Fig. 1. The Virgin in a Glory, woodcut.
Anon. German, 1515
William A. Sargent Fund
DURING some thirty-five years of association with the Department of Egyptian Art in this Museum the writer has had many opportunities to observe the interests of the public in the collections. There is first of all, because most common, the interest based on curiosity. The visitor is impressed by the extreme antiquity of the objects and wonders at their preservation through so many centuries. He is also apt to be struck by the strangeness of their appearance or the contemplation of mummies which enshroud “real dead people.” Secondly there is the more cultivated interest of the art lover who derives aesthetic pleasure from the contemplation of Egyptian masterpieces, viewing them on their merits as he would the great works of other cultures and times with the developed appreciation of the person of refined taste. A third approach, much rarer because it requires specialized knowledge and study, is to look at the collection as an illustration of the historical development of the culture it represents — to observe how the changes in style and quality reflect both the rise and decline of the people and their civilization — a visual commentary on history. This may be called the archaeological approach, and it is from this point of view that the writer will attempt here to make a study of one small class of objects which happens to be represented with unique completeness in this Department of the Museum. This
group consists of the funerary figures known as "shawabti" from the tombs of the kings and queens of Napata excavated by our Egyptian Expedition, and which are therefore fully documented and dateable.

What is a shawabti figure? In ancient Egypt hard physical labor was the dominant fact of life: ninety percent of the population spent their days cultivating their crops in the fields or at the constant labor of digging and maintaining irrigation canals. At the demand of the authorities they might also be, and frequently were, called upon in large numbers to engage in the construction of public works such as royal tombs or great temples to the gods. Since man's picture of a future life was often based on his experience on earth, and since physical labor was something to be avoided, the well-to-do Egyptian sought to protect himself from such unpleasant duties in the next world by placing these little figures in his tomb. They are supposed to be in the likeness of the dead person, usually wrapped as a mummy, and bear an inscription which was intended to inscribe that, when labor of any kind was demanded of the deceased in the hereafter, the little figure would come forward and perform it in his stead. They were called "shawabti" (sometimes written ushabti) by the Egyptians, and this name for them is thought by many scholars to be derived from the ancient Egyptian word for "to answer," because they were supposed to answer to the call for labor.

Shawabti figures first appeared in Egypt about 2000 B.C. during the Middle Kingdom, and continued in use through the Thirtieth Dynasty, or until about 340 B.C. Throughout this long period they show great variety in form and material, and any adequate discussion of their variations and evolution would fill a book of substantial size. Here it must suffice to mention a mere half dozen of the many Egyptian examples in our collection to serve as introduction to the royal group from Napata which forms our main subject.

Figure 1 is of painted wood¹ and represents a man in mummy form, the arms crossed on the breast, wearing a lappet wig and a short beard. Figure 2 is of limestone² and is without a beard. Both are alike in type, the heavier appearance of the stone example being due to the difference in material. In neither is there any trace of inscription, although such may once have been applied with paint, since obliterated. Both can be dated to the Middle Kingdom. The New Kingdom is here represented by two stone figures of kings. Figure 3 is a fragmentary and very rare pink granite shawabti³ of Amenhotep III (died ca. 1370 B.C.) originating in his tomb at Thebes. He wears a short royal wig with uraeus serpent on the brow, and a royal beard. The arms are crossed on the breast and hold the whip and crook, symbols of Osiris, with whom the dead king was identified. Below the arms an inscription is incised on the torso. Figure 4,a is of alabaster and represents King Siptah of the Nineteenth Dynasty (died ca. 1217 B.C.).¹ He wears the royal headcloth and uraeus but no beard, and again has the arms crossed on the breast, though here without implements. Below the arms is an ink inscription giving the king's name followed by an incomplete version of the Sixth Chapter from the Book of the Dead. In the Saite Period (663–525 B.C.) shawabti figures became very popular and were often of considerable elegance and artistic merit, even when made for relatively unimportant people. Such a one is Figure 4,b, a beautifully made greenish glazed faience figure⁴ wearing a lappet wig, an Osirian beard, and the implements of an agricultural worker in its crossed hands—pick, hoe, and basket suspended from a cord over the shoulder. The inscription, the usual Sixth Chapter, Book of the Dead, is incised in ten lines running around the torso and legs, somewhat obscured by the thickness of the glaze with which it

¹Reg. No. 13.3629. Height 14.3 cm. From the Museum's Excavations at Sheikh Farag.
²Reg. No. 13.3587. Height 19.5 cm. From the Museum's Excavations at Sheikh Farag.
³Reg. No. 04.1854. Height of the fragment 34.5 cm. Purchased.
⁴Reg. No. 04.1854. Height of the fragment 34.5 cm. Purchased.
Fig. 3. Granite Shawabti, Amenhotep III
   New Kingdom, Egyptian

Fig. 4.a.b.c. Alabaster Shawabti of Siptah and Two Faience Figures
   Nineteenth to Thirtieth Dynasties

Fig. 5. Type Chart of Napatan Shawabti
   Drawing by Miss Suzanne Chapman
is covered. To represent the last phase of the history of the shawabti in Egypt, the Thirtieth Dynasty (378-341 B.C.), Figure 4,c is a small, heavily glazed faience figure,¹ similar in type and style to the preceding, but uninscribed. The shawabti illustrated in Figures 1 to 3 and in 4,a are considerably older than our Napatan series, but Figure 4, b and c are roughly contemporary with it, and show a stylized elegance quite different in spirit from the figures made for the powerful but less sophisticated rulers of the country south of Egypt.

The Kingdom of Napata lies on the Nile to the south of Egypt, in what is now known as the Northern Sudan. The relations of Egypt with this region go back to remote antiquity, but can be traced with increasingly clear definition in the Old and Middle Kingdom periods. During the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty, at least as early as 1500 B.C., the country came under firm Egyptian control and was ruled by an administration under an Egyptian Viceroy. The upper strata at least of its society became thoroughly Egyptianized in language, religion, and culture, and remained so for at least four hundred years. With the gradual relaxation of Egyptian rule at the close of the Empire period it is evident that, while

the imported culture of Egypt remained dominant among the ruling class, political control had become merely nominal and finally lapsed entirely until, about 750 B.C., we see the tables reversed and the local rulers of Napata sufficiently strong to take over control of Egypt, where they governed as the Twenty-fifth Dynasty for a hundred years. Subsequently they were forced by the growing power of Assyria to relinquish control of their northern neighbor, but they continued to rule the northern Sudan as independent sovereigns with their capital first at Napata, and later, when they were obliged to retire still further up the Nile, at Meroë, some 130 miles north of Khartoum. In a series of campaigns from 1916 to 1923 this Museum’s Egyptian Expedition excavated all the cemeteries in which the rulers of Napata and Meroë were buried during some eleven hundred years, and the results of these excavations are now being published by the writer, the first volume having appeared at the end of last year.¹ A study of this material makes it quite clear that the culture of the ruling family was dominated by Egyptian influence in its early stages, but that, when direct contact with Egypt was broken the vitality of that influence faded, the products of local craftsmanship became stereotyped, and a progressive and marked degenera-

¹Reg. No. 02.788. Height 10 cm. From excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society at Abydos.

¹Royal Cemeteries of Kush 1, El Kurru, Harvard University Press, 1950.
Fig. 7. Shawabti of Napata Kings
Drawing by Miss Suzanne Chapman
tion took place. The shawabti figures of the royal family of Napata illustrate these facts.

Figure 5 is a chart designed to show the principal variants found in Napatan shawabti. The left hand column gives a classification of the types of headdress, designated by roman numerals; I to III being normally those of kings and IV to VI those of queens. Type VII represents the two types of "foreman" — figures found in the early tombs of both men and women. Such foremen are occasionally found among the shawabti of the Nineteenth to Twenty-third Dynasties in Egypt proper, but as far as the writer knows have not been recorded there in later periods. Their function seems to have been to act as overseers over the labors of gangs of shawabti of the usual mumiform type. The center column indicates the position of hands and arms, designated by arabic numerals. Number 7 in this column, with left arm raised to support a basket carried on the head, is unknown to the writer in Egypt. The right hand column is devoted to the principal groups of implements carried by the figures, designated by small letters. The hoes represent the normal wooden implement used by peasants. The cords which are visible in front view are attached to baskets slung over the shoulder and usually indicated on the back of the figure.

Figure 6 shows a selection of kings' shawabti in the Museum's collection, arranged in chronological order all to the same scale, so that the reader may get an impression of their style, size, and variation in quality. Figure 7 is a parallel series of scale drawings, clearer than photographic reproduction for showing the details which are often difficult to make out in a photograph. Figures 8 and 9 give a similar record of the queens' figures, and Figure 10 shows the principal abnormal and rare forms found in the early tombs at Napata.

**Fig. 8.** Shawabti of Napatan Queens in Boston
Fig. 9. Shawabtis of Napatan Queens
Drawing by Miss Suzanne Chapman
divided by a study of the types is also evident in the photographs when we come to consider style and quality of workmanship. The magnificent series of well over 1000 stone figures of Taharqa, the fifth king, would attest, apart from any other evidence, to his outstanding place as by far the most powerful of all the kings of Napata. This impression is fully confirmed by the photographs when we come to consider style and quality of workmanship.

From the foregoing lists certain significant facts emerge. During the first eight reigns the royal figures show a considerable variety in both form and size, whereas from the ninth reign on there is rigid uniformity in type and, except for the last five reigns, an approximate standardization in size as well. It is not without significance that the rule of the Napatan kings over Egypt as the Twenty-fifth Dynasty ended with the sixth reign, and that three generations later their royal figures had lapsed into stereotyped uniformity.

Similarly the figures of queens show an early variety in form and the same uniformity in the later generations, although the fixing of a standard type was somewhat slower in coming about than in the case of the kings. Another point of interest about the figures found in queens' tombs is that early in the series some figures intended for men (i.e. with beards) were used for women, and in at least one tomb (5) male figures had been transformed into female ones by having their beards cut off. From the nineteenth generation on there appears to have been no distinction made in the type of figures used for men and women.

The tendencies revealed by a study of the types is also evident in the photographs when we come to consider style and quality ofworkmanship.

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ments in Egypt which bear his name, and by the fact that his fame spread even beyond the confines of the Nile Valley—he is mentioned twice in the Old Testament as Tirhakah, in II Kings 19:9 and in Isaiah 37:9. After him only one king, the eighth, produced figures of stone; all the others, both earlier and later, made use of the more tractable faience, which may be formed in a mold and easily duplicated. The finest of these faience figures, both in technique of manufacture and purity of style, are those of the tenth king. Thereafter the degeneration in style and quality is progressive and marked.

This rather detailed study of a single class of objects, represented with unique completeness in this Museum, serves well to illustrate how the changes which take place over a period of time reflect quite clearly the altering circumstances of a people and their culture. The study of the collections in our great art museums, approached from this point of view, can often yield valuable confirmation of the facts of history gathered from other sources.

DOWS DUNHAM

Accessions, November 10, 1950 through March 8, 1951

Asiatic Art.

Brass, Persian.  

Bronze, Chinese.  
50.4060. Vessel, late Chou dynasty ......................................................... Gift of Arthur Wiesenberger.
51.1. Statuette of Eleven-headed Kuanyin, seventh century .............. By exchange from various funds.

Bronze, Korean.  
Res. 51.64-Res. 51.65. Six figures ......................................................... Anonymous gift.

Bronze, Tibetan.  

Bronze, Turkestan.  

Ceramics, Chinese.  

Ceramics, Korean.  

Ceramics, Persian.  

Clay, Chinese.  
Res. 51.51-Res. 51.62. Two votive tablets ............................................ Anonymous gift.