

A Ramesside High Official of the Domain of the Amun Buried in Dra Abu el-Naga

AT DRA ABU EL-NAGA NORTH, around the rock-cut tomb-chapels of Djehuty (TT11) and Hery (TT12), the Spanish Archaeological Mission has been working for 20 years.¹ In addition to the excavation, cleaning and restoration of these funerary monuments, many archaeological levels and finds have been brought to light. They cover a long period of time from the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period to the remains of the important occupation of this part of the necropolis in the Graeco-Roman period. The New Kingdom is one of the most active periods, both in the 18th Dynasty—to which the tombs of Djehuty and Hery are attributed—and the Ramesside period.² In this area, several tombs and documents related to individuals from these latter periods mentioned have been discovered. Among them is Tutuia, “Overseer of the Cattle of Amun”, to whom this preliminary study is dedicated.

Tutuia has been known since the beginning of the Spanish mission’s work by a number of stamped mud-bricks. These bricks are identified with a rectangular stamp, in which the name and the position of Tutuia are written. They were found scattered across the surroundings of Djehuty’s tomb, in highly disturbed levels and with heavily mixed materials, mainly concentrated to the south and south-west of TT11’s courtyard. These bricks were extensively reused in later structures, mainly shafts, which could indicate a possible destruction of Tutuia’s original tomb. Its location has not yet been determined, but it is most likely south of Djehuty’s tomb (TT11). The typology of the mud-bricks suggests that they date from the end of 18th to the first half of the 19th Dynasty.³

Along with the mud-bricks, an interesting set of Tutuia shabtis has been discovered. During the last four seasons (2016–2019), a large number of fragments of different types of shabtis were collected, apparently from the same set. The shabtis were scattered in a large area southwest of the courtyard of Djehuty’s tomb, again in high disturbed sacking levels, where most of the sealed

* Sevilla University.

1. This paper is part of the research project HAR2017-88671-R under the Spanish National Program for Scientific Research, Technology and Innovation. We would like to express our thanks to its director, Dr. José M. Galán, for his continuous support and guidance.

2. For some recent publications of the Spanish Archaeological Mission, see: GALÁN 2015; GALÁN 2017; GALÁN, JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS 2015; GARCÍA, GALÁN 2016; DÍAZ-IGLESIAS 2017; MEYER, SERRANO 2017; BARAHONA-MENDEIETA 2018; JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS 2020.

3. GALÁN 2008, pp. 167–169, pl. XXVI; ZENIHIRO 2019, no. 658/B.31.

mud-bricks were recovered. The vast majority of the shabti fragments, about 160, were made of terracotta, carefully painted with bright colours, and generally very well preserved. Almost all of them have a text column, with the signs in black on a yellow-gold background (fig. 1). Typologically, they are dated from the end of the 18th Dynasty to the early Ramesside period (Seti I and the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II).⁴ This type of terracotta shabtis is far from common, and they are possibly imitating contemporary wooden models.⁵

The inscription of the shabtis has two different names: one of them is Tutuia (*Tw-tw-iw*), sometimes described as “Overseer of the Cattle of Amun”, but in most cases “Steward of Amun”. The other name in our set of shabtis is Nebmehyt (*Nb-mhwt*), occupying the same two positions previously mentioned. There are no differences between the shabtis with the name of Tutuia from those of Nebmehyt, neither in technique nor in decoration and typology. It is certain that we are dealing with a unique set, made at a single time, and possibly for the same burial or tomb. Nevertheless, they bear two different names.

In addition to the terracotta shabtis, we found four white faience shabti fragments, of identical high-quality and careful workmanship. The details, lines and text are filled with a dark, almost black colour; the hands and face were made of red clay (fig. 2). Once again, the parallels lead us to the 19th Dynasty or the early Ramesside period.⁶ We can read on one of these fragments the name of Tutuia, “Steward of Amun”, while on another we find the name Nebmehyt, with the same title. Finally, there is a single stone fragment, the bottom part of a calcite shabti, where the name of Nebmehyt can be read.

Tutuia was not a complete stranger until our findings: we have the name of Tutuia, “Steward of Amun”, in a Cairo papyrus (no. 65739), which contains a judicial process related to the acquisition of slaves. Here, our character appears to have lent an amount of metal to purchase a Syrian slave. Alan H. Gardiner clearly dates the papyrus to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, or even earlier. It could therefore be the same person buried in Dra Abu el-Naga.⁷

There is also a faience slab that links the name Tutuia, “Overseer of the Cattle of Amun”, to the name of Ramesses II. Unfortunately, it is a piece out of archaeological context. It probably belongs to Tutuia’s burial equipment, and in any case it allows us to confirm the chronology of our character and the shabtis.⁸

In the following pages, we will present schematically the main hypothesis and lines of research that we are conducting on this set of shabtis, and especially on the identity of its owner.

4. For some parallels, see: SCHLÖGL 2000, nos. 11–12; CAVILLIER 2016, nos. 27, 28, 29, and 64; and from the rich collection of the British Museum, see: BM EA 71252 (Ramesside), 33947 (19th Dynasty), 9451 (Ramesside), 71242 (Ramesside), 55256 (Ramesside), 22809 (Ramesside), 9469 (Ramesside), 9454 (Ramesside), 15760–15761 (19th Dynasty, possibly the closer parallel), 9457 (19th Dynasty), 47802 (19th Dynasty), 9448 (Ramesside), and 9481 (Ramesside). See also the valuable work of H. SCHNEIDER 1977, vol. I, chap. V, pp. 260–318.

5. For the Ramesside wooden shabtis as models for the terracotta ones, see: REISER-HASLAUER 1990, ÄS 83I, 837 y 8492 (all from the 19th Dynasty), and the parallels from the British Museum: BM EA 8623, 8615, 8648, 8624, 8594, 8634, 8619, 8630, 8586, 8595, and 18670 (all Ramesside, mainly from the 19th Dynasty).

6. For some clear parallels in white faience, see: SCHLÖGL 1990, no. 46 (end of 18th to the beginning of 19th Dynasty); JANES 2016, nos. 24 (19th Dynasty), 25 (19th Dynasty), 28 (Ramesses II); REISER-HASLAUER 1990, ÄS 1323^a.

7. GARDINER 1935; Ja. JANSSEN 1994.

8. KRI III, p. 346, no. 155.

The name of Tutuia is not very common. It can be linked to a certain group of names such as Tuia, Tia or Tiy. These names became popular around the second half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. Although there are some male individuals, the vast majority are female names.⁹ Tutuia could possibly be related to Egyptian onomastic traditions related to hypochoristics such as Titi, Teti and similars. However, it could also be an Egyptian adaptation of a foreign name, based on a Semitic root like *Dwdw/Twtw*, plus the ending *-i3*, which is very common in foreign onomastics of the New Kingdom.¹⁰ This is the case, for example, of Tutu, the well-known minister of Akhenaten's time in charge of relations with the Syrian kinglets.¹¹ And it could be underlined that one of the name variants in our shabtis, *Twtw*, corresponds to the name of this Amarna character.

This last hypothesis would possibly be supported by the fact that, apart from the general use as a feminine name, we have found only few men named Tutuia, and almost all of them could be of foreign origin. Thus, on a stela found at Giza dating from the period of Seti I, one can read the name of a Tutuia, "Scribe of the Offering-Table of the Lord of the Two Lands", as well as his wife and two brothers. All three have apparently foreign names. Moreover, the stela pays homage to a deity of Semitic origin (*Hwl/Hwr/Horon*) introduced into Egypt with the influx of foreign people, and linked to the Sphinx of Giza. It is well known that the Memphite area and the eastern Delta underwent a remarkable influx of Asian population during the New Kingdom.¹² In another stela, also from the Memphite area and dated to the Ramesside period, we find a "Goldsmith of the Lord of the Two Lands, Tutuia". On this stela, which mentions no less than seven members from the same family group, we again find a non-Egyptian onomastic. It is interesting to note that this Tutuia bears a second name, Mery-Ptah, in this case typically Egyptian.¹³

Regarding Nebmehyt's name, it is certainly a fairly clear Egyptian name. It is mostly concentrated among the members of the Pharaonic elite of the end of the 18th and the 19th Dynasty, especially in Upper Egypt.¹⁴ This name, in reference to the north, could have been chosen to express the foreign extraction of its holder, a possibility that opens a new line of research. As pointed out earlier, both names, Tutuia and Nebmehyt, bear the same titles in our set of shabtis. They appear alternately as "Overseer of the Cattle of Amun" and "Steward of Amun", sometimes including the epithet *wr* ("Great" or "Senior"). It is worth noting the prevalence in our set of shabtis of the title "Steward of Amun". We are not sure about which of these two titles implies greater dignity or prestige. Perhaps the title "Overseer of the Cattle of Amun" did, but we don't know to what extent it implied no more than an honorific distinction in the Ramesside period.¹⁵

9. RANKE 1935-1952, vol. I, p. 377, no. 18 (*Ti3*, mostly women), p. 378, no. 2 (*Tiy*, only for women), no. 6 (*Twi3*, mostly women), p. 379, no. 9 (*Twiw*, only for women).

10. T. SCHNEIDER 1992, pp. 243-244, no. 521.

11. The tomb of Tutu was published by Norman de Garis Davies (1908, pl. XI-XX).

12. HASSAN 1953, pp. 261-262. For the god Horon, see: VAN DIJK 1989, *passim*.

13. ROEDER 1924, pp. 145-147, no. 7279.

14. For some onomastic parallels, see: PM I, 1, p. 483, and PM I, 2, p. 858; RANKE 1935-1952, p. 185, no. 7; B.G. DAVIES 1999, pp. 35, 37, 237-238.

15. For these titles, see: HARING 1997 and EICHLER 2005.

Given what had been said, our current research works on the possibility that Tutuia and Nebmehyt were in fact the same person with two names: the first one could be of foreign origin; the second is a normal Egyptian name, also common among high officials of the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. Our proposal, a foreign origin for Tutuia-Nebmehyt, fits well with the cosmopolitan character of Egypt during the New Kingdom.¹⁶

Moreover, it is easy to understand why Tutuia-Nebmehyt, if in fact the same person, chose to be buried near the TT11: from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, the center and north of Dra Abu el-Naga became an important burial area for the staff of the Domain of Amun, also known as “the courtyard of Amun” (*wbꜣ n ꜥmn*).¹⁷

2. TYPOLOGY AND FUNCTIONS OF THE SET OF SHABTIS OF TUTUIA-NEBMEHYT

When we discuss the funerary use of shabtis, we usually emphasize two main topics, which obviously coexist and are interrelated: first, the shabti as funerary figurine, a representation of the deceased, or finally its substitute (as a repository of the *ka*). The high-quality shabtis, characterized by a particular workmanship and made from noble materials (stone, wood) could be related to this concept.

On the other hand, shabtis can obviously be understood as servants of the deceased, assuming the tasks assigned to the blessed dead in the other life. This is one of the reasons why the shabtis began to increase in number, into the hundreds, in the Ramesside period, and especially the Third Intermediate Period onwards. It was at this time that the faience, or its clay imitation, became popular, as well as other techniques indicating massive manufacture, often of poor quality and crude workmanship.¹⁸

Thus, Tutuia-Nebmehyt’s set of shabtis belongs to an interesting moment of the shabti use and evolution, between the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th Dynasty. Unfortunately, we have very few undamaged tombs of private individuals of this period. Royal tombs should not be included in comparisons, as they are unique. In any case, they could have served as models in the private domain. The fact is that at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, we can see a significant increase in the number of shabtis among the burial equipment. It is difficult to be more accurate, but it seems that it goes from 2–4 up to 15–20 shabtis in the private burials of the 18th Dynasty, to a much higher number (several dozens, even close to a hundred) for many cases in the early Ramesside period. It should also be noted that shabtis of different types and quality were made for the same dignitary.¹⁹

All this fits quite well with the Tutuia-Nebmehyt shabtis: the few white-faience figurines (just four fragments), as well as the calcite one, constitute a small set of high quality workmanship, which could possibly be associated with the tradition of the funerary figurines or small statuettes of the deceased. Conversely, the set of terracotta shabtis (more than 160 fragments) is one of the

16. JO JANSSEN 1964, pp. 50–62; HIRSCH 2006, pp. 120–178.

17. POLZ et al. 2012, pp. 125–127; JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS 2020, p. 271.

18. J.F. AUBERT, L. AUBERT 1974, *passim*; H. SCHNEIDER 1977, vol. I, chap. v-vi (especially pp. 260–303); STEWART 1995, pp. 8–14.

19. J.F. AUBERT, L. AUBERT 1974, pp. 53–113; H. SCHNEIDER 1977, vol. I, pp. 260–303, 53–113; PODVIN 1997, vol. II, pp. 7–8, 591–592, 621–622, 639, 654.

first examples of these massive sets that we will find in later periods. Unlike the latter, in which faience (or imitation) is the favourite material and technique, the Tutuia-Nebmehyt shabtis are made from polychrome-painted terracotta, perhaps to imitate the increasingly uncommon wooden models, which are more expensive and less suitable for mass production.²⁰

Regarding the texts, it should be stressed that on only five shabtis of our set do we find the well-known “Shabti-Text” (Chap. VI of the *Book of Going Forth by Day*). Moreover, it should also be noted that we do not find on any of the Tutuia-Nebmehyt shabtis the usual short text containing only the deceased’s name and the official function preceded by the simple title of “The Osiris.”²¹ Instead, what we regularly find is the funerary formula of justification: *imꜣhw hr* + a deity’s name (which varies in every piece) + the deceased’s name and official position. It is important to list the deities in this formula. From most to less frequent, we find: 1) the Four Sons of Horus (Imsety, Hapy, Kebehsenuf and Duamutef), 2) Geb, 3) Anubis, 4) a falcon with outstretched wings, probably *Dwn-ꜣnwy*, 5) Thoth.²²

This is, in my opinion, the most remarkable and unusual feature of our shabtis, with very few, if any, parallels, and an important step in our ongoing research. Of course, these deities belong to the most relevant and common funerary gods. But we do not usually find them mentioned on the shabtis. It is common to link them as responsible for the protection and purity of the deceased, especially of his body. They are also related to the successful judgement of the dead. It is well known that the Four Sons of Horus played the role of protectors of the deceased’s body, both of the mummy in the coffin and the body parts inside the canopic jars.²³ The same can be said of Anubis.²⁴ While Thoth and *Dwn-ꜣnwy* are related to the ritual purification, Geb, in his role as judge, is one of the gods in charge of granting the blessed condition to the dead.²⁵

But it should be noted that this group of deities is the one that is usually mentioned and depicted in the coffins’ external decoration of the period (18th and 19th Dynasties), including protective spells for the body and blessings for the happy destiny of the deceased. Moreover, these gods are usually represented, or mentioned in texts, in specific places on both sides of the coffins, possibly related, among others things, with the correct orientation of the mummy in the burial chamber.²⁶ In fact, the only parallels we can find are not on shabtis themselves, but in some coffin models that contain them. Moreover, this could also be related to the fact that, as in real coffins, some shabtis’ chests have the “Nut formula” engraved.²⁷

20. See nn. 4-6, above.

21. For the origin, history and meaning of the texts decorating the shabtis, see: J.F. AUBERT, L. AUBERT 1974, *passim*; STEWART 1995, pp. 47–51; and the excellent study of H. SCHNEIDER 1977, vol. I, pp. 58–176.

22. Geb appears on six shabtis; Anubis on four; Dun-Anuy on three; Thoth on one only; and the Four Sons of Horus appear on three shabtis each, maybe because they belong to three sets.

23. For the Four Sons of Horus, see: BONNET 1952, pp. 315–316 (“Horuskinder”); LÄ I, 1972, cols. 52–53, s.v. “Horuskinder”; and more specifically: ASSMANN 1979 and MATHIEU 2008.

24. For Anubis and his funerary role, see: BONNET 1952, pp. 40–45; LÄ I, 1972, cols. 329–333, s.v. “Anubis”.

25. For Thoth, see BLEEKER 1973, pp. 106–157; for Geb, see BONNET 1952, pp. 201–203 and BARTA 1973, pp. 40–49. And for the less known Dun-Anuy, see ALTENMÜLLER 1975, p. 233.

26. As on the coffins of Yuya and Tuya (T.M. DAVIES 1907, pp. 4–21). See also, WILLEMS 1988, *passim*.

27. See the model coffin of Yuya (T.M. DAVIES 1907, pl. XXIII), or the model coffin, with shabti inside, of Amenemope, now in Leiden (H. SCHNEIDER 1977, vol. II, pp. 35–36 and vol. III, pl. 84). For others parallels in the British Museum, see BM EA 53892 and 65372. Usually, the reference to these gods is completed with the “Nut Formula”, as on real coffins and even in burial chambers from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (GALÁN 2013).

Again, another line of research is that, by mentioning these deities, Tutuia-Nebmehyt's shabtis could have assumed apotropaic duties, protection and caring functions for the deceased, and perhaps more specifically for his body, the mummy. It is interesting to note that among the burial equipment, the shabtis are often in direct contact or proximity to the coffin. And in Chapter 151 of the *Book of the Death*, which depicts the funerary chamber with the coffin in the centre, there are figurines of the Four Sons of Horus, and of Anubis (usually twice), with protective spells. And also the representation of two shabtis on either side of the entrance to this sacred space where the mummy rests.²⁸

Finally, it should be mentioned that each shabti in our set is broken, apparently intentionally and following the same pattern in most cases. It is even possible that they were taken out of the tomb of Tutuia-Nebmehyt and thrown away on purpose. This could also be related to some magical practices (magical damage to shabtis) occasionally attested at least during the 18th Dynasty.²⁹

In summary, we believe that the present study, once completed, and if the hypothesis that we report here can finally be confirmed, will allow us to make a valuable contribution, namely the inclusion of a new character in the early Ramesside elite, probably a foreigner with two names, Tutuia-Nebmehyt, and a study-case of onomastic strategies. It would also provide evidence on the evolution and function of shabtis, and their possible use as protective figurines, in relation with the deities that were represented on the coffin lid and sides, and in specific funerary texts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALTENMÜLLER 1975

Altenmüller, B., *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, GOF 7, Wiesbaden, 1975.

ASSMANN 1979

Assmann, J., "Harfenlied und Horussöhne: Zwei Blöcke aus dem Verschollenen Gran des Bürgermeisters Amenemhat (Theben nr. 163) im Britischen Museum", *JEA* 65, 1979, pp. 54–77.

J.F. AUBERT, L. AUBERT 1974

Aubert, J.F., Aubert, L., *Statuettes égyptiennes. Chaouabtis, ouchebtis*, Paris, 1974.

BARAHONA-MENDIETA 2018

Barahona-Mendieta, Z., "11th Dynasty Pottery Below the Courtyard of Djehuty (TT 11)", *CEE* 10, 2018, pp. 171–181.

BARTA 1973

Barta, W., *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, MÄS 28, Munich, 1973.

BLEEKER 1973

Bleeker, C.J., *Hathor and Thot: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion*, Leiden, 1973.

BONNET 1952

Bonnet, H., *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1952.

CAVILLIER 2016

Cavillier, G., *Catalogo degli Ushabti del Museo Egizio di Firenze*, vol. I, BAR-IS 2828, Oxford, 2016.

B.G. DAVIES 1999

Davies, B.G., *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina: A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community*, EgUit 13, Leiden, 1999.

N. DE G. DAVIES 1908

Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, vol. 6: *Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu and Aÿ*, ASEg 18, London, 1908.

28. For the Chapter 151 of the *Book of Going Forth by Day*, see LÜSCHER 1998.

29. J.F. AUBERT, L. AUBERT 1974, p. 50.

- T.M. DAVIES 1907
Davies, T.M., *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou*, London, 1907.
- DÍAZ-IGLESIAS 2017
Díaz-Iglesias, L., "The Book of Going out by Day in the Funerary Chamber of Djehuty (TT 11): Past, Present, and Future", in G. Rosati, M.C. Guidotti (eds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists*, ArchaeoEg 19, Oxford, 2017, pp. 177–183.
- EICHLER 2005
Eichler, S.E., *Die Verwaltung des «Houses des Amun» in der 18. Dynastie*, SAK-B 7, Hamburg, 2005.
- GALÁN 2008
Galán, J.M., "Seal Impressions from the Area of the TT11-12 in Dra Abu el-Naga", *Memnonia* 19, 2008, pp. 167–169, pl. XXV–XXXI.
- GALÁN 2013
Galán, J.M., "Nut on the Ceiling of the Burial Chamber of Djehuty (TT11)", in E. Frood, A. McDonald (eds.), *Decorum and Experience: Essays of Ancient Culture for John Baines*, Oxford, 2013, pp. 119–126.
- GALÁN 2015
Galán, J.M., "11th Dynasty Burials below Djehuty's Courtyard (TT 11) in Dra Abu el-Naga", *BES* 19, 2015, pp. 331–346.
- GALÁN 2017
Galán, J.M., "Ahmose(-Sapair) in Dra Abu el-Naga North", *JEA* 103.2, 2017, pp. 179–201.
- GALÁN, JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS 2015
Galán, J.M., Jiménez-Higueras, A., "Three Burials of the Seventeenth Dynasty in Dra Abu el-Naga", in G. Miniaci, W. Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)*, London, 2015, pp. 101–119.
- GARCÍA, GALÁN 2016
García, D., Galán, J.M., "An Archery set from Dra Abu el-Naga", *EgArch* 49, 2016, pp. 24–28.
- GARDINER 1935
Gardiner, A.H., "A Lawsuit Arising from the Purchase of Two Slaves", *JEA* 21, 1935, pp. 140–140, pl. XIII–XVI.
- HARING 1997
Haring, B.J., *Divine Households: Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes*, EgUit 12, Leiden, 1997.
- HASSAN 1953
Hassan, S., *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets: Historical Studies in the Light of Recent Excavations*, Excavations at Giza 8, Cairo, 1953.
- HIRSCH 2006
Hirsch, E., "Die Beziehungen der ägyptischen Residenz im Neuen Reichs zur den vorderasiatischen Vasallen", in R. Gundlach, A. Klug (eds.), *Der ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches: Seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik*, Wiesbaden, 2006, pp. 120–178.
- JANES 2016
Janes, G., *The Shabti Collections*, vol. 6: *A Selection from World Museum, Liverpool*, Lymm, Cheshire, 2016.
- JANSSEN 1994
Janssen, J.J., "Debts and Credit in the New Kingdom", *JEA* 80, 1994, pp. 129–136.
- JANSSEN 1964
Janssen, J.M.A., "Fonctionnaires sémites au service de l'Égypte", *ChronEg* 51, 1964, pp. 50–62.
- JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS 2020
Jiménez-Higueras, A., *The Sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga during the New Kingdom*, Leiden, 2020.
- LÜSCHER 1998
Lüscher, B., *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*, SAT 2, Wiesbaden, 1998.
- MATHIEU 2008
Mathieu, B., "Les Enfants d'Horus. Théologie et astronomie", *ENiM* 1, 2008, pp. 7–14.
- MEYER, SERRANO 2017
Meyer, M. De, Serrano, J.M., "Cattle Feet in Funerary Rituals: A Diachronic View Combining Archaeology and Iconography", *Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives, Libraries* 6, 2017, pp. 402–407, pl. 76–83.

POLZ et al. 2012

Polz, D., Rummel, U., Eichner, I., Beckh, T.,
“Topographical Archaeology in Dra‘Abu el-Naga:
Three Thousand Years of Cultural History”,
MDAIK 68, 2012, pp. 115–134.

PODVIN 1997

Podvin, J.-L., “Composition, position et orientation
du mobilier funéraire dans les tombes égyptiennes
privées du Moyen Empire à la Basse Époque”,
PhD Thesis, University of Lille, 1997.

RANKE 1935-1952

Ranke, H., *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vols. I-III,
Glückstadt, 1935-1952.

REISER-HASLAUER 1990

Reiser-Haslauer, E., *Kunsthistorische
Museum, Wien, Ägyptisch-orientalische
Sammlung, Lose-Blatt-Katalog ägyptischer
Altentümer, Lieferung 5, Uschebti I, CAA, Mainz
am Rhein, 1990.*

ROEDER 1924

Roeder, G., *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen
Museen zu Berlin*, vol. 2: *Inschriften des Neuen
Reichs*, Berlin, 1924.

SCHLÖGL 1990

Schlögl, H.A., *Ägyptische Totenfiguren aus de
Öffentlichen und Privaten Sammlungen der
Schweiz*, Göttingen, 1990.

SCHLÖGL 2000

Schlögl, H.A., *Corpus der Ägyptischen Totenfiguren der
öffentliche Sammlungen Krakaus*, Krakow, 2000.

H. SCHNEIDER 1977

Schneider, H.D., *Shabtis: An Introduction to the
History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes*,
3 vols., Leiden, 1977.

T. SCHNEIDER 1992

Schneider, T., *Asiatische Personennamen in
ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 114,
Freiburg, 1992.

STEWART 1995

Stewart, H.M., *Egyptian Shabtis, ShirEgypt* 23,
Princes Risborough, 1995.

VAN DIJK 1989

Van Dijk, J., “The Canaanite God Hauron and his
Cult in Egypt”, *GM* 107, 1989, pp. 59–68.

WILLEMS 1988

Willems, H., *Chests of Life: A Study of the Typology
and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom
Standard Class Coffins*, MVEOL 25, Leiden, 1988.

ZENIHIRO 2019

Zenihiro, K., *The World of Funerary Cones: stamped
bricks*, 2019, [https://sites.google.com/view/
funerarycones/stamped-bricks?authuser=0](https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/stamped-bricks?authuser=0),
accessed 5 January 2022.

© Latova-Proyecto Djehuty.



Fig. 1. Terracota shabtis of Tutuia-Nebmehyt.



Fig. 2. Faience shabtis of Tutuia-Nebmehyt.

© Latova-Proyecto Djehuty.