

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

## Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha A, B, C & D

*Imn-(m)-h3.t-p3-mš*



Third Intermediate Period, 21st Dynasty

From the Priests of Amen Cache, Cache II, Bab el-Gasus,  
Deir el-Bahari, Western Thebes



As a group, the *shabtis* for Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha<sup>1</sup> are somewhat problematic and pose many questions. All are potentially from the Priests of Amen Cache, Bab el-Gasus, Cache II at Deir el-Bahari in Western Thebes.<sup>2</sup> The *shabtis* have been considered to belong to one man of the name Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha. However, after much consideration as a result of the compiling of *shabti* databases for Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha it increasingly occurred to me that there are certainly two owners of *shabtis* for persons named Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha. They are discussed in the following paper along with databases that include as many parallels as I have been able to find. Such databases can never be comprehensive – there are always going to be examples of *shabtis* tucked away unidentified in museum and private collections. As with all of the papers in my current series I believe that I have compiled the most comprehensive lists of parallel *shabtis* known to date.



## Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha A



Worker 1



Worker 2

Worker *shabtis* and a corresponding ‘overseer’ for Worker 1. The identical orientation of the inscription suggests that they all belong to the same owner.

*Wsir (it)-ntr n Imn-(m)-h3.t-p3-mšc m3c-hrw*

The Osiris, the God’s Father of Amen, Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha, justified.



‘Overseer’

There seem to be two types of worker *shabtis* for Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha although only one example is so far known of type Worker 2 (see the following database). This particular example is very interesting in that its overall shape is virtually identical to worker *shabtis* for Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha D in the present overview. The reasons why it is identified as being for Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha A is because of the unusual orientation of the inscription and the inclusion of the title, albeit very crudely written, of God’s Father of Amen as well as having an identical type of seed basket painted on the back. The positioning of the arms suggest that it belongs to Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha D but for the reasons pointed out above, Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha A is the more likely. However, a question must remain as to whether the *shabtis* assigned to Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha D actually are for Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha A.

Worker 1 *shabtis* for Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha A are the most plentiful in number of all those known for any owner named Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha. ‘Overseer’ *shabtis* are far fewer. The inscriptions are read in the opposite direction from all of the other *shabtis* for Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha. The inscriptions are the only ones in the various series in this overview that include a title – God’s Father of Amen.

There are 18 worker *shabtis* of this type and 2 ‘overseers’ to be found in the Cairo Museum as recorded by Percy Newberry (see the following database). It seems likely that these are the *shabtis* noted by Daressy and Bouriant in their list of *shabtis* that were discovered in the Priests of Amen Cache – [Email](#) <sup>(1)</sup> T.<sup>3</sup> These have been subsequently linked to Book of the Dead papyrus S.R.VII.10230 and Amduat papyrus S.R.VII.11495<sup>4</sup> (see Figs. 1 & 2) as well as an associated coffin (JE 29696) that is anonymous and listed by Daressy as List A 124.<sup>5</sup> Both of these papyri give the titles of God’s Father of Amen, as found on the *shabtis*, and also Chief of the Shield-bearers (*hr.y krw*)<sup>6</sup> (see Figs. 1 & 2). Both omit ‘pa’ in the writing of the name. These papyri can seemingly be attributed to Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha A although the *shabtis* do include ‘pa’ in the name. Note that ‘T’ at the end of the entry on the list of *shabtis* by Daressy/Bouriant indicates that both workers and others wearing the dress of daily life – i.e. ‘overseer’ *shabtis* were found. Papyrus S.R.VII.14495 states that Amen-(em)-hat-(pa)-mesha was a son of Ankh-ef-(en)-Mut.<sup>7</sup>

The two other papyri – Amduat S.R.VII.10233 = JE 34049 (see Fig. 3) and Book of the Dead S.R.VII.11502 also have the name Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha. S.R.VII.10233 has title of God’s Father of Amen-Re, King of the Gods while in addition to this S.R.VII.11502 also has the title of God’s Servant of Horus of Hefat – Hefat being a religious centre south of Thebes.<sup>8</sup> These must belong to another Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha but it is impossible to say which one.

Aubert attributes S.R.VII.10233, S.R.VII.11495 and S.R.VII.11502 to Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha A and Aston only mentions S.R.VII.10233 while Jansen-Winkeln and Van Bommel attribute S.R.VII.10233, S.R.VII.10230 and S.R.VII.11495.<sup>9</sup> Niwiński attributes S.R.VII.10230 & S.R.VII.11495 as noted earlier.<sup>10</sup>

*Shabti* boxes are not known for anyone named Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha.



Fig. 1. Vignette at the start of papyrus S.R.VII.10230 in Cairo Museum. Amen-(em)-hat-(pa)-mesha A stands in a gesture of adoration before Osiris and Isis.  
(Photo: courtesy of VB, 2021).

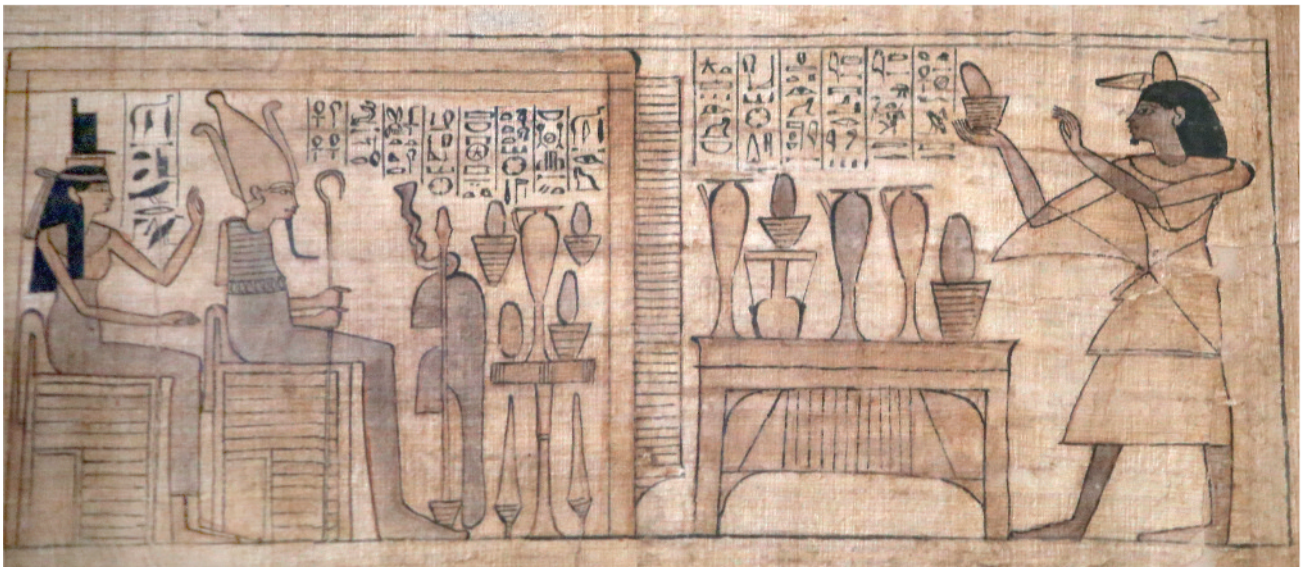


Fig. 2. Vignette at the start of papyrus S.R.VII.11495 in Cairo Museum. Amen-(em)-hat-(pa)-mesha A stands offering incense before a table of other offerings to Osiris and Isis who are seated upon cube-shaped thrones.  
(Photo: courtesy of VB, 2021).



Fig. 3. Vignette at the start of papyrus S.R.VII.10233 in Cairo Museum. Amen-(em)-hat-(pa)-mesha (?) stands giving offerings to [Osiris and Isis].  
(Photo: courtesy of VB, 2024).

# Typology and database of parallel *shabtis* for Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha A

*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 1** – mummiform; mid to bright blue glazed faience; details are added in black; wears a fully painted tripartite wig, some with a short rear lappet; face is quite round in shape and simply modelled; eyes are large and boldly outlined but eyebrows are not added; crudely defined ears protrude in the front of the lappets of the wig; the arms, which are quite thin, are crossed right over left above the waist; clenched hands hold a pair of hoes that are usually boldly painted and with the hoe that is being carried in the left hand being slightly higher than the one carried in the right hand; most examples have a thickly outlined, rectangular-shaped basket with square-hatched details painted in the middle of back with carrying straps positioned centrally below the rear lappet of the wig; the feet are gently curved in profile; the front has a vertical column of a painted hieroglyphic inscription without framing lines that is unusual in that the hieroglyphs are facing in the opposite direction to the norm found on *shabtis*; the owner is named as Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha with the title God's Father of Amen. c. 11.5–13.1 cm in height.

Aix–les–Bains (MALb 058.2).<sup>11</sup>

Alexandria (GRM 1669 & 1684 – assumed to be this type).<sup>12</sup>

Berlin (ÄM 11892 & 11893).<sup>13</sup> ① ②

Brussels (MRAH E.05403a and E.05403b).<sup>14</sup> ③ ④

Cairo (CG 46714–46726, 46729–46732 & 46759).<sup>15</sup> ⑤–⑦

Chicago (FM 31031 & 172130).<sup>16</sup> ⑧ ⑨

Copenhagen (NMD 4006).<sup>17</sup> ⑩

Florence (ME 8617).<sup>18</sup> ⑪

Glasgow (KEL 27.1912).<sup>19</sup> ⑫

Leiden (RMO F 93/10.11 & F 93/10.12).<sup>20</sup> ⑬ ⑭

Lisbon (SGL 2507–5A & B).<sup>21</sup> ⑮ ⑯

London (BM EA 24887 & 24888).<sup>22</sup> ⑰ ⑱

Lyon (MBA E 313–8).<sup>23</sup> ⑲

Oslo (EM 8085 & 8096).<sup>24</sup>

Paris (MdL E 22097).<sup>25</sup> ⑲

Roanne (MJD 260).<sup>26</sup>

St. Gallen (HM C 730.5).<sup>27</sup> ⑲

Toulouse (MGL 49.42).<sup>28</sup> ⑲

Washington (NMNH 027543 – two examples).<sup>29</sup> ⑲ ⑲

Memphis Collection (NH–282).<sup>30</sup> ⑲

Bergé 2006, lot 590 – same example as Tajan 2004.<sup>27</sup>

Piasa 2003, lot 225 bis.

Tajan 2004, lot 191.





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**WORKER 2** – mummiform; blue glazed faience; details are added in black; wears a fully painted tripartite wig; the face is quite oval in shape and simply modelled; eyes are large and crudely outlined but eyebrows are not added; crudely defined ears, which are quite large, protrude in the front of the lappets of the wig; the arms are crossed left over right above the waist; clenched hands hold a pair of hoes that are boldly painted and with the one in the left hand being higher than the one carried in the right hand; a fairly thickly outlined, rectangular-shaped basket with square-hatched details is painted in the middle of back with carrying straps positioned centrally below the rear lappet of the wig; the feet are gently curved in profile; the front has a vertical column of a crudely painted hieroglyphic inscription without framing lines that is unusual in that the hieroglyphs are facing in the opposite direction to the norm found on *shabtis*; the owner is named as Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha with the title God's Father of Amen.  
c. 12.5 cm in height.

German private collection. ①



①

**OVERSEER** – modified Worker 1 *shabtis* wearing the dress of daily life with an ankle-length projecting triangular apron that has been applied to the torso of a worker *shabti*; mid-blue glazed faience; details are added in black; wears a fully painted tripartite wig, some with a short rear lappet; face is quite round in shape and simply modelled; eyes are large and boldly outlined but eyebrows are not added; crudely defined ears protrude in the front of the lappets of the wig; the arms are crossed right over left above the waist; clenched hands hold a pair of hoes that are painted with longer blades to look more like whips; feet are gently curved in profile; the apron, lower legs and ankles has a vertical column of a painted hieroglyphic inscription without framing lines that is somewhat unusual in that the hieroglyphs are facing in the opposite direction to the norm found on *shabtis*; the owner is named as Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha with the title God's Father of Amen.  
c. 12.0–13.8 cm in height.

Cairo (CG 46727 with title & 46733 with title but no name).<sup>31</sup>  
German private collection. ①  
Memphis Collection (NH-365).<sup>32</sup> ②

Christie's 1998, lot 126. ③  
Ede 1988, [no. 45].



①

②

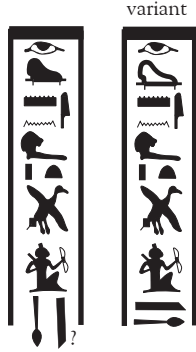
③

## Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha B



Worker

Worker *shabti* and corresponding ‘overseer,’ which can be perhaps tentatively linked by the description of Newberry (see below) and having the inscription being added within framing lines although Newberry does not mention them.



variant

*Wsir Imn-(m)-h3.t-p3-mšc m3c-hrw*

The Osiris, Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha, justified.



‘Overseer’

The mystery with the worker *shabtis* is that there are no examples to be found in the Cairo Museum nor in the various museums in the 17 countries that received the so-called Lots that were distributed by the Egyptian government following the decision of the last Khedive of Egypt, Abbas II Hilmy upon his coronation in 1893. The ‘overseer’ *shabtis* potentially belong with the workers because the inscription is written with framing lines that are closed at the top and also the fact that ‘hat’ is written with a ‘t’ and a vertical line after it . The name is only written in this way on *shabtis* for the Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha D. ‘Overseer’ *shabtis* are to be found in the Cairo Museum as noted by Percy Newberry, although if these *shabtis* are indeed related, Newberry does not mention the framing lines for the text but he does mention the short wig and eyes with eyebrows. An example in the Kemehu Collection was published by Lilianne Aubert in her book *Les statuettes funéraires de la Deuxième Cachette à Deir el-Bahari* (Paris, 1998), p. 52 [no. 3] – see the following database no. [7](#). In view of the fact that no *shabtis* of this type are to be found in the Cairo Museum or the museums associated with the distribution of Lots, this provenance is perhaps questionable. If the ‘overseer’ *shabtis* do belong to this owner, which must be equally questionable, then the worker *shabtis* will presumably also be from the Priests of Amen Cache.

## Typology and database of parallel *shabtis* for Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha B

*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** – mummiform; mid to bright blue glazed faience; details are added in black; wears a fully painted tripartite wig; the face is quite small and round in shape and crudely modelled; the eyes are large and boldly outlined and have the brows added; on most the ears are barely discernable; the arms are crossed right over left above the waist; clenched hands hold a pair of hoes that are usually boldly painted but quite small; a square-hatched basket is painted in centre of back that is rectangular in outline and has carrying straps at the outer upper corners, some with loops; the feet are gently curved in profile; the front has a vertical column of a painted hieroglyphic inscription with framing lines closed at the top; the owner is named as Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha.

c. 12.0–12.7 cm in height.

Amsterdam (APM 9049).<sup>33</sup>

Birkenhead (BIKGM 3540). [1](#)

Birmingham (BIMAG 1946A61 & 1993A161).<sup>34</sup>

Bristol (BMs H4049).<sup>35</sup> [2](#)

Cambridge (MAA Z 17613).<sup>36</sup> [3](#)

Dublin (NMI 1892.247).<sup>37</sup> [4](#)

Leicester (LMAG forthcoming). [5](#)

Oxford (PRM 1912.13.17).<sup>38</sup> [6](#)

Kemehu Collection.<sup>39</sup> [7](#) [8](#)

Memphis Collection (NH-221).<sup>40</sup> [9](#)

Roseberys 2025, lot 24 – ex Sotheby’s 1997, lot 618.



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**OVERSEER** – wearing the dress of daily life with an ankle-length projecting triangular apron and a short-sleeved tunic; mid-blue glazed faience; details are added in black; wears a fully painted bipartite wig; face is quite round in shape and simply modelled; eyes are large and boldly outlined with eyebrows above; ears are not obviously defined; the left arm is held across the waist and the clenched hand holds a whip while the right hand hangs down by the side of the body and the clenched hand holds what is perhaps a short stick or a fold of cloth; the feet are gently curved in profile; the front of the apron has a vertical column of a painted hieroglyphic inscription with framing lines that are closed at the top; the owner is named as Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha.  
c. 13.0–13.8 (Assisi) cm in height.

Assisi (MCA 14b).<sup>41</sup> ①

Cairo (CG 46764–46767 – although Newberry does not mentioning the framing lines).<sup>42</sup>

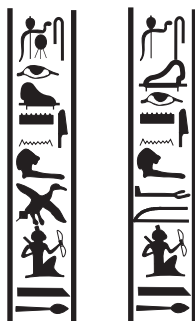


①

## Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha C



variant



*shd Wsir Imn-(m)-h3.t-p3-mšc m3c-hrw*

The illuminated one, the Osiris,  
Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha, justified.

Worker

This group of *shabtis* start the inscription with The Illuminated one. This is not found on any of the other *shabtis* for the various potential Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha owners. There are four examples of this type, two having framing lines closed at the top, which are to be found in the Cairo Museum as recorded by Newberry.<sup>43</sup> There are no obvious ‘overseer’ *shabtis* known for this owner.

# Typology and database of parallel *shabtis* for Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha C

*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** – mummiform; light to mid blue glazed faience; details are added in black; wears a fully painted tripartite wig; the face is quite round in shape with some being quite well modelled; the eyes are faintly modelled and with the pupils and brows being added in black; crudely defined ears protrude in the front of the lappets of the wig; the arms are crossed right over left on the chest; clenched hands hold a pair of hoes, some boldly painted; a square-hatched basket of rectangular or square shape with carrying straps is carried in centre of the back; some baskets are quite crudely painted; the feet are sharply curved in profile; the front has a vertical column of a painted hieroglyphic inscription with framing lines open at the top; the inscription begins with *shd Wsir* and, with four exceptions, the name is written as Amen–(em)–hat–em–mesha –  – i.e. without ‘pa’  but with  and . c. 11.9–12.5 cm in height.

Atlanta (MCCM 2018.010.292).<sup>44</sup> ①

Cairo (CG 46760–46763).<sup>45</sup>

Cambridge (MAA 1947.1403).<sup>46</sup> ②

Detroit (DIA 68.72).<sup>47</sup> ③

Moscow (PM I.1a 729).<sup>48</sup> ④

Bergé 2019, lot 131. ⑤

Bonhams 2007, lot 329. ⑥

French private collection – without framing lines but with ‘pa.’<sup>49</sup>

Germany private collection. ⑦



## Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha D



Worker



Worker *shabti* and a corresponding ‘overseer,’ which being a modified worker *shabti*, and with eyes and no brows and some open hieroglyphs clearly suggest that they belong to the same owner.

*Wsir Imn-(m)-h3.t-p3-ms*

The Osiris, Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha.



‘Overseer’

*Shabtis* for Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha D are always without a title and overall very different in their appearance to the other *shabtis* in this overview. Two examples are recorded by Newberry as being in the Cairo Museum. His description says that they have eyebrows, but all the examples in the following database are without eyebrows, which perhaps suggests the wrong *shabti* have been attributed. There is a series of corresponding ‘overseer’ *shabtis* although only one example is currently known. This is a modified worker *shabti*. No further examples have been so far been identified in any museum collections (see the following database).

## Typology and database of parallel *shabtis* for Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha D

*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** – mummiform; light blue glazed faience; details are added in black; wears a fully painted tripartite wig, the front of which is modelled on shallow relief with the paint not always reaching the raised edge; face is quite round in shape and simply modelled; the eyes are large and boldly outlined; eyebrows are not added; ears protrude in the front of the lappets of the wig although these are not always clearly defined; arms are crossed left over right above the waist; clenched hands usually hold a pair of hoes that are faintly modelled in relief but they are not painted; only one example carries a basket; feet are gently curved in profile; the front has a vertical column of a painted hieroglyphic inscription without framing lines; the hieroglyphs are often outlined; the owner is named as Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha.

c. 11.0–12.0 cm in height.

Birmingham (BIMAG 1969W1428).<sup>450</sup>

Cairo (CG 46728).<sup>51</sup>

Cortona (MAC 108).<sup>52</sup> ①

Florence (MANF 8616).<sup>53</sup> ②

London (UC 39880).<sup>54</sup> ③

Milan (CSf E 429).<sup>55</sup> ④

Moscow (PM I.1a 714).<sup>56</sup> ⑤

Norfolk (CMA 71.2217.5).<sup>57</sup> ⑥

Kemehu Collection. ⑦

Bonhams 1997, lot 307.

Bonhams 2002, lot 409 ⑧ – ex Puhze 1993 [no. 325].





**OVERSEER** – modified worker *shabti* wearing the dress of daily life with a near ankle-length projecting triangular apron that has been applied to the torso; bright blue glazed faience; details are added in black; wears a fully painted tripartite wig; the face is quite broad in shape and simply modelled; eyes are large and boldly outlined but eyebrows are not added; crudely defined ears protrude in the front of the lappets of the wig; the arms are crossed left over right above the waist; clenched hands hold a pair of hoes that are faintly modelled in relief; a vertical column of a painted hieroglyphic inscription without framing lines; the owner is named as Amen–(em)–hat–pa–mesha. c. 12.0 cm in height.

De Maigret 2013, lot 222.  
De Maigret 2015a, lot 174.

De Maigret 2015b, lot 25 – same *shabti* as offered for sale in 2013<sup>①</sup>, 2015a and again by Millon 27th June 2016, lot 153.



## FOOTNOTE

A brief comment on an ‘overseer’ *shabti* for Amen–em–hat–pa–mesha that is to be found in Berlin (ÄM 12458).<sup>①</sup> This has been attributed to the Priests of Amen Cache, Bab el–Gasus, Cache II at Deir el–Bahari by Liliane Aubert and other writers.<sup>58</sup> However, in the opinion of the author and following consultation with *shabti* experts, it is certain that this particular *shabti* that dates from the 22nd Dynasty is potentially from the Memphis or Delta region as it has no really obvious Theban traits. It must therefore belong to another owner of the same name. Parallels for this *shabti* are to be found in Aberdeen (ABDUA 20357 – ex Dr. James Grant Bey (1840–1896) Collection<sup>②</sup> & 20420?)<sup>59</sup> and the Memphis Collection [NH–521].<sup>60</sup> <sup>③</sup> A potential worker *shabti* is also known, although this could be for yet another Amen–em–hat–pa–mesha.<sup>61</sup> <sup>④</sup>



#### Photo credits:

GJ with the exceptions of Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha A **WORKER 1**: Berlin = © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung; Andreas Paasch; Brussels = courtesy of Arnaud Quintermont; Cairo = courtesy of VB; Chicago = © Field Museum, Chicago; Copenhagen = Rogério Sousa & Anne Haslund Hansen; Florence = © Museo Archeologico Nazionale; Leiden = courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden; Lisbon = © L. M. de Araújo; London = courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum and courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology, UCL; Lyon = © 2024 Musée du Louvre / Département des Antiquités égyptiennes; Oslo = © Etnografisk Museum, Oslo; Paris = © 2014 Musée du Louvre / Département des Antiquités égyptiennes; St. Gallen = © Historisches Museum, St. Gallen; Toulouse = © 2008 Musée Georges Labit; Washington = © Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History; Memphis Collection = courtesy of NH; Bergé = © Pierre Bergé, Paris; Tajan = © Tajan, Paris. **WORKER 2**: German private collection = courtesy of VB. **OVERSEER**: German private collection = courtesy of VB; Memphis Collection = courtesy of NH; Christie's = © Christie's, London & New York. Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha B **WORKER**: Dublin = © National Museum of Ireland; Memphis Collection = courtesy of NH. **OVERSEER**: Assisi = © Museo Civico di Assisi. Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha C **WORKER**: Atlanta = © Michael C. Carlos Emery Museum; Detroit = © Detroit Institute of Arts; Moscow = © The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts; Bergé = © Pierre Bergé, Paris; Bonhams = © Bonhams, London; German private collection = courtesy of VB. Amen-(em)-hat-pa-mesha D **WORKER 1**: Cortona = courtesy of NH; Florence = courtesy of Dr. Anna Consonni; London = courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum and courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology, UCL; Moscow = © The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts; Norfolk = © Chrysler Museum of Art; Bonhams = © Bonhams, London. **OVERSEER**: De Maigret = © Thierry de Maigret, Paris. **FOOTNOTE**: Berlin = © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung; Andreas Paasch; Memphis Collection = courtesy of NH; Meffre = © Raphaële Meffre.

1. Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glückstadt, 1935–1952), p. 28 (10); II p. 340 (p. 28, 10).
2. Daressy, G., 'Les cercueils des prêtres d'Ammon,' ASAE 8 (Cairo, 1907), p. 15. Assigned to List A [no. 124 – an anonymous coffin], *ibid*, p. 12. See also Lieblein, J., *Hieroglyphisches namen-wörterbuch. Genealogisch und alphabetisch geordnet nach den Ägyptischen denkmälern herausgegeben Supplement* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 1001 [no. 124]; Daressy *ibid*, p. 12.
3. Daressy, G., 'Les cercueils des prêtres d'Ammon,' ASAE 8, pp. 3–38 (Cairo, 1907), p. 15 (blue glazed faience *shabti* with no number) – potential different owners with the same name are not identified.
4. Niwiński, A., *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B. C.* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 277 & 295 [Cairo 67 & 117]. For panoramic videos of both papyri, see the website of *shabti* scholar Dik van Bommel: <https://www.ushabtis.com/>
5. Daressy, G., 'Les cercueils des prêtres d'Ammon,' ASAE 8, pp. 3–38 (Cairo, 1907), p. 33 [no. 124] – only one papyrus is mentioned. Niwiński, A., *21st Dynasty coffins from Thebes* (Mainz, 1988), p. 127 [no. 124].
6. Schulman, A. R. *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Berlin, 1964), p. 67; al-Ayedi, A. R. *Egyptian Titles of the Late Period. An index of Administrative, Religious and Military Titles* (Cairo, 2022), p. 691 [no. 2331].
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## Abbreviations

|       |                                                                  |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ABDUA | University of Aberdeen, Human Culture Collection.                |
| ÄM    | Ägyptisches Museum (Berlin).                                     |
| APM   | Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam.                                |
| ASAE  | Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte (Cairo).           |
| BIFAO | Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Cairo). |
| BIKGM | Williamson Art Gallery & Museum, Birkenhead.                     |
| BIMAG | Museum & Art Gallery (Birmingham).                               |

|      |                                                                 |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| BM   | The British Museum (London).                                    |
| BMs  | Bristol Museums (Bristol, UK).                                  |
| CG   | Catalogue général du musée du Caire.                            |
| CMA  | Chrysler Museum of Art (Norfolk, USA).                          |
| CSf  | Castello Sforzesco (Milan).                                     |
| DIA  | Detroit Institute of Arts.                                      |
| EM   | Etnografisk Museum (Oslo).                                      |
| FM   | Field Museum (Chicago).                                         |
| GRM  | Graeco–Roman Museum (Alexandria).                               |
| HM   | Historisches Museum (St. Gallen).                               |
| JE   | Journal d'entrée du musée du Caire.                             |
| KEL  | Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum (Glasgow).                   |
| LMG  | Leicester Museum & Art Gallery (Leicester, UK).                 |
| MAA  | Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology (University of Cambridge). |
| MAC  | Museo dell'Accademia di Cortona.                                |
| MAlb | Musée d'archéologie, Aix–les–Bains.                             |
| MANF | Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze (Florence).             |
| MBA  | Musée des Beaux–Arts de Lyon (Lyon).                            |
| MCA  | Museo Civico di Assisi.                                         |
| MCCM | Michael C. Carlos Emery Museum (Atlanta).                       |
| MdL  | Musée du Louvre (Paris).                                        |
| ME   | Museo Egizio (Florence).                                        |
| MGL  | Musée Georges Labit (Toulouse).                                 |
| MJD  | Musée Joseph Déchelette (Roanne).                               |
| MRAH | Musée Royeaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Brussels).                   |
| NMD  | National Museum of Denmark (Copenhagen).                        |
| NMI  | National Museum of Ireland (Dublin).                            |
| NMNH | Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History (Washington).    |
| PM   | The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts (Moscow).                 |
| PRM  | Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.                       |
| RdE  | <i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> (Paris).                             |
| RMO  | Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden).                              |
| SGL  | Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (Lisbon).                      |

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