

Outside the Box

Selected papers from the conference

“Deir el-Medina and
the Theban Necropolis in Contact”

Liège, 27-29 October 2014

Andreas DORN & Stéphane POLIS (eds.)



Presses Universitaires de Liège

Outside the Box

Photo of the book cover: O. Turin CG 57141 (reproduced with kind permission of the Museo Egizio, Turin).

Dépôt légal D/2018/12.839/16

ISBN 978-2-87562-166-5

© Copyright Presses Universitaires de Liège

Place du 20-Août, 7

B-4000 Liège (Belgique)

<http://www.presses.uliege.be>

Tous droits de traduction et de reproduction réservés pour tous pays.

Imprimé en Belgique

Collection *Ægyptiaca Leodiensia* 11

Outside the Box

Selected papers from the conference

“Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact”

Liège, 27–29 October 2014

Andreas DORN & Stéphane POLIS (eds.)

Presses Universitaires de Liège

2018

Table of Contents

Andreas DORN, Todd J. GILLEN & Stéphane POLIS, Deir el-Medina studies. Current situation and future perspectives	7–16
Guillemette ANDREU-LANOË & Jacques PELEGRIN, La <i>fabrique</i> des ostraca en calcaire. Comment scribes et dessinateurs se procuraient-ils ces supports ?	17–25
Anne AUSTIN, Living and Dying at Deir el-Medina: An osteological analysis of the TT 290 assemblage	27–47
Patricia BERG, Textual references to mobility in necropolis journals and notes from Deir el-Medina	49–70
Anne BOUD'HORS, Moines et laïcs dans la nécropole thébaine (VII ^e –VIII ^e siècles). Frontières et interactions entre deux modes de vie	71–82
Massimo CULTRARO & Federica FACCHETTI, A foreign market revisited. New evidence of Mycenaean and Aegean-related pottery from Schiaparelli's campaigns (1905–1909) at Deir el-Medina	83–96
Paolo DEL VESCO & Federico POOLE, Deir el-Medina in the Egyptian Museum of Turin. An overview, and the way forward	97–130
Rob J. DEMARÉE, A Late Ramesside ship's log (Papyrus Turin 2098 + 2100/306 verso)	131–140
Andreas DORN, Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine (GMT) 2012/2013: Old and new graffiti from Western Thebes. Report on the 1 st campaign of the "Graffiti in the valleys of Western Thebes project"	141–155
Kathrin GABLER, Can I stay or must I go? Relations between the Deir el-Medina community and their service personnel	157–189
Cédric GOBEIL, Archaeology in the archives. A <i>zir</i> -area at Deir el-Medina and its implications for the location of the <i>khetem</i>	191–216
Pierre GRANDET, Ostraca hiératiques documentaires de l'IFAO : quelques points notables	217–232
Ben HARING, Popular, but unique? The early history of the royal necropolis workmen's marks	233–244
Khaled HASSAN & Stéphane POLIS, Extending the corpus of Amennakhte's literary compositions. Palaeographical and textual connections between two ostraca (O. BM EA 21282 + O. Cairo HO 425)	245–264

Christine HUE-ARCE, The legal treatment of interpersonal violence in Deir el-Medina	265–279
Paolo MARINI, <i>Shabti</i> -boxes and their representation on wall paintings in tombs at Deir el-Medina	281–300
Bernard MATHIEU, Les « Caractères » : un genre littéraire de l'époque ramesside	301–332
Stephanie E. MCCLAIN, Authorship and attribution. Who wrote the twentieth dynasty journal of the necropolis?	333–364
Aurore MOTTE, Observations on the <i>Reden und Rufe</i> in the workmen's tombs of Deir el-Medina	365–381
Hana NAVRATILOVA, An elusive community: Traces of necropolis workmen in Memphis?	383–406
Chloé C.D. RAGAZZOLI, Graffiti and secondary epigraphy in Deir el-Medina. A progress report	407–420
Anne-Claire SALMAS, Space and society at Deir el-Medina. Delineating the territory of a specific 'social group'	421–445
Deborah SWEENEY, Cattle at Deir el-Medina	447–464
Julia TROCHE, The living dead at Deir el-Medina	465–475
Pascal VERNUS, The circulation of "literary" texts in the Deir el-Medina community. Two opposite cases	477–492
Jean WINAND, Dialectal, sociolectal and idiolectal variations in the late Egyptian texts from Deir el-Medineh and the Theban area	493–524
Index	525–539

Shabti-boxes and their representation on wall paintings in tombs at Deir el-Medina^{*}

Paolo MARINI

Museo Egizio, Turin

Abstract. *Shabti*-boxes are first attested mid-18th dynasty and, during the same period, one can find their first representations in the wall paintings of Theban tombs. Some of the *shabti*-boxes dated from the 19th and the 20th dynasties — both real and represented — display a peculiar decoration, with a significant use of yellow and black colour that might indicate the existence of a style linked to the Deir el-Medina area. Indeed, the analysis of archaeological evidence shows that it is possible to link some *shabti*-boxes represented in the wall paintings of tombs at Deir el-Medina with actual *shabti*-boxes coming from the same site; this type of *shabti*-boxes may be a new typological class, not attested outside Deir el-Medina and previously not identified. These yellow and black painted *shabti*-boxes were probably produced in so-called “informal workshops.” The use of these two specific colours, yellow and black, for the *shabti*-boxes might indicate that the craftsmen could be the same as those who decorated the wall paintings in the tombs at Deir el-Medina. Moreover, the choice of these colours might not have been exclusively for their symbolic value, but also for economic reasons or based on the availability of materials and colours.

1. *SHABTI*-BOXES OF THE NEW KINGDOM

Shabti-boxes¹ make their appearance in the tombs of the Theban nobles during the middle of the 18th dynasty. This container, in most of cases made of wood,² is called in the Egyptian sources *itr̥t*, i.e. ‘chapel’ or ‘shrine’, probably because of its shape, similar to a pre-dynastic *itr̥t*-chapel.³ The

^{*} At the time of writing this paper, I was PhD student at Università di Pisa. I would like to thank Marilina Betrò, whose support and continuous encouragement are never lacking. I want to express my gratitude to my friends Denny Toniolo and Silvia Zago for checking my English. I would like to express my gratitude to Andreas Dorn and Stéphane Polis for their hospitality and the outstanding organization of this conference.

¹ During the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, *shabtis* were often put into small scale models of sarcophagi. Despite their being attested into the 21st dynasty (see the sarcophagus scale model JE 48411 in Newberry 1937: 348–350 and 1957: pl. XVII), they were gradually replaced by *shabti*-boxes: these had a totally different shape and expressed the functional change related to a conceptual evolution of the small funerary figure occurring in the New Kingdom. See Marini (2012: 84–86).

² *Shabti*-boxes are generally made of wood. Nevertheless a rare pottery production is also attested, see Marini (2013).

³ The iconography of the pre-dynastic chapels is known from some reproductions dating to the end of the pre-dynastic period and to the Thinite age. Usually two kinds of sacred buildings were represented, whose stylized forms are recognizable, from the 3rd dynasty, in some graphemes determining the word *itr̥t* (Porta 1989: 68). The word *itr̥t* is also attested on some ostraca of the Ramesside age, to indicate *shabti*-boxes: O. Turin 9592, 2–3 and O. Turin 9618, 9. On the

iconography of *shabti*-boxes evolves over time in such a characteristic way that we are able to date these artifacts quite precisely on a stylistic basis.

The first scholar who focused his attention on *shabti*-boxes was David A. Aston, and in his paper he divided the *shabti*-boxes into 8 typological classes.⁴ Since 2010 most of my work has been focused on *shabti*-boxes,⁵ and in 2012 I proposed a new typological classification,⁶ different from that of Aston and extended with two new classes.⁷ This classification has undergone further change, due to new discoveries that I am glad to present here.

The earliest known *shabti*-box is that of Amenemhet (Brooklyn 50.130), dated between the reign of Tuthmosis IV (?) and Amenhotep III.⁸ It is made of plain wood, it has the shape of a single *itrt*-chapel and bears columns of hieroglyphs carved on its four sides.⁹ Around the same time, new *shabti*-boxes appear, painted with colored strips, which in most cases constitute the *false-door* motif.¹⁰ The main attestation of this typology is the thirteen *shabti*-boxes of Yuya and Tuya, discovered in KV 46 (Fig. 1).¹¹

Between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th dynasty, *shabti*-boxes shaped as a double *itrt*-chapel start being produced (Fig. 2). In a first phase they are still decorated with the *false-door* motif.¹² Later on, this motif is replaced by scenes of filial devotion toward the dead couple.¹³ Halfway through the reign of Ramesses II, the scenes start to represent the dead worshipping the deity.¹⁴

second ostrakon, one reads the following sentence: *itr.w 2 n (or r) š3bwti 12* ‘two *shabti*-boxes for 12 *shabti*’ (Černý 1937: 188). In TT 335 the *shabti*-box portrayed under the funerary bed is also called *itrt*, cf. Janssen (1975: 242).

⁴ Aston (1994: 21–54).

⁵ Marini (2011), Master’s Thesis, Università di Pisa (Tutor: Prof. Marilina Bettrò). A summary of that work has been published in Marini (2012), followed by another paper on some fragments of pottery *shabti*-boxes found in the Tomb M.I.D.A.N.05 (Marini 2013).

⁶ Marini (2012: 84–121).

⁷ The typological class *Marini IV*, dated to the 21st dynasty, and the typological class *Marini IX*, dated to the 26th–27th dynasties. See Marini (2012: 99–101). This labeling — *Marini I, II, III*, etc. — has been adopted in order to distinguish my typological classes (Marini 2012: 86–87) from those of Aston (Aston 1994).

⁸ Cooney (1975: 229–234).

⁹ The boxes showing this iconography belong to the typological class *Marini Ia*.

¹⁰ Typological class *Marini Ib*. See Marini (2012: 87–90).

¹¹ Davis (1907: 26–27); Aston (1994: 22); Marini (2012: 88–89).

¹² These boxes belong to the typological class *Marini IIa*. A fitting example is that of Ramose, in the Metropolitan Museum (New York 86.1.15), coming from the tomb of Sennedjem (Aston 1994: 23). For the typological class, see Marini (2012: 90–92).

¹³ The iconographic theme found in the boxes belonging to this typological class — *Marini IIb* — echoes the decoration of the contemporary tombs, where the dead couple is often worshipped by one or more relatives. See *shabti*-boxes Copenhagen 3506, Paris E 27144, Moscow I.1.a.1920. Cf. Marini (2012: 92).

¹⁴ The second part of the reign of Ramses II is characterized by a change in funerary practice, reflected in the iconographic themes selected to decorate the walls of the tombs and often also in the decoration of objects, as in the case of *shabti*-box type *Marini IIc*. The protagonists of the scenes are no longer the dead, but deities. This choice is surely due to the effects of the Amarnian reform on Ramesside Egypt. Cf. Marini (2012: 93–96).



Figure 1. *shabti*-box of Yuya and Tuya
(Cairo JE 51046–53, Egyptian Museum Cairo)



Figure 2. Nekhtamontu's *shabti*-box
(Florence 2186, Museo Egizio di Firenze[®])

Already in the mid-19th dynasty, these boxes are increasingly replaced by a new type, whose characteristic feature is the addition of a third *itrt*-chapel to the former model (the so called triple-*itrt* chapel boxes). The artifacts belonging to this type can be further distinguished into boxes decorated with scenes of a deity being worshipped¹⁵ and boxes decorated in *horror vacui* style (Fig. 3).¹⁶



Figure 3. Thauenhuy's *shabti*-box (Bologne KS 1969, Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna[®])

¹⁵ In the iconographic program, the number of scenes related to the destiny of men after death increases. In many examples, the deceased is represented together with his *Ba* — as on boxes (type *Marini IIIa*) London EA 24712, London EA 8527 — often in the presence of the Goddess of the Sycamore (see boxes Leiden L.IX.176, London EA 8526), or in front of Ra-Harakhty, sometimes in the company of Isis (see box London EA 8529), sometimes of Imsety (see box Leiden L.IX.1), sometimes of Maat (see box London EA 8527). The most meaningful innovation is undoubtedly the representation of the psychostasy (see boxes London EA 8529, Wien AE_INV_96079, London EA 8527). Cf. Marini (2012: 96–98).

¹⁶ This class — *Marini IIIb* — represents the most original phase in the production of *shabti*-boxes; the quality of its decoration reaches outstanding levels. Cf. Marini (2012: 98).

2. WALL PAINTINGS REPRESENTATIONS OF THE *SHABTI*-BOXES

Starting from the reign of Amenhotep III, *shabti*-boxes were portrayed on the walls of Theban tombs. They appear with the highest frequency in scenes where the mummy is placed on its funerary bed, and in scenes representing the procession of the deceased's relatives on the day of the funeral. The iconography chosen for their representation is that of the actual contemporary *shabti*-boxes commonly found in the area of Thebes (type *Marini Ib*: single *itrt*-chapel-shaped, decorated with colored strips which in some cases are reminiscent of a column of hieroglyphs without inscription, while in other cases constitute the *false-door* motif).

The first evidence comes from the tomb of Haremheb (TT 78, Amenhotep III)¹⁷ at Sheik Abd el-Gurna, in which four people carry a *shabti*-box each,¹⁸ and from the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky (TT 181, Amenhotep III/IV)¹⁹ at el-Khokha, in which one person carries two boxes.²⁰ In particular, the *shabti*-boxes represented in the tomb of Haremheb are decorated with the *false-door* motif, realized by combining light and dark green colored strips (Fig. 4). They are very similar to the actual contemporary *shabti*-boxes of Yuya and Tuya.²¹



Figure 4. Scene in the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky (TT 181, 18th Dynasty, el-Khokha)

Men bring the funerary equipment to the tomb on the day of the funeral; one of them brings two *shabti*-boxes

¹⁷ Kampp (1996: 316–318).

¹⁸ Brack & Brack (1980: 42, pl. 55a, 60b).

¹⁹ Kampp (1996: 467–469).

²⁰ Davies (1925: 24–25).

²¹ Davis (1907: 26–27, pl. XX).

The same iconography is found in the representation of two *shabti*-boxes in the tomb of Ramose (TT 55, Amenhotep III/IV)²² at Sheik Abd el-Gurna. The scene portrayed on the south wall of the hypostyle hall represents the funerary procession. Here the *shabti*-boxes (set on a table carried by a man) are decorated with the *false-door* motif, realized by juxtaposing blue and green strips (Fig. 5).²³



Figure 5. Scene in the Tomb of Ramose (TT 55, 18th Dynasty, Sheik Abd el-Gurna)

Men bring the funerary equipment to the tomb on the day of the funeral; one of them brings two *shabti*-boxes

In a wall painting of Neferhotep's Tomb (TT 49, Ay),²⁴ built at el-Khokha immediately after the Amarna period, the dead couple is represented gazing at their funerary furniture. Among several objects dislocated on two rows, four *shabti*-boxes are represented. These boxes are shaped as single *itrt*-chapels and decorated with the *false-door* motif realized with the usual colors.²⁵

In the tomb of Neferhotep²⁶ (TT 50, Ay/Haremheb),²⁷ situated at Sheik Abd el-Gurna, a *shabti*-box is represented on the south wall of the corridor, under the funerary bier. The box has the shape of a single *itrt*-chapel, with protruding lateral jambs and a vaulted lid; only its outline is clearly recognizable.²⁸

We find a later representation of a *shabti*-box in the tomb of the Vizir Paser (TT 106, Ramesses II)²⁹ at Sheik Abd el-Gurna. Also in this case, the *shabti*-box is represented under the

²² Davies (1941); Kampp (1996: 262–265).

²³ Davies (1941: 21–26).

²⁴ Davies (1933).

²⁵ Davies (1933: pl. XXV); Schneider (1977: pl. III, fig. 35).

²⁶ Homonymous to the owner of the previous tomb.

²⁷ Hari (1985).

²⁸ Hari (1985: pl. XXIX).

²⁹ Kampp (1996: 382–385).

funerary bier on which the mummy is lying, in the presence of the god Anubis and of Paser's *ba*.³⁰ The *shabti*-box does not show the *false-door* motif: it is simply sketched with blue lines profiling a single *itrt*-chapel. This representation is particular because, for the first time, the form of a portrayed *shabti*-box does not match the contemporary morphology of the real artifact, which in this period takes the shape of a double *itrt*-chapel.

In the tomb of Khawy II (TT 214, Ramesses II),³¹ located at Deir el-Medina, we find the representation of four *shabti*-boxes, still shaped as single *itrt*-chapels and placed as usual under the funerary bier carrying the mummy, in the presence of the god Anubis. The boxes are yellow, with black strips on the edges.³²

A further *shabti*-box is represented in the tomb of Nakhtamun II (TT 335, Ramesses II/Merenptah),³³ also located at Deir el-Medina. The box is under the funerary bed where the mummy is lying, and the god Anubis is represented while performing the ritual of the opening of the mouth in the presence of the guardian goddesses Isis and Nephtys.³⁴ It belongs to the single *itrt*-chapel type, decorated in yellow, black and red, and bearing the following column of hieroglyphs: *Wsir t3y-md3.t Nht-Imn* "The Osiris, (the) Sculptor, Nakhtamun" (Fig. 6).



Figure 6. Scene in the tomb of Nakhtamun (TT 335, 19th Dynasty, Deir el-Medina)
Wall painting representation of the *shabti*-box under the funerary bier

Two *shabti*-boxes are also represented in the tomb of Baki (I) (TT 298, 19th dynasty)³⁵ at Deir el-Medina. Both these *shabti*-boxes take the shape of a single *itrt*-chapel, decorated with the *false-door*

³⁰ Bednarski (2014: 167, 259).

³¹ Bruyère (1927: 42–46; 1952: 494).

³² Bruyère (1927: pl. III).

³³ Bruyère (1926: 113–178).

³⁴ Bruyère (1926: 161, fig. 108).

³⁵ Bruyère (1928: 91–94).

motif traced in yellow and black. They are placed at the foot of the funerary bier where the mummy is lying in presence of the god Anubis.³⁶

A further representation comes from the tomb of Tausert and Setnakht (KV 14)³⁷ at Biban el-Moluk. In this case we can observe two occurrences: the first, painted on the wall of a small chapel situated beside the corridor, is the representation of four single *itrt*-chapel *shabti*-boxes, decorated with the *false-door* motif made of green, red and blue strips. They are represented under the funerary bed, where the mummy is lying in the presence of the god Anubis; the second is in the first pillared-hall: it is the representation of a single *itrt*-chapel *shabti*-box with yellow background, black strips along the borders, and a special *texture* imitating a red wooden veining.

In the tomb of Ramesses IV (KV 2),³⁸ two *shabti*-boxes are represented on the funerary bed, together with the rest of the funerary equipment. The iconography of the *shabti*-boxes represented almost exclusively in yellow is, in this case, highly conditioned by the overall style of the wall paintings in the tomb.³⁹

A *shabti*-box has also been identified in the tomb of Anhurkhawy (II) (TT 359), in the scene where the owner of the tomb and his wife Wabet (I) welcome four relatives: three men and a woman carrying some presents (Fig. 7).⁴⁰ The first relative is Amennakht,⁴¹ first prophet of Osiris, bearing as a gift a statue of Osiris and a single *itrt*-chapel *shabti*-box placed on a red painted sled, with protruding lateral jambs and a vaulted lid. On the lid, the silhouette of a button-shaped pommel is recognizable. The box is painted in yellow with wooden vein *texture*. The edges are covered with black strips, and on the front side a column of hieroglyphs reads: *Tpy is.t m s.t m3^c.t H^c.w* “The chief of the crew in the place of Truth, Khau”.⁴²



Figure 7. Scene in the tomb of Anhurkhawy (TT 359, 20th Dynasty, Deir el-Medina)
A relative brings a *shabti*-box to the dead couple Anhurkawy and Wabet

³⁶ Bruyère (1928: fig. 61).

³⁷ PM I/2, 527–532.

³⁸ PM I/2, 497–500; Hornung (1990).

³⁹ Hornung (1990: pl. 87).

⁴⁰ Cherpion & Corteggiani (2010, vol. II: 85, fig. 132).

⁴¹ Ranke (1935: 29, n. 21).

⁴² Cherpion & Corteggiani (2010, vol. II: 85, fig. 132).

In all the aforementioned cases, the type is that of a single *itrt*-chapel, the design commonly used for the real *shabti*-boxes during the 18th dynasty. Consequently, the representations that are found in tombs of the 19th and 20th dynasties are not inspired by contemporary production. This may be explained by conjecturing that the purpose was to represent *shabti*-boxes according to a canonical and well recognizable iconography.⁴³ Representations of *shabti*-boxes seem to cease with the New Kingdom. Nevertheless, an exceptional occurrence is to be found in the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel, dated to the 4th century B.C.⁴⁴

A comparison of the representations has enabled us to notice the iconographic difference between the boxes of Deir el-Medina and the boxes from other sites in the Theban necropolis. In the latter case, the *shabti*-boxes are usually decorated in light and dark-green and blue, which are colors derived from the canonical iconography of the real *shabti*-boxes of the 18th dynasty. In the tomb representations from Deir el-Medina, on the other hand, the *shabti*-boxes are exclusively colored in yellow and black and, in few cases, also in red. This fact is not very surprising, since all the tombs from this second group — except TT 359 — were classified by Bernard Bruyère as ‘*monochrome*’⁴⁵ tombs. Nevertheless, the systematic analysis of the *shabti*-boxes produced in the Ramesside age allows us to highlight a special yellow-and-black painted series.

Tomb	Name	Place	Period
TT 78	Tomb of Haremheb	Sheik Abd el-Gurna	Amenhotep III
TT 181	Tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky	el-Khokha	Amenhotep III-IV
TT 55	Tomb of Ramose	Sheik Abd el-Gurna	Amenhotep III-IV
TT 49	Tomb of Neferhotep	el-Khokha	Ay
TT 50	Tomb of Neferhotep	Sheik Abd el-Gurna	Haremheb
TT 106	Tomb of Paser	Sheik Abd el-Gurna	Ramesses II
TT 214	Tomb of Khawy (II)	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II
TT 335	Tomb of Nakhtamun (II)	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II/Merenptah
TT 298	Tomb of Baki	Deir el-Medina	Late 19 th dynasty
KV 2	Tomb of Ramesses IV	Biban el-Moluk	Ramesses IV
KV 14	Tomb of Tauseret and Setnakht	Biban el-Moluk	20 th dynasty
TT 359	Tomb of Anhurkhawy (II)	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses III-IV

Table 1. Tombs with wall painting representations of *shabti*-boxes

⁴³ This choice is not isolated, since it occurs in other kinds of scenes as well, such as the scene representing foreigners carrying gifts, particularly popular during the 18th dynasty: the Egyptian artisan did not represent Asian, Lebanese, Libyan and Nubian people dressed and done up according to the contemporary fashion, but in an outdated — although easily recognizable — style and iconography. See the processional causeway in the pyramid of Unas (PM III/2: 428), the funerary temple of Sahura at Saqqara (PM III/2: 328), the tomb of Ankhtifi at Mohalla (Vandier 1950: 128), and the scenes of handicraft in the tomb of Mery (TT 95; PM I/1, 195–197), copied in the contemporary tomb of Rekhmira (TT 100) (Wachsmann 1987).

⁴⁴ Cherpion, Corteggiani & Gout (2007: 146).

⁴⁵ On the use of a very restricted chromatic palette (favoring yellow and black) to realize wall painting, see Bruyère (1952).

3. YELLOW-AND-BLACK SHABTI-BOXES

During a preliminary study of the *shabti*-boxes preserved in the Italian Museums and in various European Collections, I observed that some show an almost exclusively yellow and black decoration. These are hardly classifiable among the previously existing types.⁴⁶ Some of these *shabti*-boxes, like the box of the Lady of the house Takharu (Florence 2191),⁴⁷ the box of the priest Iyerniutef (Paris E. 2641)⁴⁸ and the box of Kasa (Berlin 20993)⁴⁹ have been known for a long time, but they had never been linked to one another. The analysis of the representations of *shabti*-boxes in the wall paintings of Deir el-Medina tombs (see §2) suggests a possible relationship with the artefactual yellow-and-black painted boxes.

3.1. Simple yellow-and-black shabti-boxes

In the Museo Egizio di Firenze, one finds the *shabti*-box of Takharu. It has the shape of a single *itrt*-chapel with vaulted lid; its base is rectangular, which is a feature more typical of the double *itrt*-chapel *shabti*-boxes⁵⁰ (Fig. 8). The box shows a yellow-and-black decoration, almost identical to that of the *shabti*-box represented in the tomb of Nakhtamun (II) (TT 335, Ramesses II/Merenptah).⁵¹ On the main side of the *shabti*-box of Takharu (I) are the hieroglyphic inscriptions with the name and epithet of its owner: *Wsjr nb.t pr T3-ḥ3-rw m3ꜥ-ḥrw* “The Osiris, lady of the house, Takharu, justified.” In this period, such objects were decorated with scenes of worshipping.⁵² I first interpreted its morphology and its *false-door* decoration on the four sides as archaizing elements of a box dated at the earliest to the reign of Ramesses II.⁵³ Alessandro Ricci, who brought it to Florence in the Nineteenth Century, did not say where the box came from,⁵⁴ and in a study presented at the International Congress of Egyptology held in Bologna in 1990 (*L’Egitto fuori dell’Egitto*), Maria Cristina Guidotti defended the hypothesis that the owner of the box was Takharu (I), whose mummy had been found by Bruyère in the tomb TT 339 of Pashedu, at Deir el-Medina. This hypothesis would point to a place of origin for the *shabti*-box — Deir el-Medina — and to a date, presumably to the reign of Ramesses II.⁵⁵

Another *shabti*-box with morphology and colors similar to the former is that of Amenemope, from the Museo Egizio di Torino (Cat. 2434).⁵⁶ In this case, the vault-shaped lid closing the container

⁴⁶ See Marini (2012: 91).

⁴⁷ Guidotti (1991: 209–215); Marini (2012: 90–91).

⁴⁸ Chappaz (2003: 41, 85).

⁴⁹ Aston (1994: 38).

⁵⁰ The single *itrt*-chapel *shabti*-boxes usually have a squared base. The main side is distinguished from the others thanks to a knob and, most often, a column with inscription. The rectangular base, on the contrary, is typical of the double, triple, quadruple *itrt*-chapel *shabti*-boxes, as the result of the juxtaposition of more squared chapels.

⁵¹ Bruyère (1926: 113–178, fig. 108).

⁵² The dead couple, worshipped by their relatives and later the dead — the owner of the *shabti*-box — worshipping one or more deities.

⁵³ Marini (2012: 91).

⁵⁴ Marini (2011: 141).

⁵⁵ Guidotti (1991: 215).

⁵⁶ Marini (2012: 91–92); PM (I/2: 747).

is placed crosswise.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the box is not decorated with the *false-door* motif, but has a yellow bottom and black stripes on the edges (Fig. 9). The provenance of the box can be inferred from the column of hieroglyphs running along the front side of the object, defining the owner as: *sdm-ꜥꜥ m s.t mꜥꜥ.t* “Servant in the place of the truth,” placing it at the site of Deir el-Medina.⁵⁸ Stylistic comparisons with the *shabti*-boxes of the type *Marini IIa* and with the box of Takharu (I) allow me to suggest a 19th dynasty dating.



Figure 8. Thakharu's *shabti*-box
(Florence 2191, Museo Egizio di Firenze[©])



Figure 9. Amenemope's *shabti*-box
(Turin Cat. 2434, Museo Egizio di Torino[©])

In his excavation reports of 1928,⁵⁹ Bruyère lists two vault-shaped yellow lids of a *shabti*-box, with a central hieroglyphic inscription traced in black ink:⁶⁰ *Wsjr Imn-m-ip.t* “The Osiris Amenemope.” This is a namesake of the owner of box Turin Cat. 2434, probably one of his relatives. Unfortunately, no further description of the two pieces or their current location is known. However, since the lids are vault-shaped and carry a central inscription, they probably belonged to the double *itrt*-chapel *shabti*-box type produced in the area of Deir el-Medina.

Similarly, another relative of the abovementioned person must have been the owner of a third lid, also quoted by Bruyère.⁶¹ In this case it was flat, with inserted pommel, painted in yellow with lateral black strips and a line of hieroglyphic inscription: *Wsjr sꜣw.ty Imn-m-ꜥꜥ.t mꜥꜥ-ḥrw* “The Osiris, the

⁵⁷ The lids of the *shabti*-boxes — vault or flat shaped — are usually set with the shortest sides corresponding to the front and back sides of the box; indeed, when the knob anchoring the lid to the box was there, it was placed exactly in correspondence to one of these two edges.

⁵⁸ Černý (1973: 29–34).

⁵⁹ Bruyère (1929, I-II).

⁶⁰ Bruyère (1929, II: 111, n. 1).

⁶¹ Bruyère (1929, II: 98, fig. 56, n. 11).

keeper, Amenemope justified.” The position of the pommel and of the inscription allows me to infer that the lid was placed crosswise.

The British Museum preserves in its storerooms a remarkable quantity of *shabti*-boxes, most of which have never been studied before.⁶² Among them, is found one which is very similar to that of Amenemope; it belongs to a certain Hynefer (London EA 8556). This *shabti*-box has a rectangular base and protruding lateral jambs; between these, a vault-shaped lid must have been placed, as suggested by the position of the column with hieroglyphs in the middle of its front side: *Hy-nfr m3^c-hrw* “Hynefer justified” (Fig. 10). The ground is entirely painted in yellow while the lateral strips are black. The stylistic comparison with the box from Turin suggests that its origin may be Deir el-Medina, and that its dating may be set around the 19th dynasty. A further comparison may be established with the *shabti*-box of Huy found by Bruyère in the tomb of Pashedu (TT 339); the same tomb yielded the *shabti*-box of Takharu as well. The excavation of the piece was published in Bruyère’s archaeological reports of 1924–25.⁶³ The stylistic relation between the *shabti*-box London EA 8556 and Huy’s *shabti*-box suggests that Hynefer could be the son of Huy (II) mentioned by Davies.⁶⁴



Figure 10. Hynefer’s *shabti*-box (London EA 8556, British Museum®)

A vault-shaped lid once belonging to a *shabti*-box is preserved at the Petrie Museum (London UC 16400), bearing a column of hieroglyphs featuring the title and name of its owner: *Wsjr sš n nb t3.wy Tnr m3^c-hrw* “The Osiris, the scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands, Tjener, justified.” The bottom of the lid is yellow, the color is still recognizable despite a later overcoat. Since its edges are painted in black, the lid was probably placed on a yellow-and-black *shabti*-box, similar to that of Amenemope and Hynefer. Furthermore, the position of the hole for fixing the knob, set in the middle of the lid, suggests

⁶² I am very grateful to the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan of the British Museum, directed by Dr. John Taylor, for allowing me to study the *shabti*-boxes preserved in the storerooms.

⁶³ Bruyère (1926: V, 5).

⁶⁴ Davies (1999: 17).

that the original position of the lid was crosswise, and not perpendicular to the longer sides of the box.⁶⁵

A further lid, very similar to the former but without inscriptions, is preserved in the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin (Berlin 26495).⁶⁶ The comparison with the other lids suggests that its origin may as well be the site of Deir el-Medina, and that its dating is to be set approximately to the 19th dynasty as well.

3.2. *The yellow-and-black shabti-boxes decorated with red texture*

A different group of *shabti*-boxes shows the same iconographic features as the former group, with the addition of another distinctive decorative element: a red *texture* imitating wooden veining. One of the first boxes of this type ever described in the egyptological literature is preserved in the Musée du Louvre. It is a single *itrt*-chapel wooden box (Paris E. 2641),⁶⁷ with its bottom painted in yellow, a red *texture* imitating wooden venation pattern, and black strips running all along its edges. It is closed on the top by a gabled lid placed crosswise. On the front side there is a column with hieroglyphs, reading as follows: *Wsir ḥm-ntr tpy n nb t3.wy Ti-r-niw.t-f* “The Osiris First Prophet of the Lord of the Two Lands, Iyernutef” (Fig. 11). The name Iyernutef is quite common in Deir el-Medina, because a whole family of sculptors stretching back to the Ramesside age bore this name.⁶⁸ The box is traditionally dated to the 19th dynasty,⁶⁹ even though the owner has the same titles as a certain Iyernutef (II) of the stela Ashmolean Museum 1942.46–47⁷⁰ who lived during the reign of Ramesses III.⁷¹ This stela, found beside the street leading from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings,⁷² suggests a later dating for the box and a possible identification of the owner as a member of the community of workmen from Deir el-Medina. Nevertheless, due to the very archaic style of the box, the question remains open.



Figure 11. Iyernutef's *shabti*-box (Paris E. 2641, Musée du Louvre®)

⁶⁵ When the lid is perpendicular to the longest sides of the box, the knob is usually closer to one of the shorter sides. The style and iconography of this box suggest a dating around the middle of the 19th dynasty.

⁶⁶ I warmly thank Dr. Caris Beatrice Arnst (Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin) for providing me with the list of *shabti*-boxes preserved in the Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin.

⁶⁷ Guichard (2013: 286); Chappaz (2003: 41); Étienne (2009: 265).

⁶⁸ Davies (1999: 184–187).

⁶⁹ Chappaz (2003: 41); Étienne (2009: 265).

⁷⁰ PM (I/2: 590); Davies (1934: III).

⁷¹ Iyernutef III, see Davies (1999: 184–185).

⁷² Davies (1934: 243–244).

Another interesting single *itrt*-chapel *shabti*-box is preserved in the Musée du Louvre (Paris E. 2943).⁷³ As in the former case, it has a rectangular base, with yellow background, red *texture* imitating wooden veins, and black strips along its edges. A column with hieroglyphs gives the title of the deceased: *Wsir wꜥb n nb t3.wy Ti-r-niw.t-f* “The Osiris, *wab*-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands, Iyernutef” (Fig. 12). The title *wab*-priest is attested for Iyernutef (III), quoted in a number of documents during the reign of Ramesses III⁷⁴ and on a stela found in Chapel A of the Ptah Temple located between Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Queens.⁷⁵ Akin to what has been said for the abovementioned box, its style does not seem to fit such a late dating. Accordingly, a 19th dynasty dating might be preferable.

In the storerooms of the British Museum there is another single *itrt*-chapel *shabti*-box. It has a rectangular base (London EA 90452); its surface is completely painted in yellow, with a red *texture* imitating the wooden veins. The edges of the box are painted in black strips. On the front side a hieroglyphic inscription indicates only the name of the dead: *Wsir 3h(t)-Wrt* “The Osiris Achetweret”⁷⁶ (Fig. 13). Despite the lack of any other indications, the style of the box alone can help to determine its place of origin and its dating. Its similarity with the abovementioned *shabti*-boxes (Paris E. 2641; Paris E. 2943) supports a Deir el-Medina provenance and a dating within the 19th dynasty.



Figure 12. Iyernutef's *shabti*-box
(Paris E. 2943, Musée du Louvre[®])



Figure 13. Achetweret's *shabti*-box
(London EA 90452, British Museum[®])

In the Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin is found a *shabti*-box (Berlin 20993) with yellow background, red *texture* and black stripped edges. On its front side the name of the owner — Kasa — is visible, and

⁷³ Chappaz (2003: 41).

⁷⁴ O. Cairo GC 25555, v^o 5. See Davies (1999: 185).

⁷⁵ PM (I/2: 707).

⁷⁶ Ranke (1935: 3, n. 12).

his title (*Servant in the Place of Truth*)⁷⁷ identifies him as a worker of the village. Compared to the other boxes mentioned so far, this one displays a morphological difference: it is shaped as a double *itrt*-chapel. However, the general style and the gabled lids place it undoubtedly within the general typology analyzed here.

Another vault-shaped lid featuring black strips and a red *texture*, but no inscription is preserved in the Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin (Berlin 23928).⁷⁸ The stylistic comparison with the other boxes and decorated lids makes it likely to be dated to the Ramesside Age (with a probable Deir el-Medina origin).

The scarcity of data about the archaeological find-contexts of these boxes prevent me from determining a chronological relation between the decorated boxes with red *texture* and those simply painted in yellow-and-black. Nevertheless, it is likely that this kind of decoration had become an inspiring model for a number of representations of *shabti*-boxes in the tombs of the 20th dynasty. In particular, the famous scene of the dead couple in the tomb of Anhurkhawy (II) (TT 359, Ramesses IV/VI) at Deir el-Medina can be mentioned.⁷⁹ This representation is particularly interesting, as it is the only portrayal of a yellow-and-black box with red *texture* at Deir el-Medina, surprisingly within a polychrome tomb (Fig. 7). This means that the yellow-and-black model by then in use within the community of the artisans of the 20th dynasty became so pervasive that it was applied even when the stylistic choices of the tomb did not require it.

3.3. The yellow-and-black shabti-boxes in mixed style

The decoration in yellow-and-black with red *texture* — with some additional features — characterizes a further group of *shabti*-boxes from the site of Deir el-Medina. One of the most representative examples of this series is preserved in the Musée du Louvre (Paris E. 2638).⁸⁰ It is a double *itrt*-chapel *shabti*-box, decorated on its front side with a scene of devotion (the deceased worships a mummiform figure). Such decoration characterizes the *shabti*-boxes of the type *Marini IIa*. The sides, the back, and the sloping lid are painted in yellow with red *texture*. The black strips are painted along the edges, echoing the style of the yellow-and-black decoration. The hieroglyphic inscriptions in columns include the names and the titles of the dead owner: *Wsir wꜥb n nb t3.wy Ti-r-niw.t-f* “The Osiris, *wab*-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands, Iyernutef” (Fig. 14). The name of the owner and the red *texture* indicate that the box certainly comes from the site of Deir el-Medina. The title would suggest an association between this box and the *wab*-priest mentioned on the box Paris E. 2943, or someone called by the same name. The scene and the overall style suggest that it is to be dated approximately to the 19th dynasty.

The Museo Egizio di Torino preserves a single *itrt*-chapel *shabti*-box (Turin Cat. 2435),⁸¹ decorated on its front side with the *false-door* motif (green, black and red strips). The back side and smaller sides have a red background with darker red *texture* imitating wooden veins. The sides are

⁷⁷ Compare Aston (1994: 38).

⁷⁸ I would like to thank Dr. Beatrice Arnst, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung of Berlin, for sending me the technical profile of the *shabti*-boxes preserved in the museum.

⁷⁹ Cherpion & Corteggiani (2010: 84–90, figs. 132–142).

⁸⁰ Chappaz (2003: 41).

⁸¹ Orcurti (1852: 107); Fabretti *et al.* (1881: 344); PM (I/2: 747); Černý (2004: 77, n. 11); Marini (2011: 181–182; 2012: 88).

further decorated with the head of a sparrow hawk on top of each protruding jamb. An inscribed column is drawn on the front side: *Wsjr sš-nsw.t m s.t m3̣.t imy-r k3.(t) m 3h.t nhh Nb-t(3)-ḥp*⁸² *m3̣-hrw hr ntr-ʿ3* “The Osiris, Scribe of the King in the Place of the Truth, Overseer of the Works in the Horizon of Eternity, Nebhepet justified near the great God.” Many problems arise regarding the dating of this object. The *false-door* motif on the front side, the single *itrt*-chapel shape and the general iconography would place it under the 18th dynasty, but the name and the titles of the dead indicate a later date.⁸³ Indeed, the name Nebhepet⁸⁴ is linked to a well-known individual called Butehamun, scribe of the necropolis and patriarch of a large Egyptian family.

The history of the Butehamun family has been widely debated in Egyptological literature.⁸⁵ Many scholars discussed the existence of one or several individuals named Butehamun(s). Andrzej Niwiński, supported the existence of three Butehamun(s): the first (A) lived during the 19th dynasty, the second (B) and the third (C) during the 21st dynasty.⁸⁶ This theory has been rejected by other scholars, who have argued in favour of a single person called Butehamun, who would have lived between the end of the 20th dynasty and the beginning of the 21st dynasty.⁸⁷

The controversial history of the Butehamun family and the iconographical style of *shabti*-box Turin Cat. 2435 could suggest the possibility that a Nebhepet lived before Butehamun B and that this Nebhepet would be the owner of the *shabti*-boxes. However, there is a coffin belonging to a person called Nebhepet son of Butehamun dated to the early 21st dynasty in the Musée du Louvre (Paris E. 13047).⁸⁸ On the coffin, the titles read *w3̣b sš-nsw.t imy-r nfr.w m 3h.t nhh imy-r k3.t n pr dt sš m st-m3̣.t sš n p3̣-hr* “the *wab*-priest, royal scribe, overseer of young man in the horizon of eternity, overseer of the works in the house of eternity, scribe in the place of Truth, scribe of the Tomb.” As one can observe, the (important and not so frequent) titles *sš nsw.t* and *imy-r k3.(t)* that occur on the coffin are also the ones appearing on the *shabti*-box Turin Cat. 2435. As such, it is very likely that the coffin Paris E. 13047 and the *shabti*-box Turin cat. 2435 belonged to same Nebhepet, son of Butehamun, who lived between the end of the 20th and the early 21st dynasty.

These data as well as evidence in favour of this new typological class lead me to reconsider the dating of the *shabti*-box. The *false-door* motif on the front side of the box is attested until the Ramesside period, as indicated by the boxes found in the tomb of Sennedjem.⁸⁹ As we saw above, the rectangular single *itrt*-chapel *shabti*-box base is typical of the Ramesside period at Deir el-Medina.⁹⁰ Therefore, we can move the date down to the 20th dynasty, but no further. Indeed, the *shabti*-boxes of the 21st dynasty have very peculiar iconographic features,⁹¹ and differ significantly from those of the Nekhtamun *shabti*-box. Two scenarios could be envisioned: (1) the object might have been passed

⁸² Ranke (1935: 349, 18) reports an incorrect transliteration: *Kt-hpy*. I would like to thank Marilina Betrò who helped me finding the correct reading *Nb-t(3)-ḥp*.

⁸³ Marini (2012).

⁸⁴ This variant of the name will be adopted from now on. For other variants of the name, see Černý (2004: 375); Davies (1997: 59).

⁸⁵ Černý (2004); Niwiński (1984); Jansen-Winkeln (1994); Davies (1997); Niwiński (2003).

⁸⁶ Niwiński (1984).

⁸⁷ Jansen-Winkeln (1994); Davies (1997).

⁸⁸ Niwiński (1988: 164–165, n. 333), with previous bibliographical references.

⁸⁹ In particular, the boxes Cairo JE 27296, New York MMA 86.1.16, Madrid 15222. Cf. Aston (1994).

⁹⁰ Cf. *infra*, Table 2.

⁹¹ See the *shabti*-boxes type *Marini IV*, *V* and *VI* in Marini (2012: 99–108).

down between generations of the same family and in the end used by Nebhepet son of Butehamun; (2) the object could be the first piece of evidence for a so far unknown Nebhepet living during the Ramesside period and linked to the Butehamun family.

Another *shabti*-box showing the same characteristics as the previous one is that of Wabet preserved in the Musée du Louvre (Paris E. 2640).⁹² On its front side, the dead woman is portrayed worshipping the god Osiris. The short and back sides and the lid are painted in yellow with black strips along the edges. The red *texture* can be seen on the three sides. On the front sides there are a number of hieroglyphic columns: *Wsjr nb nhh hk3 dt*, *Wsjr nb.t pr šmꜣyt n ꜥmn-Rꜥ (n)sw.t nꜥtr.w Wꜥb.t m3ꜥ-hrw hr nb.w [dw3t]* “Osiris, Lord of Eternity, Ruler of Eternity; the Osiris, Lady of the House, Singer of Amon-Ra, King of the Gods, Wabet justified near the Lords [of the Duat]”⁹³ (Fig. 15). The iconography and the name of the woman imply that this box also comes from Deir el-Medina, yet the titles “Lady of the House” and “Singer of Amon-Ra” alone cannot confirm this hypothesis. Concerning the dating, it is impossible to narrow down the chronological spectrum more than to the Ramesside period.⁹⁴



Figure 14. Iyernutef's *shabti*-box
(Paris E. 2638, Musée du Louvre[©])



Figure 15. Wabet's *shabti*-box
(Paris E. 2640, Musée du Louvre[©])

⁹² Chappaz (2003: 40).

⁹³ The scribe has skipped the word *dw3t*, probably for lack of space. Nevertheless, the formula (...) *hr nb.w dw3t* “near the Lords of the Duat” is widely attested for this context; see e.g. the inscription on the *shabti*-box of Shedesenmut in the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin (Berlin 629).

⁹⁴ Chappaz (2003: 81) dates it to the 20th dynasty.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The description and the analysis of the documentation above shows that the production of *shabti*-boxes in Deir el-Medina displays precise iconographic features that should be added to the typological classification proposed in the past.⁹⁵ This represents an original contribution to the study of this class of objects. Of course, the kinds of boxes studied here were not the only ones produced in the workmen's village; indeed, the boxes of type *Marini IIa* and *IIb* were in continuous use here as well.⁹⁶ However, I wish to stress the fact that the yellow-and-black painted boxes are never attested in other archeological contexts. The specific features seen before as being associated with the single *itrt*-chapel shape, such as the use of yellow and black color, the lids set crosswise, and the rectangular base, represent the characteristics of a new typological class, which I conventionally label "Yellow-and-Black *Shabti*-Boxes."

The stylistic differences detected so far are due to both diachronic and synchronic variation within this class of objects; such variables are the basis for the following division of the *shabti*-boxes of this type into three sub-categories:

Yellow-and-Black *Shabti*-Boxes

a) Simple Yellow-and-Black Boxes

b) Yellow-and-Black Boxes with Red *Texture*

c) Yellow-and-Black Boxes of Mixed Style

Unfortunately, archaeological and prosopographical data are not sufficient for determining the precise chronology of these sub-types. All of them can be dated approximately to the 19th dynasty, and in a few cases to the 20th dynasty.

Inv. n.	Owner	Deir el-Medina	Date	Yellow-and-Black Painting	Red Texture	Mixed Style	Crosswise Set Lids	Rectangular Base	Double-Sloped Lids	Collocation
2191	Takharu	•	R. II	•				•		Florence
Cat. 2434	Amenemope	•	19 th	•			•	•		Turin
Bruyère 1	Amenemopet	•	R. II	•						?
Bruyère 2	Amenemopet	•	R. II	•			• (?)	• (?)		?
Bruyère 3	Huy (IV)	•	R. II	•						?
EA 8556	Hynefer	• (?)	R. II	•			?	•		London BM
UC 16400	Tjenefer	• (?)	19 th	•			•	•		London UC
26495	?	• (?)		•			•	• (?)		Berlin
E. 2641	Iyerniutef	•	19 th /20 th	•	•		•	•	•	Paris
E. 2943	Iyerniutef	•	19 th (?)	•	•		•	•	•	Paris
EA 90452	Achetweret	• (?)	19 th	•	•		?	•		London BM
20993	Kasa	•	19/20 th	•	•				•	Berlin
Berlin 23928	?	• (?)	19/20 th	•	•					Berlin
E. 2640	Wabet	•	19 th	•	•	•	•	•		Paris
E. 2638	Iyerniutef	•	19 th	•	•	•			•	Paris
Cat. 2435	Khetapi	•	?	•	•	•	?	•	?	Turin

Table. 2. Yellow-and-Black *Shabti*-boxes

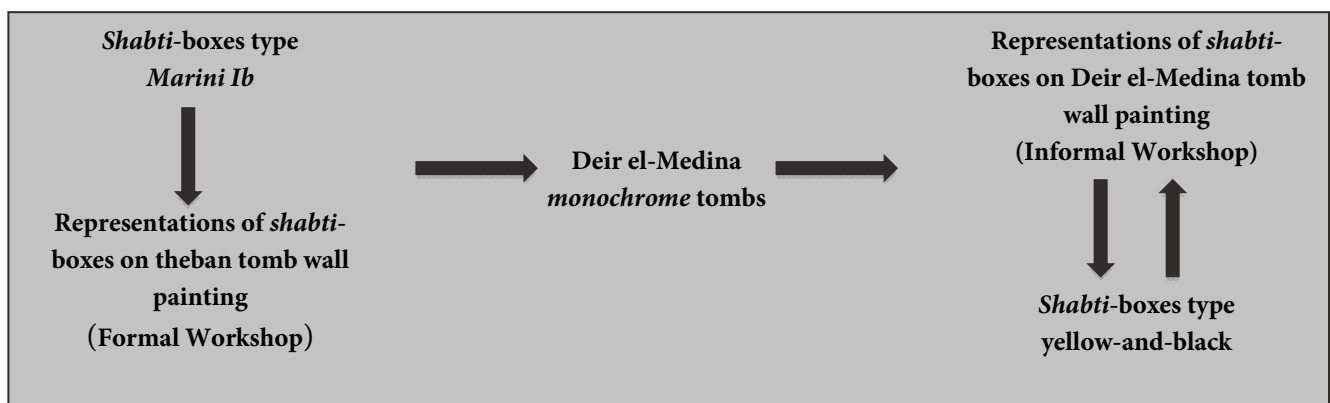
⁹⁵ Marini (2012: 124).

⁹⁶ An exemplary production is that of the family of Sennedjem (TT 1), see Aston (1994: 22–25) and Marini (2012: 92–93).

Another question remains open: What is the relationship between the yellow-and-black *shabti*-boxes and the representations in the tombs of Deir el-Medina? The *shabti*-boxes *Marini Ib* were certainly the iconographic model for the representations in the tombs of the Theban necropolis. This hypothesis is principally supported by the diachronic relationship between these two archaeological attestations. Logically, a similar relation should apply in Deir el-Medina. Nevertheless, the data suggest that, in the case of Deir el-Medina, the representations of the *shabti*-boxes in the tombs might actually have inspired the real production of these artefacts.

Furthermore, I believe that the diffusion of the yellow-and-black *shabti*-boxes and their representations in the tombs of the artisans have to be linked to the ‘informal workshops’ proposed by Kathlyn Cooney.⁹⁷ Indeed, the sources from Deir el-Medina attest that the artisans employed in the works in the Valley of the Kings and in the Valley of the Queens spent their free time working for private assignments, *i.e.* they produced objects of daily use and of funerary scope for the members of the community, receiving a further income besides that guaranteed by the state.⁹⁸ At Deir el-Medina, the title most commonly related to such private activities is *sš-ḳd* “designer”: the designers were probably inspired by the iconographic model of the *shabti*-boxes on the walls of the tombs in the Theban necropolis to create the artefactual yellow-and-black boxes produced at Deir el-Medina.

When the designers worked for the court, they had to abide by strict rules, dictated by the most qualified workshops: these conveyed the iconography of their products according to constraining rules. Therefore, the canonical iconographic model proceeded along a static and linear path in a unique direction, without being affected by the stylistic and formal changes that this class of objects underwent over time or by the geographic variations characterizing different areas.⁹⁹ When the artisans worked for private assignments, on the other hand, they worked without control and supervision, and thus were more able to express their artistic identity.¹⁰⁰ In such a lively situation, the original iconographic model of the *shabti*-boxes, driven by the stylistic examples of the “*monochrome*” tombs, began to be subject to the personalities of the artisans, leading to a different typology of *shabti*-boxes, with peculiar and original features.



⁹⁷ Cooney (2006).

⁹⁸ Cooney (2007: 131).

⁹⁹ The most representative application of such ‘formal’ style is to be found in the tomb of Tausert and Setnakht, (end of the 19th dynasty), where the representations of the *shabti*-boxes placed under the funerary bed in one of the tomb’s chapels are striking similar to those realized under the 18th dynasty, belonging to Yuya and Tuya.

¹⁰⁰ Cooney (2007: 132–133).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ASTON, David A. 1994. Shabti Boxes: A Typological Study, in: *OMRO* 74, 21–54.
- BACKES, Burkhard & Guido DRESBACH. 2007. *Index zu Michelle Thirion*, Notes d'onomastique. Contribution à une révision du Ranke PN, 1–14^e série, in: *BMSAES* 8, 1–48.
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/bmsaes/issue_8/backesdresbach.aspx
- BEDNARSKI, Andrew (ed.). 2014. *The lost Manuscript of Frédéric Cailliaud: Arts and crafts of the Ancient Egyptians, Nubians, and Ethiopians*, New York.
- BRACK, Anneliese & Artur BRACK. 1980. *Das Grab des Haremhab: Theben Nr. 78* Mainz (= Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 35).
- BRUYÈRE, Bernard. 1926. *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (Année 1924–1925). Rapports Préliminaires: Deir el-Médineh*, Cairo.
- . 1928. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1927)*, Cairo.
- . 1929. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1928)*, vol. II, Cairo.
- . 1952. *Tombes thébaines de Deir el Médineh à décoration monochrome*, Cairo (= MIFAO 86).
- ČERNÝ, Jaroslav. 1937. Restitution of, and penalty attaching to, stolen property in Ramesside times, in: *JEA* 23, 186–189.
- . 2004. *A community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, 3rd ed., Cairo.
- CHAPPAZ, Jean-Luc. 2003. Les Coffres à Chaouabtis, in: Jean-Luc BOVOT (ed.), *Chaouabtis: Des travailleurs pharaoniques pour l'éternité*, Paris, 40–44.
- CHERPION, Nadine, Jean-Pierre CORTEGGIANI & Jean-François GOUT. 2007. *Le Tombeau de Pétoiris à Touna el-Gebel : Relevé Photographique*, Cairo.
- CHERPION, Nadine & Jean-Pierre CORTEGGIANI. 2010. *La Tombe d'Inherkhâouy (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina*, vol. II, Cairo (= MIFAO 128).
- COONEY, John D. 1951. *Equipment for Eternity*, in: *BrookMus* 12, 1–12.
- . 1975. *Some late Egyptian Antiquities*, in: *BCMA* 62, 229–239.
- COONEY, Kathlyn M. 2006. An Informal Workshop: Textual Evidence for Private Funerary Art Production in the Ramesside Period, in: Andreas DORN & Tobias HOFMANN (eds.), *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine: Socio-historical embodiment of Deir el-Medine texts*, Basel (= Aegyptiaca Helvetica 19), 43–55.
- . 2007. *The Cost of Death: The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian funerary Art in the Ramesside Period*, Leiden.
- DAVIES, Benedict G. 1997. Too many Butehamuns? Additional observations on their identity, in: *SAK* 24, 49–68.
- . 1999. *Who's who at Deir el-Medina: A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community*, Leiden.
- DAVIES, Norman de Garis. 1925. *The Tomb of the Two Sculptors at Thebes*, New York (= TTS 4).
- . 1933. *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes*, New York.
- . 1933. *A High Place at Thebes*, in: *Mélanges Maspero. Orient Ancien I*, Cairo, 241–250.
- . 1941. *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, London.
- DAVIS, Theodore M. 1907. *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou: The Finding of the Tomb*, London.
- ÉTIENNE, Marc (ed.). 2009. *Les Portes du Ciel : Visions du Monde dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, Paris.
- FABRETTI, Ariodante, Francesco ROSSI & Ridolfo Vittorio LANZONE. 1882–1888. *Regio Museo di Torino. Antichità Egizie*, Torino.

- GUIDOTTI, Maria Cristina. 1991. A proposito di Deir el Medina prima della Scoperta: Un Pezzo della Collezione Ricci nel Museo Egizio di Firenze, in: Cristiana MORIGI GOVI, Silvio CURTO & Sergio PERNIGOTTI (eds.), *L'Egitto Fuori dall'Egitto: Dalla Riscoperta all'Egittologia*, Bologna, 209–215.
- HARI, Robert. 1985. *La Tombe Thébaine du Père Divin Neferhotep (TT 50)*, Geneva.
- HORNUNG, Erik. 1990. *Zwei Ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramesses IV und Ramesses VII*, Mainz (= Theben 11).
- JANSEN-WINKELN, Karl. 1994. *Der Schreiber Butehamun*, in: *GM* 139, 35–40.
- JANSSEN, Jac. J. 1975. *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period: An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes*, Leiden.
- KAMPP, Friederike. 1996. *Die Thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, Mainz.
- MARINI, Paolo. 2011. *Contenitori di Ushabti nei Musei Italiani*, Tesi di Laurea Specialistica, Università di Pisa, Pisa (unpublished).
- . 2012. I Contenitori di Ushabti dei Musei Italiani, in: *EVO* 35, 83–124.
- . 2013. Frammenti di un Cofanetto Porta-Ushabti in Terracotta dalla Tomba M.I.D.A.N.05 a Dra Abu el-Naga, in: *EVO* 36, 21–27.
- NEWBERRY, Percy E. 1937. *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi*, Cairo (= Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire II / N°s 48274–48575).
- . 1957. *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi*, Cairo (= Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire III / N°s 46530–48575).
- NIWINSKI, Andrzej. 1984. Butehamon — Schreiber der Nekropolis, in: *SAK* 11, 135–156.
- . 1988. *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, Mainz.
- . 2003. The Necropolis Scribes Butehamun in Light of Some New Material, in: Nicole KLOTH (ed.), *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück. Festschrift für Hartwing Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hamburg (= Beihefte SAK 9), 295–303.
- ORCURI, Pier-Camillo. 1852. *Catalogo Illustrato dei Monumenti Egizi del R. Museo di Torino*, Torino.
- PORTA, Gabriella. 1989. *L'Architettura Egizia delle Origini in Legno e Materiali Leggeri*, Milano.
- PORTER, Bertha & Rosalind L.B. MOSS. 1974. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. III. Memphis. Part I. Abû Rawâsh to Abûsîr*, Oxford.
- . 1994. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. I. The Theban Necropolis, Part 1. Private Tombs*, Oxford.
- RANKE, Hermann. 1935. *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, vol. 1, Holstein.
- SERVAJEAN, Frédéric. 2011. *Le Tombeau de Nakhtamon (TT 335) à Deir el-Medina*, Cairo (= PalHiéro 5).
- SCHNEIDER, Hans D. 1977. *An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes*, Leiden.
- VANDIER, Jacques. 1950. *Mo'alla la tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep*, Cairo.
- WACHSMANN, Shelley. 1987. *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*, Leuven (= OLA 20).

La collection *Ægyptiaca Leodiensia* — dirigée par Dimitri Laboury, Stéphane Polis et Jean Winand — a pour vocation de publier des travaux d'égyptologie dans les domaines les plus divers. Elle accueille en son sein des monographies ainsi que des volumes collectifs thématiques.

This volume represents the outcome of the conference “Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact: Describing the interactions within and outside the community of workmen” held in Liège in 2014 (27-29 October). The goal of this conference was to encourage a wider perspective on Deir el-Medina, bringing together scholars from all egyptological fields and disciplines who are interested in studying the many types of interactions that the ancient community of Deir el-Medina developed both internally and at the broader (supra-)regional level.

The title of the volume, “Outside the box,” refers to two important dimensions touched on by the papers in this volume. First, it points to the fact that a vast quantity of documents from Deir el-Medina and, more broadly, from the Theban Necropolis has been available for a long time to some restricted academic circles, but are now to be taken *outside the box*: this holds true not only for the publication of papyri and ostraca preserved in many collections across the world, but also for archival material describing the excavations at the site itself, and more broadly for the monuments that remain there still, but are not available to scholars or the general public. Second, most of the papers collected in this volume share a common feature, namely their attempt to think *outside the box*, using new theoretical frameworks, cross-disciplinary approaches, or inno-

vative technological solutions. Accordingly, “Outside the box,” can be read both as a plea for making the fascinating material from Deir el-Medina more broadly available, and as a shout of admiration regarding the creativity and tireless inventiveness of scholars working on the sources stemming from this exceptional socio-cultural setting.

Andreas DORN is professor of Egyptology at the University of Uppsala (Sweden). He specializes in cultural history, archaeology and architecture. He focuses mainly on the contextualisation of artefacts in order to investigate micro-historical phenomena. His research projects include the burial equipment of king Sety I, the architecture and archaeology of the tomb of king Siptah, graffiti in the Valley of the Kings and Western Thebes as well as the publication of hieratic texts from Deir el-Medina.

Stéphane POLIS is research associate at the National Fund for Scientific Research (Belgium). His fields of research are ancient Egyptian linguistics, and Late Egyptian philology and grammar. His work focuses, on the one hand, on language variation and language change in Ancient Egyptian, and, on the other hand, on the publication and analysis of hieratic material from the community of Deir el-Medina.

PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE LIÈGE

ISBN : 978-2-87562-166-5

