

## IN THE HOUSE OF THE PHOENIX AT THEBES (CAIRO JE 36938)

By ANTHONY LEAHY

Professor Harry Smith's extraordinarily diverse contributions to Egyptology range from prehistory through to demotic and the latest stages of pharaonic culture. One of the many aspects of Egyptian history which he has illuminated is the temple life of the later first millennium BC, especially that of Memphis. It therefore seems not inappropriate to offer him by way of tribute this publication of a priest's block statue, Cairo JE 36938, even though it comes from Thebes, where it once sat in the House of the Phoenix at Karnak.<sup>1</sup> The statue (figs.1-7), which has a dorsal pillar, is of basalt, and is 32.2 cm high with a base, curved at the front, 16 cm wide by a maximum of 23.5 cm deep at the centre. It was found in the Karnak cachette (K.210) and displays many of the features common to other block statues from there, which are the typical temple memorial of members of the Theban priesthood during the Libyan Period.<sup>2</sup> The figure is almost completely covered by its garment, with only the hands and face visible. The hands rest on the drawn-up knees, the right holding a bolt of cloth, the left palm open and facing down. The face is full and round, with a plastic rendering of the eyebrows and cosmetic lines, and a striated wig pulled back behind the ears. The chin is supported by a conventional beard with wavy striations. The Theban triad is depicted in delicate and quite detailed incised relief on the front of the figure, while the sides and back, as well as the dorsal pillar and base, are covered in texts. The statue is not listed in the *Topographical Bibliography*, and, to my knowledge, there is only one published reference to it.<sup>3</sup>

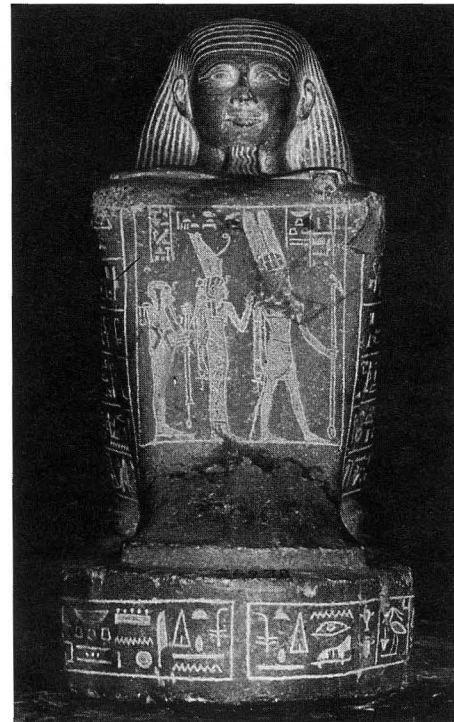


Fig.1. Cairo JE 36938 (courtesy of the Cairo Museum).

### The texts

#### A. Front, above the divine figures:

'[Words spoken by]<sup>a</sup> Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands;  
Mut, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods;  
Khonsu in Thebes Neferhotep'.

B. Base (i): 'An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost in the temple of Ipet-sut, that he may give offerings, libations and provisions (to) the god's father, beloved of the god, scribe of the divine offerings of the temple of Amun, Penoupoqer.<sup>b</sup> [It] is complete'.<sup>c</sup>  
(ii): 'An offering which the king gives to Osiris, residing in Hut-Benu,<sup>d</sup> that he may allow your *ba* to

<sup>1</sup> For access to the statue and permission to publish, I am much indebted to Dr Mohammed Saleh and his staff in the Cairo Museum. There is another, smudged, number in red on the block, 42271(?), which should refer to a number allocated for a future Catalogue Général volume of the museum's statue collection: M. Trad, 'Varia Musée du Caire, I—Journal d'Entrée et Catalogue Général', *ASAE* 70 (1984-5), 355.

<sup>2</sup> It would be type Three V-g-41 in the classification of block statues of a slightly later period presented by B. Bothmer in 'Block statues of Dynasty XXV', in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* (Cairo, 1994), III, 61-8.

<sup>3</sup> G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit* (Vienna, 1978), 107 no. 20 and 108 no. 40, mentions the statue owner and his son in a list of over seventy bearers of the title sequence *it ntr mry ntr*.

come forth to see the sun disc, (for) the god's father, beloved of the god, Penoupoqer, son of Iahweben. [It] is complete'.

*C. Right side:* 'Given as a favour of the king,<sup>e</sup> for the *ka* of the beloved of the god, opener of the doors of heaven in Ipet-sut, deputy of the treasury of the temple of Amun, scribe of the livestock of the divine offerings of the temple of Amun, eyes of the king of Upper Egypt, ears of the king of Lower Egypt, Penoupoqer, justified, son of Iahweben, justified. He says: "How beneficial is he who performs *maat* for Amun,<sup>f</sup> and who does not disobey my utterance in his temple. May he allow me to remain near his shrine,<sup>g</sup> (my) statue having been established in the Hut-Benu, the son of my son as my successor".'

*D. Left side:* '[Made by his son to] cause his name to live:<sup>h</sup> the god's father, beloved of the god, scribe of the livestock of the divine offerings of the temple of Amun, Nespanetjer(aen)djera, son of Penoupoqer, justified. He says to his father: "Praise to you, creator<sup>i</sup> of my body, moulder<sup>j</sup> of my limbs. May you be established in the Hut-Benu in Thebes, may he receive [you?] with loving heart, may Amun endow<sup>k</sup> you with libation and incense every day like all those who are true of heart in his temple".'

*E. Dorsal pillar:* 'His son, to reinvigorate his *ka*,<sup>l</sup> the beloved of the god Nespanetjer-(aen)djera, justified. He says: "O prophets and god's fathers of Amun, perform libation for him (with) true heart and every pronouncement<sup>m</sup> which comes forth from his mouth in support of provisions, in order to cause his name to endure in this place".'

<sup>a</sup> Context suggests, and traces allow, the reading *dd mdw in*.

<sup>b</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>2</sup>, 474, noted that as early as the Twelfth Dynasty, the head of a heron (H.2) could be used instead of the head of a spoonbill (H.3) to represent the phonetic value *pq*. In each of the four occurrences of the name in this text, the bird's head which acts as determinative to *pq* combines distinctive features of the two species, the crest of the heron and the bill of the spoonbill.

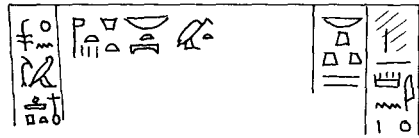
<sup>c</sup> The *nfr*-sign in the middle of the back base inscription is curious. It separates the two personal names as if part of one, and it would make good sense as the final element of either of the two (*P3-n-ww-pqr-nfr(w)*) = 'He of Ou-poqer is complete'; *ꜥꜥ-wbn(w)-nfr(w)* = 'The moon is risen complete'), but it does not occur in any of the other writings of either name on the statue, nor is either of these hypothetical forms attested elsewhere. I am therefore inclined to regard it as a separate and impersonal use of the adjective verb *nfr*, perhaps inserted as an apotropaic space-filler by a sculptor who found he had room to spare.

<sup>d</sup> The reading requires a brief palaeographic justification. The head of the bird in the *hwt*-enclosure is slightly different in each of the three examples on the statue: in text B (ii), there are the expected two lines of the crest of the heron (G.31); in D only a single line, and in C none. This failure to maintain traditional distinctions (cf. n. b above) is again found in B (ii), where what is certainly intended to be a *b3*-bird (G.29) also has a single plume. Confusion is also apparent in other Libyan Period statue inscriptions. On Cairo JE 37512, what is clearly a rather long-legged quail chick inside a *hwt*-sign is unhesitatingly (and doubtless rightly, given that it describes a place where Atum is resident) read by the editor as *hwt-bnw* (K. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1985), 218, 565 n. x). In another case, the heron is wrongly used for the 'q'-bird (G. 35): Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien*, 573 n. h.

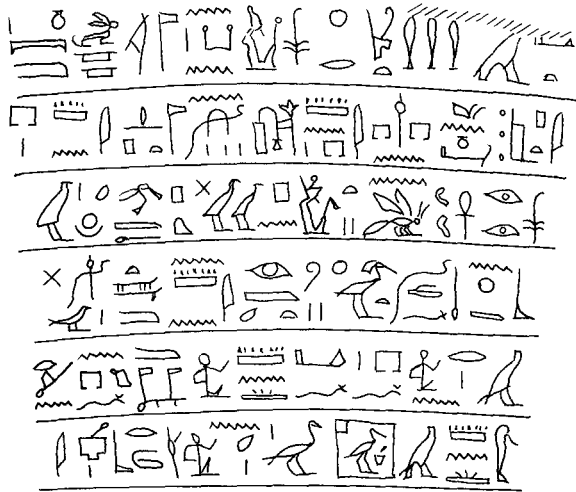
In the present instance, an alternative reading *hwt-b3* might be suggested by the presence of the smoking incense pot (R.7) in all three cases, since this is unknown to *Wb*. I, 458, 3-5 in combination with the *bnw*-bird but is commonly found in writings of *b3* from the Middle Kingdom onwards. It might be supported by the fact that the reading *b3* is recorded for a heron in the Graeco-Roman period (*Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine* (Montpellier, 1988) I, 322). However, the evidence for the existence of a *hwt-b3* is slight. Gauthier (*Dictionnaire géographique*, IV, 63) cited a New Kingdom stela, BM 706, from Deir el-Bahari. In the published copy (*HTBM* VI, pl. 48), Khonsu seems to be described as *wr hnt hwt-b3*, but collation of the original with the aid of a raking sidelight (kindly facilitated by Nigel Strudwick) shows that, although the supposed 'ba' bird does have the appendage on the breast, there is also a lightly incised crest behind its head, so that a reading *hwt-bnw* is preferable. A second possible example occurs in an inscription in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, in which Herihor is described as 'Great in Appearances in the mansion of the Ba' (*The Temple of Khonsu* (Chicago, 1979), I, pl. 47, 11). Although the Chicago editors were in no doubt that that is what was carved, they still (*ibid.* 24 n. b) wondered whether the *b3*-bird was not an ancient error for the heron. The fact that the caption in question separates Herihor from the god Atum, who holds his hand, might support that view, given the close association between Atum and the phoenix. Other supposed references to the *hwt-b3* are also doubtful: Meeks (*ALex* III, 79.1853) cites two from Kitchen's *Ramesseid Inscriptions* (II, 596, 16 and 603, 3). Both include the incense pot, but in neither case does the bird resemble a *b3*-bird. The existence of a *hwt-b3* is therefore not currently demonstrable.

The reading *hwt-bnw* should therefore stand. The bird is clearly the heron-hieroglyph in two cases and none of the three examples displays the appendage on the breast which is characteristic of the *b3*-bird hieroglyph, and which is seen in the definite writing of *b3* in B (ii). The incense pot might be explained as a substitute for the *nw*-pot, which is found as a phonetic element in writings of *bnw* (*Wb*. I, 458, 3-5). In Ptolemaic temple texts, both the incense pot and the *b3*-bird can be used for phonetic *b* in the word *bnw* (Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, II, 22 and 76), and the heron joins these as a writing of phonetic *b* in general contexts (H. Fairman, 'An introduction to the study of Ptolemaic signs and their values' *BFAO* 43 (1945), 69). The present statue, like others of the period from Karnak, contains a number of signs with values sometimes characterised as 'Ptolemaic'.

<sup>e</sup> The tops of the three *hs*-signs have been worn away, perhaps by the repeated touching of visitors to the temple. The formula *dīw m hsw nt hr nsw* is usually positioned prominently, often on the top surface in the case of block statues, whether or not the cartouches of the king in question are present: see K. Jansen-Winkel, 'Drei Gebete aus der 22. Dynastie', in *Form und Mass—*



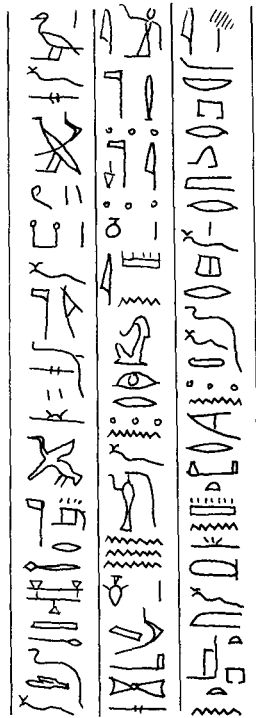
A. Front, above the divine figures.



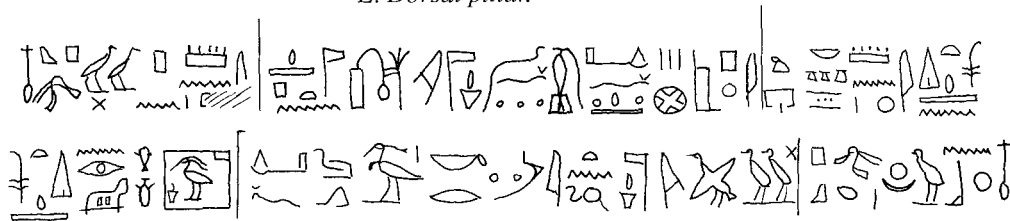
C. Right side.



D. Left side.



E. Dorsal pillar.



B. Base. Above (i). Below (ii).

Fig.2. Texts of Cairo JE 36938.

*Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten—Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 245-6, and *Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1994), 91-2.

<sup>1</sup> The emphasis placed by the Theban clergy of the Libyan Period on the performance of *maat* for Amun is well illustrated by M. Lichtheim, *Maat in Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1992), 81-90. For contemporary pictorial evidence, see E. Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat. Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1997), 13-14.

<sup>2</sup> For *hnty*, see *Wb.* III, 307, 10-13; J. Vercoutter, 'Les statues du général Hor, gouverneur d'Hérakléopolis, de Busiris et d'Héliopolis', *BIFAO* 49 (1950) 107 (s), 112-13; P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon* (Leuven, 1997), 738. The term occurs on other statues from the Karnak cachette such as Cairo CG 42206 (Jansen-Winkeln's rendering, *Ägyptische Biographien*, 27, 28, as 'Vorhalle' is preferable to the 'dressoir' of R. El-Sayed, 'Nekhtefmout, supérieur des porte-encensoirs (I)', *ASAE* 69 (1983), 226 and 228), as a place where statues are set up and through which the divine statue processes. It can describe the hypostyle hall, but need not always do so, hence the vaguer translation here.

<sup>3</sup> A large chip is missing from the stone here, but the space is well suited to *ir.n s3:fr s'nh rn.f*.

<sup>4</sup> For *nbi*, 'create', see *Wb.* II, 241, 26, and Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien*, 497, 11.

<sup>5</sup> For *hnm*, with this determinative and the sense of 'mould', see *Wb.* III, 382, 1, where the writing is characterised as 'gr.'. An earlier example can probably be found in the 'Banishment' stela of the Twenty-first Dynasty where it is used as a pun on the name of Khnum: cf. J. von Beckerath, 'Die "Stele der Verbannten" im Museum der Louvre', *RdE* 20 (1968), 11, line 13.

<sup>6</sup> For *tw*, with the sense of 'endow', see Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien* 199, 7.

<sup>7</sup> For variations on the theme of renewal of the *ka* at this period, cf. Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien*, 115 n. 9 and 491 f; 121 line 7 and 496-7 (Cairo CG 42218 and 42225 respectively).

<sup>8</sup> I restore the damaged sign as a vertical *s* to complete the extended spelling of *ts* recorded by *Wb.* V, 403, and L. Lesko (ed.), *Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, IV, 115.

### Commentary

In addition to the name of the person commemorated, Penoupoqer, the statue furnishes us with the names of his father, Iahweben, and his pious son, Nspanetjeraendjera. While the name Iahweben is well-attested,<sup>4</sup> the other two are not: neither figures in Ranke's *Personennamen* and they are of interest for that reason. Although rare, they can be linked to other monuments and thus put into a broader Theban context, allowing possible relatives to be identified. This in turn enables the statue to be dated with greater precision than might otherwise be the case.

The name *P3-(n)-ww-pq(r)*, 'he who belongs to the region of Poker', evidently alludes to Osiris. The proliferation of chapels of this god at Thebes in the Libyan Period is well known, but, although no genealogical connection can yet be established, the introduction of this particular Osirian and Abydene designation into the repertoire of personal names at Thebes may have been due to the acquisition of the office of 'prophet of Osiris of the region of Poker' by a Theban family which had Abydene connections and which held the title over several generations in the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties.<sup>5</sup> However, the sequence Penoupoqer, son of Iahweben, is also found on a Theban coffin on which the two are named as the remotest ancestors of the owner.<sup>6</sup> Neither is credited with a title, but the filiation and the rarity of the first name strongly suggests that they belong to the same family as is represented here, and perhaps that they are the same individuals. If the latter

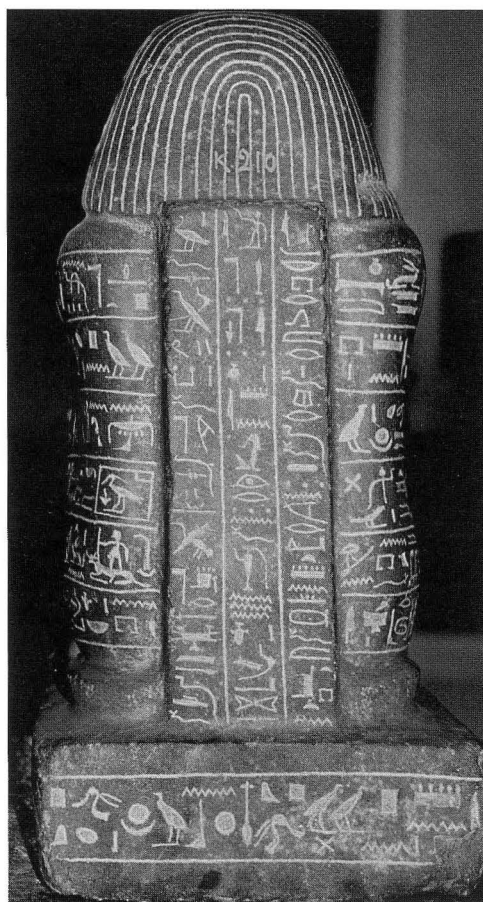


Fig. 3. Cairo JE 36938, dorsal pillar (courtesy of the Cairo Museum).

<sup>4</sup> For *I'h-wbn(w)*, 'the moon is risen', see H. Ranke, *PNI*, 12, 16, and *Demot. Nb.* I, 59, to which add e.g. A. Gasse, *Données nouvelles administratives et sacerdotales sur l'organisation du domaine d'Amon* (Cairo, 1988), 78 and 125.

<sup>5</sup> C. Traunecker, 'Un document inédit sur une famille de militaires contemporaine de la XXII<sup>e</sup> dynastie', *BIFAO* 69 (1970), 221 line 9, 227 n. 17, 232 no. 8. For the Abydos connections of this family, see K. Kitchen, 'A lost stela of the Third Intermediate Period', in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, IV, 163-7. On *ww-pqr* at Abydos, see A. Leahy, 'The date of Louvre A.93', *GM* 70 (1984), 47-9.

<sup>6</sup> Cairo CG 41036: A. Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque Saïte* (Cairo, 1913), 300 bottom line; V. Schmidt, *Sarkofager, Mumiekister og Mumiehylstre i det gamle Aegypten* (Copenhagen, 1919), 167. Neither contains a photograph of the relevant section and I have not been able to collate the text. In both copies *P3-ww-* is followed by an odd sign which resembles a curved sword (T.16) but which I suggest is a flattened version of the head of the spoonbill (H.3), standing alone for *pq(r)*.

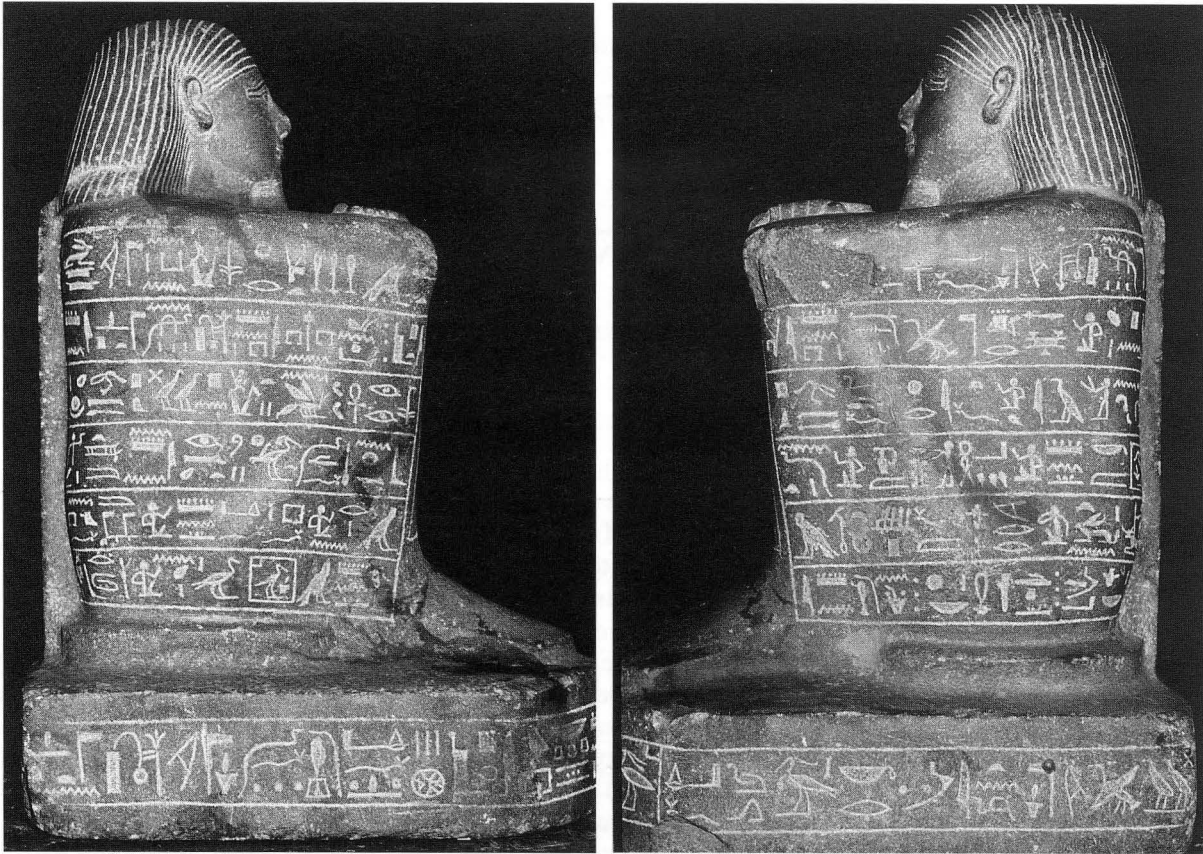


Fig.4. Cairo JE 36938, side views (courtesy of the Cairo Museum).

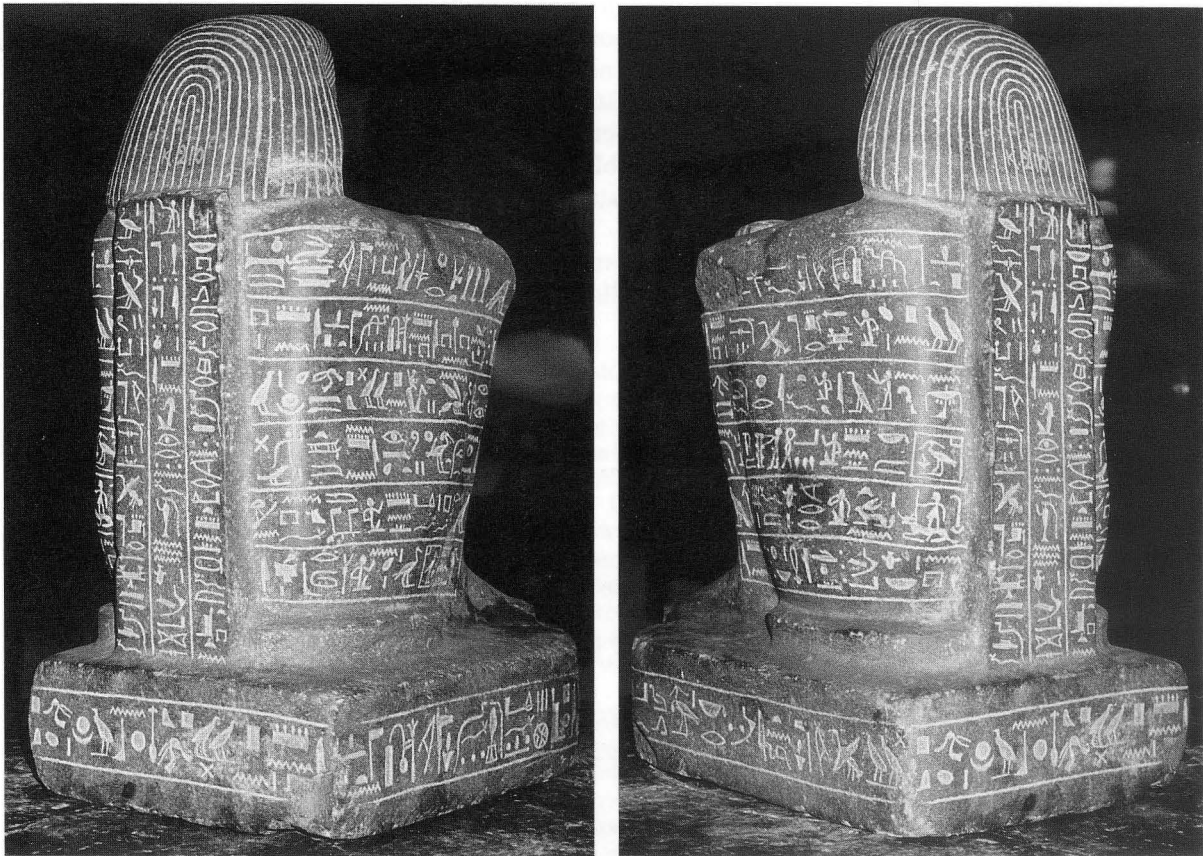
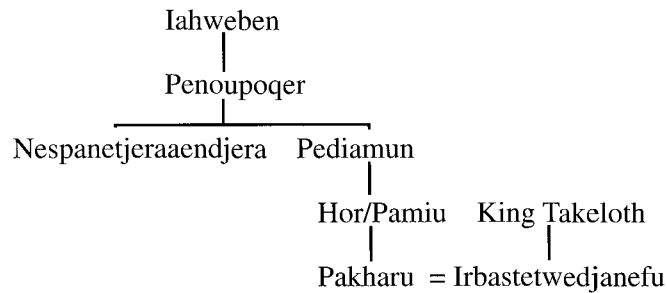


Fig.5. Cairo JE 36938, three-quarter views (courtesy of the Cairo Museum).

is the case, Penoupoqer had another son, Pediamun, and was through him the grandfather of the vizier Pamiu and the great-grand-father of the vizier Pakharu:<sup>7</sup>



Although one of his brothers, another Pediamun, also became vizier, it is Pakharu who may be said to have brought the family fortunes to a peak by marrying into the Theban royal family of his day. If, as recent work suggests, his royal father-in-law was Takeloth III, then Penoupoqer, two generations earlier, would have died at about the turn of the ninth to eighth centuries BC.<sup>8</sup>

The name of the son who dedicated this statue also opens up lines of enquiry. Vittmann's reading of the name (n. 3 above) as *Ns-p<sup>3</sup>-ntr-dr-ꜥ* is justified by both vertical and horizontal writings on the statue, yet two other Theban inscriptions support the slightly different rendering proposed here. A statue base from Karnak preserves a name which must be read as *Ns-p<sup>3</sup>-ntr-ꜥ-n-dr-ꜥ*.<sup>9</sup> The significance of this theophorous name is clarified by an epithet of an oracular form of Amun first attested in the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon at the end of the ninth century BC and again in the seventh century Saite Oracle Papyrus. These texts show a full form *p<sup>3</sup>-ntr-ꜥ-(n)-dr-ꜥ* and a shorter form *p<sup>3</sup>-ntr-(n)-dr-ꜥ*, which can be translated as 'the (great) god of/since the primeval time'.<sup>10</sup> There are thus two possible explanations for the spelling of the name on the statue. One is that it should be understood as *Ns-p<sup>3</sup>-ntr-(n)-dr-ꜥ*, with ꜥ as a rare spelling of ꜥ.<sup>11</sup> The other is that ꜥ and *dr* have been graphically transposed, and that the final word ꜥ has been omitted. One might even combine the two and suggest that the group ꜥ does double duty here, giving the full reading *Ns-p<sup>3</sup>-ntr-ꜥ-n-dr-ꜥ*. Whichever interpretation is preferred, the evidence of the oracle texts for forms with and without ꜥ suggests that, rather than envisaging two very similar but slightly different otherwise unattested names, it is better to regard the Karnak statue base and the statue as recording the same name. As the statue base preserves only *...m pr ꜥImn* of the man's titulary, and no parentage, it cannot be known whether the same person is recorded in the two cases. Other examples of the name may lurk in the unpublished Karnak cachette material,<sup>12</sup> and it is at least possible that some instances of the slightly better attested form *Ns-p<sup>3</sup>-ntr* represent an abbreviation of the name discussed here.<sup>13</sup>

Also relevant here is a painted wooden stela from the Ramesseum, now in Philadelphia, which has very recently been published with a clarity that allows the text to be read more confidently than be-

<sup>7</sup> The genealogy is set out more fully by A. Weil, *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches* (Strassburg, 1908), 135. It may be that it can be extended further. John Taylor has kindly brought to my attention two other possible Theban examples of the name Penoupoqer which he will discuss in a forthcoming article. At least one of these belongs to the same family.

<sup>8</sup> The identification of the king as Takeloth III on the basis of an epigraphic criterion—the writing of the name of Osiris with a pennant—has since been reinforced by wider studies: J. Yoyotte, 'Des lions et des chats. Contribution à la prosopographie de l'époque libyenne', *RdE* 39 (1988), 169-70, and D. Aston and J. Taylor, 'The Family of Takeloth III and the "Theban" Twenty-third Dynasty', in A. Leahy (ed.) *Libya and Egypt c1300-750 BC* (London, 1990), 132. The family tree is given on pp. 140-1 of the last work and the possible dates of Takeloth III are discussed on pp. 143-6.

<sup>9</sup> L.A. Christophe, *Karnak-Nord*, III (Cairo, 1951), 7: the name is read 'Espaneterꜥa-enzerhaure' in PM II<sup>2</sup>, 20.

<sup>10</sup> R.A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Rome, 1958), 134 vv. This epithet survives in four places in the text: C.11 and 17 both have ꜥ, A.28 does not, while C.19 is insufficiently preserved to tell; cf. R.A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum* (Providence, 1962), 7. *Wb.* V, 595, had already registered the variation in translating 'der (grosse) Gott seit Urbeginn'.

<sup>11</sup> H. De Meulenaere, 'Le vizir Harsîsis de la 30<sup>e</sup> Dynastie', *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 231 f. It is possible that writings of the epithet of Amun *p<sup>3</sup>-dr* with ꜥ for semitic *ayin* exerted a subconscious influence on the scribe here, although the extant examples are later than the date of the statue: see P. Vernus, 'Amon *p<sup>3</sup>-dr*: de la piété "populaire" à la spéculation théologique', *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron* (Cairo, 1979), I, 463-76, especially 463-70.

<sup>12</sup> It is also worth noting, as another probable example, the name encountered by Amélineau on ushabtis he found at Abydos and which he read as 'Nespanouterdjer': *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos 1895-1896* (Paris, 1899), 28.

<sup>13</sup> *PN* I, 175, 6; *Demot. Nb.* I, 669; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 150. It is not clear whether the name *Ns-p<sup>3</sup>-ntr...* in Gasse, *Données nouvelles*, 103, is complete.

fore.<sup>14</sup> The dedicator of the stela was a songstress of the interior of Amun, *Tꜣ-šrīt-i ḥ*,<sup>15</sup> daughter of a *Ns-pꜣ-ntr-n-dr-ꜥ*,<sup>16</sup> who held the titles of *mry ntr sš md(t) n pr ꜣImn*. The combination of the same unusual name as that of the son who dedicated the block statue, and a variant of the rare title which he and his father shared, suggests that the two are members of the same family. There are chronological difficulties in equating the two individuals, as the stela seems to date early in the Twenty-second Dynasty,<sup>17</sup> and so, pending more evidence, the father of the stela dedicator may be regarded as an ancestor of the block statue dedicator. The office of ‘scribe of the livestock of the temple of Amun’ would then have been in the same family for much of the Twenty-second Dynasty.

Although the Theban triad is depicted on the front, the principal religious interest of the statue lies in its invocation of Osiris, ‘residing in the Hut-Benu’, and the explicit statement that this shrine was at Thebes, alongside the invocation of Amun-Re ‘lord of the thrones of the two lands’. Although modern works of reference record Hut-Benu as a shrine and/or toponym in various parts of Egypt, surprisingly for such an eminent solar centre, Thebes is not one of them.<sup>18</sup> There is, however, evidence for the existence of such a shrine there in two, or perhaps three, other inscriptions from Karnak. The first is the last entry in the list of benefactions performed by prince Osorkon, in year 29 of Sheshonq III, recording a rededication of offerings to ‘Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands in Hut-Benu’.<sup>19</sup> The reading, it must be said, is not absolutely certain because the bird-hieroglyph is damaged. In his edition of the inscription, Caminos considered the possibility that it was a *ba*-bird but ‘tentatively’ opted for *bnw*, citing in support an inscription from Tanis with an identical description of the god.<sup>20</sup> Caminos did not discuss the location of the shrine mentioned in the Osorkon inscription, but Sauneron subsequently took it as a reference to the well-known exemplar of that name near Dendera.<sup>21</sup> However, most, if not all, of the pious acts recorded on Osorkon’s behalf concern Thebes itself,<sup>22</sup> and it is tempting to assume that it in fact refers to the sanctuary in which this statue was set up at Karnak. The cult at Tanis might then be a replica of the Theban one.

The second inscription is another unpublished statue from the Karnak cachette, but of fourth century or early Ptolemaic date, which commemorates a priest called Djeho, who was ‘prophet and *wab*-priest

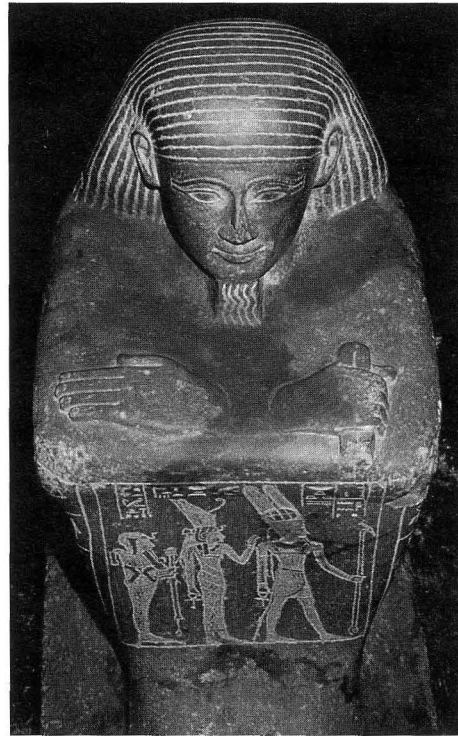


Fig.6. Cairo JE 36938, detail showing the hands resting on the drawn-up knees (courtesy of the Cairo Museum).

<sup>14</sup> E. 2043. The colour photograph of this stela in the new exhibition catalogue *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, ed. A.K. Capel and G.E. Markoe (New York, 1996), 164-5 no. 87, in fact shows that the line drawing published in J. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London, 1890), pl. xv, 2, is a very accurate copy of the stela. I am grateful to Denise Doxey of the University Museum, Philadelphia, for reference to this catalogue and to Diane Bergman of the Wilbour Library, Brooklyn Museum, for facilitating access to it.

<sup>15</sup> W. Spiegelberg, in Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 17, read *Ta-sherat*... M. Thirion, ‘Notes d’onomastique. Contribution à une révision du Ranke, *PN* [dixième série], *RdE* 46 (1995), 182, and Jansen-Winkel, *Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit*, 291, A/2.1.24, read *Tꜣ-šrīt-r ꜥ*, as does PM I<sup>2</sup>, 680, while Markoe in *Mistress of the House*, 165, suggests ‘Ta-sheryt-akhet’. In fact, the crucial hieroglyphs depict the full moon above the crescent moon. For *Tꜣ-šrīt-(nt)-i ḥ*, see *PN* I, 368, 9 (perhaps also 368, 8) and II, 396, discussed with further examples by Thirion, ‘Notes d’onomastique. Contribution à une révision du Ranke, *PN* [sixième série], *RdE* 39 (1988), 132, to which add Chicago Field Museum 31688 (P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 223.

<sup>16</sup> There are two horizontal lines after *Ns-pꜣ-ntr*.... The first seems not to be part of the text but to mark the bottom of the fillet dangling behind the woman’s head. The second, which resumes the name, is quite flat, so I take it as *n* rather than ꜥ. Thirion, *RdE* 46, 182, read *Ns-pꜣ-ntr-n-pꜣ-r ꜥ*.

<sup>17</sup> The stela is assigned to the reign of Osorkon I by Markoe, *Mistress of the House*, 165, on the basis of associated material, and its style seems to favour such a date.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. *Wb*. I, 458, 5, Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, IV, 66-7 and L. Kakosy, ‘Phönix’, *LÄ* IV, 1031. Nor is there any sign of it in the Greek documentation discussed by J. Quaegebeur, ‘Les appellations grecques des temples de Karnak’, *OLP* 6-7 (1975-76), 463-78.

<sup>19</sup> Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 149.

<sup>20</sup> P. Montet, ‘Inscriptions de Basse Époque trouvées à Tanis’, *Kémi* 8 (1946), pl. vii opposite p. 48. Cf. n.d. above.

<sup>21</sup> S. Sauneron, ‘Amon-Rê’ du Château du Phénix’, *BIFAO* 64 (1966), 187-9, reprinted in S. Sauneron, *Villes et légendes d’Égypte*, second edition, (Cairo, 1983), 87-8.

<sup>22</sup> Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 179-80.

of Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the two lands in the Hut-Benu', again exactly the same formulation.<sup>23</sup> The third is another block statue from the Karnak cachette, on which the speech of the priest Bakenkhonsu includes the statement that he made a report about his son and heir 'to the phoenix'.<sup>24</sup> No further detail is provided, but a shrine within the temple complex at Karnak would be a convenient location for the delivery of such a report. Precisely where in the precinct the Hut-Benu might have stood is difficult to say. The text simply says that it was near (*m-sꜣht*) the *hnty* of Amun. If this term (n.g. above) is to be taken in its fundamental sense of 'what is in front', it might refer to the hypostyle hall, the first court, or perhaps even a chapel outside the first pylon. The precise nuance of *m-sꜣht* is impossible to gauge, and a location in the area of Osiris chapels north of the hypostyle hall is therefore a possibility.

The evidence thus identifies Amun-Re, solar deity, as having a primary role and Osiris, god of resurrection, a secondary one, in the Hut-Benu in which Penoupoqer placed his father's statue. The names of father and son testify to the family's allegiance to precisely these two deities, while the names of the grandfather and the ancestor mentioned on the Philadelphia stela record a devotion to the moon cult, which continued to be popular at Thebes.<sup>25</sup> The activities of Penoupoqer can be divided into three groups. His priestly titles—god's father, beloved of the god and opener of the doors of heaven in Karnak—identify him as one privileged of access to the innermost parts of the temple.<sup>26</sup> Secondly, he had an important economic and administrative role as deputy of the treasury of the temple of Amun and scribe (of the livestock) of the divine offerings of the temple of Amun. While the title *sꜣ htp-nꜥr n pr ꜥmn*, given to Penoupoqer in text B, is well-attested, the form *sꜣ n md(t) htp-nꜥr n pr ꜥmn*, recorded for him and his son elsewhere in the inscription, is not. Although the Philadelphia stela cited above presents a further variant in the form of *sꜣ md(t) n pr ꜥmn*, all can confidently be regarded as renderings of the same title. *tꜣ md(t) n pr ꜥmn* is mentioned as the source of offerings to be made by the high priest of Amun in the autobiographical text of Osorkon on the Bubastite Portal.<sup>27</sup> The conventional English translation of *md(t)* as 'stable' does not perhaps adequately convey the sense. If *htp-nꜥr* is here understood in the broad sense of all the agricultural lands which provided divine offerings for Amun,<sup>28</sup> then the *md(t)* should designate that subdivision of that domain concerned specifically with animals and their pasturage. Finally a connection with the royal court is claimed, both in the initial statement that the statue was a gift of the king, and in the description of Penoupoqer as 'the eyes of the king of Upper Egypt and the ears of the king of Lower Egypt'. How many of these offices had been passed on to Penoupoqer by his father cannot at present be known, since the fact that no titles are ascribed to Iahweben in this text, in which he is a peripheral figure, is not a safe guide to the ancient reality. At the time he dedicated the statue, Nespanetjeraendjera is recorded as having inherited only some of his father's titles, although here too the presentation may be less than full. Nonetheless, the broad range of offices which Penoupoqer held laid the foundation for some of his descendants to rise to still higher status, as noted above.



Fig. 7. Cairo JE 36938, detail (courtesy of the Cairo Museum).

<sup>23</sup> Cairo T. 8.12.24.5, PM II<sup>2</sup>, 159. This is my reading, based on the Temporary Catalogue entry: I have not seen the statue.

<sup>24</sup> Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien*, 102 n. 20, 484.

<sup>25</sup> Both names, Iahweben and Tasheritiah, occur on the early Twenty-second Dynasty 'stèle de l'apanage' from Thebes: G. Legrain, 'Deux stèles trouvées à Karnak en février 1897', *ZAS* 35 (1897), 13 line 14 and 15 line 15. For Iah in personal names in the Theban region in earlier times, see Thirion, *RdE* 39, 132, and for the period of this statue, Gasse, *Données nouvelles*, 200. For Iah-names generally, Thirion, *RdE* 39, 139-42.

<sup>26</sup> J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIII<sup>es</sup> dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon* (Leuven, 1989), 251-2.

<sup>27</sup> Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 222 (C. 18).

<sup>28</sup> J.-M. Kruchten, *Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose* (Brussels, 1986), 185.