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New Papyri from Bab el Gusus? The Prosopography and Provenience of Papyrus HM 84123

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New Papyri from Bab el Gusus? The Prosopography and Provenience of Papyrus HM 84123

FOY D. SCALF*

ABSTRACT

A Book of the Dead papyrus in the Huntington Library belonged to a woman who was a "singer of Amun" (*šmʿ.t n Ỉmn*) named Taaatemperamun (*T3-ʿ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*). A working hypothesis is presented that she may be the same person who owned the Amduat papyrus Cairo S.R.VII.10242 (written *T3-ʿ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn*), thereby potentially identifying the missing manuscript from the commonly attested set of Book of the Dead and Amduat papyri found in mortuary assemblages of the Twenty-First Dynasty during the Third Intermediate Period. In the course of discussing the evidence for this working hypothesis, an argument is made that previous proposals for identifying four separate personal names (*3s.t*, *3sty*, *T3-ʿ3.(t)-Ỉmn*, and *T3-ʿ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*) as belonging to a single individual should be rejected. In reassessing these claims, the most recent research suggests that the assemblages in which their manuscripts were discovered had been configured in an ad hoc fashion in antiquity. Thus, this article argues that attention to the original owners' names must remain an important criterion for identifying ancient individuals and suggests caution in assuming different names belonged to the same individual without more specific evidence for confirmation.

* Research Associate, Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, The University of Chicago. The author would like to thank Cynthia Sheikholeslami, Andrzej Niwiński, Peter F. Dorman, Emily Teeter, Marissa Stevens, and Ashley Arico for reading drafts of this article and offering many useful suggestions for clarification and improvement. The author is responsible for its final form and any of its shortcomings. He would also like to gratefully acknowledge the kindness and hospitality of Jennifer Watts and the entire staff of the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, for bringing these manuscripts to his attention, facilitating onsite access, and offering such a productive and welcoming research environment. A version of this research was presented at the annual meeting of the American Schools of Overseas Research on November 17, 2023.

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Keywords: Book of the Dead, Amduat, Third Intermediate Period, Twenty-First Dynasty, Bab el Gusus, papyri, prosopography, hieratic, *T3-ꜥ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*.

RÉSUMÉ

Un papyrus du Livre des Morts de la bibliothèque Huntington appartenait à une femme qui était une « chanteuse d'Amon » (*šmꜥ.t n Ỉmn*) nommée Taaatemperamun (*T3-ꜥ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*). Une hypothèse de travail est présentée, selon laquelle il pourrait s'agir de la même personne qui possédait le papyrus de l'Amdouat Caire S.R.VII.10242 (avec le nom *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn*), ce qui reviendrait à identifier potentiellement le manuscrit manquant de l'ensemble communément attesté des papyrus du Livre des Morts et de l'Amdouat trouvés dans les assemblages mortuaires de la XXIe dynastie à la Troisième Période Intermédiaire. À l'occasion de la discussion de cette hypothèse de travail, un argument est avancé, qui conduit à rejeter les propositions formulées jusqu'ici qui tendent à identifier quatre noms personnels distincts (*ɜs.t*, *ɜsty*, *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-Ỉmn* et *T3-ꜥ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*) comme étant ceux d'une seule et même personne. Les recherches les plus récentes suggèrent que les assemblages dans lesquels les manuscrits considérés ont été découverts l'ont été de manière *ad hoc* dans l'Antiquité. Le présent article soutient que l'attention portée aux noms des propriétaires d'origine doit rester un critère important pour identifier les individus et suggère la prudence lorsqu'on suppose que différents noms appartenaient au même individu, sans davantage de preuves spécifiques pour étayer une telle hypothèse.

Mots-clés : Livre des Morts, Amdouat, Troisième Période Intermédiaire, XXIe dynastie, Bab el-Gousous, papyri, prosopographie, hiératique, *T3-ꜥ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*.

INTRODUCTION

Starting with a set of unpublished papyri currently in the Huntington Library, in this article I propose the following series of interconnected arguments:

1. An unpublished papyrus in the Huntington Library (HM 84123) belonged to a woman named *T3-ꜥ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*;
2. A working hypothesis is proposed that this woman may be the same as the owner of the Amduat papyrus Cairo S.R.VII.10242 (written *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn*). Support for this working hypothesis is twofold. First, this personal name is currently known only from these two papyri. Second, in the Twenty-First Dynasty of the Third Intermediate Period, a very common practice was to incorporate a set of manuscripts in the mortuary assemblage consisting of a Book of the Dead papyrus, often placed inside an Osiris statuette,

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and an Amduat papyrus, often placed on the body between the legs.[1] Associating both the Book of the Dead P. HM 84123 and the Amduat P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242 with the same woman named *T3-ꜥ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* results in the potential reconstruction of such a set of manuscripts.

3. The above working hypothesis suggests that previous theories for reconstructing several mortuary assemblages from Bab el Gusus should be reevaluated. First, I suggest a new appraisal of the original owners of a series of manuscripts (including the above-mentioned P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242) based on the owner's names as written in the manuscripts (*ȝs.t*, *ȝsty*, *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-Ỉmn*, and *T3-ꜥ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*), and not, therefore, based on the supposed associated material with which these manuscripts were found (e.g., coffins, scarabs, etc.). Focusing on the names as written in the original manuscripts, I argue that previous proposals correlating several different names with the same ancient individual should be rejected. Second, this new appraisal of the prosopography implies that several published assertions combining materials from Bab el Gusus into groups belonging to specific individuals requires, in some instances, reconsideration.
4. The above arguments entail a detailed investigation of assessments published in the scholarly literature weighed against the evidence from the primary sources. I will argue that the evidence from the primary sources forces us to rethink previously published mortuary assemblage reconstructions. From these reevaluations, I will propose a working hypothesis that the Book of the Dead P. HM 84123 and the Amduat P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242 belonged to the same woman named *T3-ꜥ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*. It is hoped that future scholarship can confirm or deny the accuracy of this working hypothesis.

BOOK OF THE DEAD PAPYRUS HM 84123

In October 2022, senior curator at the Huntington Library Jennifer Watts contacted the author to inquire about two papyri in their collection. After an initial evaluation through photos provided by Watts, an onsite examination of the papyri took place in January 2023. Complete editions of both papyri will be published in the coming year (2024–25). Preliminary information is available through the Huntington Library's online catalog,[2] and further information will be provided in this article, prior to the final publication of their editions.

1 Lenzo 2023; Niwiński 1989.

2 Papyrus HM 46671: https://catalog.huntington.org/record=b1889146. Papyrus HM 84123: https://catalog.huntington.org/record=b1889147. The author learned in late February 2024 that Ann-Katrin Gill had submitted an article for publication on P. HM 46671 in 2022 to appear in *Revue d'Égyptologie* 2023. See Gill 2023. Dr. Gill had been working on the manuscript since 2019 with curator Stephen Tabor. When the author was invited by curator Jennifer Watts to work on these manuscripts, no indications of any prior work being done on these manuscripts was communicated to the author. Furthermore, the papyri remained uncatalogued, and they had no photographs on record until after the author's visit to the Huntington in January 2023, after which information provided by the author was used to create the catalog records above along with photos taken by Huntington library staff. As such, readers are referred here to the edition of HM 46671 in Gill 2023. Further information was presented by the author in a paper "Book of the Dead, Book of Magic: A New Hieratic Papyrus" at the American Research Center in Egypt's annual meeting on April 20, 2024 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

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Photo by Foy Scalf

Fig. 1. Leading illustration (so-called "etiquette") of Papyrus HM 84123.

The two papyri were acquired through a gift of the estate of Alice Parsons Millard in 1938,[3] who may have purchased them through Quaritch or Maggs.[4] Both manuscripts date to the late Twenty-First Dynasty (ca. 990–976 BC). Papyrus HM 46671 belonged to a *wʿb*-priest named *Pȝ-ʿn-fȝỉ* "Paanfai." Despite the description found in the incipit[5] suggesting compositions from the Book of the Dead,[6] it is inscribed with two columns of religious, magical, and liturgical texts following an opening illustration of Paanfai before Osiris. The contents of papyrus HM 46671 are unique and very interesting, but it is not the subject under discussion here. The second papyrus, HM 84123 (Fig. 1), belonged to *nb.t pr šmʿ.t n Ỉmn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w Tȝ-ʿȝ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* "head of the household, singer of Amun-Re, king of the gods, Taaatemperamun." After an initial illustration showing Taaatemperamun before Osiris, the papyrus is inscribed with fifteen columns of text across eighteen papyrus sheets consisting of spells from the Book of the Dead.[7]

The following essay will present an analysis of the prosopography and provenience of Taaatemperamun's papyrus, suggesting links with known individuals from material discovered in the Bab el Gusus cache and raising questions about its place of origin.

3 A 1938 inventory lists the two papyri as 1129C (HM 46671) and 1129E (HM 84123), while a manuscript on "The Evolution of the Book" by George M. Millard from February 20, 1939 lists them among "group two" as "#B1129C Papyrus Fragment" and "#B1129E Papyrus—Book of the Dead—Mss. (20 ft.long)."

4 For more information on the collecting practices of Alice Millard, see Cloonan 2006. As of October 2022, Cloonan was working on a biography on Alice Millard. I would like to thank Michèle Cloonan for the information that "Alice was in London almost every year from 1901–37, except during WWI. She acquired many of her book-related objects from Quaritch and Maggs" and Millard listed Quaritch as "her European contact address."

5 As in the study of Medieval manuscripts, I use incipit here to refer to the phrases ancient scribes used to introduce or describe a following composition (e.g., *rȝ.w n.w prỉ.t m hrw* "spells of going out in the day").

6 *ṯȝ mḏȝ.t n.t prỉ.(t) m ʿhrwʾ prỉ.(t) ʿqw sȝḥ ȝḥ ỉn Wsỉr wʿb n Ỉmn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w Pȝ-ʿn-fȝỉ* "The book of going out in the day, of going out and entering, of glorifying the spirit, by Osiris, priest of Amun-Re, king of the gods, Paanfai." For the personal name *Pȝ-ʿn-fȝỉ*, see *PN* I, p. 102, no. 24. Given the rarity of this name, it seems very likely that this *wʿb*-priest *Pȝ-ʿn-fȝỉ* is identical to the *wʿb n ḥȝ.t n.(t) Ỉmn-Rʿ* "*wʿb*-priest at the forefront of Amun-Re" attested as the father of *Pȝ-msỉ-ḫm* on the latter's coffin Cairo CG 6008, which was found in Bab el Gusus coffin set A.95 (Daressy 1907, p. 10; Chassinat 1909, pp. 23–31, see pp. 25–26 for attestation of father's name, pl. II; Niwiński 1988, p. 130, no. 136; Gill 2023, pp. 25–27).

7 The spells are found in the following order, given with the column and line numbers where the spells begin and end: 64 (1.1–2.17), 133 (2.17–4.1), 136 (4.1–5.10), 134 (5.10–6.9), 1 (6.9–7.11), 72 (7.11–8.10), 2 (8.10–8.13), 3 (8.13–8.18), 65 Naville (8.18–9.9), 92 (9.9–10.2), 68 (10.2–11.12), 69 (11.12–13.9), 70 (13.9–14.4), 101 (14.5–15.6). Columns 1.1–10.1 were written by one scribe and columns 10.2–15.5 were written by a second scribe. For the sequence, see Lenzo 2023, p. 97.

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BOOK OF THE DEAD OF TAAATEMPERAMUN: PROSOPOGRAPHY OF PAPYRUS HM 84123

Papyrus HM 84123 belonged to a woman named *T3-ʿ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* "Taaatemperamun," meaning "the great (female) one is in the temple of Amun."[8] The name is likely a reference to a goddess such as Mut, "the great one is in the temple of Amun,"[9] which would be appropriate for a woman in a family of temple musicians at Thebes.[10] This interpretation is based on parallel names such as *Ỉmn-m-pr-Mw.t* "Amun is in the temple of Mut,"[11] *T3-šr.t-m-pr-Mw.t* "the daughter is in the temple of Mut,"[12] *T3-nḫt.(t)-m-pr-3s.t* "the powerful one is in the temple of Isis,"[13] *3s.t-m-pr-msỉ* "Isis is in the temple of birth,"[14] and *Mw.t-m-pr-msỉ* "Mut is in the temple of birth."[15] The name appears in cursive hieroglyphs in the leading illustration with titles and epithets (Fig. 1): *Wsỉr nb.t pr šmʿ.t n Ỉmn T3-ʿ3.t-n-pr-Ỉmn mɜʿ-ḫrw* "Osiris, head of the household, singer of Amun, Taaatemperamun, true of voice."[16]

Unfortunately, nowhere in the text are the names of any other associates or family members identified, and neither are any additional titles. In the cursive hieroglyphic portion of the text, her name is written with *n* instead of *m*. In the hieratic portions of the text, the name is predominantly written with *m*, although in at least one case the preposition is omitted

8 Not attested in *PN*, nor in Trismegistos People. Cf. masculine names beginning *P3-ʿ3-* in *PN* I, p. 102; *PN* II, p. 278, or *Sw-m-pr-Ỉmn* (*PN* I, p. 302).

9 Sadek 1985, p. 121 suggests Isis, "d'après une titulature courante de la déesse Isis dans la région thebaine." However, I am not aware of *ʿ3.t m pr Ỉmn* "great one in the temple of Amun" being a specific epithet for Isis, particularly from this period. From Ptolemaic times on, the epithets *3s.t n.t pr Ỉmn* "Isis of the temple of Amun" (*LGG* I, pp. 71–72); *t3 ʿ3.t n.t Niw.t* "the great one of Thebes" (*LGG* II, p. 60); and *ʿ3.t m W3s.t* "the great one is in Thebes" (*LGG* II, p. 56) are attested. Rather, I assume that Sadek's comments were intended for *ʿ3.t* "great one" only; yet this epithet had been applied to virtually any goddess (*LGG* II, pp. 54–55). Some of the more pertinent examples include: *3s.t m s.t ʿ3.t* "Isis is in the great place" from Abydos (*LGG* I, p. 76; cf. epithets formed on the pattern of *3s.t m* GN in *LGG* I, pp. 71–72); *ʿ3.t m Ỉwn.t* "the great one is in Dendara" (*LGG* II, p. 55); *ʿ3.t m ỉnb.w ḥd* "the great one is in Memphis" (*LGG* II, p. 56); *ʿ3.t m Wṯs.t* "the great one is in Edfu" for Isis and Hathor (*LGG* II, p. 57); *ʿ3.t m P* "the great one is in Buto" for Menqet (*LGG* II, p. 57); *t3 ʿ3.t P3-ḫnty* "the great one of Pakhenty" in the Mut temple (*LGG* II, p. 58); *ʿ3.t n.t pr Rʿ* "great one of the temple of Re" for *Nb.t-ḥtp.t* (*LGG* II, p. 58).

10 Alternatively, the name could refer to the woman's position in the temple priesthood ("the great one in the temple of Amun"). Although this seems less likely, such a hypothesis would suggest that the name is not necessarily a birth name, but an honorific name taken on as part of their sacred duties or in honor of such duties held in their family lineage. For a discussion of personal names incorporating titles, see Scalf forthcoming. Cf. also names honoring the king and royal cult like *Rʿ-msỉ-sw-m-pr-Ỉmn* "Ramses is in the temple of Amun" (*PN* I, p. 218), *Nfr-k3-Rʿ-m-pr-Ỉmn* "Neferkare is in the temple of Amun" (*PN* I, p. 200), and *Mrỉ-Ptḥ-m-pr-Ỉmn* "Meriptah is in the temple of Amun," as well as corresponding temple area names such as *ḫw.t-nṯr Rʿ-msỉ-sw mrỉ Ỉmn ḫnm.t nḥḥ m pr Ỉmn* "the temple of Ramses, beloved of Amun, united with eternity, is in the temple of Amun" (see Haring 1998; Grallert 2007, p. 43; Ullmann 2016, p. 422). For other examples, see also TLA Lemma 600156.

11 TM Nam 14435; *PN* I, p. 28, no. 4.

12 TM Nam 19737.

13 TM Nam 16304; *PN I*, p. 326, no. 24.

14 TM Nam 15923; *PN I*, p. 259, no. 19.

15 TM Nam 19868.

16 Note that the personal names formed on the pattern "DN is in GN" listed in this paragraph have been interpreted in the traditional manner as sentences (e.g., *T3-ʿ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* "The great one is in the temple of Amun"). However, another possibility is to interpret them in a similar manner to some epithets (e.g., *3s.t m pr Ỉmn* "Isis in the temple of Amun" versus "Isis is in the temple of Amun"), with the result that feminine personal names formed from the same pattern could be understood like the epithets (e.g., *T3-ʿ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* "the great one in the temple of Amun").

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entirely (Table 1).[17] From the attested variations in this papyrus, it is clear that *T3-ʿ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*, *T3-ʿ3.t-n-pr-Ỉmn*, and *T3-ʿ3.t-pr-Ỉmn* are all versions of the same name.[18] While this point may seem superfluous, the identity between these variations is significant to the working hypothesis that *T3-ʿ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* of the Book of the Dead P. HM 84123 may be the same woman as *T3-ʿ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* of the Amduat P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242.

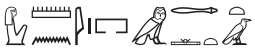
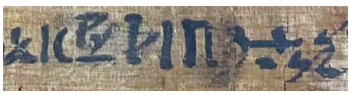
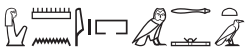
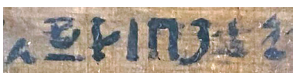
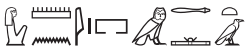
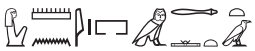
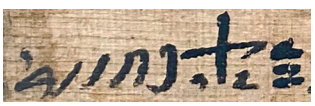
1.3		
1.14		
2.3		
2.6		
3.13		
4.11		
14.10		

Table 1. Examples of the name *T3-ʿ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* from the hieratic texts of HM 84123.

According to what is currently known,[19] the name *T3-ʿ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* is otherwise only attested on the Amduat papyrus Cairo S.R.VII.10242, also paired with the title *šmʿ.t n Ỉmn* "singer of Amun."[20] On the Cairo papyrus, the name is written only a single time,

17 As Table 1 shows, there are slight differences between orthographies of the name. Some are minor variations made by the same scribe, while others are indicative of the multiple scribes who worked on this manuscript.

18 For the assimilation of *n* and *m* in Late Egyptian and later, see Erman 1933, pp. 23 (§47), 289–290 (§599), 292 (§603); Junge 2001, p. 38; Černý, Groll 1975 (ed. 1993), pp. 4–6, 92; Peust 1999, p. 161–163. For the omission of *n*/*m*, see Erman 1933, p. 298 (§607); Černý, Groll 1975 (ed. 1993), pp. 110–111; Peust 1999, pp. 157–158.

19 The name is not listed in *PN* I, *PN* II, Gratien 1991, Backes 2002, Jansen-Winkeln 2007, Jiménez-Higueras 2022, *Demot. Nb.*, or Trismegistos People. Only the owner of Amduat P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242 is listed in Onstine 2005; Niwiński 1988; Niwiński 1989; and the other sources cited in this article. Additional databases and online tools were also consulted, such as the Online Egyptological Bibliography, to determine whether the name occurs on objects in addition to these two papyri (Book of the Dead and Amduat); no other examples were found.

20 Cairo S.R.VII.10242 = C15 in Sadek 1985, pp. 143–144, pl. 25 = Cairo 79 in Niwiński 1989, p. 281. See Table 3 below. For a study of women holding this title, see Onstine 2005.

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as *T3-ʿ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn*[21] in the cursive hieroglyphic inscription in the etiquette illustration identifying the owner (see Fig. 2), omitting the preposition *n*/*m* (as in some instances in Book of the Dead P. HM 84123). This Cairo papyrus derives from coffin set A.84 in Daressy's list of the Bab el Gusus material.[22] Therefore, the first question to investigate is whether *T3-ʿ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* of Amduat P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242 could be the same individual as *T3-ʿ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* of Book of the Dead P. HM 84123.



Drawn by Sadek from Sadek 1985, fig. 26

Photo by Dik van Bommel

Fig. 2. Two papyri illustrated in the same workshop as demonstrated by the similarities in their illustrations.
On the left, Papyrus Cairo S.R.VII.10242 made for *T3-ʿ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* from A.84.
On the right, Papyrus Cairo S.R.IV.552 made for *T3-ʿ3.(t)-Ỉmn* from A.127.

Unfortunately, a great deal of uncertainty now permeates the secondary literature after the conflation of *T3-ʿ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* of Amduat P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242, found between the legs of a female mummy in coffin set A.84 of Padiamun, with several other women following the suggestion of Abdel-Aziz Fahmy Sadek.[23] Sadek suggested that the name *T3-ʿ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* was the full form of the name of a woman otherwise called *T3-ʿ3.(t)-Ỉmn*, who is attested on another Amduat P. Cairo S.R.IV.552 (= JE 95654)[24] found as part of assemblage A.127 in the

21 In an effort to help reduce confusion and increase precision, the name on Book of the Dead P. HM 84123 will be here rendered *T3-ʿ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*, to distinguish it from the variant writing *T3-ʿ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* on Amduat P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242.

22 Daressy 1907, p. 29. Daressy's numbers referred to the sets of inner and outer coffins with mummy board. As noted by Sousa 2018, pp. 26–27: "Inside the galleries, Daressy numbered the coffin sets with labels glued to the headboard (the numbers form the later A-list) according to the position they occupied in the tomb, beginning with the ones closest to the entrance." Cynthia Sheikholeslami (personal communication) notes that it was Ahmed Kamal who labeled the coffin sets.

23 Sadek 1985, pp. 120–122, 143.

24 Cairo S.R.IV.552 = JE 95654 = C9 in Sadek 1985, pp. 120–122 = Cairo 15 in Niwiński 1989, p. 258.

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Bab el Gusus.[25] Thus, Sadek suggested that these two papyri—Amduat P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242 of *T3-ˁ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* (from Daressy's coffin set A.84) and Amduat P. Cairo S.R.IV.552 of *T3-ˁ3.(t)-Ỉmn* (from Daressy's coffin set A.127)—belonged to the same woman.[26] He further identified *T3-ˁ3.(t)-Ỉmn* with another woman named *3s.t* because Amduat P. Cairo S.R.IV.552 was found in the Bab el Gusus coffin set labeled A.127 by Daressy, among which were other papyri and a scarab bearing the name *3s.t*.[27] According to Sadek's argument, all these papyri belonged to the same individual named *3s.t*, who took on the nickname *T3-ˁ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn*, which was subsequently abbreviated to *T3-ˁ3.(t)-Ỉmn*. Finding two Admuat papyri for the same person located in two different coffins is completely unexpected; therefore, associating them with the same individual seems unwarranted. Nevertheless, the influence of Sadek's proposal has been felt far and wide in the scholarly literature, as well as being incorporated into several online databases.

It is important to document here the cascading effects Sadek's proposal has had, with the hopes of unravelling some of the complications it may pose for future research. The following descriptions are given in chronological order based on the date of publication (further organized in Table 2):

- In Niwiński's seminal work on the Third Intermediate Period papyri, he partially followed the same line of reasoning as Sadek by assigning four papyri to a woman named *3s.t* ("Cairo 14, 15, Cairo I, J"), even though one of the papyri (Cairo 15) was inscribed for *T3-ˁ3.(t)-Ỉmn*.[28]
- Karl Jansen-Winkeln attempted to separate out *T3-ˁ3.(t)-Ỉmn*'s Amduat papyrus (Cairo S.R.IV.552 = JE 95654 = Sadek C 9), noting that it was inscribed for a different woman than *3s.t*;[29] he listed the three other papyri together with assemblage A.127 since they were all inscribed for individual(s) named *3s.t*.[30]

25 Daressy 1907, pp. 33–34.

26 As noted by Anderzej Niwiński (personal communication), both papyri (Cairo S.R.VII.10242 and Cairo S.R.IV.552) are of the Amduat type (A.II.1.a and A.II.1.b respectively), a fact which also points to the papyri belonging to different individuals.

27 Daressy 1907, pp. 33–34.

28 Although under the individual manuscripts Niwiński listed the individual owner's name, thus assigning Cairo 15 (= Cairo S.R.IV.989 = JE 95654) to *T3-ˁ3.(t)-Ỉmn* (Niwiński 1989, p. 258), in the chart on Niwiński 1989, p. 381, he includes this same papyrus in the group Cairo 14, 15, I, and J under the name *3s.t*. Niwiński's grouping is also followed by Stevens 2019, p. 204. For a chart of equivalences between various numbering systems, see Table 3 below.

29 Jansen-Winkeln 2007, p. 227: "Dann wäre *T3-ˁ3(t-n)-Jmn* der Name einer anderen Person, kein Beiname der *3st*, und damit entfällt auch der Grund, diesem Begräbnis sogar noch einen weiteren, fünften Totenpapyrus zuordnen."

30 Jansen-Winkeln 2007, p. 227, who included in this list the following papyri from Cairo: JE 95651 (= S.R.IV.549), JE 95654 (= S.R.IV.552), but noting it belonged to *T3-ˁ3.(t)-Ỉmn* (rather than *3s.t*), CG 58001, and CG 58026. Lenzo 2021, p. 225, no. 23, grouped together JE 95651 (= S.R.IV.549), JE 95886 (= S.R.IV.990), and JE 95654 (= S.R.IV.552) as belonging to one individual (although JE 95654 (= S.R.IV.552) was inscribed for *T3-ˁ3.(t)-Ỉmn*, as described above), while she grouped CG 58001 (present in Jansen-Winkeln's list) with P. FMNH 31326 and P. Cairo S.R.VII.10239 as part of assemblage A.66 as belonging to a separate individual whose name is written *3sty* in P. FMNH 31326 and P. Cairo S.R.VII.10239, while it is written as *3s.t* in CG 58001. The latter follows the grouping of Aston 2009, p. 175, who notes that Niwiński 1989, p. 302 (s.v. "Cairo I") associated CG 58001 with A.127.

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- Dividing the group of Jansen-Winkeln differently, Aston grouped as many as four papyri for "Isis" (*ꜣs.t*) with A.127 (TG 800),[31] three papyri for another woman named "Isis" (between the three manuscripts, the name is spelled *ꜣsty* and *ꜣs.t*) with A.66 (TG 739),[32] and one of the papyri we have been discussing—Cairo S.R.VII.10242 (= Sadek C 15 = Cairo 79)—with A.84 (TG 757), which for the latter papyrus he incorrectly read the name as "Taamun," when the name on that papyrus is *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* (as described above). His reading resembles the name *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn* from papyrus Cairo S.R.IV.552 (= JE 95654), which he also reads as "Taamun"[33] despite the differences in the writing of the original names.
- Stephen Quirke has recently adopted a similar prosopography following Sadek and Niwiński by citing one individual named "*Ỉst Tꜣ-ʿꜣ-Ỉmn*" associated with four manuscripts "Cairo 14, 15, I, J" and a second individual named "*Tꜣ-ʿꜣ-Ỉmn*" associated with the manuscript "Cairo SR VII 10242."[34] In this way, he has, on the one hand, conflated *ꜣs.t* and *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn* (as had Sadek and Niwiński), but separated out *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn*, yet misread the name as *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn* (as had Aston).
- Giuseppina Lenzo has partially followed this identification, grouping together two papyri inscribed for *ꜣs.t* (Book of the Dead papyrus Cairo S.R.IV.549 and "magical" papyrus Cairo S.R.IV.990) with the papyrus inscribed for *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn* (Cairo S.R.IV.552) based on their association in the assemblage A.127 from Bab el Gusus (see Table 2).[35]
- A conflation between all the names has been incorporated into Dik van Bommel's website on *ushabtis* where a single individual has been identified as "Isis, Aset, Taaatemperimen or abbreviated Taaatimen."[36]
- Similarly, the Bab el Gusus (BeG) online database equates *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn* and *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* as a single individual named *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn*, and goes on to suggest that "*depuis l'indentification de la propriétaire de l'ensemble A 127 avec la dame* Tꜣ-ʿꜣt-Jmn *surnommé* ꜣst*, les statuettes d'*ꜣst *sont associées à l'assemblage funéraire A 127*."[37]

31 TG is used throughout Aston 2009 for "tomb group," forming a primary organizational principle for Aston in attempting to divide the material into related collections. Aston 2009, pp. 187–188 includes with A.127 the following papyri: "Magical" P. CG 58026, Amduat JE 95654, "Magical" P. CG 58001, and Book of the Dead P. JE 95651. However, Aston 2009, p. 175 also groups "Magical" P. CG 58001 with A.66.

32 Aston 2009, p. 175 includes with A.66 the following papyri: "Magical" P. CG 58001, Amduat P. SR.VII.10239, and Book of the Dead P. FMNH 31326.

33 Aston 2009, p. 188. Generally, the anglicization "Taamun" would be used for the Egyptian name *Tꜣ-(n.t)-Ỉmn* or *Ta-Ỉmn* (TM Nam 1262), which should be kept distinct from *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn* "Taaatamun" for the sake of reducing confusion in the literature. E.g., Stevens 2018, pp. 384–385 and Fig. 6.12 (and Stevens 2019, p. 223), likewise followed "Taamun" for *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn*, while she used "Taaatempawia" for *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.t-m-pꜣ-wỉꜣ* (note "-aat" here, but not in "Taamun" where "Taaatamun" may improve clarity) in her chart on p. 358.

34 Quirke 2019, p. 502, Table I.1.1.

35 Lenzo 2021, p. 225, no. 23; Daressy 1907, pp. 33–34.

36 https://www.ushabtis.com/bab-el-Gusus/#Shabti%20Iset%20(Isis)%20%E2%80%93%20Ast.

37 Cf. http://beg.huma-num.fr/guest-work-report/b9f1be68-bbe3-11eb-a53a-5254000ab4ec (which should be read as *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn*) and http://beg.huma-num.fr/guest-work-report/6199c8d0-bbe5-11eb-a53a-5254000ab4ec (where the conflation is briefly discussed).

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Inventory Numbers	Owner	Niwiński 1989	Jansen-Winkeln 2007	Aston 2009	Quirke 2019	Lenzo 2021*	van Bommel
Cairo S.R.IV.549 (= JE 95651= Cairo 14)	*ꜣs.t*	A.127 	A.127 *ꜣst*	A.127 (TG 800) Isis	A.127 *Ỉst Tꜣ-ʿꜣ-ỉmn*	A.127 No. 23	A.127 Iset
Cairo S.R.IV.990 (= CG 58026 = JE 95886 = Cairo J)	*ꜣs.t*	A.127 	A.127 *ꜣst*	A.127 (TG 800) Isis	A.127 *Ỉst Tꜣ-ʿꜣ-ỉmn*	A.127 No. 23	A.127 Iset
Cairo S.R.IV.989 (= Cairo CG 58001 = JE 95885 = Cairo I)	*ꜣs.t*	A.127 	A.127 *ꜣst*	A.66 (TG 739) Isis	A.127 *Ỉst Tꜣ-ʿꜣ-ỉmn*	A.66 No. 41	A.66 Isety
Cairo S.R.IV.552 (= JE 95654 = Cairo 15)	*Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn*	A.127 	A.127 *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t-n)-Ỉmn*	A.127 (TG 800) Isis	A.127 *Ỉst Tꜣ-ʿꜣ-ỉmn*	A.127 No. 23	A.127 Iset
Cairo S.R.VII.10239 (= Cairo 76)	*ꜣsty*	A.66 	A.66 *ꜣstjj*	A.66 (TG 739) Isis	A.66 *Ỉsty*	A.66 No. 41	A.66 Isety
FMNH 31326 (= Chicago 1)	*ꜣsty*	A.66	A.66 *ꜣstjj*	A.66 (TG 739) Isis	A.66 *Ỉsty*	A.66 No. 41	A.66 Isety
Cairo S.R.VII.10242 (= Cairo 79)	*Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn*	A.84 	----------	A.84 (TG 757) Taamun	A.84 *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ-ỉmn*	A.84 No. 66	A.127 Iset
HM 84123	*Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

Table 2. Groupings of papyri in the secondary literature.**

* Lenzo (2021) organized the data into a chart showing sets of papyri. The chart consisted of columns for inventory number and content for papyrus one, inventory number and content for papyrus two, date, and bibliography. Each row of the chart was numbered and represented a group of manuscripts that she believed belonged together. The numbers presented in Table 2 above (e.g., "No. 23") are the numbers from Lenzo's rows. Lenzo's chart did not include identifying information for the ancient owners of the manuscripts.

** The table shows the designations of the papyri in the first column along with their equivalent numbers cited in the literature. The second column shows the owner's name as attested on the papyrus. The remaining columns show how various scholars have grouped the material along with the ancient names provided in those secondary sources. One row has been rendered in light grey to highlight the most contested papyrus in the group. Individual manuscripts are not listed in the BeG database, and therefore the prosopographic conflation from the database could not be equated with the rows in the table.

Building upon these previous interpretations, Marissa Stevens attempted to describe the convoluted nature of the tomb assemblage A.127 in her UCLA dissertation:

> There is debate and confusion over the content of this assemblage, Daressy's A.130.[38] Personal notes[39] of Georges Daressy, provided by David Aston (Aston, *op. cit.*, 175 & 188) state that this papyrus[40] was found "under the mummy" of Isis.[41] Andrzej Niwiński identifies this papyrus

38 !sic as this should read "A.127."

39 These "personal notes" are those published in the article Daressy 1907, p. 34: "*Un troisième papyrus placé sur les dos* …."

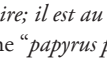
40 *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn*'s papyrus (Cairo S.R.IV.552 = JE 95654).

41 There is even more uncertainty than Stevens suggests, as Aston 2009, p. 188 lists "papyrus under body" among A.127, but footnote 1389 following this entry notes "possibly CG 58001," yet the description of A.127 states: "The Amduat papyrus, Cairo JE 95654, although supposedly from this burial perhaps to be equated with the 'papyrus under body' bears the name

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belonging to a group of three others: Cairo CG 58026 (S.R. IV 990, J.E. 95886), Cairo CG 58001, Cairo J.E. 95651 (S.R. IV 549). Aston challenges this reconstruction of the burial assemblage, claiming that no assemblage would contain two "magical papyri" (Cairo CG 58001 and Cairo J.E. 95651 (S.R. IV 549)).[42] Aston would rather assign one of these two papyri[43] to Daressy's A.66 because this assemblage belonged to another woman named Isis with the same titles.[44] Aston, however, also confuses Daressy's A.66 with that of Siamun (*Ibid.*, 188), Daressy's A.127,[45] assigning the wrong owners' names to these two assemblages.[46]

Aston assigned A.130 to "Siamun,"[47] A.66 to "Isis,"[48] and A.127 to a different woman named "Isis." Aston assigned these two separate assemblages (A.66 and A.127) to two different women named "Isis" based on the names found in the papyri among these two groups, although the papyri from A.66 used the spelling *ꜣsty* "Asty" to refer to their owner.[49] However, Stevens may have been focused on the names found on the coffins, because a scarab from A.130 was inscribed for Siamun, which was used by Daressy and followed by Aston to designate the assemblage, but the coffins of A.130 were inscribed for a woman named Aset (*ꜣs.t*).[50] The above examples were selected to demonstrate how complicated the secondary literature has become on these

of the chantress of Amun, Taamun (sic), and is presumably usurped." Therefore, in two different passages on this same page Aston has suggested that the "papyrus under the body" could be either CG 58001 or Cairo JE 95654. In Daressy 1907, p. 34, apparently it was the latter: "*Un troisième papyrus placé sur les dos et revenant sur la flanc gauche remplaçait la plaque en cire ordinaire; il est au nom de* ." Since Cairo JE 95654 is the only papyrus belonging to *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn*, it seems clear that the "*papyrus placé sur le dos*" refers to it. For Cairo CG 58001 being the second papyrus of the three listed by Daressy for A.127, see the comments of Wüthrich 2015, p. 9, n. 19: "*Le second est sans aucun doute le P. Caire CGC 58001*."

42 Stevens correctly points out Aston's rationale for dividing the papyri differently. However, there is an inaccuracy here as papyrus JE 95651 = S.R.IV.549 is a Book of the Dead papyrus, whereas the two "magical" papyri discussed by Aston were Cairo CG 58001 and Cairo CG 58026. Yet, Cairo CG 58001 contains the supplementary spell BD 166 and Cairo CG 580016 contains the spell BD 182, therefore, their conventional categorization as "magical" texts can be called into question (and this would call into question the rationale behind how the manuscripts are grouped). Of course, the entire paradigm of designating these manuscripts as "magical" or otherwise should be revised, but the space of this article is not the appropriate venue for such a discussion. For the contents of Cairo CG 58001 as BD 166, see Wüthrich 2015, vol. 1, pp. 9–10, 290 (pl. 8), vol. 2, pp. 142–167.

43 Cairo CG 58001.

44 Note, however, that the two "magical" papyri, Cairo CG 58001 and Cairo CG 58026, do not contain the titles of the owner.

45 Sic, as this should read "A.130," which is the A-list number given to the anonymous coffin containing a scarab with the name Siamun in Daressy 1907, p. 34.

46 Stevens 2018, p. 385, n. 566. Stevens 2018, pp. 384–385, separates the two women, but reduces clarity when she describes the papyrus inscribed for *Tꜣ-ʿꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn* as belonging to "Isis": "The second example is the Book of the Hidden Chamber papyrus of Isis. The female in the etiquette is clearly named Taamun …. Thus, this marks the clearest case of reuse, even if the reuse is only detectable via the context of the burial assemblage. It seems as if Isis reused this papyrus, perhaps because Taamun was a family member …." The characterization of the papyrus as "reused" follows Aston 2009, p. 188 who noted that "The Amduat papyrus, Cairo JE 95654 … is presumably usurped."

47 Following Daressy, but not A.127 as suggested by Stevens 2018, p. 385, n. 566.

48 Not "Siamun" as suggested by Stevens 2018, p. 385, n. 566.

49 E.g., *ꜣsty* in FMNH 31326 (A.66) and Cairo S.R.VII.10239 (A.66), see Niwiński 1989, pp. 280 and 303, Chicago 1 and Cairo 76. The owner of the coffins and the owner of the papyri from A.66 are listed separately in Onstine 2005, nos. 132 and 334.

50 Niwiński 1988, p. 133, no. 151; Onstine 2005, p. 105, no. 153.

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papyryi, their owners' names, and their supposedly associated coffin sets, during the past forty years of Egyptological discussion (see Table 2).[51]

Further complicating matters is the fact that the etiquettes of the Amduat papyrus of *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* (Cairo S.R.VII.10242) and the Amduat papyrus of *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-Ỉmn* (Cairo S.R.IV.552) were clearly made in the same workshop (see Fig. 2), an aspect that partially informed Sadek's argument for equating the personal names *3s.t*, *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-Ỉmn*, and *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn*.[52] However, the production of papyri in the same workshop is not a strong criterion for assuming two separate names referred to a single individual. If Sadek's method of identification were accepted along with arguments made by later scholars noted above, up to seven individual papyri could be associated with a single individual (among the documents naming *3s.t*, *3sty*, *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-Ỉmn*, and *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn*). Considering that ownership of seven individual funerary papyri by a single individual would be completely unprecedented, combined with the lack of parallels corroborating one person with so many different names, it seems that Sadek's argument requires reanalysis.

It is extremely unlikely that the papyri inscribed with the name *T3-ꜥ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* or *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* were inscribed for any of the individuals with the name *3s.t*, *3sty*, or *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-Ỉmn* because the names are all clearly distinguished by how they are written. Likewise, the two names that are the most similar—*T3-ꜥ3.(t)-Ỉmn* of P. Cairo S.R.VII.10239 and *T3-ꜥ3.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* of P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242—were found in two completely separate coffin assemblages (A.127 and A.84 respectively).[53] If we separate these manuscripts according to their owner's name as found in the papyri, we find *3s.t* associated with a set of three papyri: Book of the Dead Cairo S.R.IV.549, "magical" papyrus Cairo S.R.IV.989, and "magical" papyrus Cairo S.R.IV.990; *3sty* associated with two papyri: Book of the Dead FMNH 31326 and Amduat Cairo S.R.VII.10239; *T3-ꜥ3.t-Ỉmn* associated with a single papyrus: Amduat Cairo S.R.IV.552; and *T3-ꜥ3.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* associated with two papyri: Amduat Cairo S.R.VII.10242 and Book of the Dead HM 84123.

This would align more closely with the expected practices of how religious manuscripts were employed in the Twenty-First Dynasty, during which sets of two manuscripts were very common, but larger sets remained relatively rare.[54] Therefore, following the employment of the owner's name on the material as a primary criterion for distinguishing among papyri, it seems likely that we are dealing here with at least four separate individuals: *3s.t* "Aset," *3sty*

51 Like many such finds from the period, the Bab el Gusus material is rife with confusion and uncertainties. Cf. Zarli 2019, p. 480.

52 Swart 2004, pp. 286–287, pls. 96 and 101, lists these two manuscripts as part of her "papyri workshop 3." These two papyri and their owners were kept correctly distinct and separate in Onstine 2005, nos. 299 and 317.

53 Anderzej Niwiński pointed out (personal communication) that the two coffin sets were positioned separately in the antechamber, with coffin set A.127 "located three meters higher than the side-corridor where" coffin set A.84 was positioned, suggesting they were from separate deposits as related assemblages tended to be grouped in close vicinity. Likewise, both coffin set A.84 and coffin set A.127 contained mummified human remains and were thus not representative of the same woman. For example, the unwrapping of the young woman found in coffin set A.84 was described in *Le monde illustré* 1801 (3 October 1891). I would like to thank Cynthia Sheikholeslami for this reference.

54 Lenzo 2021, p. 216; Lenzo 2023.

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"Asty," *Tȝ-ʿȝ.t-Ỉmn* "Taaatamun," and *Tȝ-ʿȝ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* "Taaatemperamun" respectively, all of whom were singers of Amun.[55] The primary material discussed in this article[56] that may be associated with them are as follows, including the spelling of their names and titles in the papyri (see also Table 3):

ȝs.t "Aset"

- Book of the Dead papyrus (Cairo S.R.IV.549 = JE 95651)[57] with spells 180, 136, 134, 1, 65, 136B, 136, 98, 99, 14, 82, 77, 86, 85, 83, 84, 81, 80, 111, 112, 113, 109

  Wsỉr šmʿy.(t) n Ỉmn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ȝs.t mȝʿ.(t)-ḫrw

  Osiris, singer of Amun-Re, king of the gods, Aset, true of voice

- "Magical" papyrus (Cairo S.R.IV.989 = JE 95885 = CG 58001)[58] with BD spell 166[59]

  Wsỉr ȝs.t

  Osiris Aset

- "Magical" papyrus (Cairo S.R.IV.990 = JE 95886 = CG 58026)[60] with BD spell 182

  Wsỉr ȝs.t

  Osiris Aset

→ All three papyri were associated with A.127 of Bab el Gusus along with a scarab, all of which were inscribed with the name of *ȝs.t* "Aset."

55 Of course, this reconstruction itself may still potentially conflate individuals together, as it is not conclusively proven yet that the three papyri belonged to the same *ȝs.t* or that the two papyri belonged to the same *Tȝ-ʿȝ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*.

56 Additional material has been attested or associated with these individuals. Only the most relevant material to the arguments made in this article has been treated in the list.

57 TM 134469.

58 TM 134435.

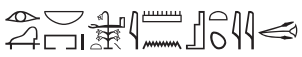
59 Note that even if all three of these papyri belonged to a single individual named *ȝs.t*, meaning she had more than the more commonly attested group of two manuscripts, none of the compositions on the individual papyri overlapped. All three manuscripts contained different compilations of Book of the Dead spells. As such, this fact may weaken Aston's argument for separating the two "magical" manuscripts discussed above.

60 TM 134443.

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ꜣsty "Asty"[61]

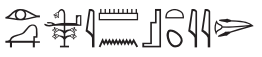
- Book of the Dead papyrus (FMNH 31326)[62] with spells 130, 125B, 110, 149, and 151



Wsỉr nb.(t) pr šmꜥ.t Ỉmn ꜣsty

Osiris, head of the household, singer of Amun, Asty

- Amduat papyrus (Cairo S.R.VII.10239)



Wsỉr šmꜥ.(t) Ỉmn ꜣsty

Osiris, singer of Amun, Asty

→ Both papyri have been associated with A.66 of Bab el Gusus along with coffins inscribed with the same name.[63]

Tꜣ-ꜥꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn "Taaatamun"

- Amduat papyrus (Cairo S.R.IV.552 = JE 95654)



Wsỉr šmꜥ.t n Ỉmn Tꜣ-ꜥꜣ.(t)-Ỉmn

Osiris, singer of Amun, Taaatamun

→ Papyrus associated with A.127 of Bab el Gusus.

Tꜣ-ꜥꜣ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn "Taaatemperamun"

- Book of the Dead papyrus (HM 84123) with spells 64, 133, 136, 134, 1, 72, 2, 3, 65 Naville, 92, 68, 69, 70, 101



Wsỉr nb.t pr šmꜥ.t n Ỉmn Tꜣ-ꜥꜣ.t-n-pr-Ỉmn

Osiris, head of the household, singer of Amun, Taaatemperamun

61 Stevens (2019, p. 204) similarly lists these two papyri under a single individual named "Isis" in her chart. However, it is unclear what criteria Stevens has employed in developing naming conventions as other individuals are listed in her chart 2019, p. 193 under the designation "Aset" or "Aseti" as well as "Iset" and "Isety" (Stevens 2019, pp. 203–204), in one case using a rendering based on Greek (e.g., "Isis") and in another case an anglicized rendering (e.g., "Aset," "Aseti," "Iset," and "Isety"). The two papyri listed under *ꜣsty* "Asty" above have the owner's name written as *ꜣsty* in the papyri, and the reader might have expected to find them under either "Aseti" or "Isety" (rather than "Isis") in Stevens's chart.

62 TM 133573.

63 Niwiński 1988, p. 122, no. 99.

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- Amduat papyrus (Cairo S.R.VII.10242)



Wsỉr šmˁ.t n Ỉmn Tɜ-ˁɜ.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn

Osiris, singer of Amun, Taaatemperamun

→ Find spot of HM 84123 unknown, while Cairo S.R.VII.10242 was found in A.84 of Bab el Gusus.

Content	Owner	Museum Numbers	SR Number	JE Number	CCG Number	Niwiński 1989	Sadek 1985	Provenience
Book of the Dead	*Tɜ-ˁɜ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* 	HM 84123	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
Amduat	*Tɜ-ˁɜ.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* 	----------	S.R.VII.10242	----------	----------	Cairo 79	C 15	A.84
Amduat	*Tɜ-ˁɜ.(t)-Ỉmn* 	----------	S.R.IV.552	JE 95654	----------	Cairo 15	C 9	A.127
Book of the Dead	*ɜs.t* 	---------	S.R.IV.549	JE 95651	---------	Cairo 14	---------	A.127
Book of the Dead BD 166 Amulet	*ɜs.t* 	---------	S.R.IV.989	JE 95885	CG 58001	Cairo I	---------	A.127
Book of the Dead BD 182 Amulet	*ɜs.t* 	---------	S.R.IV.990	JE 95886	CG 58026	Cairo J	---------	A.127
Amduat	*ɜsty* 	---------	S.R.VII.10239	---------	---------	Cairo 76	C 4	A.66
Book of the Dead	*ɜsty* 	FMNH 31326	---------	---------	---------	Chicago	---------	A.66

Table 3. Designations of primary papyri discussed throughout this article.

If the association of the Book of the Dead papyrus HM 84123 with the same *Tɜ-ˁɜ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* as the Amduat papyrus Cairo S.R.VII.10242 is correct (currently uncertain), then HM 84123 would represent the otherwise unidentified Book of the Dead companion to *Tɜ-ˁɜ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*'s Amduat papyrus, forming the expected set of Book of the Dead and Amduat papyri so commonly attested.[64] While this hypothesis cannot be proven with absolute certainty based on current evidence, the fact that this name is currently attested on *only* these two papyri surely makes for a tantalizing and feasible possibility. Until further evidence appears to confirm or

64 Thereby filling in the data missing from the first two columns in the chart of Lenzo 2021, p. 232, no. 66. See also Lenzo 2023.

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deny, it will be the working theory of this paper that the two papyri belonged to the same woman named *Tȝ-ʿȝ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*. One important aspect that distinguishes my argument from other proposals is that I offer it explicitly as a working hypothesis; future evidence could arise that suggests the *Tȝ-ʿȝ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* of P. HM 84123 and the *Tȝ-ʿȝ.*(*t*)-(*m*)-*pr-Ỉmn* of P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242 were separate individuals. If using the owner's name as written in the original manuscripts more accurately identifies the individuals for whom the manuscripts were written than the prior reconstructions following Sadek, it then raises the question: where was papyrus HM 84123 from?

PROVENIENCE AND PROVENANCE OF PAPYRUS HM 84123

As described above, the name of Book of the Dead P. HM 84123's owner, *Tȝ-ʿȝ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn*, is attested in the form *Tȝ-ʿȝ.*(*t*)-(*m*)-*pr-Ỉmn* on Amudat P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242. As of the time of this writing, these are the only two attestations of this personal name currently known. The Amduat P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242 was uncovered as part of assemblage A.84 from the Bab el Gusus cache,[65] and it is therefore tempting to suggest that Book of the Dead P. HM 84123 may also have been part of the Bab el Gusus cache. The only other documentation in support of associating HM 84123 directly with Bab el Gusus is the fact that HM 46671, acquired with HM 84123 by the Huntington Library, belonged to a *wʿb*-priest named *Pȝ-ʿn-fȝỉ*, who we suggested above is likely to be identical to the *wʿb*-priest attested as the father of *Pȝ-msỉ-ḥm* on the latter's coffin (Cairo CG 6008) from Bab el Gusus A.95. Despite these suggestive hints, however, neither of these papyri now in the Huntington Library appeared in the lists of material made by Daressy during the emptying of the Bab el Gusus tomb.

In theory, Bab el Gusus was a "closed" and secure find.[66] Daressy's documentation of the contents of the tomb are, relatively speaking, decent, considering practices common at the time. Much of the material can be traced back to his initial lists. With such documentation, the obvious question is whether either papyrus HM 84123 or HM 46671 were noted as part of the find in 1891. As far as current evidence can be marshalled, they were not. If P. HM 84123 were among the materials deposited in the Bab el Gusus cache, it was either unidentified among the materials listed by Daressy,[67] unidentified among the materials exported as gifts, or perhaps unidentified among

65 The spelling "Bab el Gusus" is used throughout this article reflecting the Arabic root قسّ, following a forthcoming editorial note "Bab el-Gusus: A Note on the Name of the Tomb" in the *Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum* (I would like to thank Cynthia Sheikholeslami for providing me with a preprint version of this publication), which corrects the scholarly record concerning the origin of the name, thereby improving on previous accounts such as Sousa 2018, p. 21; Sousa, Amenta, Cooney 2021, p. 17 (where there is also confusion and mistakes about the pronunciation of various Arabic phonemes in the Egyptian dialect, e.g., "… the expression was corrected to 'Bab el-Kusus', certainly by scholars familiar with the Cairene form of Arabic, and eventually adapting it to the typical Gurnawi pronunciation and spelling with a -g, instead of -k ….").

66 Dautant 2016; Sousa 2018.

67 Cf. Aston 2009, p. 164: "… unfortunately the speed with which the cache was cleared has meant that no records were kept of many of these objects and their present whereabouts are now unknown."

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items that may have "leaked" out of the cache during the clearance, such as those manuscripts presumably hidden within Osiris figures along with objects sold in the *Salle des Ventes*.[68]

Materials and papyri from the Bab el Gusus tomb ended up purchased on the open antiquities market.[69] For example, FMNH 31326 from A.66 and FMNH 31759 from A.120 ended up in Chicago after being purchased in Cairo in 1895 and 1904 respectively.[70] Unlike the Huntington papyri, the two Chicago papyri can be clearly traced back to Daressy's list and the Bab el Gusus tomb. Other material has been attributed to the Bab el Gusus cache even if it was not discovered in the cache itself. For example, the Book of the Dead papyrus AIC 1894.180[71] for *Tȝy=w-ḥnw.t-Mw.t*, acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago with the funding of Henry H. Getty, Charles L. Hutchingson, Robert H. Fleming, and Norman W. Harris in 1894, was attributed to the cache by T. G. Allen based on the fact that materials belonging to *Tȝy=w-ḥnw.t-Mw.t*'s "husband" were found in the cache:

> Our lady and her BD were probably buried at Dair al-Bahri, Thebes, in a gallery-tomb shared in the 21st dynasty by more than 150 priests and priestesses of Amon, for the name borne by her husband is listed in an inventory of finds made there, though her own name does not appear.[72]

Like so much with Bab el Gusus, Allen's proposal and identification are not so straightforward. First, the name he refers to was for her father, *Ns-pȝ-ḥr-n-tȝ-ḥȝ.t*,[73] not her husband[74] (her husband is otherwise unknown). The hieroglyphic caption of her papyrus refers to him:



Wsỉr nb.(t) pr šmˁ.t n Ỉmn-Rˁ ny-sw.t nṯr.w Tȝy=w-ḥnw.t-Mw.t mȝˁ.t-ḫrw sȝ.t sš pr-ḥḏ Ns-pȝ-ḥr-n-tȝ-ḥȝ.t mȝˁ-ḫrw

> Osiris, head of the household, singer of Amun-Re, king of the gods, Tayuhenutmut, true of voice, daughter[75] of the scribe of the treasury, Nespaherentahat

68 See the conclusions of Niwiński 2016, p. 2 that "[a]n unknown number of the papyrus from the Bab el-Gusus tomb apparently were sold" based on the incomplete inventory of Osiris figures combined with the identification of two papyri (FMNH 31326 and FMNH 31759) purchased for the Field Museum.

69 According to Niwiński (personal communication): "The shop situated at the Egyptian Museum was officially selling original objects up to the years of World War II. It is, therefore, quite possible that not only the papyrus HM 84123 but also the papyrus HM 46671, and also the third papyrus … (AIC 1894.180) were sold in that shop and all three may have originated from the Bab el-Gusus tomb."

70 Niwiński 1989, pp. 303–304 (= Chicago 1 and Chicago 2).

71 Images and information available in the AIC online catalog: https://www.artic.edu/artworks/805/funerary-papyrus-of-tayu-henut-mut. Note that the papyrus was at one point on loan to the Oriental Institute (now Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures) where it received the registration number OIM E18039 (Allen 1960, p. 12), but the papyrus should be cited by its AIC 1894.180 registration number.

72 Allen 1960, p. 61, https://www.artic.edu/artworks/805/.

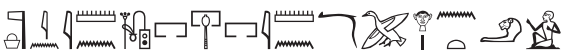
73 TM Nam 31850.

74 Allen (1923, p. 11, n. 1) correctly refers to this individual as her father.

75 Because the strokes at the top of the egg hieroglyph overlapped , Allen 1960, p. 12 read this word as *ḥbsy.t* "wife" (TLA Lemma 103900) with the V6 sign. Although *ḥbsy.t* PN "wife of PN" is attested from the period in the Oracular Amuletic Decrees, its appearance here would be extremely unusual, if not completely without parallel. For a discussion of the meaning of this term and the historical contexts of suggested translations, see Ward 1986, pp. 65–69; Hellum 2020, pp. 273–275.

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Second, there is some uncertainty about whether the man cited by Allen is the same individual named among known persons in the Bab el Gusus cache. Daressy noted an inscription on linen as part of assemblage A.28 for *ḥm-nṯr fdw-nw Ỉmn Ns-pꜣ-ḥr-n-tꜣ-ḥꜣ.t* "fourth prophet of Amun, Nespaherentahat."[76] That seems likely to be a different person, as material for the fourth prophet of Amun, including his coffin (reused from Padiamun), is rather well documented, both in Bab el Gusus and beyond.[77] Another man with this name is attested among the smaller items from Bab el Gusus. Daressy does not mention his titles,[78] but according to Lieblein's recording, the same title (*sš pr-ḥḍ*) from Tayuhenutmut's papyrus appeared on an unspecified smaller object:



ỉt-nṯr n Ỉmn sš pr-ḥḍ pr Ỉmn Ns-pꜣ-ḥr-n-tꜣ-ḥꜣ.t

God's father of Amun, scribe of the treasury of the temple of Amun, Nespaherentahat.[79]

As far as I can determine, the location of this object remains unknown, and considering the lack of such titles in Daressy's list, it remains unclear exactly what this object is and whether it derived from Bab el Gusus. Yet, these same titles and name appear on a coffin also acquired in 1894 by the Art Institute of Chicago (AIC 1894.369a–b):[80]



ỉt-nṯr n Ỉmn-Rᶜ ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš n pr-ḥḍ n pr Ỉmn ỉt-nṯr n Mw.t Ns-pꜣ-ḥr-(n-tꜣ)-ḥꜣ.t

God's father of Amun-Re, king of the gods, scribe of the treasury of the temple of Amun, god's father of Mut, Nespaher(enta)hat.[81]

However, like Tayuhenutmut's papyrus, this coffin was not attested among those from the Bab el Gusus cache. Therefore, it seems that Nespaherentahat may have had an inscription on an object included in the Bab el Gusus tomb, but his coffin was likely from a different tomb or cache.[82] Unless his daughter's papyrus had been hidden within an Osiris figure in Bab el Gusus

76 Daressy 1907, pp. 6 and 23, no. A.28; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, p. 233, no. 11.91; Aston 2009, p. 168 (TG 701).

77 Bierbrier 1975, p. 50; Broekman 2000; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, p. 233, no. 11.91 (coffin, linen, and *shabti* box); Broekman 2010, p. 127; Weightman, Thomson 2016; Broekman 2018, p. 17. See also https://www.ushabtis.com/bab-el-Gusus/#Shabti%20onespaherentahat. Several *ushabtis* for a god's father *Ns-pꜣ-ḥr-n-tꜣ-ḥꜣ.t* appeared in Valbelle 1972, p. 58, nos. 130–31, pl. VII.

78 Daressy 1907, p. 16.

79 Lieblein 1892, p. 1004, no. 2544, listed under "*b. Coffrets, statuettes et autres objets*." The hieroglyphic transcription here follows Lieblein in lieu of physical examination of the object.

80 Like Tayuhenutmut's papyrus, the coffin should be cited under its AIC accession number, not the expired OIM (now ISACM) E17333 loan number (e.g., Niwiński 1988, p. 134, no. 158; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, p. 258, no. 11.151).

81 AIC 1894.369: https://www.artic.edu/artworks/248557. The reading here was taken from the caption over the coffin's owner found on the proper left side where he is offered life by the goddess of the west. The shorter version of his titles from the proper right side appeared in Niwiński 1988, p. 134, no. 158; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, p. 258, no. 11.151. Note that on the coffin, the name is usually written with the *ḥr* (D2) sign preceding the *pꜣ* (G40) sign as if *Ns-ḥr-pꜣ-*…, except for in one instance on the proper right side, foot end of the box where the name is written *Ns-pꜣ-ḥr-t(ꜣ)-ḥꜣ.t* (I would like to thank Ashley Arico for this information).

82 Another scribe named Nespaherentahat is known as well. See Jansen-Winkeln 2007, p. 254, no. 11.136; Polis 2023, p. 86, n. 68. For Twenty-First Dynasty Tombs at Thebes, see Kaczanowicz 2020 (I would like to thank Cynthia Sheikholeslami for this reference).

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and later sold on the antiquities market,[83] it may very well have been part of a family cache together with her father's coffin, which would explain how they both ended up purchased in 1894 by the Art Institute of Chicago. This suggestion implies that Allen's conjecture could be misleading; Tayuhenutmut's papyrus may not be from Bab el Gusus, but perhaps from a tomb, deposit, or workshop in the larger vicinity of Deir el Bahari and the west bank of Thebes.

The most current research makes clear that Bab el Gusus was not the primary location for much of the material deposited within it;[84] like the royal cache in TT 320, the mortuary assemblages in the Bab el Gusus tomb appear to have been gathered together primarily from tombs, but also possibly from deposits, storage locations, and workshops in the vicinity and deposited in this secondary location.[85] Some of the material in the tomb was damaged, or even altered, in this process.[86] Such a sequence helps to explain the conglomerate nature of the material found in the space, the ad hoc nature of the collections, as well as the common occurrences of "reuse" or repurposing of objects.[87] Therefore, it seems likely that most, if not all, of the material had been previously stored or interred elsewhere before being moved and assembled into the Bab el Gusus galleries. Once the latter cache was closed in antiquity (ca. Psusennes II), the contents remained undisturbed until their modern discovery and clearance in 1891. Given the cache's location, it is likely that material had been gathered from a variety of sources, including local tombs in the Deir el Bahari area, such as the ones discovered by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1923–24 in tombs 59 and 60, which included materials and individuals related to the larger Bab el Gusus corpus.[88]

Given the evidence discussed above, it is now difficult to determine whether the Book of the Dead P. HM 84123 derived from the Bab el Gusus tomb, perhaps secreted away in an Osiris statuette, or whether it had been gathered in a workshop, tomb, or cache for *Tȝ-ʿȝ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* and other members of her family on the west bank of Thebes in the relative vicinity of Deir el Bahari.

83 It is unclear if there is any relationship between Tayuhenutmut (*Tȝy=w-ḥnw.t-Mw.t*), who was the owner of Book of the Dead papyrus AIC 1894.180, and the Tayuhenut (*Tȝy=w-ḥnw.t*), who is attested on a mummy cover from Bab el Gusus (see Niwiński 1988, p. 133, no. 155). Note that a coffin base belonging to a woman named *Tȝy=w-ḥnw.t*, who had the title "singer of Amun," was given to the Bolton Museum (BOLMG 1930.69.1; Niwiński 1988, p. 111, no. 43) along with an associated set of male mummified remains.

84 Bickel 2021.

85 Zarli 2019, p. 485: "In conclusion, the components of this coffin ensemble appear to have been scrambled together from various sources and reused for the burial of Ankhesenmut." Sousa 2021, p. 147: "In fact, the tomb revealed objects dating back from the late Ramesside Period to the late 21st Dynasty. Even in the same coffin set objects with different dating can be easily found, suggesting that they were assembled opportunistically, as if sorted out from the objects available at a given storeroom."

86 Sousa 2018, pp. 23–24 stated that this damage consisted of "intriguing clues suggesting that a methodical plunder of the burials took place even before its definitive sealing." However, Anderzej Niwiński (personal communication) noted that this damage occurred when the materials were taken from other family tombs and transferred to Bab el Gusus, implying therefore that there was no "plunder" of the materials once deposited in the Bab el Gusus tomb itself.

87 Cooney 2018; 2019; 2021; Stevens 2018. "Reuse" is put in quotes here because, given the eclectic nature of the Bab el Gusus assemblages, conceptualizing the intention behind "reuse" may need further nuance. For example, in the case of P. Cairo S.R.IV.552 = JE 95654 discussed above, the suggestion of Stevens (2018, pp. 384–385) that the papyrus was "reused" by Isis "perhaps because Taamun was a family member" implies an intention of Isis to reuse this papyrus. However, it is unclear exactly how and by whom the complicated set of objects associated with A.127 was put together. Given the impromptu mixing and matching of some of the material in Bab el Gusus, there are doubts about whether the grouping reflected the intention of any individuals named on the material itself.

88 Lenzo 2021; Kamrin 2020.

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In the Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Dynasties when collective caches (e.g., TT 320, KV 57, Bab el Gusus, etc.)[89] were being formed, some of the material from her family's collection appears to have been incorporated into the Bab el Gusus cache, which would explain how her Amduat papyrus Cairo S.R.VII.10242 ended up being found there.[90] Furthermore, the fact that Amduat P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242 was found between the legs of a mummy suggests that the human remains were those of *Tȝ-ʿȝ.(t)-(m)-pr-Ỉmn* herself. If the two papyri belonged to the same individual, the unwrapping of her mummy was described in 1891.[91] However, other material of her family members had been found elsewhere, the dispersal of which has since disguised its identification as an assemblage.[92] In either case, Book of the Dead P. HM 84123 remained where it would have been uncovered in the nineteenth century, potentially sold to dealers in London, purchased by Alice Parsons Millard for her book history collection, and finally donated to the Huntington Library. Many of the above suggestions remain speculative and founded on circumstantial evidence only. Ultimately, whether the working hypothesis that the two papyri (Book of the Dead P. HM 84123 and Amduat P. Cairo S.R.VII.10242) belonged to the same *Tȝ-ʿȝ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* is completely accurate or not will require additional research and contributions by scholars working on related material.[93]

ABBREVIATIONS

Demot. Nb. *Demotisches Namenbuch*, edited by Erich Lüddeckens, Wiesbaden, 1980–2000.
LGG *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, edited by Christian Leitz, OLA 110–16, Leuven, 2002.
TM Trismegistos Text Identification Number (www.trismegistos.org).
TM Nam Trismegistos Name Identification Number (www.trismegistos.org).

89 Aston 2021; Sousa 2021, pp. 142–143; Broekman 2018, p. 18.
90 As a parallel to how the treasury scribe Nespaherentahat's unidentified object ended up in Bab el Gusus, but his coffin and the papyrus of his daughter Tayuhenutmut seemed to have derived from elsewhere.
91 *Le monde illustré* 1801 (3 October 1891).
92 Cavillier 2021; Sousa 2021, p. 143: "The picture provided by these finds suggests that during the 21st Dynasty the tombs previously excavated in the area of Deir el-Bahari composed a network of small caches. Although only a few of them had been found intact by archaeologists, given the available data collected so far, it seems logical to admit that many other small caches existed in the area."
93 Of course, the author could be committing here a similar error of conflation (i.e., assuming one *Tȝ-ʿȝ.t-m-pr-Ỉmn* where there were really two) as he has accused Sadek of having done. Hopefully, future research will provide more certainty one way or the other.

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