising a long projecting triangular apron and a short-sleeved tunic; mid to bright blue glazed faience; a bipartite wig is painted in black with striations being indicated on the short front lappets; a headband in the blue of the underlying colour of the glaze is worn around the wig but is not tied at the back; a *wesekh*-collar is worn across the chest and ends in a row of drop-shaped beads; the face is simply modelled and has the eyes, eyebrows and mouth added in black; the left arm is folded across the waist and the hand holds a whip; the right arm hangs down by the side of the body and wears a bracelet on the wrist and the hand holds what appears to be a lotus flower; the backs of the arms and the posterior are shaped in the modelling; the lower legs, ankles and feet are very faintly suggested in the modelling; the front of the apron has a vertical column of a crudely painted hieroglyphic inscription with framing lines closed at the top that gives the name of the owner, Pen-Amen. c. 10.2–10.6 cm in height.

London (BM EA 33976 – acquired from Joseph Sams in 1934).³² ① Kemehu Collection. ③
Trento (CdB 616).³³ ②



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OVERSEER 2 – although only an upper half fragment, it is obvious that the figure is wearing the dress of daily life as can be deduced from a short-sleeved tunic with finely detailed pleating; bright blue glazed faience; details are added in black; a bipartite wig is painted in black with the exception of a broad headband that has dotted decoration and a lotus flower that adorns the top of the head; the headband is not tied at the back; a five-stranded *wesekh*-collar is worn across the chest; the face is somewhat square in shape and has the eyes, eyebrows and unsmiling mouth added in black; unusual for an ‘overseer,’ the arms are crossed right over left on the chest; the clenched hands both hold double stranded whips the handles of which extend below the hands; because it is only a fragment, the figure does not have an inscription but it is tentatively identified (by the author) as being for Pen-Amen. When complete, this exceptionally fine, high-quality *shabti* would have undoubtedly reflected its owner’s elevated social status.
7.4 cm in height.

London (BM EA 18607 – acquired from Wallis Budge in 1887).³⁴ ①



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WORKER 4 (attributed to the same Pen-Amen as the previous worker types by Dr. Julien Siesse) – mummiform; wood with polychrome decoration; fully painted tripartite wig; the body of the *shabtis* are painted in white; the arms are crossed on the chest and the hands, which are painted red, carry a pair of hoes added in the same colour; a rectangular basket that has diamond-hatched or square-hatched detail is carried on the back and is also painted red; the faces are painted red with black and white being used for the eyes; some examples have the eyes added as black dots; a vertical column of hieroglyphic inscription is painted in black on the front of the figure, most with thick red framing lines at the sides usually open at the top although some are closed with a black line; the owner is named Pen-Amen.
c. 10.8–13.5 cm in height.

Leiden (RMO AH 104c).³⁵ ①

Nantes (MD D.961.2.118).³⁶ ②

Paris (BNF CM 723;³⁷ MdL AF 11893–11898, N 2684 63–66, E 33550, E 33551, E 33873, E 33874, E 33875 & Salt 3303 & 3618).³⁸ ③–⑬

Bonhams 2024, lot 61 – ex Bodo Bleß (1940–2022) Collection (Berlin).^④

Further examples were offered for sale on the art market as noted by Aubert & Aubert 2005, p. 109.³⁹



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Abbreviations

ASH	Ashmolean Museum (Oxford).
Bd'E	Bibliothèque d'Étude (Cairo).
BM	The British Museum, London.
BNF CM	Bibliothèque nationale de France – Cabinet des médailles (Paris).
CdB	Castello del Buonconsiglio (Trento, Italy).
FWM	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
KHM	Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna).
MBA	Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon (Lyon).
MD	Musée Dobrée (Nantes)
MdL	Musée du Louvre (Paris). YES
ME	Museo Egizio (Florence).
NMS	National Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh).
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven)
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> (Paris)
RMO	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden).
V & A	The Victoria & Albert Museum (London).
WM	World Museum (Liverpool).

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