

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

Amen-em-Opet

Imn-m-Ḳp.t



God's Servant of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, the Master of Secrets, the Chief
Draughtsman of the Temple of Amen

Third Intermediate Period, 21st Dynasty

From Western Thebes, Dra Abu el-Naga (TT A.18)



Amen-em-Opet

- a Faience, blue glaze, details added in black
Third Intermediate Period, 21st Dynasty
From Western Thebes, Dra Abu el-Naga (TT A.18)
H. 10.5 cm. W. 4.0 cm. D. 3.5 cm.
ex private collection in Orselina, Switzerland [no. Ae.131]
Published: Schlögl & Brodbeck 1990, p. 211 [no. 132]; Janes 2002, pp. 65–67 [no. 33a]
Exhibited: ‘*Shabtis*,’ Cybele Gallery, Paris, 2003
‘*Shabtis: Suspended Truth* in Context,’ The Manchester Museum, 2017
- b H. 10.7 cm. W. 3.9 cm. D. 3.5 cm.
Published: Janes 2002, pp. 68–69 [no. 33c]
Exhibited: ‘*Shabtis*,’ Cybele Gallery, Paris, 2003
‘*Shabtis: Suspended Truth* in Context,’ The Manchester Museum, 2017
- c H. 11.6 cm. W. 4.5 cm. D. 4.0 cm.
ex Horace A. Owen Collection (1910–1993), West Hampstead, London
Published: Janes 2002, pp. 67–68 [no. 33b]
Exhibited: ‘*Shabtis*,’ Cybele Gallery, Paris, 2003
‘*Shabtis: Suspended Truth* in Context,’ The Manchester Museum, 2017
‘Adventure in Egypt: Mrs Goodison & Other Travellers,’ The Atkinson, Southport, 2017



a

A group of two shroud-wrapped mummiform *shabtis* and an ‘overseer’ *shabti* wearing the dress of daily life belonging to the same owner.

The worker *shabtis* wear a tripartite wig with striations and a *seshed* headband added in black. The tie at the back of the headband seems to be non-existent on **a**, but on **b** it is suggested by thicker lines amidst the striations of the wig. The wig on **a** is very high and extended towards the back of the head as opposed to the more usual rounded shape as seen on the other example. The arms on both of the worker *shabtis* are crossed left over right on the chest and the hands hold a small

pair of hoes that are modelled in relief and painted black. Example **a** carries a square-hatched trapezoidal shaped basket on the back that has loops in the lower corners and faint carrying straps in the upper corners whereas **b** carries a much smaller diamond-hatched rectangular shaped basket with bold carrying straps positioned slightly inwards from the upper corners. The faces on both figures have eyes with eyebrows added in black. Ears protrude in front of the side lappets of the wig but they are hardly discernable in the modelling. The body of **a** has seven vertical columns and **b** eight vertical columns of a painted inscription giving the titles and name of the owner,



b



c

Amen-em-Opet¹ (Amen is in the Ipet), followed by a version of Chapter 5 of the *Book of the Dead* instead of the more usual Chapter 6.

The 'overseer' *shabti* wears the projecting apron of daily life. It wears a short bipartite wig with striations and a *seshed* headband boldly added in black. The tie at the back of the headband is not obvious but is suggested because of the two short painted strokes below the rear lappet of the wig. The

striations of the wig emanate from the top and are painted outwards from a central point to the edges. Short lappets that fall by the cheeks and chin of the face have separate striations that are closer together. These striations are sometimes modelled on *shabtis* as opposed to being painted. The face is simply shaped and has the eyes with eyebrows added in black. The left arm hangs down by the side of the body and the right is folded across the waist and the hand holds a whip

that is positioned in front of the right shoulder. The lower legs and feet are shown in the modelling with the toes being clearly defined. Unusual for the Third Intermediate Period, the *shabti* stands upon a trapezoidal shaped base. The *shabti* is inscribed with eight vertical columns of painted text giving the titles and name of Amen-em-Opet followed by Chapter 5 of the *Book of the Dead*. His name is also written on the front of the projecting apron.

The tomb of Amen-em-Opet is in the Dra Abu-el-Naga cemetery, Western Thebes (TT A.18), but its exact location is unknown.² According to the manuscripts of Richard Wilkinson, the tomb was called 'Piccinini's Tomb' and was probably adjacent to this gentleman's house and suggested as being in the vicinity of TT 161 that was for the Bearer of Floral offering of Amen, Nakht.³ Piccinini was the first to open this tomb and then Robert Hay subsequently opened it twice and made drawings of the wall decorations.⁴

Writing in 1829, Sarah Lushington describes 'Signor Piccinini' as being 'a Lucchese [i.e. from Lucca, Italy], in the service of the Swedish Consul at Alexandria, who had resided for about nine years at Thebes.'⁵ He excavated in Egypt and was notorious as a dealer and merchant who bought antiquities for Giovanni Anastasi.⁶

Piccinini's house is described by Lushington as 'nothing more than a mud hut on the hills of Goornoo.' She goes on to say that she 'ascended to the only apartment by a few steps; this room contained his couch, his arms, his wine, his few drawings, and all his worldly goods. The window shutters, steps, and floor, were composed of mummy coffins, painted with hieroglyphical [*sic*] figures perhaps four thousand years old; and it was curious to observe the profuse expenditure of materials to which I had been accustomed to attach ideas of value from seeing them only in museums and collections of antiquities.'⁷ His 'miserable' kitchen also had shelves made of ancient coffins.⁸ The use of coffins for shutters, doors and shelves seems to have been common practice because, for example, the house of Giovanni d'Athanasia, a Greek excavator and collector, was similarly appointed.⁹

Lushington was invited to Piccinini's house to witness the unwrapping of a mummy. On passing through the kitchen, she describes how 'we entered a tomb, where lay the mummy in question, supposed to be that of a High Priest. It was placed in a stone case, the lid of which was removed, and inclosed [*sic*] in three coffins, each having a gilt mask at the upper end. The entire lid of the last coffin was also covered with gilding, in vivid preservation, and the body was wrapped in a garment curiously wrought with gold lace, and apparently of a tough texture.'¹⁰ Manniche comments that Piccinini's house was next door to the tomb of Nakht.¹¹ Described as being through the kitchen of Puccinini's house, could this tomb be TT A.18 and thus belonged to Amen-em-Opet? It seems unlikely because there is no mention of a stone sarcophagus being found in the tomb when it was visited by Robert Hay and John Gardner Wilkinson sometime in the mid-late 1820s or the early 1830s. Hay was a draughtsman and collector.¹² Two years after his death in 1863, the British Museum purchased 529 objects from his collection for around £1000.¹³ This purchase included two fine wooden *shabtis* for Ramesses VI (BM EA 29998 & 29999).¹⁴

Whether this speculative suggestion is plausible or not, it is known that the tomb of Amen-em-Opet was usurped from a New Kingdom owner.¹⁵ It seems that the original wall decoration

in the tomb of Amen-em-Opet was kept but the inscriptions were altered to reflect the change of ownership. Could the coffins noted above have belonged to Amen-em-Opet, and placed in a stone sarcophagus that originally contained the coffins of the New Kingdom owner? It would have been easy to dispose of the coffins of the New Kingdom but not the stone sarcophagus. Lushington writes: 'The coffins serve as fire-wood to the whole neighbourhood: I saw nothing else burnt.'¹⁶ Presumably this could have also happened in antiquity.

Hay described the scenes on the walls in the tomb of Amen-em-Opet and made some sketches, as did Wilkinson. However, the most detailed were those of Champollion and Rosellini, the latter being done during his expedition to Egypt in 1828 (see Figs. 2 & 3a/b).¹⁷ The inscriptions in the tomb note Amen-em-Opet's father as Pa-ankh-em-di-Amen and his mother was a Chantress called Ankh-(es)-en-Khonsu. They had four daughters although their names are not given, only the names of their husbands.¹⁸ The decoration shows king Amen-hotep and queen Ahmose-Nefertari and also Amen-hotep I and queen Ah-hotep.¹⁹ Manniche states that the tomb is the only decorated Theban tomb from the 21st Dynasty.²⁰ In a doorway of the tomb, Wilkinson copied an inscription that included two cartouches.²¹ These have been the subject of much discussion and are for king Psusennes, but whether this is Psusennes II or, because the second cartouche gives a prenominal of Hedj-heka-?, a scarcely-known Psusennes III has also been considered by Aidan Dodson.²²

As a group, the majority of *shabtis* for Amen-em-Opet are inscribed with Chapter 5 of the *Book of the Dead*, but some have Chapter 6. Chapter 5 is considered to be of Hermopolitan origin, and its purpose was to give the deceased magical powers and wisdom to survive in the afterlife. The 'Great Baboon' mentioned in the text is considered to be Thoth, whilst the 'Weary One' may refer to the state of Osiris before his resurrection.²³ Only two other owners of *shabtis* are inscribed with Chapter 5 of the Book of the Dead. There are several for the God's Father, the Master of Secrets, the Scribe of the House of Silver, Nesy-Bastet (see Fig. 1) and examples for the God's Father, the Master of the Secrets of Bastet, the God's father of Montu and of Khonsu, Shed-s(u?)-Nefertum (see Fig. 5).²⁴

Shabtis for Amen-em-Opet have been sold on the art market for a long time. Writing in 1895, Wiedemann notes that four examples that are to be found in Oxford (see below)



Fig. 1. A *shabti* for the God's Servant, the Master of Secrets and Scribe of the House of Silver, Nesy-Bastet. (Photo: GJ – courtesy of the University of Aberdeen [ABDUA no. 20211]).



Fig. 2. One of the wall scenes in the hall of the now lost tomb of Amen-en-Opet (TT A. 18) as copied by Rosellini in 1828. The mummy of Amen-em-Opet is being supported on the left of the scene by one of his sons who is named Djed-Montu-iwef-ankh. In front of the mummy, a person named Pa-(en)-maat pours red myrrh over it in the ritual of purification (*ir.t mꜣꜣ hrw*) while Amen-em-Opet's unnamed widow squats naked with dishevelled hair on the floor whilst touching the feet of the mummy with her left hand. Her right hand is raised in a gesture of adoration.
(Rosellini, I., *I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubi* 1834, vol. 4,2 pl. CXXVII [1] – https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/rosellini1834bd4_2/0130).



Fig. 3a. A wall scene showing Amen-em-Opet (right) dressed in a leopard skin offering libations and offerings to king Amen-hotep I and queen Ah-hotep, the king's grandmother.
(Champollion, J.-F., *Monuments de l'Égypte et la Nubie*, I-IV (Paris, 1835–45) II pl. CLIII [3]).



Fig. 2 (cont) A large shrine is being dragged by four oxen with the assistance of three men, one with a stick. A small shire in front of the larger one is surmounted by the figure of the god Anubis, perhaps a reference to one of Amen-em-Opet's titles, Master of Secrets. It is particularly interesting to note a reference to Amen-em-Opet's age saying that he had completed 88 years of service to the estate of Amen (after Manniche 2011, pp. 78–79).

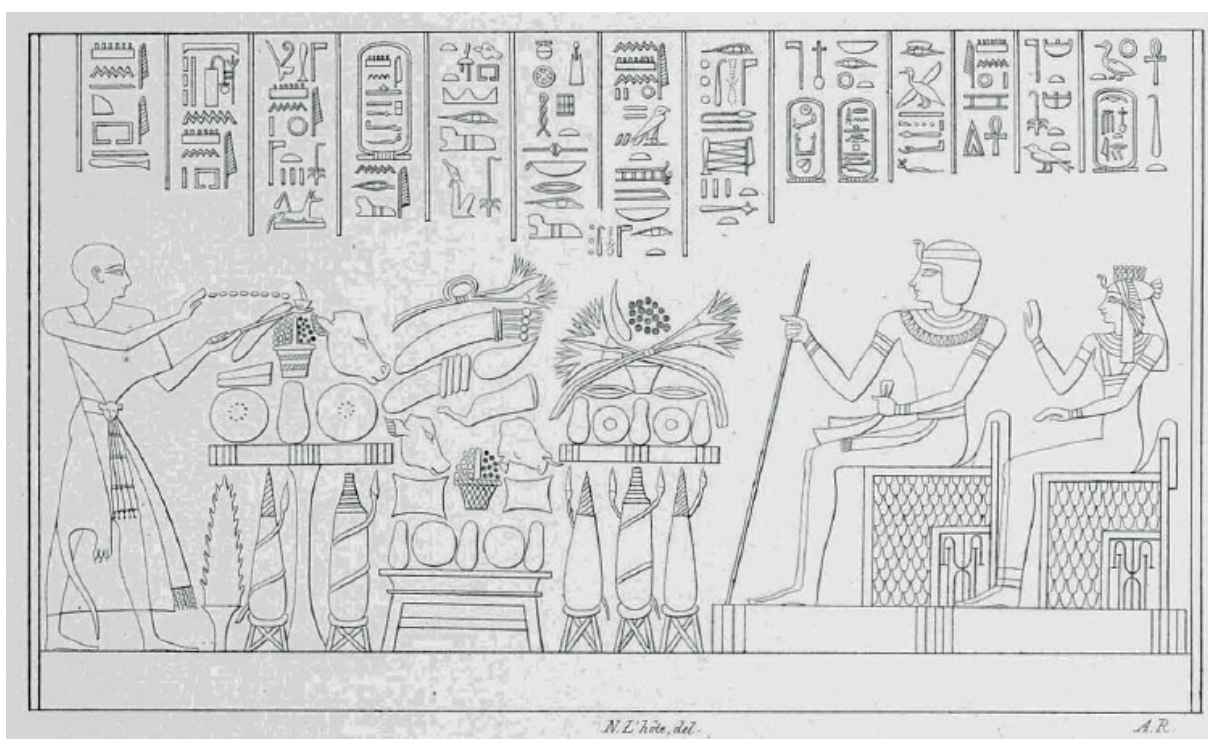


Fig. 3/b A wall scene showing Amen-em-Opet (left) dressed in a leopard skin offering incense and offerings to king Amen-hotep I and queen Ahmose-Nefertari, the king's mother.

(Champollion, J.-F., *Monuments de l'Égypte et la Nubie*, I–IV (Paris, 1835–45) II pl. CLIII [4]).



Fig. 5. A *shabti* for the God's Father, the Master of the Secrets of Bastet, the God's father of Montu and of Khonsu, Shed-s(u?)-Nefertum (NMS A.1965.32).
(Photo: GJ – courtesy of National Museums, Scotland).

were acquired in Luxor from the well-known antiquities dealer Mustapha Aga Ayat in 1867 by Charles Drury Edward Fortnum. They were later bequeathed to the museum.²⁵ Weidemann was the first to recognize Chapter 5 of the *Book of the Dead* on the *shabtis* describing it as a striking inscription on two of these examples.²⁶ Capart made a comment in 1929 stating that the four *shabtis* are '... sans doute, de la célèbre cachette royale de Deir-el-Bahari,' but this suggested provenance is not correct.²⁷

Hay comments that Piccinini found a box with cartouches of Amen-hotep I. Aston suggests that this was a *shabti* box, probably of the pictorial type that had three compartments with lids.²⁸ No further details are known, so whether this was usurped by Amen-em-Opet to store his *shabtis* can only be conjecture.

A funerary papyrus belonging to Amen-em-Opet is to be found in Cairo (S.R.IV.646 = JE 95713).²⁹ A bright blue glazed faience spouted vessel is to be found in Oxford (ASH C.2). Like the four *shabtis* noted above, this was also acquired in Thebes in 1867 by Fortnum.³⁰ A similar vase is to be found in London (BM EA 13151 – acquired in 1881 – see Fig. 6).³¹



Fig. 6. A spouted vase inscribed for Amen-em-Opet with titles including God's Servant of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, and Chief of Scribes (BM EA 13151)
(Photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

Returning to the wig on these *shabtis* that is very high and extended towards the back of the head, this peculiarity is very similar to wigs found on *shabtis* known for a certain Lady of the House, Chantress of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, Iwes-en-heset-Mut. A fragment from the outer coffin of Iwes-en-heset-Mut to be found in the Zeileis Collection names her husband as Amen-em-Opet who has the title of God's Servant of Amen-Re (see Fig. 7).³² This can only be the same Amen-em-Opet whose *shabtis* are under discussion, especially given their similar appearance and the fact that it is certainly extremely rare for smaller *shabtis* from the Third Intermediate Period to be fully inscribed like *shabtis* for both of these owners (see Fig. 8).



Fig. 7. The upper register on the outer coffin of Iwes-en-heset-Mut in which her husband is named as the God's Servant of Amen, Amen-em-Opet.
(© Zeileis Collection).

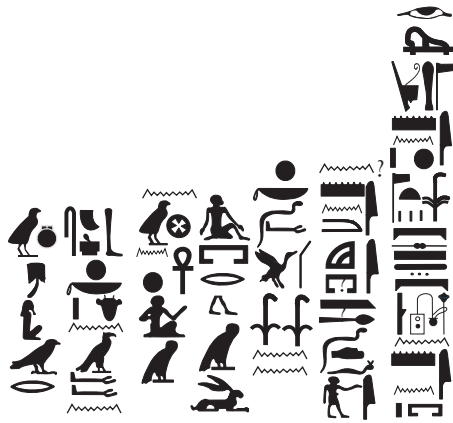


Fig. 8. *Shabtis* for Amen-em-Opet and Iwes-en-heset-Mut for comparison.
Not to scale

Upper row: Amen-em-Opet – left to right: Kemehu Collection; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford E.3624; Goodison Museum, Southport 186; World Museum, Liverpool 56.20.518; Kemehu Collection.

Lower row: Iwes-en-heset-Mut – left to right: Private collection, Italy; Private collection, Holland; Kemehu Collection; British Museum, London EA 33966; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 1872.947.

(Photos: Paolo Persano, GJ, NH, and courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



*Wsir hm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw.t ntr.w hr.y-sšt3 hr.y sš kd.wt n pr 'Imn
[n] 'Imn-m-'Ip.t m3^c-hrw dd.f i ink d^c(r) nni pri m Wnw 'nh m
bsk.w n 3^{cc}n.w wr*

The Osiris, the God's Servant of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, the Master of Secrets, the Chief Draughtsman of the Temple of Amen, Amen-em-Opet, justified, he speaks: I am the one who seeks the Weary One who has come forth from Hermopolis; I live upon the entrails of the Great Baboon.

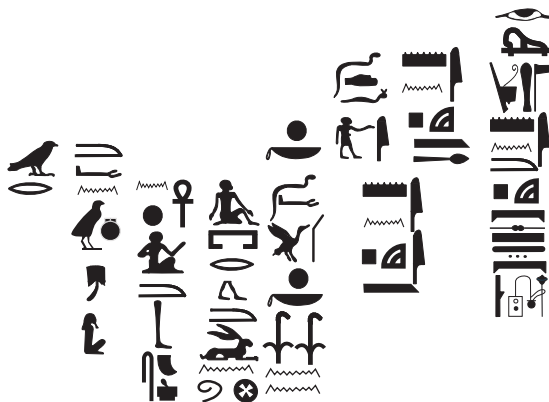
a



*Wsir hm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw.t ntr.w hr.y-sšt3 hr.y sš kd.wt n pr 'Imn
hm-ntr n 'Imn 'Imn-m-'Ip.t m3^c-hrw dd.f i ink d^c(r) nni pri m Wnw
'nh m bsk.w n 3^{cc}n.w wr*

The Osiris, the God's Servant of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, the Master of Secrets, the Chief Draughtsman of the Temple of Amen, the God's Servant of Amen, Amen-em-Opet, justified, he speaks: I am the one who seeks the Weary One who has come forth from Hermopolis; I live upon the entrails of the Great Baboon.

b



*Wsir hm-ntr n 'Imn ['Imn]-m-'Ip.t hr.y-sšt3 hr.y sš kd.wt 'Imn-[m]-
'Ip.t m3^c-hrw dd.f i ink d^c(r) nni pri m Wnw 'nh m bsk.w n 3^{cc}n.w
wr*

The Osiris, the God's Servant of Amen, [Amen]-em-Opet, the Master of Secrets, the Chief Draughtsman, Amen-em-Opet, justified, he speaks: I am the one who seeks the Weary One who has come forth from Hermopolis; I live upon the entrails of the Great Baboon.

It seems that the word Amen is used haplographically in the title and the name of Amen-em-Opet.

c

Typology and database of parallel *shabtis* for Amen–em–Opet

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).

WORKERS – mummiform; light to bright blue glazed faience; details are added in black; tripartite wig with striations often boldly painted; the lower ends of the lappets are sometimes defined by thick horizontal lines while others are left open (rare); a *seshed* headband is worn on the head at or just above the height of the front of the wig at the forehead with most being tied at the back; in profile the back of the head is quite high; thin arms are boldly modelled and are crossed left over right on the chest; clenched hands hold a hoe that are crisply modelled in raised relief and painted black; some examples are without a basket on the back (rare), but most have a rectangular or square-shaped basket and these vary between being simply outlined or with square-hatched detail, several having concave top, bottom and sides or just the bottom is concave; several have loops in the corners; carrying straps emerge below the rear lappet of the wig on some examples; the faces are somewhat triangular in shape and have eye and eyebrows usually boldly painted in black; faintly modelled ears protrude in front of the side lappets of the wig; the back of the *shabtis* are gently shaped with a shallow indentation immediately below the rear lappet of the wig; seven or eight vertical columns of a painted hieroglyphic inscription without framing lines give the titles and name followed Chapter 5 of the Book of the Dead unless otherwise noted in the database.
c. 10.0–10.8 cm in height.

- Barcelona (MEB E 710).³³ ①
 Berlin (ÄM 7762, 8326–8331 – the latter with Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead*). With the exception of 8328, 8329 & 8331 the others were lost during World War 2).³⁴ ②–④
 Birmingham (BMA 1952A814).³⁵ ⑤
 Brooklyn (BRM 37.138E).³⁶ ⑥ This *shabti* was formerly in the New York Historical Society Collection from whom it was purchased by the museum in 1948. It has the following provenance: by at least 1876, in the collection of Edwin Smith of Luxor; on April 27, 1906, bequest of Edwin Smith to daughter, Leonora Smith; in May 1907, gift from Leonora Smith to the New York Historical Society; in 1937, loan from the New York Historical Society to the Brooklyn Museum.³⁷
 Brussels (MRAH E.06338, 07527 & 07528).³⁸ ⑦–⑨
 Châteaudun (inventory number unknown – formerly in Chartres (no. 7646) – assumed to be a worker *shabti*).³⁹
 Dartmouth (HM 12.2.462 – collected by Mary Maynard Hitchcock (1834–1887) and Hiram Hitchcock (1832–1900, Class of 1872H), in Egypt (possibly from a dealer in Alexandria or Cairo) in about 1867–68; bequeathed to his second wife, Emily Howe Hitchcock (1852–1912), Hanover, New Hampshire, 1900; bequeathed to present collection, 1912.⁴⁰
 Edinburgh (NMS A.1926.19).⁴¹ ⑩
 Kazan (University Museum – inventory number unknown and recorded as probably lost – originally St. Petersburg (HERM 2666).⁴²
 Liverpool (WM 56.20.518).⁴³ ⑪
 Oxford (ASM E.3623 – Chapter 6 ⑫, 3624 ⑬, 1961.303, 1964.705 & 1964.706).⁴⁴
 Paris (MdL E 8868).⁴⁵ ⑭
 Princeton (PUAM y376 – Chapter 6).⁴⁶ ⑮
 San Francisco (FAM 1925.94).⁴⁷ ⑯
 Seattle (SAM 79.28).⁴⁸
 Southport (AT 186).⁴⁹ ⑰
 Washington (SI A461112).⁵⁰ ⑱
 Winchester (WINCM 4077).⁵¹ ⑲
 Former Maurice Bouvier Collection.⁵² ⑳
 Former Jean Yoyotte Collection (known as the Poupouti Collection).⁵³ ㉑
 Kemehu Collection. ㉒ ㉓
 Memphis Collection – four examples – NH-49 – ex Bonhams 2005, part of lot 14, NH-285 – ex Bonhams 2019, part of lot 199 via Catawiki 2020, NH-286 – ex Bonhams 2005, part of lot 14,⁵⁴ and NH-300.
 RB Collection (England). ㉔
 Artcurial 2024, lot 64 & 65. ㉕ ㉖
 Bergé 2007, lot 425.
 Bonhams & Brooks 2001, lot 442.
 Bonhams 2005, lot 14 – two examples – formerly in the Hugh Stanley Russell Collection. ㉗ ㉘
 Bonhams 2019, lot 195 & 196, part of lot 198 & part of lot 199 – all ex Major James Findlay (1915–1990) collection, Aberdeen, acquired in the 1950s–1960s, and thence by descent. ㉙–㉚
 Christie's 1978, lot 344.
 Christie's 1982, lot 125.
 Christie's 1995, lot 155.
 Christie's 1998, part of lot 72.
 Christie's 2003, lot 59.
 Dorotheum 1997, lot 203.
 Dorotheum 2007, lot 425.



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OVERSEERS – dress of daily life; mid to bright blue glazed faience; details are added in black; short bi-partite wig with very boldly painted striations; a *seshed* headband is worn around the head although a tie is hardly denoted at the back; the left arm hangs down by the side of the body, the hand being clenched into a fist and the right arm is folded across the centre of the body and holds a whip the end of which hangs down in front of the right shoulder; the face is round in shape and with eye and eyebrows clearly added in paint; wearing a fairly short projecting triangular apron; there is faint evidence of some of a short-sleeved tunic being worn on the upper body; the feet and toes are modelled; the back is slightly convex in shape when viewed along its length; vertical columns of a painted hieroglyphic inscription without framing lines give the titles and name followed by Chapter 5 of the Book of the Dead unless otherwise noted in the database.
c. 11.2–12.0 cm in height.

Albany (AIHA 2009.72).⁵⁵ ①
Bristol (BMs 0056.TET – details of inscription not fully known).⁵⁶ ②
Brooklyn (BRM 37.136E).^③ This *shabti* was formerly in the New York Historical Society Collection from whom it was purchased by the museum in 1948. It has the following provenance: by at least 1876, in the collection of Edwin Smith of Luxor; on April 27, 1906, bequest of Edwin Smith to daughter, Leonora Smith; in May 1907, gift from Leonora Smith to the New York Historical Society; in

1937, loan from the New York Historical Society to the Brooklyn Museum.⁵⁷
London (BM EA 34173 – titles and name followed by He speaks: O, *shabti* – ex Rev. Greville Chester Collection, acquired 1873).⁵⁸ ④
Princeton (PUAM y377 – Chapter 6).⁵⁹ ⑤
Memphis Collection – NH-299 – Chapter 6.⁶⁰ ⑥





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1. Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 27 (18).
2. PM I/12, pp. 452–453; Aubert, J.-F. & Aubert, L., *Statuettes Égyptiennes – Chaouabtis, Ouchehtis* (Paris, 1974), pp. 173–174; Jansen-Winkel, K., *Inscriben der Spätzeit* vol. 1 *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 218–220; Manniche, L., *Lost Ramessid and Post-Ramessid private tombs in the Theban Necropolis* (Copenhagen, 2011), pp. 70–86 for an in depth discussion on the dating of the tomb, its decoration, and finds.
3. *ibid.*, p. 70.
4. Manniche, L., 'The Tomb of Nakht, The Gardner, at Thebes (No. 161) as copied by Robert Hay,' *JEA* 72 (London, 1986), p. 55 and footnote 2.
5. Lushington, S., *Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe by Way of Egypt in the years 1827 and 1828* (London, 1829), p. 79.
6. Bierbrier, M. L., *Who was who in Egyptology* (London, 2021), p. 432. For Anastasi, see *ibid.*, pp. 19–20.
7. Lushington, S., *Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe by Way of Egypt in the years 1827 and 1828* (London, 1829), p. 80.
8. *ibid.*, p. 83.
9. Naunton, C., *Egyptologists' Notebooks* (London, 2020), p. 114.
10. Lushington, S., *Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe by Way of Egypt in the years 1827 and 1828* (London, 1829), pp. 83–84.
11. Manniche, L., 'The Tomb of Nakht, The Gardner, at Thebes (No. 161) as copied by Robert Hay,' *JEA* 72 (London, 1986), p. 55, footnote 2.
12. Bierbrier, M. L., *Who was who in Egyptology* (London, 2012), pp. 246–247.
13. Tillet, S., *Egypt Itself. The Career of Robert Hay, Esquire of Linplum and Nunraw, 1799–1863* (London, 1984), p. 108, although saying that the sale was in 1868 as also noted by Bierbrier, M. L., *Who was who in Egyptology* (London, 2012), p. 247. The website of the British Museum states that the collection was sold in 1865 – <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BLOG30924>
14. Tillet, S., *Egypt Itself. The Career of Robert Hay, Esquire of Linplum and Nunraw, 1799–1863* (London, 1984), p. 111 [no. 6].
15. Manniche, L., *Lost Ramessid and Post-Ramessid private tombs in the Theban Necropolis* (Copenhagen, 2011), p. 71ff.
16. Lushington, S., *Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe by Way of Egypt in the years 1827 and 1828* (London, 1829), p. 85.
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Abbreviations

ABDUA	University of Aberdeen, Human Culture Collection (Aberdeen, Scotland).
AIHA	Institute of History and Art (Albany).
ÄM	Ägyptisches Museum (Berlin).
ASH	Ashmolean Museum (Oxford).
AT	The Atkinson (Southport).
<i>Bd'E</i>	Bibliothèque d'Étude (Cairo).
BMA	Museum & Art Gallery (Birmingham).
BMs	Bristol Museums (Bristol, UK).
BRM	Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn).
<i>CdE</i>	Chronique d'Égypte (Brussels).
FAM	Fine Arts Museums (San Francisco).
HM	Hood Museum of Art (Dartmouth, Hanover, New Hampshire).
<i>JEa</i>	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London).
MdL	Musée du Louvre (Paris).
MEB	Museu Egipci de Barcelona (Barcelona).
MRAH	Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Brussels).

NMS	National Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh).
PUAM	Princeton University Art Museum (USA).
<i>Rec Trav</i>	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris).
SAM	Seattle Art Museum (Seattle).
SI	Smithsonian Institute (Washington).
WINCM	Winchester College Treasury (Winchester, England).
WM	World Museum (Liverpool).

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