

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

Iwes-en-heset-Mut

I(w).s-n-ḥst-Mw.t



Third Intermediate Period, 21st Dynasty

Probably from Western Thebes



Iwes-en-heset-Mut

Faience, turquoise glaze, details added in black

Third Intermediate Period, mid 21st Dynasty

Probably from Western Thebes

H. 10.3 cm. W. 3.8 cm. D. 3.4 cm.

Ex Dr. Johan Möger Collection (1918–1994), Soestdijk, Netherlands

Published: Janes 2002, pp. 61–62 [no. 30]

Exhibited: 'Shabtis,' Cybele Gallery, Paris, 2003

'Shabtis: Suspended Truth in Context,' The Manchester Museum, 2017

Egypt Centre, Swansea University 2022-2025



A mummiform *shabti* wearing a tripartite wig with striations added in black. The wig is very voluminous where it rises on the top of the head towards the back. The arms, which are poorly defined, are crossed above the waist and each hand carries a hoe. The one carried in the right hand is painted in a higher position than the one held in the left. The face is poorly shaped and only the eyes and brows, which are widely spaced, are shown in paint. The eyes have quite long cosmetic lines. Ears are not indicated. A diamond-hatched basket with loops for attaching a carrying cord or rope is painted on the back. Seven columns of a painted inscription give the name of the owner as Iwes-en-heset-Mut¹ ('She is in the Praise of Mut')² with titles of Lady of the House and Chantress of Amen-Re, King of the Gods. The titles and name are followed by a version of Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead*.

Of the parallel *shabtis* so far known for Iwes-en-heset-Mut (see below), unlike the present example, some of the workers wear a *seshed* headband around the wig. The implements are either just painted on the *shabti* as found on the present example, while others in the series are modelled in raised relief and painted. The 'overseer' *shabtis* wear a short bipartite wig with a *seshed* headband added in black. The lower ends of the front lappets are detailed with vertical lines, a

feature that was often modelled on 'overseer' *shabtis*. The edge of the wig is highlighted in black around the face. The right hand carries a whip that is modelled in relief and painted black or, on one of the known examples, just painted and not modelled in relief. The apron on the *shabtis* is long and reaches down to the ankles. Some of the 'overseers' are inscribed with Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead*, while others just have a single vertical column giving Iwes-en-heset-Mut's titles and name (see below). It is interesting to note that the fully inscribed 'overseers,' despite having the complete version of Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead* thus giving duties and tasks, carry no implements with which to help undertake them – they carry the whip as to be expected on 'overseer' *shabtis* whose duty was to keep the worker *shabtis* at their tasks. On Iwes-en-heset-Mut's *shabtis* her name is always written without the 'w' hieroglyph and the figures are called *shawabtis* in the inscription.

Iwes-en-heset-Mut is known to have had a fine set of anthropoid coffins that were found complete with her mummy. These were probably acquired in Luxor sometime between 1817 or 1818 by Rev. Robert Fitzherbert Fuller (1794–1849).³ It has been suggested that Giovanni Belzoni might have been involved in the excavating and then the selling of the assemblage and

presumably other items of the deceased's funerary equipment because he was 'working' in Egypt at that time.⁴ However, there is no conclusive proof of this. Perhaps because the Fuller family did not like the idea of having the mummy and coffins in their home in Sussex, Robert presented the whole lot to the Devon and Exeter Institution in Cathedral Close, Exeter in 1819.⁵ The contents of this institution were transferred to the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter in 1868.⁶ The outer coffin was apparently destroyed by insect infestation sometime prior to the date of the transfer to Exeter,⁷ and the mummy of Iwes-en-heset-Mut was cremated, seemingly without reason, in Exeter crematorium in 1973.⁸ The inner coffin for Iwes-en-heset-Mut was given as a gift to the University College, Wellcome Museum, Swansea in 1982 and it is now to be found in the Egypt Centre, Swansea University (W1982 – see Figs. 1, 3 & 4).⁹ A mummy-board is still to be found in Exeter (A417 – see Fig. 5).¹⁰ On the coffins, Iwes-en-heset-Mut has an additional title of Singer in the Choir of Mut (*hs.(t) Mw.t*). However, fragments have recently been identified that appear to be from the supposedly destroyed outer coffin. These are to be found in the Zeileis Collection¹¹ and in Harvard (HMANE 1947.2.1)¹² and with a further fragment being offered for sale at auction (see Fig. 6).¹³ The fragment in the Zeileis Collection gives an additional title for Iwes-en-heset-Mut of Chief of the Harem of the Second Phyle (*wr.t hnr.t hr s3 2-nw*). The name of her husband is given as Amen-em-Opet who has the title of God's Servant of Amen-Re (see below).

Iwes-en-heset-Mut's titles of Lady of the House, Chantress of Amen-Re, King of the Gods and Singer in the Choir of Mut were fairly common and indicate that she was a religious singer, probably attached to a temple, and as such she would have been held in high esteem. Schneider states that during the Third Intermediate Period only high ranking persons

had their *shabtis* inscribed with the full *shabti* formula and usually only found on larger sized *shabtis*.¹⁴ However, Ritner comments that holders of these titles suggests a person of lower rank.¹⁵ Surely the fact that Iwes-en-heset-Mut had a seemingly fine set of coffins and other items of funerary equipment, including fully inscribed *shabti* figures, whilst not being in the upper echelons of the female priesthood, would indicate she would still have a been of considerable importance.

The opening vignette from a funerary papyrus for Iwes-en-heset-Mut was once to be found in Darmstadt (Hessisches Landesmuseum) but it was destroyed in World War II.¹⁶ A basalt (?) heart scarab is also recorded as being in Darmstadt (see Fig. 2).¹⁷ One writer notes that this was also destroyed in World War II¹⁸ but it was actually damaged by a fire that resulted from the museum being partly destroyed by a bomb strike on 11th September 1944.¹⁹ The original record or inventory cards were destroyed, hence why it has no official number.



Not to scale

Fig. 2. The base of a heart scarab inscribed for Iwes-en-heset-Mut. (Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt).

A further fragment from a *Book of the Dead* papyrus for Iwes-en-heset-Mut is to be found in Brooklyn (37.1801E).²⁰ This was once in the Edwin Smith Collection before being given to the New York Historical Society in 1907. It was loaned to Brooklyn Museum from 1937 before being acquired by them in 1948.²¹

The name of Iwes-en-heset-Mut's parents or husband – she was obviously married having the title lady of House (i.e. housewife) – is not given on the coffins, heart scarab or papyri. However, papyri for a certain Lady of the House and Chantress of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, Nesy-Khonsu to be found in Copenhagen (Papyrus Carlsberg 488 – formerly in the H. O. Lange Collection, bought from the well-known Cairo antiquities dealer, Maurice Nahman in 1929)²² and Houston (Museum of Fine Arts 31.72 – formerly in the Annette Finnegan Collection, bought from the well-known dealer Mohareb Todros in Luxor for EG£30)²³ give the name of her mother as Iwes-en-heset-Mut. Because the latter is such an unusual name that is not known from any other source, they must indeed be mother and daughter with Nesy-Khonsu following her mother into the profession of being a Chantress. Another papyrus in Houston (Museum of Fine Arts 31.73 – also formerly in the Annette Finnegan Collection) for Nesy-Khonsu, although with an extra title, Singer in the Choir of Mut, might also belong to the same lady.²⁴

It is be worth briefly commenting on Amen-em-opet, the husband for Iwes-en-heset-Mut whose name is written on a fragment in the Zeileis Collection. It is interesting to compare Iwes-en-heset-Mut's *shabtis* with those for Amen-em-Opet who has the titles of God's Servant of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, Master of Secrets, Chief Draughtsman of the Temple of Amen, Amen-em-Opet. *Shabtis* for this owner, including 'overseers,' are also fully inscribed in vertical columns, some with Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead*, including at least one 'overseer,' but most with the rarely used Chapter 5 of the *Book of the Dead*.



Fig. 1. An archive photo of Kate Bosse-Griffiths conserving or cleaning the lid of the inner coffin for Iwes-en-heset-Mut in Swansea (c. 1982). (Photo: courtesy of the Egypt Centre, Swansea University).





Fig. 3.

The trough of the inner coffin of Iwes-en-heset-Mut in the Egypt Centre, Swansea University (W1982).
 Left – a detail showing the weighing of the heart ceremony in the Hall of Judgement. Iwes-en-heset-Mut is being led in a procession with [Horus], Thoth, Maat, and an unknown lion-headed deity to [Osiris who is enthroned with Isis and Nephthys standing behind]. Iwes-en-heset-Mut's heart is being weighed against the feather of truth with Anubis presiding.

(Photos: courtesy of the Egypt Centre, Swansea University).



Fig. 4.

The lid of the inner coffin for Iwes-en-heset-Mut in the Egypt Centre, Swansea University (W1982). Typical of the so-called 'yellow coffins' of the Third Intermediate Period, the detail (above) of the upper part shows a small head wearing a voluminous plain tripartite wig that is worn low on the forehead. The wig has long front lappets that have horizontal bands of a similar design to a headband that is worn around the wig above the brows. Braids or plaits hang down by the sides of the face with cross-hatched and dot decoration. These emanate below three lotus flowers that are painted on the front of the wig although only a trace of one flower remains. The lower ends of the braids terminate below the horizontal bands that run across the lappets, and from the one that faintly remains, they would have tapered to a long narrow point. For an example with similar decoration, see Vienna AS 6266.²⁵ Small breasts are modelled below the lappets of the wig and, from the one that survives, it is evident that the nipples were covered in a rosette. Although the ears are not shown as such they are adorned with earrings with rosette design of which only one now survives. The chest area is enveloped in a broad *wesekh*-collar with hawk-headed terminals on the shoulders. The arms are not modelled but they are crossed above the waist and the outstretched hands are adorned with rings and bracelets. Outstretched hands are fairly typical on coffins for female owners but not exclusive as some coffins are known that have clenched fists. A hole in the middle finger of the right hand may have held a scarab inlay. Above the hands is a winged scarab although much of this is now lost. Identical details are to be found on the mummy-board of Iwes-en-heset-Mut (see Fig. 4). The coffin is type IIIA of Niwiński's typology.²⁶

(Photos: courtesy of the Egypt Centre, Swansea University).



Fig. 5. The mummy-board for Iwes-en-heset-Mut in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter. Note the features are almost identical to those found on her inner coffin (see Fig. ???). Although less voluminous, the wig has the same horizontal decorated bands running across both lappets with braids or pigtails emanating from lotus flowers above the forehead that fall down by the sides of the face and onto the lappets of the wig. A headband is painted around the top of the wig. Breasts are modelled with the nipples covered by a rosette. The arms are not modelled but they are crossed with the hands wearing rings and bracelets. Below are scenes and vignettes including Iwes-en-heset-Mut making offerings to Hapy and other deities. The scenes are interspersed by bands and panels of floral and bead decoration.

(Photos: courtesy of Aidan Dodson).



Fig. 6. Fragments from the outer coffin for Iwes-en-heset-Mut to be found in Harvard Museum of the Ancient Near East, the Zeileis Collection and Christie's.

Above shows the outside decoration on the fragments (a & b). The uppermost register shows the mummy of Iwes-en-heset-Mut (left) standing outside her tomb that is surmounted by a pyramidion. Before her is a large offering table and a *sem*-priest wearing a leopard-skin performing the ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth followed by a row of deities making offerings and libations to the deceased. A similar scene is shown in the next adjoining (?) fragment where the mummy of Iwes-en-heset-Mut stands before a table piled on top and beneath with food and drink offerings with a *sem*-priest wearing a leopard-skin who offers incense. Four falcon-headed deities carry jars in a procession. A similar scene is partly depicted at the far right of this panel. The fragmentary lower register shows a long procession led by cattle who are pulling a large shrine that undoubtedly would have carried the mummy of Iwes-en-heset-Mut (left). The cattle are being controlled by several priests who make up the procession. Before the procession are two ladies, probably professional mourners, their arms raised in a gesture of grief. The scene briefly continues in the right panel where we see three more mourners. Next is the mummy of the deceased standing outside her tomb – the pyramidion being clearly painted, facing another procession of figures who carry offerings towards her.

Right (c & d) shows the inside decoration of the fragments in which Iwes-en-heset-Mut is seen giving offerings to two bearded deities who sit on cube-shaped chairs whilst grasping *ankh*-signs (upper panel) and *djed* and *was*-symbols (lower panel) with both hands. Iwes-en-heset-Mut wears a transparent dress with a shawl painted in green (faded in the upper panel), a colour associated with resurrection. She wears a tripartite wig with a lotus flower on top and has a long necklace hanging down the front of her body. The scenes are framed at the top with a frieze of *uraei* wearing sun discs and with a row of *djed* and *tyet* symbols at the bottom.

Below is another panel (e) in which we see Iwes-en-heset-Mut giving offerings to Osiris-Khentimentu who sits upon a cube-shaped throne holding a crook and flail and with the so-called Osiris fetish in front of his feet. Behind him are four more deities, including another form of Osiris holding a crook and flail, the others with a *was*-sceptre and snakes. To the right is another depiction of Osiris sitting upon a cube-shaped throne within a shrine.



c & d

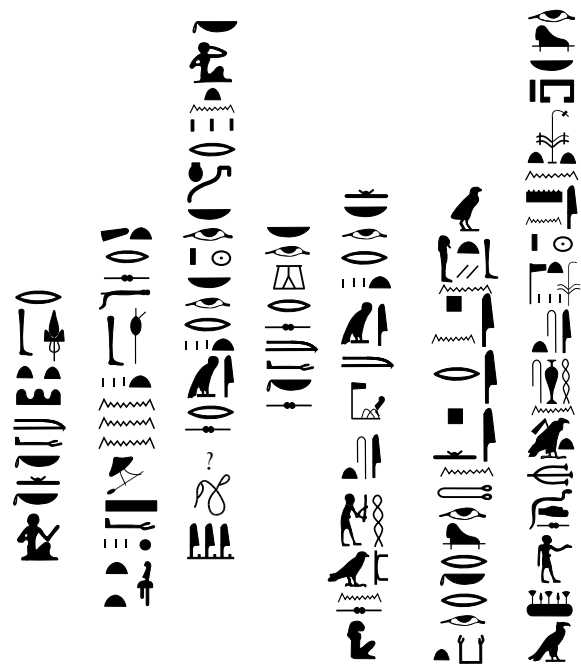


e

They are very similar in terms of their modelling (see Fig. 7). Particularly noticeable in the two groups of *shabtis* is the similarity of the high rear of the wig on the top of head and also the inward curve below the lower rear lappet of the wig. The faces on both types are simply worked with only the eyes being added in black paint. The modelling of the elbows is similar and they have a ‘dumpy’ appearance although some are more slender when viewed in profile like the *shabti* in the present collection that is clearly from a different mould.

The *shabtis* for Amen-em-Opet were found in Dra Abu-el-Naga cemetery, Western Thebes (TT A.18), although the exact whereabouts of the tomb is unknown.²⁷ The tomb was usurped from a New Kingdom owner whose name and titles were erased in favour of Amen-em-Opet. Some scenes from the walls of the hall of the tomb were recorded by the Italian Egyptologist Ippolito Rosellini during his expedition to Egypt in 1828.²⁸ However, it must be noted that the dates suggested by Niwiński, Bosse-Griffiths, and Dodson for the coffins of Iwes-en-heset-Mut – mid-21st Dynasty²⁹ and the proposed date of late 21st or early 22nd Dynasty for the papyrus of Amen-em-Opet to be found in Cairo (S.R.IV.646 = JE 95713)³⁰ would suggest the two individuals are not related. The present author believes the *shabtis* for Amen-em-Opet are firmly datable to the 21st Dynasty and it is certainly extremely rare for smaller *shabtis* from the Third Intermediate Period to be fully inscribed like those for Iwes-en-heset-Mut and Amen-em-Opet. With the recent identification of coffin fragments in the Zeileis Collection and in Harvard (HMANE 1947.2.1) this perhaps confirms the theory that the *shabtis* are for both husband and wife.

Inscription



*Wsir nb(.t)-pr šm^c.yt n Imn-R^c nsw.t ntr.w I(w).s-n-ḥst-Mw.t
m³^c.t-ḥrw dd.s i šwb.ty ipn ir ip(.tw) tn Wsir r.k r ir k3.t nb ir.t
im m ḥr.t-ntr ist ḥw sdb n s nb ir ḥr.t.s m.k s k3.tn nw r^c nb ir.t
im r srwd šh.t r smḥ.y wdb.w (n) hn(.t) š^cy (r) imn.tt r i3b.tt m.k
k(3.tn)*

The Osiris, the Lady of the House, Chantress of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, I(w)es-en-heset-Mut, justified, she speaks: O, these *shawabtis*, if the Osiris counts you off to do any works that are to be done in the realm of the dead – now indeed an obstacle is implanted for her – as a woman at her duty, ‘here I am,’ you shall say when you call at any time daily to serve there, to cultivate the fields, to irrigate the river banks, to transport by boat the sand of the east to the west, ‘here I am,’ when you call.



Not to scale

Fig. 7. *Shabtis* for Amen-em-Opet and Iwes-en-heset-Mut for comparison.

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; Memphis Collection; Kemehu Collection; British Museum, London EA 33966; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 1872.947.

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

Typology and database of parallel *shabtis* for Iwes-en-heset-Mut

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; mid to bright blue glazed faience; details are added in black; wear a tripartite wig with striations added in black; the front lappets curve inwards; the wig is quite high at the back and voluminous in profile (some); some wigs have a *seshed*/headband that is sometimes tied at the back; the face is quite crudely modelled; the eyes are outlined and with pupils in black and with eyebrows; the ears are not discernable; the arms are crossed right over left above the waist; a pair of small hoes are modelled in raised relief and highlighted in black; a diamond-hatched trapezoidal-shaped basket is painted in the centre of back with loops on the upper corners for the attachment of carrying straps although, with one exception that has two short straps below the rear lappet of the wig, these are not shown; several vertical columns of inscription are added in black without framing or guiding lines around the torso of the *shabtis*. c. 8.6–10.0 cm in height.

Aberdeen (ABDUA:63385 – ex Robert Wilson Collection (1787–1871)).³¹ ①

London (BM EA 33966 – donated by Rev. Grenville Chester in 1873).³² ②

Oxford (ASH 1872.947).³³ ③

St. Petersburg (HERM AV-6721). ④

Kemehu Collection. ⑤

Memphis Collection (Holland) – two examples – NH-351 – ex Emmacha Collection (Paris) ⑥ ; NH-353 – ex Bonhams 2019, part of lot 199 – formerly in the collection of Major

James Findlay (1915–1990), Aberdeen, acquired in the 1950s–1960s and thence by descent; Catawiki 2020 (same *shabti*). ⑦

Italian private collection.³⁴ ⑧

RB Collection (England). ⑨

Binoche et Giquello 2014, lot 119. ⑩

Sotheby's 1988, part of lot 323 – worker *shabti* with vertical columns of inscription but seemingly not fully around the body.





3

4

5



6



7



8



9

10

OVERSEERS – dress of daily life; pale to bright blue glazed faience; black painted details; plain tripartite wig except for the lower ends of the front lappets that have striations; the front of the wig is outlined in black; a *seshed* headband is worn and tied at the back; the face is quite poorly defined and lacks a clear mouth; eyes are outlined and have pupils and with eyebrows neatly added; ears are not defined; dress of daily life – short sleeved tunic with a very long triangular projecting apron; left arm hangs by the side; right arm is folded across the waist and the clenched hand carries a whip that is either modelled and painted or just painted in front of the left shoulder and falls down the front of the left arm; ankles and feet clearly modelled and flat underneath; inscribed with several vertical columns of neatly painted hieroglyphs around the torso, legs and feet without framing or guide lines, or in a single vertical column on the front of the figure.

c. 9.5–10.0 cm in height.

Aberdeen (ABDUA:63506 – ex Robert Wilson Collection (1787–1871)).³⁵ ①

Hanover (MAK inventory number not forthcoming).³⁶ ②

Private collection, Spain³⁷ – ex Bonhams 2019, part of lot 198 – an ‘overseer’ – formerly in the collection of Major James Findlay (1915–1990), Aberdeen, acquired in the 1950s–1960s and thence by descent. ③

Bonhams 1997, part of lot 48.

Phillips 1991, lot 81 – not illustrated but described as having a column of hieroglyphs on the front and therefore presumed to be an ‘overseer’ because all of the known worker *shabtis* bear several columns of inscription.



1



2



3

Photo credits:

GJ with the exceptions of **WORKERS**: Aberdeen = courtesy of the University Museum of Aberdeen; London = courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum; GJ; Memphis Collection = courtesy of the NH; Italian collection = courtesy of Paolo Persano. **OVERSEERS**: Aberdeen = courtesy of the University Museum of Aberdeen; Hanover = NH; Spanish collection = courtesy of Javier Uriach.

1. Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen II* (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 261 (25).
2. 'She is a Singer of Mut' has been also suggested, see Ritner, R., 'Two Third Intermediate Period Books of the Dead: P. Houston 31. 72 and P. Brooklyn 37.1801E,' in Hawass, Z. and House Wegner, J. (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, II (Cairo, 2010), p. 178 note 17.
3. Niwiński, A., *21st Dynasty coffins from Thebes* (Mainz, 1988), p. 170 [no. 368].
4. Morkot, R., 'Belzoni Strays in Devon – A note on the Royal Memorial Museum, Exeter and its collectors (I),' *ASTENE 21* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 9–10; Morkot, R., 'Eaten by maggots: the sorry tale of Mr Fuller's coffin,' in *Mummies, magic and medicine in ancient Egypt – Multidisciplinary essays for Rosalie David*, pp. 355–368 (Manchester 2016), p. 357.
5. Dodson, A., *Catalogue of Egyptian Coffins in Provincial Collections of the United Kingdom, I: the South West* – in preparation as of 2021, p. 1; Morkot, R., 'Eaten by maggots: the sorry tale of Mr Fuller's coffin,' in *Mummies, magic and medicine in ancient Egypt – Multidisciplinary essays for Rosalie David*, pp. (Manchester 2016), p. 365.
6. *ibid* 2016, p. 365.
7. *ibid* 2016, p. 365.
8. *ibid* 2016, pp. 365–366.
9. Bosse-Griffiths, K., *Cerddores yn Cwrdd â'i Duwiau: A Musician Meets Her Gods* (Talybont, 1984); Bosse-Griffiths, K., 'Remarks concerning a coffin of the 21st Dynasty' *DE 19* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 5–12; Dodson, A., *Catalogue of Egyptian Coffins in Provincial Collections of the United Kingdom, I: the South West* – in preparation as of 2021, p. 4 (EXE.3); Christiansen, T. & Ryholt, K., *Catalogue of Egyptian funerary papyri in Danish collections* (Copenhagen, 2016), p. 4; see the website of the Egypt Centre, Swansea University: <https://egyptcentre.abasetcollections.com/Objects/Details/429>
10. Written communication with John Allan (2001); Morkot 2004, p. 10; Dodson, A., *Catalogue of Egyptian Coffins in Provincial Collections of the United Kingdom, I: the South West* – in preparation as of 2021, pp. 4–7 [EXE.4]; Morkot 2016, pp. 356–357, 364–366; Christiansen, T. & Ryholt, K. *Catalogue of Egyptian funerary papyri in Danish collections* (Copenhagen, 2016), p. 4. See the website of the Royal Albert Memorial Museum & Art Gallery: <https://rammuseum.org.uk/>
11. Zeileis, F. G., *Katalog einer Sammlung altägyptischer Kunst nebst einem Anhang mit Antiquitäten aus der Mittelmeer-Region und Ländern, mit welchen Ägypten in Beziehung sta* (printed for private circulation, Rauris, 2003), pp. 354–361 [no. 137 – ex Charles Ede Ltd., 1996].
12. See the website of the Harvard Museum of the Ancient Near East: <https://hmane.emuseum.com/objects/28295/coffin-fragment?ctx=085ed9bc56670c0a1a86b49597d00fa3afd9fb74&sidx=295>

13. Christie's 1996, lot 81.
14. Schneider, H., *Shabtis – An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with A Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1977), vol. 1 p. 330.
15. Ritner, R., 'Two Third Intermediate Period Books of the Dead: P. Houston 31. 72 and P. Brooklyn 37.1801E,' in Hawass, Z. and House Wegner, J. (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, II (Cairo, 2010), p. 176.
16. Darmstadt (no author), *Hessisches Landesmuseum. Kunst- und historische Sammlungen, Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Sammlung* (Darmstadt, 1925), p. 15 [no. 104]; Quirke, S., Book review: *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries BC* by Andrzej Niwiński, *JEA* 79 (London, 1993), p. 313; Christiansen, T. & Ryholt, K. *Catalogue of Egyptian funerary papyri in Danish collections* (Copenhagen, 2016), p. 4. See also the website of the University of Bonn Totenbuch-Projekt: <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134686>
17. Droste zu Hülshoff, V. von & Schlick-Nolte, B., *Museen der Rhein-Main-Region – Aegyptiaca diversa I* (Mainz, 1984), pp. 25–26; written communication with Dr. Thomas Lehmann (2000); Laroche, C., *Les scarabées et autres amulettes de cœur de l'Égypte ancienne* (in preparation).
18. Morkot, R., 'Eaten by maggots: the sorry tale of Mr Fuller's coffin,' in *Mummies, magic and medicine in ancient Egypt – Multidisciplinary essays for Rosalie David*, pp. 355–368 (Manchester 2016), p. 365.
19. Droste zu Hülshoff, V. von & Schlick-Nolte, B., *Museen der Rhein-Main-Region – Aegyptiaca diversa I* (Mainz, 1984), p. 25.
20. Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen II* (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 261 (25); written communication with Paul O'Rourke (2001); Quirke, S., Book review: *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries BC* by Andrzej Niwiński, *JEA* 79 (London, 1993), p. 313; Ritner, R., 'Two Third Intermediate Period Books of the Dead: P. Houston 31. 72 and P. Brooklyn 37.1801E,' in Hawass, Z. and House Wegner, J. (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, II (Cairo, 2010), pp. 174–175 pl. V; Christiansen, T. & Ryholt, K. *Catalogue of Egyptian funerary papyri in Danish collections* (Copenhagen, 2016), p. 4.
21. Ritner, R., 'Two Third Intermediate Period Books of the Dead: P. Houston 31. 72 and P. Brooklyn 37.1801E,' in Hawass, Z. and House Wegner, J. (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, II (Cairo, 2010), p. 173.
22. Christiansen, T. & Ryholt, K. *Catalogue of Egyptian funerary papyri in Danish collections* (Copenhagen, 2016), pp. 4–5 [no. 2], pls. 13–21; Hagen, F. & Ryholt, K., *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930. The H. O. Papers* (Copenhagen, 2016), p. 172 where a quote from the diary of H. O. Lange notes that the fragments cost EG£3.
23. Ritner, R., 'Two Third Intermediate Period Books of the Dead: P. Houston 31. 72 and P. Brooklyn 37.1801E,' in Hawass, Z. and House Wegner, J. (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, II (Cairo, 2010), pp. 167–174, pls. I–IV.
24. *ibid* 2010, p. 168.
25. Egner, R. & Haslauer, E., *Särge der Dritten Zwischenzeit I* (Vienna, 1994), pp. 156, 159.
26. Niwiński, A., *21st Dynasty coffins from Thebes* (Mainz, 1988), p. 69 (fig. 27), 76–77.
27. Porter, B., & Rosalind. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, Volume I: The Theban Necropolis, Part I: Private Tombs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 2nd edition (Oxford, 1964), p. 452; Jansen-Winkel, K., *Inscriben der Spätzeit* vol. 1 *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007), p. 218 [64]. For *shabtis* for Amen-em-Opet, see <https://shabtis.com/DATABASE/Amenemopet.pdf> and the website of *shabti* scholar Niek de Haan: https://www.shabticollections.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/ShabtisForAmenemope_2025_02_08FINAL.pdf
28. Rosellini, I., *monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia* (Pisa, 1834–1836), II pls. CXXVI–CXXVII; Dodson, A., 'Psusennes II and Shoshenq I,' *JEA* 79, pp. 267–268, pl. XXVIII [1 & 2] (London, 1993), pp. 267–268, pl. XXVIII [1 & 2]; Kampp, F., *Die Thebanische Necropole zum wandel des grad gedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. dynastie* (Mainz, 1996), p. 617; Jansen-Winkel, K., *Inscriben der Spätzeit* vol. 1 *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 218–220 [64].
29. Niwiński, A., *21st Dynasty coffins from Thebes* (Mainz, 1988), p. 170 [no. 368]; Bosse-Griffiths, K., 'Remarks concerning a coffin of the 21st Dynasty' *DE* 19 (Oxford, 1991), p. 5; Dodson, A., *Catalogue of Egyptian Coffins in Provincial Collections of the United Kingdom, I: the South West – in preparation* as of 2021, p. 7.
30. Niwiński, A., *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B. C.* (Göttingen, 1989), p. 262 [Cairo 28]; Jansen-Winkel, K., *Inscriben der Spätzeit* vol. 1 *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007), p. 220 (26).
31. Reid, R. W., *Illustrated catalogue of the Anthropological Museum – University of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1912), p. 96 [no. 175 – ex Robert Wilson Collection (1787–1871)]. Communication with Dr. Abeer Eladany. See also the website of the University of Aberdeen: https://abdn.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/collectionDiscovery?vid=44ABE_INST:44ABE_VU1&lang=en
32. See the British Museum website: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/>
33. Communication with Dr. Helen Whitehouse.
34. Communication with Paolo Persano.
35. Reid, R. W., *Illustrated catalogue of the Anthropological Museum – University of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1912), p. 96 [no. 174 – ex Robert Wilson Collection (1787–1871)]. Communication with Dr. Abeer Eladany. See also the website of the University of Aberdeen: https://abdn.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/collectionDiscovery?vid=44ABE_INST:44ABE_VU1&lang=en
36. Communication with Dr. Christian Loeben.
37. Uriach, J., *¡Aquí estamos! Estatuillas funerarias egipcias de algunas colecciones de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 2022), pp. 188–189 [no. 188] – ex Bonhams 2019, part of lot 198 – an 'overseer' – formerly in the collection of Major James Findlay (1915–1990), Aberdeen, acquired in the 1950s–1960s and thence by descent.

Abbreviations

ABDUA	University of Aberdeen, Human Culture Collection.
ASH	Ashmolean Museum (Oxford).
ASTENE	Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East (Cambridge)
BM	The British Museum, London.
DE	Discussions in Egyptology (Oxford)
HERM	The State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg, Russia).
HMANE	Harvard Museum of the Ancient Near East (Cambridge, Massachusetts).
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London).
MAK	Museum Auguste Kestner (Hanover).

Auction catalogue references

- Binoche et Giquello (auctioneers, Paris): *Tableaux anciens et modernes miniatures – Objets de vitrine bijoux – Argentierie archéologie – Objets d'art et d'ameublement* (Paris, 2nd April, 2014).
- Bonhams (auctioneers, London): *Fine Antiquities* (London, 26th November, 1997); *Antiquities* (London, 3rd July, 2019).
- Christie's (auctioneers, London and New York): *Fine Antiquities* (New York, 18th December, 1996).
- Phillips (auctioneers, London): *Antiquities & Tribal Art* (London, 9th October, 1991).
- Sotheby's ((auctioneers, London and New York): *Antiquities and Islamic Art* (New York, 2nd December, 1988).