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ROSE AND ALEISTER CROWLEY'S STAY IN EGYPT IN 1904
A STUDY OF THE CAIRO WORKING
AND WHAT IT LED TO

BY
PERDURABO ST



FRATER PERDURABO, to whom this revelation was made with so many signs and wonders, was himself unconvinced. He struggled against it for years. Not until the completion of His own initiation at the end of 1909 did He understand how perfectly He was bound to carry out this work. (Indeed, it was not until his word became conterminous with Himself and His Universe that all alien ideas lost their meaning for him). Again and again He turned away from it, took it up for a few days or hours, then laid it aside. He even attempted to destroy its value, to nullify the result. Again and again the unsleeping might of the Watchers drove Him back to the work; and it was at the very moment when He thought Himself to have escaped that He found Himself fixed for ever with no possibility of again turning aside for the fraction of a second from the path.

The history of this must one day be told by a more vivid voice. Properly considered, it is a history of continuous miracle.

THE EQUINOX OF THE GODS, 1936 E.V.

Let us return to the stele and its owner Ankh-af-na-khonsu. Above his image are found five short, vertical lines of hieroglyphs which read:



*The buried, the Prophet of Mentu, Lord of Thebes, the Opener of the Doors of the Heaven in 'the-most-select-of-places' (i.e. Ipet-sut, the Karnak Temple), Ankh-f-n-khonsu, justified.*⁴⁵⁸⁴

I have taken the liberty of translating this myself (1904 E.V. version), since it has a particular meaning, which I would like to point at. In the translations of the stele which have been mentioned until now the word *Ipt-swt*, or, *Ipt-iswt*, is translated either as Thebes or Karnak without any further explanation. But the meaning of this compound word is 'the-most-select-of-places' and the name given to the Temple of Karnak, which was Amun's temple⁴⁵⁸⁵, and further, the words "opener of the doors of the heaven in *Ipet-sut*" are a priestly title! One section of Waset or Thebes was called *Ipt-swt*, *Ipet-sut*, 'the-most-select-of-places' – the Karnak Temple (see Figure 46) – and together with its sister temple *Ipt rsyt*, *Ipet-resyt*, 'the-southern-place' – the Luxor Temple (see Figure 45) – composed the greatest temple complex in Egypt. The temples of Karnak were connected with the main temple in Luxor by a paved avenue of sphinxes. We have here a priestly title giving a specific geographical locale in which Ankh-af-na-khonsu was working, namely the Temple of Karnak and neighbouring to the North was the Temple of Mentu where he held the office of 'Prophet of Mentu'!

'Opener of the Doors of the Heaven (or Sky) in *Ipet-sut*'⁴⁵⁸⁶ was a priestly title belonging to the higher priesthood in Thebes. Neither the museum translations from 1904 E.V. nor the 'Gardiner-Gunn Translation' nor Abd el Hamid Zayed in his publication of the stele make no direct mention of these words as being the name of a higher priestly office found in Karnak. The 'Gardiner-Gunn Translation' has "Opener of the doors of Nut in Karnak", and Zayed has "opener of the doors of the sky (i.e. the chapel) in *Ipet-iswt*".⁴⁵⁸⁷ In the New Kingdom it was the distinctive title of the High Priest of

⁴⁵⁸⁴ The five lines of hieroglyphs translated here make up section "[C]" on the 'Obverse' of the Stèle of Revealing. • For this see: ΘΕΛΗΜΑ . The Holy Books of THELEMA. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, Appendix A, The Stèle of Revealing, pp. 233-60. • See also note ⁴⁶²⁶ below. • For the dividing of the stele's hieroglyphic texts into sections, see note ⁴⁵⁴¹ above.

⁴⁵⁸⁵ Raymond O. Faulkner. A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian. Oxford, UK: Griffith Institute, 1962, p. 16. ♦ Sir Alan Gardiner. Egyptian Grammar. Third edition. Oxford, UK: Griffith Institute, 1957, p. 553. ♦ Gardiner has "*Ipt-swt*, Most-select-of-Places, name of the temple of Karnak."

⁴⁵⁸⁶ *wn ʕwy nw pt m Ipt-swt* (Stele, Obverse [B]) • *it-(ntr-)mrj-ntr wn-ʕwj nw pt m Ipt-swt* [i.e. God's Father, beloved of God, Opener of the doors of the Heaven in *Ipet-sut*] ♦ Günther [Günter] Vittmann. Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie. Wien: Afro-Pub, 1978, p. 59. (2.16; Übersicht über die Titel der Angehörigen der Bś-n-Mwt-familie, pp. 59-61.) • Also *wn ʕwj(n) pt* ["Opener of the Gate of Heaven"] in: Temples of Ancient Egypt. Edited by Byron E. Shafer, Dieter Arnold, Gerhard Haeny, Lanny Bell and Ragnhild Bjerre Finnestad. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997, p. 13. (1. Temples, Priests, and Rituals: An Overview; By Byron E. Shafer – Priests, pp. 9-18.) • See also note ⁴⁵⁹² • For the title *it-ntr*, 'God's Father', see note ⁴⁶³² below.

⁴⁵⁸⁷ The 'Gardiner-Gunn Translation' has: "Osiris, the Priest of Montu, Lord of Thebes, Opener of the doors of Nut in Karnak, Ankh-f-n-Khonsu, the Justified." ♦ TSK1912, pp. 369-71. (STÉLÉ OF ANKH-F-NA-KHONSU. [THE GARDINER-GUNN TRANSLATION], Obverse. Topmost Register) ♦ Also ΘΕΛΗΜΑ . The Holy Books of THELEMA. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, p. 253. (Appendix A, The Stèle of Revealing, pp. 233-60.) • Zayed has: "The Osiris, the priest of Month, lord of Thebes, opener of the doors of the sky (i.e. the chapel) in *Ipet-iswt*, Ankh-ef-en-Khons, justified". Revue d'égyptologie. Publiée par la Société française d'égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie Nationale. ♦ Tome 20, 1968, p. 151. (Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid



FIGURE 46. The main entrance of the Temple of Amun at Karnak

1930s photograph showing the main entrance of *Ipt-sw*, *Ipet-sut*, 'the-most-select-of-places', which was the name of Amun's temple at Karnak. In front of the picture is the avenue of ram-headed sphinxes that leads to the First Pylon. Just west of the avenue is the River Nile where a quay gave access to the temple. The temple consists of a main axis running from west to east through six great pylons leading to the main sanctuary. It was in the main sanctuary that Ankh-af-na-khonsu held the high office of 'Opener of the Doors of the Heaven in *Ipet-sut*', which shows that he belonged to the small group of priests at the very top of the cult at Thebes. The priestly outfit that he is wearing on the Stélé of Revealing very likely belongs to this office. At the rear of the temple was the Festival Temple of Thutmose III and on its roof the Ra-temple – the so-called 'High Room of the Sun' – where Ankh-af-na-khonsu at one time served, like his father had done, likely as priest-astronomer. Behind the Festival Temple, situated to the east and a little less than half a kilometre away from the main entrance to the west, stood the tallest obelisk known to have been erected in Egypt, and it has been suggested owing to its height and exact location that anybody standing at the main entrance could see the rising sun of the winter solstice appear behind it. © Black and white photograph from the author's collection.

Karnak, however, it was a title linked specifically with the High Priests of Amun, but as seen not exclusively, and when found belonging to non-High Priests always indicating a high-ranking person.⁴⁵⁸⁸ A prophet of Amun and Royal Secretary (lit., 'Letter-writer of Pharaoh'), Nebneteru iii, from the reign of Osorkon II in the middle of the twenty-second dynasty tells on a seated statue that he was appointed to 'Opener of the Doors of Heaven' by Amun, and that this resulted in that he saw the god's visible form which was in the horizon.⁴⁵⁸⁹ We must bear in mind that the god's name *Imn*, Amun, means 'the hidden one' or 'the secret one' and that he thus was invisible and silent, and as the myth stated had a true name, which was unknown like his unknowable essence. However, in his fusion with the sun-god, Re, he becomes Amun-Re, and thus also visible and revealed. But to behold the invisible god's visible form in the heaven's horizon were of course secrets only for the chosen few, and presumably far more than just to open the doors of the heaven and behold the cult statue – in this respect, compare the 'Opening of the Mouth' ritual, the very important ancient ritual, which was performed on cult statues of gods, kings, private individuals, as well as on the mummies, with the title 'Opener of the Doors of Heaven' – in my opinion, there is an obvious connection here pointing to some of the secret functions of the office of 'Opener of the Doors of Heaven'! The ceremony of Opening the Mouth was a magical act that returned to the deceased the use of his or hers senses – not only to open the mouth, but also restore the other senses to life. The main axis of Ipet-sut runs from west to east through six great pylons leading to the main sanctuary. In Guide1903 we find the following description of the Temple of Karnak, and whom among the priests that were admitted to the innermost part of this temple:

*The entrance to the first court was easy. In to the second, the Hall ouaskhit (usekht), the bearers of offerings were permitted to enter, but were kept at a distance while the formulæ of consecration were being pronounced. The doors beyond, which gave access to Heaven, a Hall whose walls, being lined with electrum, reflected the light of the torches like Heaven itself, were opened only to the privileged few, but some of our priests of Amon boasted the right to open the doors of the Heaven of Karnak.*⁴⁵⁹⁰

Further concerning this third hall of the temple is also found:

*We know, by a text from the tomb of Rekhmara, that this lining [of the walls of Heaven] of gold and electrum was made out of the spoils brought from Syria by the Pharaoh Thothmôsis III, and was so magnificent that it was like the horizon of Heaven.*⁴⁵⁹¹

Zayed, pp. 149-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B) • The two museum translations have in English the following translations: "Osiris (the deceased) | slave of god (prophet) | Mentu | Lord | Thebes | opening | the doors | of | sky | in Thebes (Karnak)" – "The deceased, prophet of Mentou, lord of Thebes, the one for whom the doors of the sky are Opened in Thebes, Ankh-f-n-khonsu." Ibid., pp. 241; 248.

⁴⁵⁸⁸ See: Temples of Ancient Egypt. Edited by Byron E. Shafer, Dieter Arnold, Gerhard Haeny, Lanny Bell and Ragnhild Bjerre Finnestad. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997, p. 13. (1. Temples, Priests, and Rituals: An Overview; By Byron E. Shafer, pp. 1-30.) • The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. London, UK: Egypt Exploration Society, Vol. XXV, Part I, 1939, p. 248. • Serge Sauneron. The Priests of Ancient Egypt. New augmented edition. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000, p. 59. (3. The World of the Temple – Cult Personnel, pp. 57-60.)

⁴⁵⁸⁹ See: Karl Jansen-Winkel. Ägyptische Biographien der 22. Und 23. Dynastie. (Ägypten und altes testament, Bd. 8/1 & 8/2) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985. Teil I, p. 119; Teil II, p. 495. (Inscription on statue, Kairo CG 42225)

⁴⁵⁹⁰ I.e. that a few of the exhibited sarcophagi and coffins of the priests of Amon bore this title. (№ 1150, № 1160 & № 1166) Guide1903, pp. 221-2. • See note⁴⁵⁹² below.

⁴⁵⁹¹ Ibid., p. 230. (№ 1150)

The title 'Opener of the Doors of the Heaven in Ipet-sut' is also found three times on Ankh-af-na-khonsu's smaller sarcophagus (CGC 41.001 bis).⁴⁵⁹² I find it very likely that the priestly outfit he wears on the stele belongs to this specific office. It has been stated that a coffin in Louvre (E.10374) is Besenmut i's coffin, and if this is right then Ankh-af-na-khonsu's father also bore the title of 'Opener of the doors of the heaven in Ipet-sut'.⁴⁵⁹³ However, Besenmut seems not to have been a prophet of Mentu.⁴⁵⁹⁴ Statistics tells that at the time of Ramesses III (1198-1166 BCE) in the twentieth dynasty, the cult complex in Karnak had a staff of over 80,000 (male personnel) – at the time of Ankhefenkhons i it must, of course, have been much lower. This is many people also compared to the cults of Heliopolis and Memphis, which in the twentieth dynasty had around 12,000 and 3,000, respectively.⁴⁵⁹⁵ We must assume, I think, that Ankh-af-na-khonsu probably was in his thirties when he received the office of 'Opener of the Doors of the Heaven in Ipet-sut', a title which probably only one or two priests bore. The mean duration of life for a priest belonging to the Egyptian elite was probably about forty years. 'Opener of the Doors of the Heaven in Ipet-sut' was an office connected with the holiest part of the temple, the Heaven, the domain of the High Priest and the King and the High Priest was usually a son of the King. It is evident that a holder of this office has belonged to the small group at the very top of the priestly hierarchy at Thebes.⁴⁵⁹⁶ During certain holidays the image of the god was brought forth from the shrine for view and worship by the people. The temple was not the gathering place for common worship, and the daily cult and its rituals were celebrated as a mystery, within the temple, and only parts of its rituals are known. Through the performance of the daily ritual the deity was imbued with new life, purified, anointed, clothed, and presented with the figure of the goddess Maat as a symbol of universal order. The chanting of hymns to Amun-Ra was an essential component of the ritual. I am convinced that the designation "opener of the doors of the heaven" has a deeper meaning than doors leading to the holiest, or doors revealing the god's statue, as mentioned above. It probably conceals the secrets of how the god became visible by opening the doors of heaven, or Nut, passing through them and appearing in the horizon, and the Opener of the Doors of the Heaven would then be the priest whose office it was to performed the ritual of opening the doors of the sky for the god that

⁴⁵⁹² Alexandre Moret. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à l'époque saïte. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1913. ♦ Vol. I., pp. 23; 34; 36. (Catal. du Musée, № 41001 bis.). ♦ « Celui qui ouvre les deux portes du ciel dans Karnak » (He who opens the two Doors of Heaven in Karnak). Ibid., p. 325. ♦ Two other priests from the large 1858 find also bore this title as found on their sarcophagi, № 41011 and № 41021 and both were descendants of Ankh-af-na-khonsu. ♦ See also note⁴⁵⁹⁰ above, and note⁴⁶⁰⁰ and note⁴⁶²⁶ below.

⁴⁵⁹³ For this see: Günther [Günter] Vittmann. Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie. Wien: Afro-Pub, 1978, pp. 19-20. (2.5; Die Familie Bś-n-Mwt's I., pp. 18-20) ♦ Karl Jansen-Winkel. Inschriften der Spätzeit. Teil I-IV (5 vols.). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co., 2007-14. ♦ Teil III: Die 25. Dynastie (2009), p. 414 (142.). (Familie Besenmut (142.-178.), pp. 414-46.)

⁴⁵⁹⁴ Günther [Günter] Vittmann. Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie. Wien: Afro-Pub, 1978, p. 19. (2.5; Die Familie Bś-n-Mwt's I., pp. 18-20) ♦ See also note⁵²⁷ above.

⁴⁵⁹⁵ See: Temples of Ancient Egypt. Edited by Byron E. Shafer, Dieter Arnold, Gerhard Haeny, Lanny Bell and Ragnhild Bjerre Finnestad. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997, pp. 15-6. (1. Temples, Priests, and Rituals: An Overview; By Byron E. Shafer – Priests, pp. 9-18.)

⁴⁵⁹⁶ The Chief Lector-priest was in Egyptian *hry-hbt hry-tp* ♦ In the Middle Kingdom is found some indication of the priests relative rank when looking on their payment. Here the Chief Priest (High Priest) was the highest-paid followed by the Chief Lector-priest. ♦ See: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 3., p. 72.

he could manifest himself in the horizon. The god's visible appearance in the horizon is perhaps also the key to his oracle – an oracle which principally were consulted on matters of state, and which had become a powerful political instrument in the hands of Amun's clergy – since the god's visible appearance in the horizon could have given rise to 'visible' words from *'the hidden one'*. I have a strong impression that the tasks of the office of Opener of the Doors of Heaven in some respects were synonymous with those of the Chief Lector-priest and his 'Tahuti' functions, and most probably also had to do with the oracle of Amun. I imagine that the *'Opener of the Doors of the Heaven'* has acted like Tahuti and communicated with Amun-Re, the Lord of Gods, delivering his messages. When we find Nebneteru iii, mentioned above, telling us that he was appointed to Opener of the Doors of Heaven by Amun, and that this resulted in that he saw the god's visible form, which was in the 'horizon', then it probably meant that he had entered the Heaven, the holiest, and heard the 'voice' of the god, probably transmitted by the High Priest (Harsiese A, son of king Sheshonq II), revealing his will appointing him to the office, and seen his secret manifestation in the 'horizon'. His appointment took place only a little more than a century before Ankh-af-na-khonsu flourished under Sheshonq V.⁴⁵⁹⁷ The power of the Amun priests culminated in the twenty-first dynasty when the high priest and general Pinudjem obtained Pharaonic titles as local king in Thebes, and was succeeded, in turn, by his three sons. After the twenty-first dynasty the kings put an end to the independence of the Theban clergy, and the power of the priesthood of Amun declined. When we find a Prophet of Mentu in an important office normally belonging to the high priests of Amun, then it clearly reflects this, and I think that there is reason to believe that Ankh-af-na-khonsu probably had been suggested to this office by the Pharaoh himself. As mentioned above, the death of Ankh-af-na-khonsu took probably place c. 700-675 BCE in the late twenty-fifth dynasty, and perhaps took his appointment as *'Opener of the Doors of the Heaven'* place during a period of 30 years, 734-704 BCE, where the office of high priest of Amun at Thebes may have been left vacant since there is no attested pontiff.⁴⁵⁹⁸ After these 30 years the office, 704-660 BCE, belonged to Haremakhet, son of King Shabako.⁴⁵⁹⁹ It is probably of importance that Ankh-af-na-khonsu as Prophet of Mentu belonged to the priesthood of the old state god Mentu, who was made state god before Amun by Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, the king who made Thebes the capital of a re-united Egypt, and thus founded the Middle Kingdom. Maybe this choice of a Prophet of Mentu, the old war god of Thebes in whose temple oracles also were delivered from time to time, was deliberated done by the Pharaoh. It is important to notice that the title of *'Opener of the Doors of the Heaven (or Sky) in Ipet-sut'* not is present on Ankh-af-na-khonsu's coffins, but, as mentioned, is found three times on his smaller sarcophagus (CGC 41.001 bis).⁴⁶⁰⁰ This has a meaning, and it probably indicates that he received the office at a time when his inner coffin, or 'egg', already was ordered, and probably already made. I think we can conclude that his smaller sarcophagus and his

⁴⁵⁹⁷ See note⁵¹³ above.

⁴⁵⁹⁸ K. A. Kitchen. *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*. 2nd edition with supplement. Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1986, pp. 564-5; 594. (3rd edition. Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1995.) • Before this the office had belonged to Osorkon F, presumably a son of Takeloth III, from 754-734 BCE and his father Takeloth, son of Osorkon III, who became king Takeloth III, from 765-754 BCE. From 775-765 BCE an unattested pontiff? • Ibid., pp. 480; 564-5; 594. • For Ankh-af-na-khonsu's death 700-675 BCE, see note⁵¹⁸ above.

⁴⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 480.

⁴⁶⁰⁰ Alexandre Moret. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à l'époque saïte*. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1913. • Vol. I., pp. 23 (41.001 bis. Couvercle); 34 (41.001 bis. Côte 3); 36 (41.001 bis. Côte 4) (*Catal. du Musée No 41001 bis.*) • Vol. II., Pl. III. (41.001 bis. Couvercle.) • Ibid., Pl. VI. (41.001 bis. Côte 3.) • Ibid., Pl. VI. (41.001 bis. Côte 4.)

stele were made late in his life, and that his inner coffin likely was ordered and paid for years before his death, and, as I shall discuss later, some element in the design of his inner coffin appears to be rare for the period in which his death took place.⁴⁶⁰¹

I find that the name of the Karnak temple, Ipet-sut, '*the-most-select-of-places*', evoke associations to the gates of heaven (πύλαι οὐρανοῦ, pulai ouranou) mentioned in the *Iliad* (5.749; 8.393), gates located close to the highest peak of Olympus. Interestingly, concerning the title '*Opener of the Doors of the Heaven*', I also notice that in 1852 the English businessman, Egyptologist, philanthropist, and translator of the Bible Samuel Sharpe (1799-1881), wrote in a new edition of his two-volume work *The History of Egypt*:

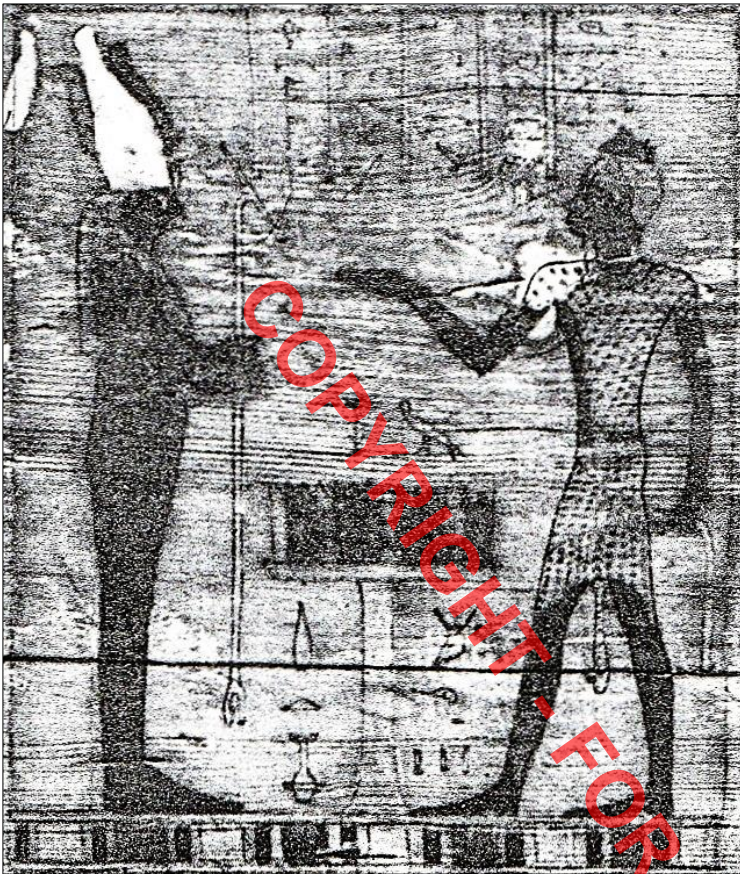
*Two thousand years before the bishop of Rome pretended to hold the keys of heaven and hell, there was an Egyptian priest with the high-sounding title of Appointed Keeper of the two doors of heaven in the city of Thebes.*⁴⁶⁰²

Sharpe had, among other places, found the title on a mummy case of an Egyptian priest whose mummy was unwrapped before a large audience in London in 1836, and whose coffins Sharpe published a description of in 1858.⁴⁶⁰³

⁴⁶⁰¹ See note⁴⁶⁶¹ below.

⁴⁶⁰² Samuel Sharpe. *The History of Egypt; From the Earliest Times Till the Conquest By the Arabs A.D. 640*. 2 vols. The Third Edition. London, UK: Edward Moxon, 1852. ♦ Vol. II, p. 273. (Chapter XVII. *The reigns of Theodosius I., Arcadius, and Theodosius II. A.D. 379-450.*, pp. 269-95.) ♦ See also: Samuel Sharpe. *Egyptian Hieroglyphics; Being an attempt to explain their nature, origin, and meaning. With a Vocabulary*. London, UK: Edward Moxon, 1861, pp. 126 (No. 1187); Plate XX (No. 1187). (*Vocabulary*, pp. [39]-181.)

⁴⁶⁰³ The Triple Mummy Case of AROERI-AO; an Egyptian Priest; In Dr. Lee's Museum at Hartwell House, Buckinghamshire. Drawn by Joseph Bonomi and Described by Samuel Sharpe: Published for the Syro-Egyptian Society of London. London, UK: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858, p. 23. (*The Outside of the Inner Case (Plates 6 and 7).*, pp. 21-3.)



On one of the rectangular end panels (left) of the exterior of his great sarcophagus, CGC 41.001, Ankh-af-na-khonsu is seen depicted in a scene, which in some ways resembles the one on his stele.⁴⁶⁰⁴ Here he is seen with an offering table before Re-Horakhty (𓇓𓇓𓇓𓇓, *hr-3hty*, Hor-akhty), 'master of the gods' (𓇓𓇓𓇓𓇓, *hry ntrw*) – the "Ra-Hoor-Khuit" of *Liber L vel Legis*! On the offering table are bread, beer, cattle and fowl – above the table and its offerings is written 'a thousand of' (𓇓𓇓, *h3 m*). The green-skinned god, represented as a hawk-headed mummy, holds a *w3s*, was, sceptre (𓇓) with both hands. His osirian character is further emphasized by a white *3tf*, atef, crown with green feathers that he is wearing – a combination of the crown of double plumes and the Upper Egyptian crown worn predominantly

by Osiris. Wooden stelae from this period sometimes have double scenes with the deceased before both Osiris and Re-Horakhty, but here the two gods have been transformed into a hawk-headed bandaged mummy – it is this world, the two lands, 'the rushes and the bee', combined with the Otherworld! As Abd el Hamid Zayed wrote on publishing Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele:

*A very interesting point about these stelae is the evidence they afford for the religious views of the period. Most noteworthy is the identification of the form of Rā-Horakhty with Sokar-Osiris.*⁴⁶⁰⁵

The red-skinned Ankh-af-na-khonsu, who like on the stele is styled 'Prophet of Montu, Lord of Thebes', is seen making the 'gesture of declamation' with his right hand, the gesture discussed above.⁴⁶⁰⁶ His head is shaven. On top of his head is a green and red perfume-cone. He wears a

⁴⁶⁰⁴ Alexandre Moret. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque saïte. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1913. ♦ Vol. I, pp. 7-8. (Côté 1; 8. – Panneau rectangulaire (Pl. I.))(Sarcophage 41001; CUVE, pp. 6-22.) ♦ Ibid. ♦ Vol. II, Pl. I; Catal. du Musée № 41001. Côté 1.

⁴⁶⁰⁵ Revue d'égyptologie. Publiée par la Société française d'égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie National. ♦ Tome 20, 1968, p. 150. (Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid Zayed, pp. 149-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B)

⁴⁶⁰⁶ « Le défunt est debout (chairs rouges), faisant de la main droite le geste du proscynème. Tête rase, avec bonnet (cône) fleuri vert et rouge. On ne distingue de son costume que la peau de panthère (jaune mouchetée de noir) dont il tient la queue avec la main gauche. Ceinture blanche, collier vert. » ♦ Alexandre Moret. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque saïte. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1913. ♦ Vol. I, p. 7. (Côté 1; 8. – Panneau rectangulaire (Pl. I.))(Sarcophage 41001; CUVE, pp. 6-22.) ♦ For the 'gesture of declamation', see note⁴⁵⁵⁴ above.

leopard-skin mantle (no linen robe, or kilt, seen beneath it, as on the stele), yellow speckled black, and holds its tail [? (stated by Moret), or perhaps a part of the belt?⁴⁶⁰⁷] with his left hand. He has a white belt and a green collar. However, an important difference between Ankh-af-na-khonsu on his stele and on this picture, is that he not wears the narrow, white stole of the Lector-priest, together with the leopard-skin mantle, which I, as stated above, link with his office as 'Opener of the Doors of the Heaven in Ipet-sut'.

Other titles found on Ankh-af-na-khonsu's sarcophagi show that he at one time also held some other offices in the cult of Amun(-Ra). As seen on his great sarcophagus, he bore like his father the title of "*Chef du sanctuaire du temple d'Amon*"⁴⁶⁰⁸, i.e. *Overseer of the Sanctuary of the Temple of Amun*, and on the stele of his son Besenmut ii⁴⁶⁰⁹ are his titles given as: *Prophet of Mentu; Overseer of the Sanctuary of the Temple of Amun; Supervisor of the 2nd Phyle (of priests)*.⁴⁶¹⁰ The mention of only these titles suggest, I think, that Besenmut ii probably died young. Further found on Ankh-af-na-khonsu's great sarcophagus is the title and office of: "*Prêtre de service du mois du temple d'Amon*", i.e. *Priest of service of the month of the Temple of Amon*.⁴⁶¹¹ Characteristic of many priests of Mentu were that they served both Amun(-Ra) and Mentu, and that these offices to some extent were of administrative character rather than connected directly with performance of rituals. It was strictly speaking the Pharaoh who could choose a priest to an office, but at the time when Ankh-af-na-khonsu and his family flourished the priestly offices were mostly inherited among members of several large families.

Speaking of doors, it is important to notice that doors in many contexts could be seen as obstacles to the afterlife, and these obstacles could of course be managed in the House of God, in the temple, by use of the appropriate spells and rituals, and then instead of an obstacle it would turn into an eternal advantage for the buried. The false door and the so-called false door façade are often found used as decoration on coffins and sarcophagi and gave the buried a way out of his 'house' into the world of the living, the day and the sunshine, and a way back. A certification of a successful afterlife for the deceased was as seen above especially a challenge for the Lector-priest, the Ritualist! To die was symbolic a stepping over that limit, or threshold, between life and death, which was the place where the door was located. Two worlds or universes with different laws and

⁴⁶⁰⁷ Compare with the drawing of the priest on Fig. 28. • Ibid. • Vol. II, p. 215. (N° 41021, pp. 208-19.)

⁴⁶⁰⁸ Ibid. • Vol. I, p. 14. (*Inscription verticale. Côté 1., 2.*) • Vol. II, p. 327. (« *Chef du sanctuaire du temple d'Amon* » [*tp-ḥwt pr-lmn*] ») (INDEX III. TITRES ET FONCTIONS, pp. 325-7.) • See also note⁵⁵¹ above.

⁴⁶⁰⁹ Bš-mwt.

⁴⁶¹⁰ ḥm ntr Mntw-nb-W3st, jmj jb.f pr Jmn, ḥrj 2.s3, on Stele Kairo A 9919. • Peter Munro. Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen. Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1973, Textband, p. 16. • The same titles are found on the stele (Wien 5073) of his son Hahat ii (H3ḥ3t) whom he got with Muthetepi ii (Mwt-ḥtpj). Ibid., p. 17 and Tafelband, Tafel 5, abb. 17. Also his son Nesamun ii (Nš-r-jmn) whom he had with his other wife Neskhonsi (Nš-ḥnšw) had the same titles. Nesamun ii owns the stele Kairo A 9900 and the sarcophagi (CGC) 41044, 41045 and 41002. Ibid., p. 201 and Tafelband, Tafel 4, abb. 16. Also in: *Revue d'égyptologie. Publiée par la Société française d'égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie National. • Tome 20, 1968, pp. 166-8. Pl. 15, B. (Stela № XIII). (Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid Zayed, pp. 149-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B) For a general view see: M. L. Bierbrier. The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.): A Genealogical Chronological Investigation. (Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies) Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1975, pp. 92-3, note²³³ on p. 139. See note⁵⁵¹ above. • For "*Supervisor of the 2nd Phyle (of priest.)*", see note⁵⁴⁴ above. • For a discussion on the stele of Hahat ii, see note above. • For a discussion on the stele of Nesamun ii, see note⁷³³ above.*

⁴⁶¹¹ Alexandre Moret. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque saïte. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1913. • Vol. I., pp. 14; 325. (*Catal. du Musée, № 41001*)

manners, which needed a good guide, especially when crossing the boundary through its doors – the doors to the sky, or Nuit, and therefore also the doors to the underworld, which seen on the whole was the journey of Ra, the Sun.

As seen above then I use the translation “*the buried*” as a principal rule instead of ‘the dead’, or ‘the deceased’, in translations of hieroglyphic texts. I believe that ‘the buried’ happens to be more authentic, since it was through the funeral, its rituals & funeral equipment, that the hope was for the dead person and the afterlife – and as the ancient Egyptians well knew then it was easy to die, but not easy to secure a proper afterlife. So ‘the deceased’ was only ‘the dead’ for a short time until he or she permanently after the completion of the funeral received the somewhat more secure and hopeful designation of ‘the buried’! To the ancient Egyptians endurance was the keyword, to be able to endure like the gods whose flesh they said was gold, and whose bones were silver. Perhaps Perdurabo knew this fact about the ancient Egyptians when he chose his name! The bright colour of gold did not change with time since it was an incorruptible metal, and was of course the light of the sun, and also synonymous with truth. However, silver oxidized and became black just like the night and the otherworld. So the gods were a mixture of light and darkness and endured since light was their incorruptible truth, which was the foundation of their world, and this was proved every day by the everlasting return of Ra to the land of the living, and the otherworld. Endurance was the motto for the ancient Egyptians just like it was for Frater Perdurabo!