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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.



FIGURE 1. & 2. *Musée de Boulâq*

Two 19th-century French photographs showing Auguste Mariette's 'Musée de Boulâq' on the river bank of the Nile. The museum opened in 1863 in a rebuild building, which had been the ancient office of a River Nile transportation firm. In 1889 the collection was transferred to a palace of Ismail Pasha at Gizeh, which became the Gizeh Museum. Top (Figure 1.): 'Entrance of the Boulâq Museum'. Bottom (Figure 2.): 'Transportation to Kasr el-Nil of the foundation-stone – taken from the old Boulâq Museum – to the new Cairo Museum'. The stone was laid on Thursday, April 1, 1897, by the Khedive. © From the author's collection.



FIGURE 3. *Musée de Gizeh c. 1889*

The Gizeh Museum opened in 1890 in a huge former palace of Ismail Pasha built for his harem on the left bank of the River Nile, opposite the island of Rôda, and just below the village of Gizeh. This picture is probably taken shortly after the Boulak collection's transfer to the palace. Seen here is a part of the facade facing away from the River Nile. Sitting at the tree is probably the museum's keeper Émile Charles Adalbert Brugsch together with his two assistant keepers, to the right probably the French born George Émil Jules Daressy, and to the left the Egyptian born Ahmed Kamal. The museum's first catalogue, published in 1892 by E. Grébaut and G. Daressy, stated that the stele '666' of 'Ankhefenkhonsou', priest of Mentu, was exhibited in 'Salle 59' on the museum's first floor, the first mentioning of the "*stélé of revealing*" in a museum catalogue. In 1902 the Gizeh Museum's collection was transferred to the new Cairo Museum at Kasr en-Nil. It was the Cairo Museum's keeper Émile Brugsch Bey that arranged for the replica of the stele that Crowley commissioned at the museum in 1904 E.V., and his French assistant curator, as Crowley wrote, who at that time still was G. Daressy, supplied the translations of the hieroglyphic texts on the stele. Tirage bleuté from c. 1889 by unknown French (?) photographer. © From the author's collection.

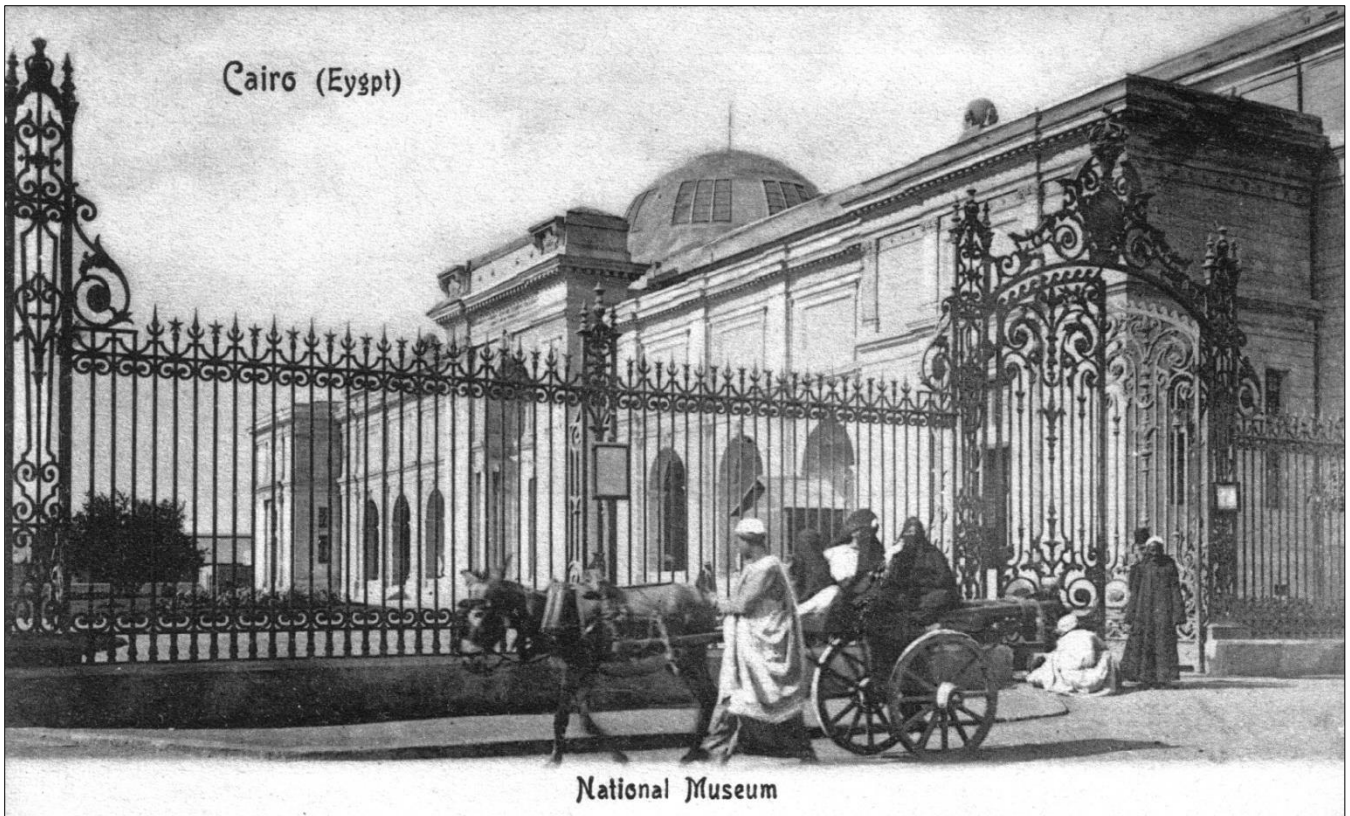


FIGURE 4. *Cairo - National Museum*

Photograph of a newly built Cairo Museum at Kasr el-Nil – today's Tahrir Square. The museum was inaugurated on November 15, 1902, and the picture probably dates from around that time. This was the museum that Crowley referred to as "*the Boulak Museum*", where his wife Rose in March 1904 E.V. had discovered the stele of the Theban priest Ankh-af-na-khonsu, Exhibit № 666 on the museum's upper floor – however, the building, in fact, contained 'the Boulak museum' or 'Boulak collection'! The visit to the museum, and the discovery of the stele, likely took place on Monday, March 21, the same day as the Equinox of the Gods took place. Shortly after during the writing of *Liber L vel Legis* the stele was spoken of as "*the stélé of revealing*". © Postcard from the author's collection.



FIGURE 5.
*The Gizeh Museum
under demolition, 1902*

A French glass plate positive apparently showing a part of the Gizeh Museum shortly after July 13, 1902, where the museum became a vacant building. The new Cairo Museum at Kasr el-Nil was opened to visitors early in August 1902, and the old museum was demolished. Workmen are seen working at the building to the right. Greenish blue glass plate positive by unknown French photographer. © From the author's collection.

CHAPTER 1 [pr (per), "house"] • The Museum

A study of the Cairo Working reveals a problem with the name of the museum in which the Stélé of Revealing was discovered in March 1904 E.V., and since the stele's discovery plays a very central role in the Cairo Working let us begin by looking at this problem. The Cairo Working initiated only a few days before the Equinox of the Gods was announced led to the discovery of the stele in its museum, and later to the writing of *Liber L vel Legis, The Book of the Law*. But some have like me noticed that Aleister Crowley in his various accounts of the Cairo Working calls the museum in which his wife Rose discovered the Stélé of Revealing the "Boulak Museum", although this museum was a thing of the past in 1904 E.V. when the Crowleys visited Cairo.¹ Through my interest in Egyptology and especially the belongings of Ankh-af-na-khonsu, I once started to look into catalogues and guides of the three different located National Museums in Egyptian history, and I learned that in 1904 E.V. when Frazer Perdurabo and Rose visited Cairo the antiquities collection, and thus what became known as the Stélé of Revealing², was located in the newly built Cairo Museum at Kasr en-Nil³ (see Figure 4), and not in the Boulak (or Boulaq) Museum (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). It is therefore evident that Fra. P. is misnaming the museum in which Rose discovered the Stélé of Revealing in March 1904 E.V.⁴ Let us look at the history of the Stélé of

¹ See note²⁰³ below.

² The ancient Egyptians called a stele ḥꜥ.w or wd. The Greek had στήλη (Doric στάλα; Aeolic στάλλα), a block or slab used as a memorial, and in Latin we find *stēla*, a pillar, column, stele. In English there are two words used, namely *stèle* (from Greek), and *stela* (from Latin). In French it is *stèle* written with a grave accent, and thus what is found on the French museum translations of the hieroglyphs on 'Stèle 666' obtained by Fra. P. in Cairo in 1904 E.V. In *Liber L vel Legis* (III,10) Fra. P. wrote *stélé* with what at first sight looks like two acute (') accents – and he maintained the spelling, both in his account of the Cairo Working in "*The Temple of Solomon the King*", published in the seventh number of *The Equinox*, March, 1912 E.V., and in *The Equinox of the Gods*, published in 1936 E.V. However, it is clear that such is not the case, since *stèle* in English never is written with any accents, acute (') or grave ('). Let us therefore prudently assume that the two vertical "strokes" above the two e's found in the MS. of *Liber L vel Legis* not are acute accents, but strokes pertaining to some other enunciation, and that the word *stélé* used by Fra. P. therefore = "*stèle*", and thus pronounced *sti:l*. It is worth noticing that '*stèle*' is etymological related to the Greek verb στέλλειν, "*to set in order, arrange, equip*", and also to σολή, "*adjustment, equipment, clothing*". • For the Egyptian hieroglyphs and their transliteration, see: *Raymond O. Faulkner. A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford, UK: Griffith Institute, 1962, pp. 47;74. • For the French museum translations of 'Stèle 666', see note¹⁰² and note⁴⁵⁰⁹ below and: ΘΕΛΗΜΑ. The Holy Books of THELEMA. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, pp. 233-49, Appendix A, The Stèle of Revealing. • ΘΕΛΗΜΑ. The Holy Books of THELEMA was also issued as: The Equinox III (9). Corrected 2nd printing. York Beach, ME: Weiser, and New York, NY: 93 Publishing Ltd., 1989. • For the etymology, see, e.g.: *Dr. Ernest Klein. A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. (First edition in one volume) Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Company, 1971, p. 715.

³ *G. Maspero. Guide to the Cairo Museum*. Translated by J. E. and A. A. Quibell. Cairo: Printing-office of the French Institute of Oriental Archæology, 1903, preface (iii-vi) and p. 302. (Hereinafter cited as "Guide1903"). This guide was translated from the French GUIDE DU VISITEUR AU MUSÉE DU CAIRE PAR G. MASPERO. LE CAIRE: IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE, 1902. • For Maspero's guide to the new museum, see note⁹⁰⁴ below. • *Kasr en-Nil* means in Arabic literally '*the Palace of the Nile*'.

⁴ [Aleister Crowley, et al.] *The Equinox*. Vol. I., No. VII. London: Wieland & Co., March MCMXII o.s. (1912 E.V.). *The Temple of Solomon the King*, p. 368 (Hereinafter cited as "TSK1912") & *Ankh-af-na-khonsu [Aleister Crowley]. The Equinox of the Gods*. Vol. III, No. III. September MCMXXXVI E.V. London, UK: Issued by the O.T.O. BM/JPKH London, W.C.1, 1936, p. 73, (Hereinafter cited as "EG"): "*And even if it were so, how are we to explain what followed – the*

Revealing, and its museums and try to clear up Crowley's misnaming of its location in March 1904 E.V. and find its cause.

The year in the Islamic Calendar was 1321 A.H.⁵; in the Coptic Calendar it was 1620 A.M.⁶, and in both the Gregorian and the Julian calendars the year was 1904 A.D.⁷ For Frater Perdurabo and

discovery of the Stélé of Revealing? To apply test 4, Fra. P. took her to the museum at Boulak, which they had not previously visited." The abbreviation o.s. given after the year MCMXII stands for "Old Style", or, "Old System", and was used in later times with reference to the Julian Calendars. Crowley uses it on the title pages of the first ten numbers of *The Equinox* with reference to a year in the old era. • I shall go further into this later. See note¹³¹⁹, note³⁶¹¹, and note⁴⁴³⁸ below. • For its possible presence on the title page of *Liber L vel Legis*, see note²⁰⁹⁵ below. • **Aleister Crowley.** The Confessions of Aleister Crowley. An Autohagiography edited by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant. [Abridged 1-vol. edition] Correct. ed., London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979, p. 394, (Hereinafter cited as "Confessions"): "On some day before March 23rd, Ouarda identified the particular god with whom she was in communication from a stèle in the Boulak Museum, which we had never visited." (The abridged 1-vol. ed. of "Confessions" contains an abridged version of the two 1929 E.V. published volumes of *The Spirit of Solitude, An Autohagiography* Subsequently re-Antichristened *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley* together with an abridged version of the last four volumes. *Confessions* was first published in 1969 by Cape, London and in 1970 by Hill and Wang, New York. • For the publishing history of the unabridged work, see below. (Note³⁷⁶⁹ below.)) • There are some other references to the Boulak Museum & the stèle, for instance, in: *The Master Therion [Aleister Crowley]. Magick in Theory and Practice (Being Part III of Book 4); By The Master Therion. 4 vols. (Sections). Printed: Paris, France: Privately printed at The Lecram Press, nd [1929/30]. Distributed in wrappers: [London, UK: Mandrake Press Ltd., 1930]. • Section 3 [Vol. 3.], p. 258 (Hereinafter cited as "MTP"): "E.g. The Stélé which reveals the Theogony of the Book [i.e. Liber L vel Legis] was officially numbered 666, in the Boulak Museum." (Appendix III. Notes on the nature of the "Astral Plane", pp. 245-64.) • In the typescript "A Memorandum Regarding The Book of the Law" published in: *Aleister Crowley. The Revival of Magick and other Essays. (Oriflamme 2)* Edited by Hymenæus Beta and Richard Kaczynski, Ph. D. Tempe, AZ: New Falcon Publications (in ass. with O.T.O. International), 1998, p. 156, Crowley writes: "I have studied the Book [The Book of the Law] all these eighteen years. Verse 19 of Chapter III utterly baffled me. How could I "count well" the name of the Stèle, it never had a name! But I played about with the figures and it suddenly dawned on me that 718 was the value of the name "Stèle 666." "That's it," I said to myself. "In a sense the Stèle is my Stèle." But I wasn't quite satisfied, and then it came upon me like an earthquake, that after all, the Stèle did possess a name – its description in the catalog of the Museum at Būlāq – that name, the only name it ever had, was actually Stèle 666." (This was written at the Abbey of Thelema in Cefalù, Sicily in 1923 E.V.) • [Aleister Crowley, et al.] *The Equinox*. Vol. I., No. VII. London: Wieland & Co., March MCMXII o.s. (1912 E.V.), 'Across the Gulf', p. 295: "It is now five years since I discovered my stèle [sic] at Bulak,". (Across the Gulf, pp. 293-354.) • For *Across the Gulf*, see note²²¹⁶ below. • See also: *Aleister Crowley. Magick Without Tears*. Ed. Karl J. Germer. Hampton, NJ: Thelema Publishing Co., 1954, p. 179. (CHAPTER XXXIX: Prophecy) • Also as: *Aleister Crowley. Magick Without Tears*. Abridged edition. Ed. Israel Regardie. St. Paul: Llewellyn, 1973, p. 258. (39. Prophecy) • *Aleister Crowley. Magical and Philosophical Commentaries on the Book of the Law*. Edited and annotated by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant. Montréal, Québec, Canada: 93 Publishing, 1974, pp. 261, 265. (New Comment (1920 E.V.): The Book of the Law, Chapter III, Verses 11 and 19.)*

⁵ When the Crowleys arrived in Egypt the year was (Hijri) 1321 A.H. (*Anno Hegirae*) in the Islamic Calendar, and March 31, 1904 E.V. (Julian: March 18, 1904 A.D.) began (Hijri) 1322 A.H. • "*Anno Hegirae*" means 'in the year of the Hijra'. The Hijri date is the Islamic Calendar – a calendar which started in the moon year in which the prophet Mohammed immigrated (*Hijra*) from Mecca to Medina, July 16, 622 A.D. (Julian Calendar) The epoch is dated from sunset July 16 (a minority which reckons the day from midnight to midnight uses July 15). • On the above, see, e.g.: *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Edited by H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953. • For the Islamic calendar, see: *Frank Parise* (Editor). *The Book of Calendars*. Piscataway, NJ, USA: Gorgias Press, 2002, pp. 71-80. • For the Gregorian and the Julian Calendars, and their conversions, see: *Ibid.*, p. 291 ff.

⁶ When the Crowleys arrived in Egypt the year was in the Coptic Calendar 1620 A.M. (*Anno Martyrum*, i.e. *Year of Martyrs*). This calendar used by the Coptic Orthodox Church is based on the ancient Egyptian Calendar. The Copts dates their epoch from August 29, 284 A.D. in the Julian Calendar, and the year starts either on August 29, or August 30. • For the Coptic Calendar, see: *Ibid.*, pp. 125-37. • For the Gregorian and the Julian Calendars, and their conversions, see: *Ibid.*, p. 291 ff.

⁷ The year was 1904 A.D. both in the Gregorian Calendar (New Style), which we find Fra. P. use in his diary of the Cairo

Ouarda (Arab. وردة ouarda, a rose)⁸ it soon became Year 0 of a new Aeon – that of Horus – which seems only to have been a few hours old when Ouarda made the discovery of the Stélé of Revealing in the museum. Concerning this discovery Fra. P. wrote in TSK1912:

To apply test 4, Fra. P. took her [i.e. Rose or “W.”] to the museum at Boulak, which they had not previously visited. She passed by (as P. noted with silent glee) several images of Horus. They went upstairs. A glass case stood in the distance, too far off its contents to be recognized. But W. recognized it! “There,” she cried, “There he is!”⁹

– and later he wrote in *Confessions*:

On some day before March 23rd, Ouarda identified the particular god with whom she was in communication from a stele in the Boulak Museum, which we had never visited.¹⁰

However, a look into a museum guide by Gaston Maspero from 1883¹¹ shows the same as photographs of the building (Figure 1 and Figure 2), namely that there was no second floor in the Boulak Museum!¹² In other words this is not the museum referred to by Fra. P.! Moreover, if the Crowleys in 1904 E.V. had visited the building of the former Boulak Museum one would have expected the mention of crossing a bridge, and of a harbour in Fra. P.’s account, since Boulak was situated beyond the Ismailiya Canal, and was the river-harbour of Cairo. In 1904 E.V. a visitor staying in the European quarter of Cairo would have to cross the Ismailiya Canal for a visit to Boulak, either by the bridge at the end of Sharia Boulak, Kantaret Abbu-Leileh, or, the bridge at

Working, and in the Julian Calendar (Old Style), which still is used, e.g., by many national Orthodox Churches. The Equinox of the Gods took in the Gregorian Calendar place on Monday, March 21, and this date was in the Julian Calendar Monday, March 8. • On the Crowleys arrival in Egypt the year was, e.g., in the Hebrew Calendar 5664 A.H. (Anno Hebraico), in the Old Hindu Solar and Lunar Calendar 5004, in the Ethiopian Calendar 1896, in the Persian Calendar (Jalali) 1282, in the Buddhist Calendar (Akbar) 348, and in the Indian Civil Calendar (Saka) 1825. • For the above, see: *Frank Parise* (Editor). *The Book of Calendars*. Piscataway, NJ, USA: Gorgias Press, 2002.

⁸ In Egypt Frater Perdurabo, or, “Fra. P.”, called his wife Ouarda – Arabic for “rose”. In the records of the Cairo Working she is “Ouarda” or “W.” for short since it also can be transliterated as “Warda”. See: EG, p. 70. • I note that the gematrical value of وردة Ouarda, is 215 (‘mitein ou khamstâch’) • 215 = (5)ו + (4)ד + (200)ר + (6)ז • The Post Biblical Hebrew ורד vered, rose, is borrowed from Arabic/Iranian warda, and in New Hebrew is found ורדה var'dah, rose bush, (also a Hebrew feminine first name) which has the same gematrical value as وردة Ouarda, 215. ♦ 215 = (5)ו + (4)ד + (200)ר + (6)ז

⁹ TSK1912, p. 368. (Also: EG, p.73.) • The mentioned “test 4” was the 4th of the twelve tests carried out by Fra. P. in order to find out how W. knew “R.H.K. (Ra Hoor Khuit)”: “4. Recognised his figure when shown. (This refers to the striking scene in the Boulak Museum, which will be dealt with in detail.)” • TSK1912, p. 366. (Also: EG, p. 71.) • On “test 4”, see note³³⁶ below. • On the stele’s location in the museum in 1904 E.V., see note⁵⁶² below.

¹⁰ *Confessions*, p. 394.

¹¹ *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq par Gaston Maspero. Boulaq au Musée 1883. Frontispiece plan.*

¹² There is also a good photo with the title “The Boulak Museum Entrance” in George Eastman House, Still Photograph Archive, # 88:0337:0423, by an American photographer Edward L. Wilson (1838-1903). This photo may be found online at http://www.geh.org/ar/strip63/htmlsrc/m198803370423_ful.html#topofimage Also found by the same with the title “Saloon of Ancient Empire Boulak Museum”, # 88:0337:0431, is a photo showing some interior parts of the building and its exhibition at http://www.geh.org/ar/strip63/htmlsrc/m198803370431_ful.html#topofimage • Planche 1 in Album du Musée de Boulaq shows the buildings of the museum and their surroundings at the Nile. ALBUM DU MUSÉE DE BOULAQ comprenant QUARANTE PLANCHES photographiées PAR MM. DÉLIÉ ET BÉCHARD AVEC UN TEXTE EXPLICATIF rédigé PAR AUGUSTE MARIETTE-BEY. LE CAIRE: MOURES & C^{IE}, IMPRIMEURS-ÉDITEURS, 1872, PLANCHE 1. • Regarding photographs of the Boulaq Museum, see also note²⁶ and note²⁸ below.

Kasr en-Nil, Kantaret el-Boulak. However, Boulak formerly was an island, but the channel, which originally passed between it and Cairo, had been filled in, and in the 1860's when the museum opened a visitor staying in the European quarter had not to pass any channel.¹³ The Ismailiya Canal was cut later, but is now also filled in and is the Sharia Ramses, the former Queen Nazli Avenue. An 1880 geographical dictionary says about the town "Boolak":

*A town of Egypt, on the right bank of the Nile, at the divergence of its pelusiatic branch [i.e. easternmost branch], 1 mile N.[orth]W.[est] of Cairo, of which it forms a suburb, and opposite the island of the same name. It is the port of Cairo, at which ships navigating the Nile discharge their cargoes. It has large cotton spinning-, weaving-, and printing-works, a school of engineering, a noble museum of antiquities, a great paper-mill, and the national printing, lithographic, and machine-shops. Across the Nile is the town of Boolak-el-Dakroor, with a railway junction.*¹⁴

The mentioned island Boolak (Boulaq) is now called Gezira. The name "Boolak" is probably a Turkish word meaning 'a spring [of water]'.¹⁵ The museum was located not far from the later Ismailiya Canal and directly on the bank of the River Nile.¹⁶ It had opened in 1863 in a rebuild building, which had been the ancient office of the *Compagnie Fluviale* – a River Nile transportation firm.¹⁷ The building itself was special in comparison with the new museum at Kasr en-Nil. Although built in Moorish style¹⁸ it may, in my opinion, best be described by saying that if it had been located anywhere outside Egypt it would have been looked on as a clear example of Egyptomania.¹⁹ In Karl Baedeker's *Egypt. Handbook for Travellers*, from 1885, is found the following description of the building (see also Figure 1):

¹³ For Boolak as a former island, see: *Sir John Gardner Wilkinson. A Handbook For Travellers In Egypt; Including Descriptions of the Course of the Nile to the Second Cataract, Alexandria, Cairo, the Pyramids, and Thebes, the Overland Transit to India, the Peninsula of Mount Sinai, the Oases, &c. Condensed from 'Modern Egypt and Thebes.' A new edition, with corrections and additions. London, UK: John Murray, 1858, p. 111. (Sect. I., Route 6., Alexandria to Atfeh and Cairo, pp. 104-11.)*

¹⁴ *A Complete Pronouncing Gazetteer or Geographical Dictionary of the World. New Edition. 2 vols. Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincot, 1880. ♦ Vol. I, p. 265. ("Boolak, Boulac, or Bulak", p. 265.)*

¹⁵ For the Turkish "Boolak", see: *Meer Izzut-oollah; Philip Durham Henderson (Translator). Travel in central Asia by Meer Izzut-oollah in the Years 1812-13. Translated by Captain Henderson, Attached to the Foreign Office of the Government in India. Calcutta, India: Printed at the Foreign Dept. Press, 1872, p. 46. (Stages from Kashghur to Kookan, pp. 45-51.)*

¹⁶ For its location, see the plan in: *Egypt. Handbook for Travellers. Edited by K. Baedeker. Part First: Lower Egypt, with the Fayûm and the Peninsula of Sinai. Second Edition. Revised and augmented. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1885, facing p. 294. ♦ Facing p. 295 is also a plan of "Museum of Egyptian Antiquities at Bûlak".*

¹⁷ *Dia' Abou-Ghazi. The Eighty Anniversary of the Museum's Building. The Journey of the Egyptian Museum from Boulaq to Kasr el-Nil. ♦ Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1988, Tome LXVII, pp. 15-7, Pl. I. (pp. 1-78, + plates)(The Journey of the Egyptian Museum from Boulaq to Kasr el-Nil, pp. 15-7.) (Here written as « Campagne fluvial ») ♦ See also: Zahi A. Hawass. Hidden Treasures of the Egyptian Museum. One Hundred Masterpieces from the Centennial Exhibition. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2001, pp. xxviii-xxix. (History of the Museum)(A Celebration of One Hundred Years of the Egyptian Museum, pp. ix-xxix.) ♦ For Boulak Museum before the opening in 1863, see note⁴⁴ below.*

¹⁸ On the Moorish style which had its roots in art and architecture throughout the Islamic world, see, e.g.: *Miles Danby. Moorish Style. London: Phaidon Press, 1995.*

¹⁹ On Egyptomania, see: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 1., p. 458. See note²⁰ below.*

The building of the Museum is painted blue, green, and red in the manner of the Egyptian temples, and above the door is the winged disk of the sun. To the right and left of the door are two seated granite figures from Tanis, both 'usurped' by Ramses II., i.e. provided with his cartouches, but really of earlier origin (13th or 14th dynasty?).²⁰

In other words a building and a situation to be remembered later on. The *London Times* printed in January 1884 a long article dealing with "*Professor Maspero's New Catalogue of the Boulak Museum*," an article that also gave a fine description of Boulak and the museum:

On the eastern bank of the Nile, divided from Cairo by a desolate tract of waste land and distant about one mile and a-half from Shepherd's Hotel, lies the picturesque hamlet of Boulak; a busy, prosperous, oriental Rotherhithe, inhabited chiefly by boat-builders and boatmen. In the midst of this hamlet, on one side bounded by the river, which here flows wide as the Seine and yellow as the Tiber, hemmed in on the other side by a swarming labyrinth of Arab dwellings, stands a plain solid-looking building (not so solid, unfortunately as it looks), to which the visitor enters through a garden decorated with sphinxes, sarcophagi, and colossal statues. This building is the famous museum of Egyptian antiquities founded just a quarter of a century ago by Auguste Mariette Pasha, whose remains, enshrined above ground in a splendid monument designed by Baudry, repose at the foot of a colossal statue of Rameses II., in front of the museum which was the creation of his genius.

Five-and-twenty years ago, when Saïd Pasha was Viceroy, the space now occupied by the museum and garden was a mere waste enclosure surrounded by the empty sheds and warehouses of a bankrupt towing company. Mariette, then recently attached to the Viceregal service as Conservator of Ancient Monuments, obtained this neglected site for the storage and display of the treasures which his excavations were rapidly bringing to light, and which Saïd was sufficiently intelligent to appreciate. Little by little – now adding a new coat of plaster or paint, now venturing on a few modest decorations in distemper, now, at the minimum cost of native labour, knocking up a few glass cases, or introducing a new set of windows – he succeeded in transforming his dilapidated warehouses into the well-lighted and well-arranged museum which, in 1878, was replaced by the older portions of the present building.²¹

There is some disagreement as to when the old Boulak Museum was demolished. A source at the Cairo Museum says it took place in 1914 E.V. for the sake of making a harbour, however, the *London Times* wrote in April 1908 E.V., in an article about "*The New Nile Bridges*", that: "*the main bridge will lead direct to the site where the old Boulak Museum stood*", so it was probably demolished before April 1908 E.V.²² In Baedeker's *Egypt and The Sudân* published in 1908 E.V. (but information collected before this date) we are told about the former Boulak Museum:

²⁰ Egypt. Handbook for Travellers. Edited by K. Baedeker. Part First: Lower Egypt, with the Fayûm and the Peninsula of Sinai. Second Edition. Revised and augmented. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1885, p. 296.

²¹ The Times. London, UK: Published and printed by George Edward Wright. ♦ Friday, January 11, 1884, p. 3. (*Professor Maspero's New Catalogue of the Boulak Museum*, pp. 3-4.)

²² Dia' Abou-Ghazi. The Eighty Anniversary of the Museum's Building. The Journey of the Egyptian Museum from Boulaq to Ḳasr el-Nil. ♦ Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1988, Tome LXVII, pp. 15-7, Pl. II. (pp. 1-78, + plates)(*The Journey of the Egyptian Museum from Boulaq to Ḳasr el-Nil*, pp. 15-7.) ♦ The Times. London, UK: Published by George Edward Wright at the Times Office. ♦ The Times Engineering Supplement, Wednesday, April 8, 1908, p. 5. (*Egypt. – The New Nile Bridges. Cairo, April 2.*, p. 5.)

The long Shâriâ^c es-Sahel leads from the W.[est] end of Shâriâ^c Abu'l Eileh to the S.[outh] past the former Egyptian Museum (now the Salt & Soda Co.; r.)²³

So around 1906-7 E.V., and perhaps before, the buildings of the former museum housed the Salt & Soda Company.

The Stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu²⁴ – the stele we know as the Stélé of Revealing – is not included in the above-mentioned Boulaq Guide from 1883.²⁵ However, in the impressive *Album du Musée de Boulaq* by Auguste Mariette-Bey from 1872, there are two photographs where the stele's reverse side is displayed in different arrangements (Figure 8 and Figure 9).²⁶ Shortly noticed is the text on the stele (Reverse, top) from [the beginning of] Chapter XXX of the *Book of Going Forth by Day*, and the fact that it normally is to be found engraved upon funeral scarabs.²⁷ These are the first photographs of the Stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu published, and their explaining text the first written mentioning of the stele, together with one of its exceptional characters.²⁸ It seems clear that Mariette has been astonished by finding this chapter on a stele, and then exhibited the stele's reverse side in order to draw attention to this. But let us return later on to this and other unusual things in connection with the stele, and the other funeral belongings of Ankh-af-na-khonsu.

In 1858 Khedive Said (r. 1854-1863)²⁹, had established the Egyptian Antiquities Service, Maslahat al-Athar, appointing the French Egyptologist, Auguste (Ferdinand) (François) Mariette

²³ Karl Baedeker. *Egypt and The Sudân. Handbook for Travellers*. Sixth remodelled Edition. Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1908, p. 74. (5. *Bûlâk and Gezireh*, pp. 74-5.)

²⁴ I prefer to call him Ankh-af-na-khonsu as given by Nui in *Liber L vel Legis*, I, [36]. As seen below he is known as Ankhefenkhons I in the registration in the Cairo Museum. However, in Genealogy he is known as Ankhefenkhons i (numbered with a small Roman numeral) to distinguish between him and two other Ankhefenkhons known as Ankhefenkhons A and Ankhefenkhons I. More on this later.

²⁵ *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq* par Gaston Maspero. Boulaq au Musée 1883. I further notice that the number 666 is not in use in this guide.

²⁶ ALBUM DU MUSÉE DE BOULAQ comprenant QUARANTE PLANCHES photographiées PAR MM. DÉLIÉ ET BÉCHARD AVEC UN TEXTE EXPLICATIF rédigé PAR AUGUSTE MARIETTE-BEY. LE CAIRE: MOURES & C^{IE}, IMPRIMEURS-ÉDITEURS, 1872. PLANCHE 14, PLANCHE 15 – MONUMENTS FUNÉRAIRES. • For the album, see note⁶³⁰ below. • See also note²⁸ and note⁴⁵⁸⁰ below. • For Hippolyte Délié and Émile Béchard, the two photographers behind this album, and the Boulaq Museum, see: *Nissan N. Perez*. *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East, 1839-1885*. (Published in association with Domino Press and the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.) New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988.

²⁷ ALBUM DU MUSÉE DE BOULAQ comprenant QUARANTE PLANCHES photographiées PAR MM. DÉLIÉ ET BÉCHARD AVEC UN TEXTE EXPLICATIF rédigé PAR AUGUSTE MARIETTE-BEY. LE CAIRE: MOURES & C^{IE}, IMPRIMEURS-ÉDITEURS, 1872: [Description of] PLANCHE 14 – MONUMENTS FUNÉRAIRES [the Stélé is on this plate situated in the centre to the left]: “*Telles sont les deux stèles qui occupent le centre de l'un des côtés de la planche 14. Sur l'une d'elles est transcrit le chapitre XXX du Rituel habituellement réservé aux scarabées funéraires.*” Interestingly found is also the start of this chapter inscribed on Ankh-af-na-khonsu's inner coffin - The Inner Coffin of Ankhefenkhons I, № 41.042 in the Cairo Museum. For this, see: *Henri Gauthier*. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou*. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1913. • Vol. I, pp. 1-30. Pl. I-III. (See note⁶²³ and note⁴⁵⁸⁰ below.)

²⁸ I note that there is a photograph album compiled by the Victorian traveller Annie Lady Brassey, née Anna Alnutt (1839-1887), showing the Boulak Museum and its collection. Evidently sixty-eight images made by commercial practitioners, and compiled by her in *Volume 29* of her photograph albums. There is a chance that Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele is found on these images. Her longer stays in Egypt took apparently place in 1869, 1877, 1883. Lady Brassey's albums are today housed in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and I have not had the opportunity to examine these images from the Boulak Museum. • For this album (*Volume 29*), see: *Nancy Micklewright*. *A Victorian Traveller in the Middle East: The Photography and Travel Writing of Annie Lady Brassey*. Aldershot, Hants, UK and Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate Publishing, 2003, pp. 88-9. • See also note⁶³⁰ below.

²⁹ Khedive Said (1854-63), was the son of Mohammed Ali, and had ruled Egypt after Khedive Abbas I (1848-54) • See:

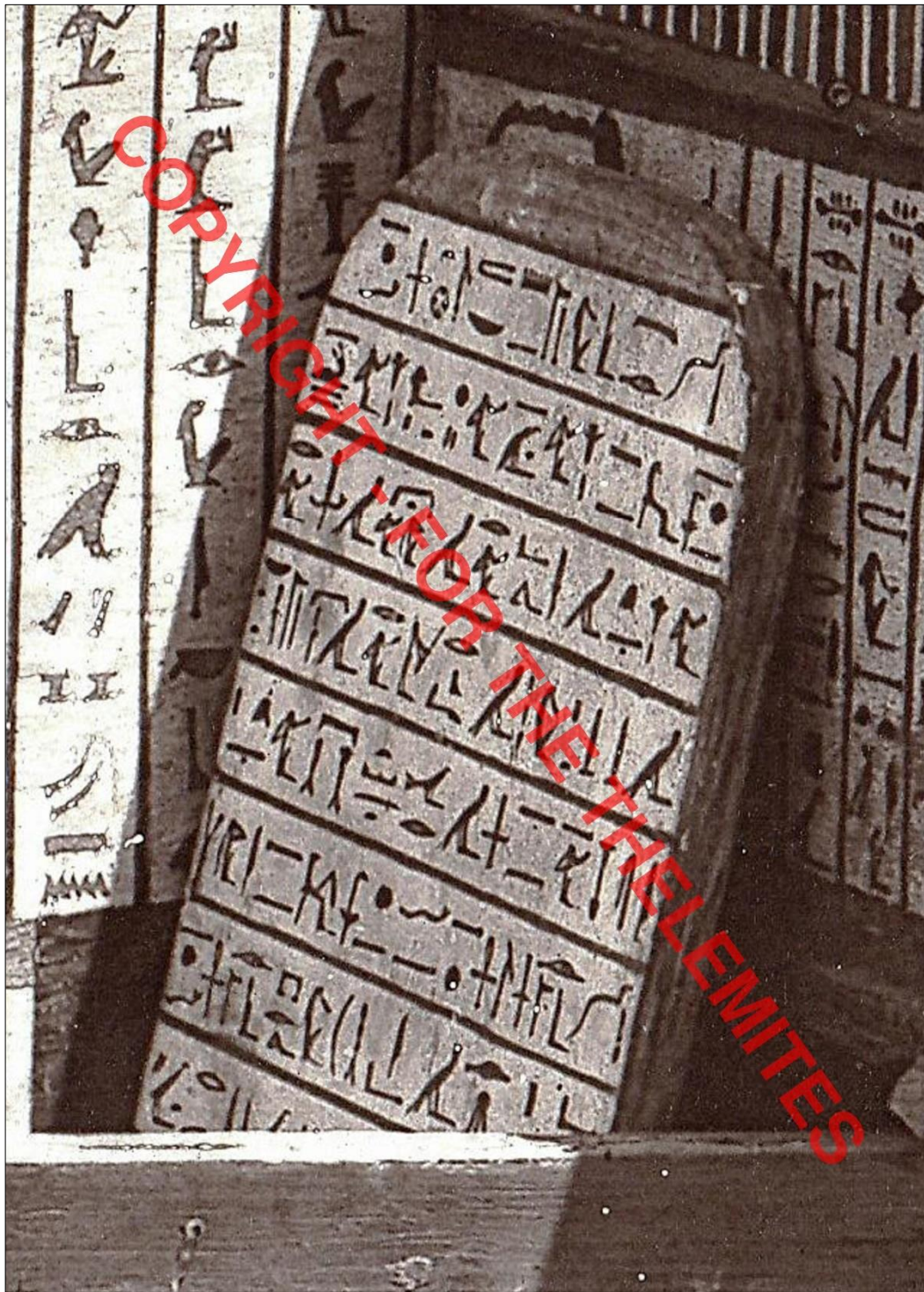


FIGURE 9. Section from Figure 8 showing the reverse of the funeral stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu from Planche 15 in *Album du Musée de Boulaq*

The first half of the eleven horizontal lines of inscription on the reverse of the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu contains the first part of a version of Chapter 30 (or Spell 30) of *Book of Going Forth by Day* – also known as *Book of the Dead* – and the second half of the inscription is Chapter 2 of the same book. Chapter 30 is a chapter usually engraved upon funeral scarabs and very unusual to find upon a funeral stele. However, the first part of the chapter is also engraved upon Ankh-af-na-khonsu's inner coffin, known as 'the egg', and a larger portion of the chapter on his great sarcophagus. Chapter 30 is in *Book of Going Forth by Day* entitled: "Chapter of not letting the heart of a man be driven away from him in the underworld", and Chapter 2: "Chapter of coming forth by day and living after death" – the latter a most splendid chapter! This section of the print clearly illustrates the very high quality of the carbon prints made some 140 years ago by the two French photographers Hippolyte Délié and Émile Béchard for the album. Note that the two numbers, "666", and "4.781", found today in the lunette are not present on the photography. The stele's official number is now *Cairo A 9422*. © From the author's collection.

(1821-1881)³⁰, as its first head. Mariette, who received the title of Bey, and was honored after his death with the title of Pasha, was born in Boulogne-sur-Mer in France on February 11, 1821. He began life as a teacher of grammar and drawing in the college where he had himself received his education. However, his interest in hieroglyphs had started when he was a young boy. In 1849 he was employed at the Louvre Museum in Paris, and was the year after sent to Egypt on a scientific mission, in order to acquire various Coptic manuscripts to add to the museum's collection. This project failed, but instead he made in 1851 his career's most famous discovery: the Serapeum of the Apis bulls at Saqqara.³¹ At that time Mariette was more a treasure hunter than an Egyptologist, and he was using explosives to open the tomb of the Serapeum in spite of that objects were destroyed. In order to be able to read the strange inscriptions found in the Serapeum he decided to call upon the German Egyptologist Heinrich (Ferdinand) (Karl) Brugsch (Pasha) (1827-1894), who was a leading expert on Demotic. Heinrich Brugsch had come to Egypt for the first time in 1853, and had before this date only studied inscriptions in museums in Europe. Two years later, in 1855, Heinrich Brugsch wrote the first grammar of Demotic. Mariette started cooperating with Heinrich Brugsch in the Serapeum, and Brugsch soon became aware of a way to establish a chronology of the Ancient kings of Egypt and their reigns, through the inscriptions found in the Serapeum. This was great news, and after this discovery the two started excavating together in several places. The discovery of the timeline of ancient Egypt caused that Mariette became entirely an Egyptologist, and gradually stopped sending ancient objects back to France, since he was aware that they had to remain in Egypt and form a museum. However, before this we are informed by Heinrich Brugsch in *Mein Leben und mein Wandern* (1894) that the Egyptian government had become aware of that magnificent antiquarian shipments from the Serapeum were being transported on the Nile, and Abbas I was in a highly ungracious mood, and hastily issued a firman on the strength of which nobody had the right to conduct excavations without his sanction, or to export finds out of the country.³² Mariette ran up the tricolor on his house, and without delay proclaimed the desert by the Serapeum as French territory! The Viceroy was beside himself with rage, and a troop of horsemen consisting of a wild band of Macedonian Arnauts, who in those times performed police service in Egypt, was sent to the desert in order to take military control of the Serapeum. Heinrich Brugsch writes that Mariette with his people placed the Serapeum in a state of siege, and Mariette threatened to shoot down from his horse anyone who would dare to set foot on French terrain – the horde was intimidated and retreated with its object unattained, and the Egyptian government took a peaceful way out. In the end, after that Mariette had held a Turkish Major in involuntary captivity in a grave chamber for full twenty-four hours, and afterwards compensated the victim with a rich gift of cash in French gold, the most precious monuments were saved for France, and science, as Heinrich Brugsch writes, and only a small part, consisting of about thirty inscribed stones, on account of their weight went to the citadel of Cairo to be preserved there in a special

William Yale. *The Near East*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1958, p. 438.

³⁰ (Pasha) Auguste Ferdinand François Mariette (1821-1881). French Egyptologist and founder of the Egyptian Antiquities Service. • See: Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier. *Who was who in Egyptology*. 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995, pp. 275-7. • The Times. London, UK: Printed and published by Francis Goodlake. • Thursday, January 29, 1881, p. 9. (*Mariette Bey's death in Cairo*, p. 9.) • Ibid., p. 10. (*Mariette Bey's obituary*, p. 10.) • Also: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. • Vol. 2., pp. 448-9.

³¹ See: Auguste Mariette. *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*. Paris: Gide, libraire-éditeur, 1857. • See also note⁶⁸⁸ below.

³² See: Heinrich Brugsch. *Mein Leben und mein Wandern*. Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1894, pp. 165-73. (*III. Mein erste Reise nach Ägypten; Im Serapeum von Memphis*, pp. 165-73.)

room as curiosities of the first rank. In July 1854 Abbas I was murdered in his palace by two of his slaves – as mentioned by Heinrich Brugsch Abbas I was entitled 'The Cruel' by the Arabs.³³ Abbas I was succeeded by his uncle Said Pasha as Viceroy of Egypt and Sudan.

As to slaves, I notice that when London publisher John Murray in 1847 published *Hand-Book for Travellers in Egypt* by Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (1797-1875), English traveller, writer and Egyptologist, Gardner Wilkinson had included a list of 'Prices of Goods at Cairo' in the years 1827 and 1842, and here was stated that "*Camels and dromedaries*", in the year 1827, cost from 300 to 1500 Piastres; "*Horses, native*" cost from 500 to 2000 Piastres; and "*Slaves, black, boys*" cost from 500 to 1000 Piastres; "*Slaves, black, girls*" cost from 800 to 1000 Piastres; "*Eunuchs*" cost from 1000 to 1500 Piastres; "*Abyssinian boys*" cost from 700 to 1000 Piastres; "*White boys, (memlooks)* [i.e. mamelukes]" cost from 2000 to 5000 Piastres; while "*White girls*" cost from 1500 to 10,000 Piastres.³⁴ However, no prices on slaves were given for the year 1842, and in an entry headed "*Slave Market*" Gardner Wilkinson wrote:

The slave market, Okálet e' Geláb, is no longer one of the sights of Cairo; the black slaves are kept at the Kaitbay outside the town, and the Circassians, Georgians, and Greeks, as well as most of the Abyssinians, are in the private houses of the dealers.

*It may be hoped that a far more important change will eventually take place, in the abolition of slavery altogether; and it is gratifying to feel that England's interference has already had the happy result of putting a stop to the slave hunts in the interior.*³⁵

This was written only a few years before Auguste Mariette went to Egypt as a treasure hunter, and only fifty-seven years before Rose and Aleister Crowley arrived in Cairo in 1904!

After his appointment in 1858 as head of the Egyptian Antiquities Service Mariette started, among other things, attempts to take up the failed project of Khedive Said's father Mohammed Ali to found a national museum of Egypt, and one result of this was that a temporary museum was established in an old mosque in Boulak, before the building just described became the 'Boulak Museum' in 1863, the same year as Khedive Said died. To fill the mosque Mariette also starts to collect from various magazines around Egypt, and from the Ezbekiyeh Gardens in Cairo where the first Egyptian collection had been located.³⁶ The first Egyptian museum of antiquities, created by a decree of Mohammed Ali on August 15, 1835, was headed by Youssef Zia (Jousouf Zia-Effendi), and housed near the Ezbekieh Lake³⁷ – this lake was later drained and became the Ezbekiyeh

³³ Ibid., p. 147. (III. *Mein erste Reise nach Ägypten; In Kairo*, pp. 140-7.)

³⁴ Sir Gardner Wilkinson. *Hand-Book for Travellers in Egypt; Including Descriptions of the Course of the Nile to the Second Cataract, Alexandria, Cairo, The Pyramids, and Thebes, The Overland Transit to India, The Peninsula of Mount Sinai, The Oases, &c. Being a New Edition, corrected and condensed of "Modern Egypt and Thebes."* By Sir Gardner Wilkinson, F.R.S. M.R.S.L. F.R.G.S. &c. London: John Murray, 1847, pp. 142-4. (SECTION II. CAIRO; u. BAZAARS. – PRICES OF GOODS.; PRICES OF GOODS AT CAIRO IN 1827 AND 1842, pp. 140-5.)

³⁵ Ibid. p. 140. (SECTION II. CAIRO; t. SLAVE MARKET., p. 140.)

³⁶ See: Zahi A. Hawass. *Hidden Treasures of the Egyptian Museum. One Hundred Masterpieces from the Centennial Exhibition.* Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2001, pp. xxviii-xxix. (*History of the Museum*)(*A Celebration of One Hundred Years of the Egyptian Museum*, pp. ix-xxix.) • See note⁴⁶, note⁷⁹ and note⁶⁸⁰ below.

³⁷ See: Mamdouh Eldamaty, Mai Trad (Editors). *Egyptian Museum Collections Around the World: Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.* 2 vols. Cairo, Egypt: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2002. • Vol. I, p. 564. (*The History of the Animal Mummy Collection in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. By Salima Ikram and Abeer Helmi*, pp. 563-8.)

Gardens. The same year as his appointment Mariette also started various excavations, and, as we shall see later, the year 1858 is a most important year for this historic account that I am writing, since it was in this year that the sarcophagi and coffins of Ankh-af-na-khonsu were found by Mariette under the Temple at Deir el-Bahari in Thebes, and thus evidently items first placed in the old mosque in Boulak.³⁸

Mohammed Ali's son (or adopted son), general Ibrahim Pasha (1789-1848), had worked with his father's project of establishing a national museum. He made an attempt to begin a collection of Egyptian antiquities, and put a veto to the removal of antiquities from Egypt.³⁹ In 1831 a Turk was employed at Thebes in excavating and preventing all access to the under-ground treasures not sanctioned by government authority. However, all this came to nothing, and no museum was established. Mariette wanted a national museum serving Egypt and its interests. He wrote in his first catalogue of the Boulak Museum, published in 1864, that the museum not only was intended for European travellers, but that it was the Viceroy's intention (and clearly also his own) that the museum should be above all accessible to the native Egyptians, to whom the museum was entrusted in order to teach them the history of their country.⁴⁰ And he continued:

*Il y a quelque temps, l'Égypte détruisait ses monuments ; elle les respecte aujourd'hui ; il faut que demain elle les aime.*⁴¹

– Some time ago, Egypt destroyed its monuments; today, it respects them; tomorrow it shall love them. A letter from Auguste Mariette regarding a new museum in Cairo was referred in the *London Morning Post*, March 31, 1863:

*A letter from Egypt, from M. Auguste Mariette, states that the new Viceroy show himself an enlightened protector of the arts. On the very day of his installation [January 19, 1863] that learned gentleman was sent for by Ismael Pasha, who informed him that he might consider it as a thing decided on, the construction of a monumental museum in Cairo. The edifice will be very extensive. In addition to a museum of Egyptian antiquities there will also be one of Greek antiquities collected in Egypt, and also an Arab museum [...] To the museum of Cairo will also be united the Egyptian Institute and its valuable library.*⁴²

Very interestingly, an article in the English monthly magazine *The Art-Journal* from August 1861 shows that the Boulak Museum had been in existence at least two years before it was opened to the public in October 1863.⁴³ The English artist and antiquary Frederick William Fairholt (1813-1866),

³⁸ See note⁵⁶⁸ and note⁵⁷³ below.

³⁹ See: *Sir Gardner Wilkinson. Hand-Book for Travellers in Egypt.* London, UK: John Murray, 1847, pp. 122-3. • For Ibrahim Pasha, see also note⁴¹⁸ below.

⁴⁰ NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D'ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE VICE-ROI, A BOULAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Alexandrie : Imprimerie Française Mourès, Rey & C^{ie}, 1864, p. 7. (*Avant-propos.*)

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² *The Morning Post.* London, UK: The Morning Post. ♦ Tuesday, March 31, 1863, p. 5. (*FRANCE. From Our Own Correspondent*, p. 5.)

⁴³ *The Art-Journal.* London, UK: James S. Virtue. ♦ New Series. Vol. VII (Old Series. Vol. XXIII), August 2, 1861, p. 253. ("THE MUSEUM OF THE PASHA OF EGYPT"; signed "F. W. F.", p. 253.) • For the opening of the Boulak Museum in October 1863, see: *Mamdouh Eldamaty, Mai Trad* (Editors). *Egyptian Museum Collections Around the World:*

who wrote for *The Art-Journal*, had visited the Pasha's new museum, and wrote in the article titled "The Museum of the Pasha of Egypt", among other things:

It is a new and singular feature in Oriental life to find a Musselman of high rank willing to abandon the long-cherished prejudices of his education, and acknowledge the historic value of records it was the fashion of his creed to condemn and destroy. The foundation of a museum of Egyptian antiquities at Boulak by the present Pasha of Egypt places him on a level with such European potentates, as form, for scientific purposes, similar gatherings.

Boulak is to Cairo what Wapping is to London; it abounds with ship-owners, sailors, and shipwrights, and is a busy port for all the products of the Nile, and the place where travellers hire their boats when about to explore the wonders of the river. It is a bustling place, and as dirty as such places usually are. In its midst is an enclosed building, with a courtyard looking on the river: and in a series of well-lighted, convenient rooms is displayed the Pasha's Museum. We must confess when we heard of it at first we involuntarily thought of the old proverb of shutting the door when the steed was stolen, particularly as we were told that no antiquities were now allowed to be carried from the country, and that in future all was to swell the pasha's store. When we remember the reckless destruction of Egyptian monuments, from the days of Napoleon to those of the last few years, and the number of public and private collections formed from the debris of the ruins of these valuable mementoes, it did indeed seem late to enter a field where previous labourers had tired themselves with unscrupulous devastation. It was, therefore, with no little surprise that we were ushered over the series of rooms devoted to the Boulak Museum, and found them to contain so choice and curious a series of antiquities, well displaying the art of ancient Egypt in all its phases.

We believe it is due to the energy of M. Mariette, an employé in the great collection at the Louvre, that the pasha was induced to form this museum, and give M. Mariette the full privilege of prosecuting the researches that have revealed so much that is curious, and which were long immured at the pyramids at Sakkarah and Ghizeh, as well as at Memphis, Edfou, and elsewhere; as a result that gentleman was appointed conservator of the museum, with a residence and a salary befitting the station. It must not, however, be conjectured that the pasha or his conservator have been lucky enough to obtain in this short time so fine a selection of antiques; the fact is that the largest portion of the collection was purchased at once from M. Huber, the late Consul-General for Austria, who employed many years in gathering them, with a fastidious taste that admitted of none but fine examples. All the articles so selected are remarkable for the high character of their workmanship. They are all well exhibited, and very carefully arranged; in this the taste that reigns in the Louvre is displayed, and contrasts very strongly with the want of taste that characterises our own collection in the British Museum, where articles are huddled together as if they were worthless, and hide each other for want of space. It is melancholy to see so fine a collection as ours is, so utterly ruined for want of

Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. 2 vols. Cairo, Egypt: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2002. • Vol. I, p. 564. (*The History of the Animal Mummy Collection in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. By Salima Ikram and Abeer Helmi*, pp. 563-8.) • I notice that in his memoirs the last Khedive of Egypt, Abbas Hilmi II, gave the following strange and erroneous statement about Mariette's Egyptian Museum: "*Francois Auguste Mariette Pasha (1821-80) was a Frenchman who began his career as a teacher of art and French language in England and published the newspaper Annotateur Boulonnais. It was under his direction, at the request of Khedive Ismail, that the Egyptian Museum of Antiquities in its original place in Azbakiya quarter was opened during the celebrations for the inauguration of the canal at Suez in 1869. The museum was moved in 1902 to its present location in Tahrir Square (formally Ismailiya Square before being renamed by the Nasser government in the mid-twentieth century).*" • Hilmi Abbas; Amira El Azhary Sonbol (Translator). *The Last Khedive of Egypt: Memoirs of Abbas Hilmi II*. Reading, Berkshire, UK: Ithaca Press, 1998, p. 41. (2. *My Grandsire: Khedive Ismail (1830-95)*, pp. 33-44.)

that proper display which makes an object not worth five shillings look better in Paris than the most valuable articles we possess.

In minor antiques, such as scarabei, rings, &c., the collection, as may be supposed, is strong; yet they are not of the ordinary kind that might be obtained in any quantity, but are all selected for the superiority of their workmanship, or the interest of their inscriptions. In the same way the small porcelain figures of deities are really works of Fine Art, not the rude things so commonly found in sarcophagi and mummy pits. The distinction is greater than most persons imagine, and, indeed, the finer kinds are by no means common. In the same way the mummy-cases here are remarkable for the carefulness with which they are painted, when of wood, or for the delicacy with which they are sculptured when in stone; there is one here cut from a block of basalt, and covered with hieroglyphics of great delicacy.⁴⁴

The year after the article, in 1862, Frederick William Fairholt's book *Up the Nile, and Home Again* appeared, and here Fairholt, among other things, wrote about the museum and its collection:

The one important feature to a stranger [at Boulak], is the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, recently founded by the Pasha, in a commodious house overlooking the Nile. It has been placed under the curatorship of M. Mariette, who first visited Egypt in the service of the Louvre. The largest portion of the collection was purchased at once from M. Huber, the late Consul-General for Austria, who had been long engaged in forming it, with a fastidious taste that admitted into the series none but fine examples. [...] It may suffice to say, that nothing, from a scarabeus to a granite sarcophagus, is wanting, to carry the student through the various phases fine art assumed three thousand years ago. The great feature of the collection is the recent addition of gold ornaments discovered by accident at Gournou (Thebes), by some boys, in ground unmarked by any tomb; the fine mummies upon which they were placed passed into the hands of the Pasha of Kenh, who was induced to part with them to the Viceroy's museum. They were unwrapped, and more than thirty-five pounds' weight of gold ornaments found upon them.⁴⁵

It seems clear that the collection in the old mosque, which must have contained Mariette's 1858 find of the funeral belongings of the priests of Mentu from Deir el-Bahari, not had been accessible to the public – something also confirmed by the missing information of such a museum in traveller guides from the 1850s.⁴⁶

Mariette died in Cairo at the age of fifty-nine on January 19, 1881 – only a few weeks before his sixtieth birthday. His death was a result of diabetes which, had tortured him the entire second half of his life.⁴⁷ After Mariette's death the French Egyptologist, of Italian origin, (Sir) Gaston (Camille) (Charles) Maspero (1846-1916)⁴⁸, became director of the Boulak Museum. Later after several years in France Gaston Maspero in 1899 returned to Egypt to become the director of the

⁴⁴ The Art-Journal. London, UK: James S. Virtue. ♦ New Series. Vol. VII (Old Series. Vol. XXIII), August 2, 1861, p. 253. ("THE MUSEUM OF THE PASHA OF EGYPT"; signed "F. W. F.", p. 253.)

⁴⁵ Frederick William Fairholt. *Up the Nile, and Home Again. A handbook for travellers and a travel-book for the library.* By F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A., Honorary member of The Society of Antiquaries of Normandy, Picardy, and Poitiers. London: Chapman and Hall, 1862, p. 77. (CHAPTER IV. BOULAK TO MINIEH, pp. 77-126.)

⁴⁶ For the old mosque, see note³⁶ above and note⁵⁷³ and note⁶⁸¹ below.

⁴⁷ Heinrich Brugsch. *Mein Leben und mein Wandern.* Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1894, p. 352. (VII. Vogelfrei; *Mein Freund Mariette Stirbt*, pp. 347-52.)

⁴⁸ For Gaston Maspero, see: Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier. *Who was who in Egyptology.* 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995, pp. 278-9.

new Cairo Museum that opened in 1902.⁴⁹ It is told that during the World Exhibition in Paris in 1867 Mariette had happened to hear about a young man who through private study had learned to read hieroglyphs, and was capable of translating hieroglyphic texts with fluency, and who lately had been educated at the École Normale in Paris. Mariette gave him two newly found texts, which the French Egyptologist Théodule Deveria and others had copied out. After less than a fortnight the young man presented to him a full translation in French of the texts. This young man was Gaston Maspero who at this time was only twenty-one, but had been interested in hieroglyphs since he was fourteen while still at school.⁵⁰ He published these two texts the same year. It is obvious that Maspero had a natural talent for hieroglyphs, and this talent was now realized by the head of the Egyptian Antiquities Service.

Interestingly regarding the Boulak Museum, I became aware of some memories from two contemporaries of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-1891).⁵¹ The first by H. P. B.'s younger sister shows that H. P. B. lived in Cairo in 1871-72, and that she at one time lived in Boulak near the museum⁵² – one might wonder if she not has visited it now and again in these years when Mariette was its Director, and perhaps passed by the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu!⁵³ Another visit to Cairo took place in November 1884 on her way to India, and here we are told that she visited the museum. Isabel Cooper-Oakley (1854-1914), an English Theosophist, says that:

*H. P. B. was a most interesting fellow-traveller, her varied information about every part of Egypt was both extensive and extraordinary. Would that I had space to go into the details of that time in Cairo, the drives through the quaint and picturesque bazaars, and her descriptions of the people and their ways. Especially interesting was one long afternoon spent at the Boulak Museum on the borders of the Nile, where H. P. B. astonished Maspero, the well-known Egyptologist, with her knowledge, and as we went through the museum she pointed out to him the grades of the Initiate kings, and how they were to be known from the esoteric side.*⁵⁴

⁴⁹ See note⁶⁰ below.

⁵⁰ See: *René Cagnat*. Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Gaston Maspero. ♦ Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Paris 1917, pp. 445-82. ♦ Also: *Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier*. Who was who in Egyptology. 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995, pp. 278-9.

⁵¹ *Helena Petrovna Hahn Blavatsky* (1831-1891). Russian theosophist and traveller. In 1875 in New York City, with Col. Henry S. Olcott, she started the Theosophical Society.

⁵² See: *A. P. Sinnett*. Incidents in the Life of Madame Blavatsky, Compiled from Information Supplied by her Relatives and Friends. London: George Redway, 1886, pp. 158-63. ♦ Also: *The Esoteric World of Madame Blavatsky. Insights into the Life of a Modern Sphinx*. Collected by *Daniel H. Caldwell*. Wheaton, IL: Quest Books, Theosophical Publishing House, 2000, pp. 32-5. (*October 1871 – April 1872, Egypt*) Memory by *Vera P. de Zhelikhovsky* (1835-1896), HPB's younger sister.

⁵³ But see: *Khaled Khan [Aleister Crowley]*. The Heart of the Master. London, UK: O.T.O., 1938., etc.

⁵⁴ Quoted from: H.P.B. In Memory of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky; By some of Her Pupils. London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1891, p. 14. (*At Cairo and Madras*, pp. 14-8.) ♦ See also: *The Esoteric World of Madame Blavatsky. Insights into the Life of a Modern Sphinx*. Collected by *Daniel H. Caldwell*. Wheaton, IL: Quest Books, Theosophical Publishing House, 2000, pp. 276-7. (*November 1884, Egypt*) ♦ *C. W. Leadbeater* writes concerning H.P.B. and the Boulak Museum: "Also she [i.e. H.P.B.] introduced us to Monsieur Maspero, the Curator of the Boulak Museum, as it was then. I remember particularly how we went through the Museum with this gentleman and how Madame Blavatsky was able to give him a great mass of most interesting information about the various curiosities that were under his care." ♦ *C. W. Leadbeater*. How Theosophy Came to Me. Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1930, p. 80. (*Chapter VI; An Elder Brother*)



French humorous illustration from the Egyptian section of the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867. The text stated: « *Vrai ! les anciens égyptiens n'étaient pas beaux.* » – True! The Ancient Egyptians were not beautiful. From the *Le Monde Illustré*, 1867.

As mentioned, the Boulak Museum was located on the borders of the Nile, and in 1878 it was flooded and severely damaged, and Mariette began asking authorities for a better and more permanent location for a museum.⁵⁵ In 1889 the Boulak Collection was transferred to a palace of Ismail Pasha at Gizeh (Figure 3).⁵⁶ Ismail Pasha had erected the palace for his harem – a huge rambling edifice built in a light and unsubstantial Orient style on the left bank of the River Nile, opposite the island of Rôda, and where the Cairo Zoo is today. The museum, which was inaugurated in 1890, had now the space that the old museum lacked, but there was danger of fire⁵⁷, among other dangers. This museum had a second floor, but its collection was in 1902 transferred to the new built Cairo Museum at Kasr en-Nil, the museum today known as the Egyptian Museum in Midan-el-Tahrir (Liberation Square).⁵⁸ An account of the history of the various museums relates:

13-7-1902 Gizeh Museum became a vacant building. Mariette tomb took its place in the New Museum Garden.”⁵⁹ – “15 November 1902 an un forgetful [sic] day in the history of the Museum in which it was opened to the public and thus the hope of the generations since Mohamed Ali became a real fact, a Museum for the day and for tomorrow.”⁶⁰

The Cairo Museum was inaugurated on November 15, 1902, but as stated by Maspero in his introduction to the first guide to the new museum (signed September 25, 1902), *Guide du visiteur au musée du Caire* (1902), the transfer of the collection to the Cairo Museum, begun on March 9, 1902, had been completed on July 13, 1902, and the museum had been open for visitors since early in August, 1902:

Le Musée de Gizéh n'est plus aujourd'hui qu'un souvenir du passé, comme le Musée de Boulaq avant lui. Le transfert des monuments, commencé le 9 mars 1902, a été achevé quatre mois plus tard, le 13 juillet.

⁵⁵ See: Zahi A. Hawass. Hidden Treasures of the Egyptian Museum. One Hundred Masterpieces from the Centennial Exhibition. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2001, pp. xxviii-xxix. (*History of the Museum*) (A Celebration of One Hundred Years of the Egyptian Museum, pp. ix-xxix.) • See note¹¹², note⁵⁹⁰ and note⁷⁰⁶ below.

⁵⁶ Dia' Abou-Ghazi. The Eighty Anniversary of the Museum's Building. Dates in the removal from Gizah to Kasr el-Nil. ♦ Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1988, Tome LXVII, pp. 17-8, Pl. IV. (pp. 1-78, + plates)(*Dates in the removal from Gizah to Kasr el-Nil*, pp. 17-8, 76, 78.) On Pl. IV is found a picture of the Gizeh Museum – “The palace of Isma'il Pacha consecrated for Giza museum in 1890” • “On the left bank of the Nile, opposite the island of Rôda, stands the Palace of Gizeh, just below the now decayed Village of Gizeh,. [...] This palace now contains the great viceregal collection of Egyptian antiquities. [...] The Palace of Gizeh, a hug rambling edifice, built in a light and unsubstantial Oriental style, with about 500 saloons and apartments, was erected by the Khedive Isma'il for his harem at a cost stated at 120 million francs. Since 1889 the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, formerly at Bûlâk, has been installed here, though danger of fire, if nothing else, renders it a very unsuitable depository for so valuable a collection. The building of a museum in Cairo itself is projected for the next few years.”. Karl Baedeker. Egypt. Handbook for Travellers. Fourth remodelled Edition, Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1898, p. 75.

⁵⁷ See note¹¹² below.

⁵⁸ Guide1903, Preface ((III) – VI). • For Maspero's guide to the new museum, see note⁹⁰⁴ below.

⁵⁹ Dia' Abou-Ghazi. The Eighty Anniversary of the Museum's Building. Dates in the removal from Gizah to Kasr el-Nil. ♦ Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1988, Tome LXVII, p. 18. (Pp. 1-78, + plates)(*Dates in the removal from Gizah to Kasr el-Nil*, pp. 17-8, 76, 78.)

⁶⁰ Ibid., The Journey of the Egyptian Museum from Boulaq to Kasr el-Nil. p. 17. (*The Journey of the Egyptian Museum from Boulaq to Kasr el-Nil*, pp. 15-7.) • For Mohamed Ali and his attempt to create a museum, see note³⁶ above.

*Leur aménagement dans les salles avait dès le début marché parallèlement avec leur exode, si bien que, dans les premiers jours d'août, le Musée nouveau du Caire aurait pu à la rigueur recevoir déjà les visiteurs*⁶¹

The distance to the Gizeh Museum was, of course, longer than the distance had been for a traveller staying, for instance, at Shephard's Hotel in the European quarter who wanted to visit the Boulak Museum, since the new museum was situated on the left bank of the River Nile – the distance from Shephard's to the Gizeh Museum by way of Pont de Kasr el-Nil, or Great Nile Bridge, which in Arabic just was El-Kubri, 'The Bridge', was some five kilometres, and the shortest route from Shephard's to the Boulak Museum was about two kilometres long. However, the Gizeh Museum could some years later be reached by an electric tramway that ran from the Central Station and over Pont de Kasr el-Nil to the museum. The Gizeh Museum was demolished (see Figure 5) after the transferring of its objects in 1902.⁶²

We find for the second time the Stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu mentioned, or rather briefly described this time together with the number "666", in the French guide to the Gizeh Museum from 1892:

*Enfin on remarquera (666) une stèle en bois peint, opisthographe, au nom d'Ankhefenkhonsou, prêtre de Mentou.*⁶³

– Lastly observe (666) a stele of painted wood written on both sides and bearing the name Ankhefenkhonsou, priest of Mentu. After the move of the collection to the new Cairo Museum a

⁶¹ GUIDE DU VISITEUR AU MUSÉE DU CAIRE PAR G. MASPERO. LE CAIRE: IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE, 1902, p. [V]. (AVERTISSEMENT, pp. [IV]-VIII.) • See also note⁸⁵ below.

⁶² *Dia' Abou-Ghazi*. The Eighty Anniversary of the Museum's Building. Dates in the removal from Gizah to Kasr el-Nil. ♦ Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1988, Tome LXVII, *The Journey of the Egyptian Museum from Boulaq to Kasr el-Nil*, pp. 15-7, Pl. IV.

⁶³ Notice des Principaux Monuments Exposés au Musée de Gizeh. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892, p. 165. (Premier Étage, Salle 59, Cage M.) In 1892 the museum got a new Director, the French geologist and archaeologist Jacques de Morgan (1857-1924), who succeeded E. Grébaut. • For this, see: E. A. Wallis Budge. *The Nile. Notes for Travellers in Egypt*. Eighth Edition. London & Cairo: Thos. Cook & Son Ltd., 1902, pp. 560-1. There were 3 editions of the guide issued in 1893, 1894 and 1895. I have not been able to examine the 1893 edition but both in the 1894 and 1895 edition is the stele (№ 666) found on p. 173. In 1897 the last edition of the guide to the Gizeh Museum was published, and the same text as given to the stele in 1892 is found also on p. 173, only "Enfin on" is erroneously given as "Enfin ou". It seems that 1892 is the first time the number 666 is found in print as belonging to the Stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu. The first edition of the guide from 1892 was the work of Eugène Grébaut and Georges Émile Jules Daressy – I shall go into detail about this later. (See note⁷²¹ and note⁴⁵⁰¹ below). E. Grébaut resigned later in 1892 after only six years at the Antiquities Service where he in 1889 had carried out the removing of the Boulaq Museums collection to the Gizeh Museum, and issued its first guide. Jacques de Morgan became, as mentioned above, new Director in 1892, and he was in 1897 succeeded by Victor Clément Georges Philippe Loret (1859-1946), French Egyptologist, naturalist, and musician. Loret discovered several royal mummies and tombs in the Valley of the Kings. He was shortly succeeded by Gaston Maspero. • For E. Grébaut, Jacques de Morgan and Victor Loret, see: Warren R. Dawson, Erik P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier. *Who was who in Egyptology*. 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995. • See note⁷¹⁸ below for the stele's last years in the Boulaq Museum and first years in the Gizeh Museum. • For the Gizeh Guides see: *Dia' Abou-Ghazi*. The Eighty Anniversary of the Museum's Building. The Museum's Guides and Catalogues. ♦ Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1988, Tome LXVII, p. 60. (pp. 1-78, + plates) (*The Museum's Guides and Catalogues*, pp. 59-74.)



"Le Caire. Le pont de Guézireh."

The 'Pont de Kasr el-Nil', or Great Nile Bridge, at the point where the bridge met the road leading to the Gizeh Museum. Greenish blue glass plate positive from around c. 1900 by unknown French photographer. © From the author's collection.

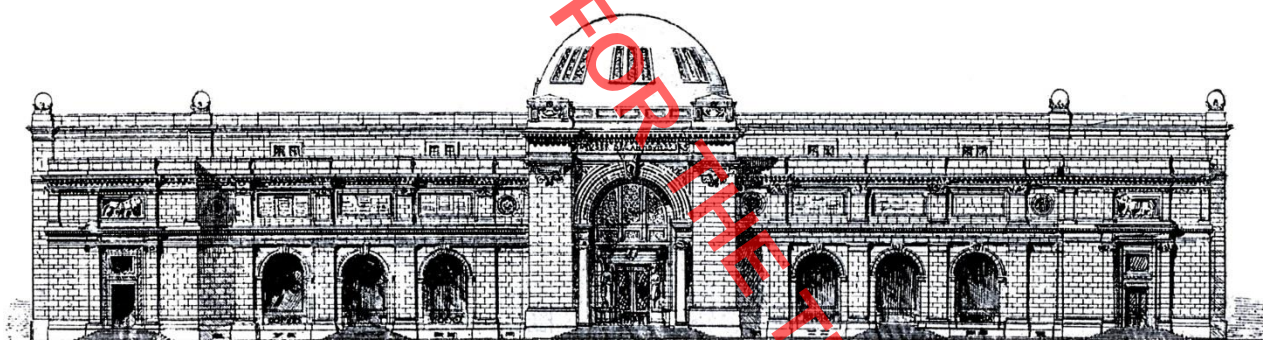
new guide in French by Gaston Maspero was, as mentioned, published in 1902, and its description was almost identical with the one in the 1892 Gizeh catalogue:

Enfin, on remarquera (n° 666) une stèle en bois peint, opisthographe, au nom d'Ankhoufnikhonsou, prêtre de Montou.

The above French description of the stele "n° 666"⁶⁴ was in the English 1903 *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, which was a translation of the French 1902 guide, translated as:

*Lastly (Nº 666) a stela of painted wood written on both sides and bearing the name Ankhufrnikhonsu, priest of Montu.*⁶⁵

The new Cairo Museum (Figure 4) was built in Neo-classical style – in my opinion not a very handsome structure, except for the inside where the halls are similar to Pylons at the ancient temples, and the rooms resemble in many ways the rooms found in the temple at Edfu. The design of the building was by the French architect Marcel-Lazare Dourgnon.⁶⁶ The foundation-stone to the



new museum was laid on April 1, 1897, by the Khedive (see Figure 2). In a casket in the corner stone was placed, among other things, the record of the event signed by the Khedive. Surprisingly, six bulls were sacrificed in honour of the occasion – two at the commencement, and four at the close of the ceremony – and they were divided among the workmen.⁶⁷ The building was finished in 1901.⁶⁸ Gaston Maspero, who had returned to Egypt from France in 1899, became the Cairo

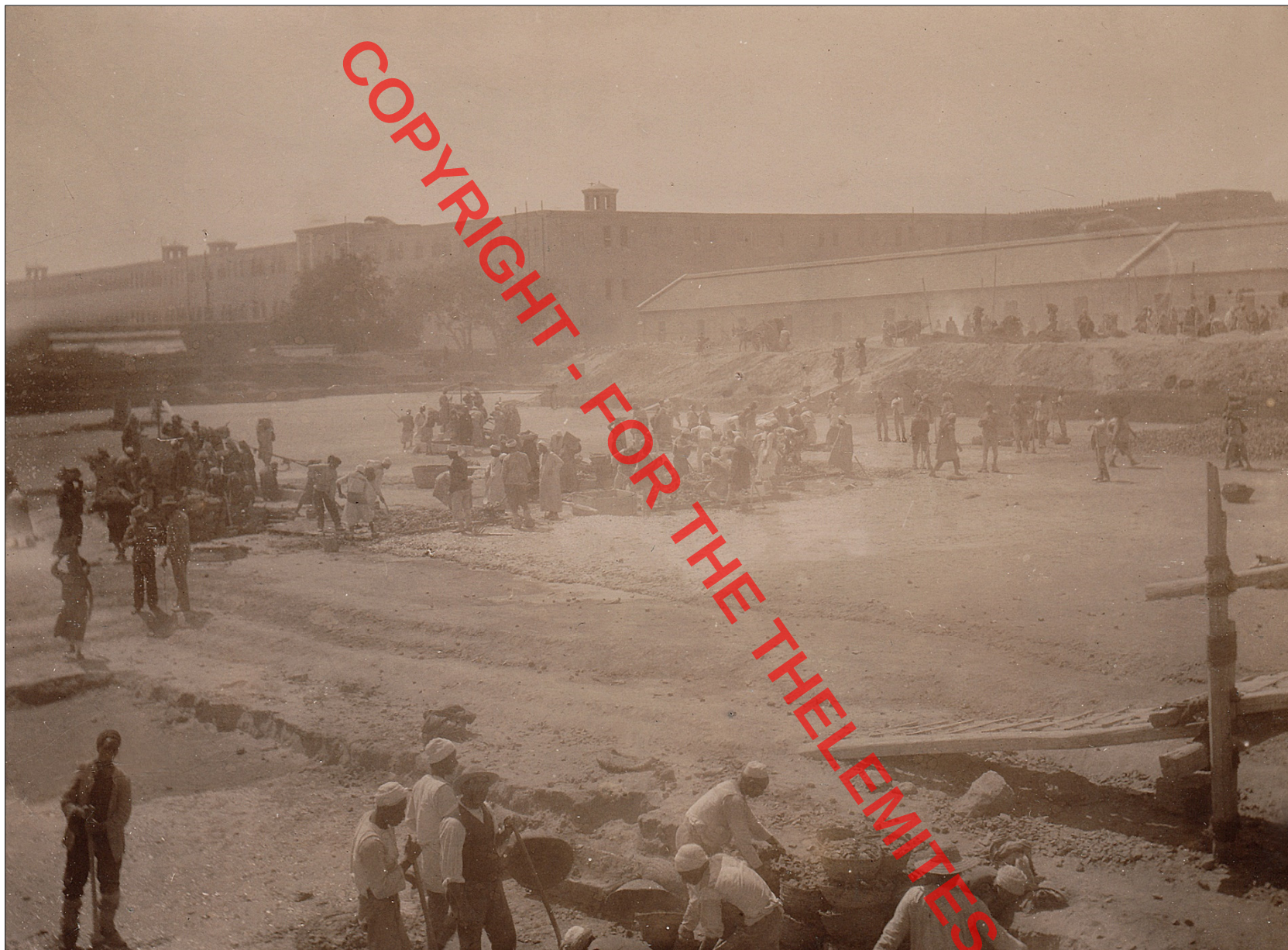
⁶⁴ GUIDE DU VISITEUR AU MUSÉE DU CAIRE PAR G. MASPERO. LE CAIRE: IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE, 1902, p. 220. (*Premier étage; Salle F; Cage K.; n° 666*) • For the French Guide from 1902, see note³ above.

⁶⁵ Guide1903, p. 302.

⁶⁶ Marcel-Lazare Dourgnon (1858-1911), French architect who also designed IFAO's building – Institut français d'archéologie orientale – located behind the museum and the French hospital. • For him see: *Donald Malcolm Reid. Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003, pp. 194-5.

⁶⁷ The American Register. Paris, France: The American Register. ♦ Saturday, April 24, 1897, p. 3. (*Correspondence; THE NEW MUSEUM AT CAIRO; [Signed] Florence Groff, p. 3.*)

⁶⁸ The Times. London, UK: Printed and published by George Edward Wright. ♦ Friday, April 16, 1897, p. 8. (*The New Museum For Egypt, p. 8.*) • For 1901 as the year when the building was finished, see: *Dia' Abou-Ghazi. The Eighty Anniversary of the Museum's Building. The Journey of the Egyptian Museum from Boulaq to Kasr el-Nil.* ♦ Annales



'Foundations du Musée de Caire', 1897. French photograph from 1897 showing the start of the construction of the new Cairo Museum. In the background is seen a part of the Barracks of the British troops. The Barracks were demolished following the British Army's exit from Cairo in 1946 E.V. © From the author's collection.

Museum's initial director. The new Cairo Museum was opened by the Khedive on November 15, 1902. The London *Times* wrote about the opening of the new museum:

THE MUSEUM OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES

Cairo, Nov. 15.

*The Khedive to-day opened the new building of the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities here. Lord Cromer and Lord Kitchener, who had returned to Cairo earlier in the day, the Ministers, and the Sirdar were present, in addition to about 100 European and native officials and notables. The whole collection has been carefully arranged in the new building under the supervision of the director, M. Maspero, the curator, Emil Brugsch Bey, and others.*⁶⁹

However, there were some problems with the new building, as described by the Public Works Department in Egypt in their annual report for 1902:

*The building is on the whole, very satisfactory, and well suited to the purpose for which it was designed, but the lighting has given a considerable amount of trouble. The glass sky-lights cover a very large area (2.500 square metres) and not only cause too bright and ill-regulated a light, but cause the upper story to be intensely hot during the summer months.*⁷⁰

– and the report for 1904 E.V. stated further:

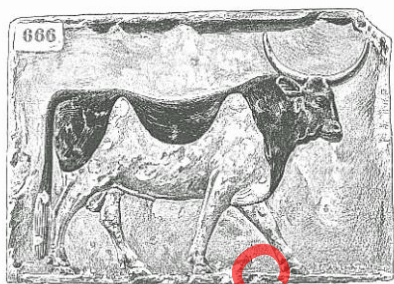
*Experiments in connection with lighting of the building have been continued and, at last, a successful result seems to have been attained. The roof is not absolutely water-tight throughout, which is not surprising if the immense area covered by it – and the quantity of glass it contains – be taken into consideration. Steps are being taken to remedy this evil.*⁷¹

du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1988, Tome LXVII, p. 17. (pp. 1-78, + plates)(*The Journey of the Egyptian Museum from Boulaq to Kasr el-Nil*, pp. 15-7.)

⁶⁹ The Times. London, UK: Printed and published by George Edward Wright. ♦ Monday, November 17, 1902, p. 5. (*The Museum of Egyptian Antiquities*, p. 5.)

⁷⁰ Report Upon The Administration Of The Public Works Department In Egypt For 1902. By Sir William Garstin, G.C.M.G. Cairo: National Printing Department, 1903, p. 54. (*Part II. – WORKS OTHER THAN IRRIGATION; THE NEW EGYPTOLOGICAL MUSEUM (CAIRO).*), p. 54.

⁷¹ Report Upon The Administration Of The Public Works Department In Egypt For 1904. By Sir William Garstin, G.C.M.G. Cairo: National Printing Department, 1905, p. 43. (*Part II. – WORKS OTHER THAN IRRIGATION; IV - THE ANTIQUITIES SERVICE*, pp. 40-3.)



It was a new museum and a new guide, and according to the latter the place where the Stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu, “(N^o 666)”, was situated in March 1904 E.V., or to be more exactly at the Upper Floor, “Room F”, “Case K”.⁷² In the English guide from 1903 the number “666” had also been given to: “a siliceous limestone from Mendes.”, showing a bull.⁷³ However, it turns out that it not was an error in writing since the first volume of Maspero’s *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l’Orient Classique*, from 1895, has a picture of this limestone (left), and it has a sticker with the number “666” in its upper left corner⁷⁴ – this could, in fact, indicate that the sticker on the stele originated in the old Boulak Museum! Speaking of the new guide, the Australian author and travel writer Douglas Sladen⁷⁵ was lost in it a few years later. He writes with humour in his book *Oriental Cairo. The city of the “Arabian Nights”* from 1911 E.V. about the museum:

*There is a most interesting catalogue, but it has not been brought up to date, and has a woeful want of lucidity in its arrangement: it is only by the merest fluke that you could ever find your place in it; it might have been easier to find your way about in the labyrinth of Crete, where the Minotaur was kept; and why are only the most important objects labelled? Everything is labelled at the British Museum and the Louvre.*⁷⁶

This calls to mind the words from *Liber L vel Legis*: “the ill-ordered house in the Victorious City.”⁷⁷ It seems that Sladen visited Egypt in 1907⁷⁸, and bearing in mind that it was a new museum, and a new arrangement of the collection – a collection where some parts had been in store in Gizeh⁷⁹ – then I think that some of what he mentions was to be expected, since it must have been a tremendous task to move the museum all things considered. They most certainly also ran into some problems regarding missing excavation records, as we shall see later. The lack of a catalogue, and an unlabelled exhibition, had in fact also been discussed when the collection had moved from Boulak to Gizeh, and a telegram from Cairo published in the *London Times* in December 1891, announcing that the government had asked the Caisse de la Dette Publique (Public Debt

⁷² Guide1903, p. 302. • See note⁵⁶² below.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 176.

⁷⁴ G. Maspero. *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l’Orient classique*. 3 vols. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1895-1899. • Tome 1 (1895). Les origines. Égypte & Chaldée, p. 119. (« TAUREAU SACRÉ, HAPIS OU MNÈVIS [666] ») (CHAPITRE DEUXIÈME, pp. [81]-132)

⁷⁵ Douglas Brooke Wheelton Sladen (1856-1947).

⁷⁶ Douglas Sladen. *Oriental Cairo. The City of the “Arabian Nights”*. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co. and Hurst & Blackett Ltd., 1911, p. 264.

⁷⁷ *Liber L vel Legis*, III, 11. “The Victorious City” is of course (Misr) al-Qahirah, i.e. “The victorious”, the epithet of Cairo. But the words quoted above has a much deeper and hidden significance not to be spoken of here, only to say that it is all in *Liber L vel Legis*. • For al-Qahirah, see note⁴⁸⁹ below.

⁷⁸ Douglas Sladen. *Oriental Cairo. The City of the “Arabian Nights”*. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co. and Hurst & Blackett Ltd., 1911, p. 350.

⁷⁹ Some objects were in store in the old museum in Boulak, and in some storage houses at the Azbakia (Ezbekiyeh) Gardens where in 1835 the first Egyptian collection was located in some store rooms. • See: Zahi A. Hawass. *Hidden Treasures of the Egyptian Museum. One Hundred Masterpieces from the Centennial Exhibition*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2001, pp. xxviii-xxix. (*History of the Museum*)(*A Celebration of One Hundred Years of the Egyptian Museum*, pp. ix-xxix.) • See note¹⁰³ below.

Commission) for £ 50,000 from the general reserve fund on behalf of the Antiquities Department, stated about the museum:

[...] *The Ghizeh Museum especially is without a catalogue, its exhibits are unlabelled, and its immense quantities of valuable objects are stored away from public view, to the utter disappointment of visitors, who desire to do more than merely pass an idle hour in the building.*⁸⁰

– as mentioned above, the first guide to the museum was published shortly after, in 1892.⁸¹

In EG Fra. P. says about the location of the “Boulak Museum”, on describing the quarter in which he and Ouarda rented the apartment where the writing of *Liber L vel Legis* later took place:

*The city was Cairo. The street, or rather streets, I do not remember. There is a ‘Place’ where four or five streets intersect; it is near the Boulak Museum, but a fairly long way from Shepherd’s. The quarter is fashionably European.*⁸²

Shepherd’s Hotel was located in the city’s European quarter, in Sharia Kamel, very close to the El Ezbekiyeh – the Ezbekieh Gardens – and to the north-east of Kasr en-Nil. The walking distance between Shepherd’s and the new Cairo Museum at Kasr en-Nil was about 2 kilometres. The walking distance between Shepherd’s and the old Boulak Museum was also about 2 kilometres, when using the bridge at the end of Sharia Boulaq, Kantaret Abbu-Leileh, and about 2.4 kilometres when using Kantaret el-Boulak, at Kasr en-Nil. I shall return later to the apartment that the Crowleys rented in Cairo in March 1904 E.V. Crowley had stayed some three weeks at Shepherd’s Hotel during his return to England from the expedition to Chogo Ri⁸³ in the Himalayas in 1902. He arrived in Cairo 2 days after his twenty-seventh birthday, and writes about the stay in *Confessions*:

I arrived in Cairo on the fourteenth [of October] and was transported to the seventh heaven. I lived at Shepherd’s Hotel till Guy Fawke’s Day [Wednesday, November 5] wallowing in the flesh pots. I would not even go out to see the Pyramids. I wasn’t going to have forty centuries look down on me. Confound their impudence! I could not even bother to study Islam from the religious point of view, but I undertook a course of Ethnology which remains in my mind as the one study where the roses have no thorns. I got a typist and

⁸⁰ The telegram was quoted by the editor of the weekly review *The Academy*, who had appended the quotation to a letter from Cairo from the English philologist, and archaeologist Archibald Henry Sayce (1845-1933), headed “How are the monuments of Egypt to be preserved?” • *The Academy; A Weekly Review of Literature, Science, and Art*. London, UK: The Academy Publishing Office. • Vol. XL, No. 1022, December 5, 1891, p. 509. (*Letter from Egypt. How are the monuments of Egypt to be preserved? By Prof. Sayce; Telegram published in The Times dated “Cairo; Dec. 1, 1891”, pp. 508-9.*)

⁸¹ For this guide, see note⁶³ above.

⁸² EG, p. 109.

⁸³ K2 or Mt. Godwin Austen. The second highest mountain in the world, 8,611 m. (28,251 ft.). It is located in the Karakoram Range of Kashmir in Pakistan. It was first ascended by an Italian expedition in 1954 E.V. Crowley writes in his notes to *The Sword of Song*: “Chogo. – The Giant. This is the native name of “K2”; or Mount Godwin-Austen, as Col. Godwin-Austen would call it. It is the second highest known mountain in the world, as Devadhunga [i.e. Mt. Everest] is the first.” • For this quote, see: Aleister Crowley. *The Collected Works of Aleister Crowley*. Foyers, Inverness, Scotland: Society for the Propagation of Religious Truth, Volume II, 1906, p. 198. (Note⁵⁴ on p. 153 – *Ascension Day in The Sword of Song*) • For the later expedition to Kangchenjunga, see note³⁸³³ below. • See also note³⁴² below.

*dictated an account of my various wanderings in my better moments, but most of the time I was earnestly pursuing my researches in the fish market.*⁸⁴

Note that no Egyptian museum is being mentioned. As shown above, the Gizeh Museum was empty, and the new Cairo Museum not yet inaugurated, but the new museum had been open to visitors since early in August, 1902.⁸⁵ The mentioned “fish market” (Figure 12), which in Arabic was *El-Was’a*, is not as one might think the city’s fish market, but at that time one of the most disreputable quarters of Cairo, located not far from the Ezbekieh Gardens and its tourists.⁸⁶ A colourful description of this quarter is given by the Frenchborn travel writer A. B. de Guerville⁸⁷ in his book *New Egypt*, from 1906 E.V.:

*A Japanese passing through Cairo asked, I presume for curiosity, if there was such a thing as a “yoshiwara” in the town. “My dear sir,” said the English officer to whom the question had been put, “it would be quite unnecessary. We have here so many ladies quite comme il en faut.” In place of the official “yoshiwara,” there is, however, a whole quarter where vice reigns and flourishes – the Fish-market. It is here that in the cafés and other houses one can see the famous danse du ventre, whilst in the very lowest places, for a francs, one can assist at scenes of the most revolting immorality. The danse is far from being as interesting as people imagine. I do not know whether these extraordinary contortions were ever artistic, but if they were so they must have sadly fallen off. To-day, the majority of the women who twist and turn their bodies in public are ugly, old, repulsive, and rolling in fat. I have said the majority, for there are without doubt a few exceptions, at least there were some dozen years ago. [...] As to the houses where one can witness indescribable orgies, I pass them by in silence, simply remarking that they would not exist a day were it not for the tourists who support them.*⁸⁸

Sir George Newnes (1851-1910), English publisher and editor, was highly judgmental about the Fish Market and its inhabitants in an 1898 article about Egypt in his magazine, *The Strand Magazine*:

A most remarkable and revolting sight in Cairo is what is called the Fish Market. This quarter is inhabited by the lowest of the low. You can hardly call them men and women, they have sunk depravity. The males are in cafes, drunk with hasheesh – a sort of opium, which they smoke till they imagine themselves in battle, and sway sticks about in a helpless, stupid kind of way, just as if they were dreaming. The women stand or lie about the dirty, narrow streets, openly plying their horrible trade. At eleven o’clock they are compelled to go inside, and they sit behind iron bars inviting passers-by to come into their dark dens. The sight is indeed a sad one. It would be impossible to find women more utterly lost to every thing womanly. They are as degraded as they are ugly. It is a wonder that such a scene is possible in a country under British

⁸⁴ Confessions, p. 333.

⁸⁵ See note⁶¹ above.

⁸⁶ On its location is said in *Baedeker. Egypt and the Sudan*. Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1908, p. 47: “Adjoining the Ezbekîyeh on the N.E. is the small Mîdân el-Khaznedâr [...] The narrow lanes to the N.E. lead to the so-called Fish Market (El-Was’a), one of the most disreputable quarters of Cairo.”

⁸⁷ Amédée Baillot de Guerville (1869-1911). French-born war correspondent, and travel writer.

⁸⁸ A. B. de Guerville. *New Egypt*. New York, NY: E. P. Dutton & Company and London, UK: William Heinemann, 1906, pp. 78-9.

rule. It is only fair to say, however, that since the British occupation, much has been done to sweep away these vice spots, and doubtless more will be accomplished in the future.⁸⁹

– it does not occur to Sir George Newnes that his description could have fitted a larger part of London only some hundred years before, however, in London it was gin and prostitution. In the eighteenth century multitudes of men and woman were rolling about the streets drunk in consequence of the many gin-shops, and prostitution and gin-shops were closely associated, since gin-shops were public places that brought prostitute and customer together. By the mid-eighteenth century there were over 7000 gin-shops in London. In the mid-1790s greater London had a population of nearly one million people, and in 1796 Patrick Colquhoun (1745-1820), a Scottish born police magistrate and statistical writer, wrote in *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*:

[...] it is considered, that (including the various classes,) above Fifty Thousand Females are supposed to live chiefly by Prostitution in this great Metropolis⁹⁰ [Written with modern typography.]

In fact, Crowley was taking a rest after his visit to Chogo Ri – today best known as K2 – and had found a most magnificent rest home to stay in before his return to England. In the book *To-day on the Nile*, from 1905 E.V., the American author Harry Westbrook Dunning⁹¹ writes about hotels in Cairo:

*Shepherds is the oldest and most renowned. Some years ago it was the only first-class hotel in the city. It is still an excellent hostelry but can no longer claim to be the best or only one. Its reputation, however, is so good and so wide spread that many tourists would not think of going elsewhere.*⁹²

However, Shepherd's bustling atmosphere was not to everyone's taste. Some thirty years before Crowley's visit had Mark Twain in a humorous travel book described the hotel by the words:

*We are stopping at Shepherd's Hotel, which is the worst on earth except the one I stopped at once in a small town in the United States. It is pleasant to read this sketch in my note-book, now, and know that I can stand Shepherd's Hotel, sure, because I have been in one just like it in America and survived: I stopped at the Benton House. It used to be a good hotel, but that proves nothing – I used to be a good boy, for that matter. Both of us have lost character of late years. The Benton is not a good hotel. The Benton lacks a very great deal of being a good hotel. Perdition is full of better hotels than the Benton*⁹³

⁸⁹ The Strand Magazine. An Illustrated Monthly. London, UK: George Newnes, Ltd. ♦ Vol. XV, No. 87, March, 1898, p. 308. (From *Cairo to Cataract*; By Sir George Newnes, Bart, p. 305f.)

⁹⁰ Patrick Colquhoun. *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis; Containing a Detail of the Various Crimes and Misdemeanors by which Public and Private Property and Security are, at present, injured and endangered: And Suggesting Remedies for their Prevention. The Fifth Edition, Revised and Enlarged.* London, Printed by H. Fry ... for C. Dilly Poultry, MDCCXCVII (1797), p. 421, note*. (Chap. XV., pp. 408-41.)

⁹¹ Harry Westbrook Dunning, Ph. D (1871-1960). American author and instructor in Semitic languages.

⁹² Harry Westbrook Dunning. *To-day on the Nile.* New York: James Pott & Company, 1905, p. 260. ♦ Note also the mention of "the Fishmarket at Cairo" in: Aleister Crowley. *The Scrutinies of Simon Iff.* Edited by Martin P. Starr. Chicago, IL: The Teitan Press Inc., 1987, p. 20. ♦ Also in: Aleister Crowley. *Moonchild: A Prologue.* London, UK: The Mandrake Press, 1929, p. 86. (Chapter VI – *Of a Dinner, with the Talk of Divers Guests*, pp. 78-90.)

⁹³ Mark Twain [Samuel Langhorne Clemens]. *Innocents Abroad or the New Pilgrim's Progress; Being some Accounts of the Steamship Quaker City's Pleasure Excursion to Europe and the Holy Land; With Descriptions of Countries,*

– Crowley came from ‘a second highest hell on earth’, if not the worst of lodgings, and was lost in the flesh pots! Sheppard’s Hotel, together with Turf Club, was later burned down on “Black Saturday”, 26 January 1952 E.V., during the anti-British unrest. When Crowley writes: “*I would not even go out to see the Pyramids. I wasn’t going to have forty centuries look down on me.*”, he is in fact quoting Napoleon Bonaparte, who was reported in a letter by his campaign’s chief tailor to have said to his generals before the Battle of the Pyramids in July 1798, while pointing at the pyramids in the distance: « *Allez, et pensez que du haut des ces monuments, quarante siècles vous observant!* »⁹⁴ – Go, and know that from the top of those monuments, forty centuries are watching you! Later a medal was issued depicting Napoleon before the pyramids addressing his generals by the words: « *Soldats! Du haut de ces pyramides 40 siecles nous contemplent.* »⁹⁵ – Soldiers, from the top of these pyramids forty centuries look down upon us – the words reproduced in some accounts. The Battle where Napoleon defeated the Mamelukes actually took place at Embaba, some 16 kilometres north of the pyramids. As observed by later scholars so was the forty centuries clearly a guess, since no one in those days knew, from a scholarly point of view, when the pyramids actually were built. Khufu, the stated builder of the Great Pyramid, reigned from 2609-2584 BCE, so Napoleon’s 4000 years was not a bad guess! Napoleon’s dating was done at a time when most thought that the earth was some 6000 years old. Let me improve the occasion to explore the myth, found even among some modern Egyptologists, that Napoleon should have shot the nose off the Sphinx (Figure 49), and that his army should have used its face as a target for guns. This charge is not true of more than one reason, firstly because earlier representations made by westerners of the Sphinx depict it with its nose missing, and furthermore must it be remembered that Napoleon had with him a large group of scholars and scientists to conduct the first scientific study of the country and its antiquities – more than 160 scholars and scientists, known as the French Commission on the Sciences and Arts of Egypt. Their work was published 1809-18 in the 23 vols. *Description de l’Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l’expédition de l’armée française* – Description of Egypt, or the collection of observations and research which were made in Egypt during the expedition of the French Army.⁹⁶ Members of Napoleon’s expedition visited, among other things, the ruins of the Temple at Deir el-Bahari (1798-1802), and drew a plan of the visible remains of the temple – and this visit took place only sixty years before Mariette’s 1858 discovery of the funeral belongings of the priests of Mentu. The nose of the Sphinx was according to medieval Arab scholars vandalized in 1378 A.D. by a fanatical sufi of the oldest and most highly respected sufi convent of Cairo, Mohammed Sa’im al-Dahr, who in retribution for the damage was lynched by the local inhabitants.⁹⁷

Nations, Incidents and Adventures, as they Appeared to the Author. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Company, 1869, p. 615. (Cairo) • This was Mark Twain’s second book; a travel book – fresh and humorous – which made him famous. • Samuel Langhorne Clemens (1835-1910). Pen name: Mark twain. American humorist.

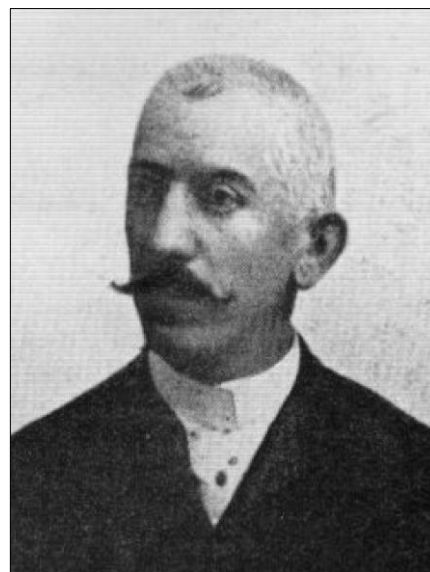
⁹⁴ François Bernoyer, Christian Tortel, Patricia Carlier. Bonaparte de Toulon au Caire : d’après 19 lettres de François Bernoyer, témoin participant chef de l’atelier d’habillement de l’Armée d’Orient. Saint Romain en Gal, France : Armine-édiculture, 1996, p. 86 (Lettre 8)

⁹⁵ Bronze medal. On the exergue: « *Napoleon en Égypte. 21 Juillet 1798.* » • See: C. Verly. CATALOGUE DES MÉDAILLES DU MUSÉE DE LILLE. (CATALOGUE DU MUSÉE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE ET NUMISMATIQUE DE LA VILLE DE LILLE), FRANCE : IMPRIMERIE DE L. DANIEL, GRAND’PLACE, 1860, pp. 350-1. (N^o 625.)

⁹⁶ A PARIS, DE L’IMPRIMERIE IMPERIALE, MDCCCIX-MDCCCXVIII. • See also note⁶⁷⁴ below.

⁹⁷ See: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS). London, UK: University of London. • Vol. 43, Issue 01, Feb. 1980: Ulrich Haarmann. Regional Sentiment in Medieval Islamic Egypt, pp. 55-66.

Crowley was thus familiar with Shepherd's Hotel, its location and surroundings, namely the European part of Cairo, when he returned to Egypt in 1904. Why did he then call the museum where Rose discovered the stele for the Boulak Museum? It seems clear to me that he must have heard, or, seen this name several times in order to make this mistake. If we look at the persons attached to the new Cairo Museum in 1904 E.V., it is conspicuous that both the Director and the Keeper had been working at the Boulak Museum, and also the two assistant curators, or, conservators had been employed there! As mentioned above, the Director (and also Director-General of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities) was now Gaston Maspero, who also was former Director of the Boulak Museum, and the Gizeh Museum. But also the Keeper of the new Cairo Museum had started his career in Boulak in the days of Auguste Mariette. His name was Émile (Charles) (Adalbert) Brugsch (1842-1930)⁹⁸ (see Figure 3), the brother of Heinrich Brugsch. Émile Brugsch had started his career as assistant conservator at the Boulak Museum. However, he soon started to sell mummies from the museum's storage on the black market, and Mariette turned the blind eye to it. However, at one time Mariette decided that enough was enough and dismissed Émile Brugsch. Probably since Émile Brugsch was the brother of his friend and colleague Heinrich Brugsch, and likely in order to make him think better of it, he decided to make him his assistant. In 1883 Émile Brugsch became the Keeper of the Boulak Museum, an office he held – as Crowley writes – also in 1904 E.V., but now in the Cairo Museum. Émile Brugsch was made successively Bey and Pasha by the Khedive, and Ismail Pasha had showed him his favour and married him to a woman of his harem. The two assistant curators or conservators in the Cairo Museum in 1904 E.V. were the Egyptian Egyptologist Ahmed-Bey Kamal (1851-1923)⁹⁹ (see Figure 3), and the French Egyptologist Georges Émile Jules Daressy (1864-1938)¹⁰⁰ (see Figure 3), who both had been attached to the museum at Boulak. It should be noted that both Kamal and Daressy had published several works in French. In *TSK1912* we are told concerning "The people" W. and Fra. P. were in contact with during the Cairo Working that:



Émile Brugsch (1842-1930)

*E. Brugsch Bey of the Boulak Museum dined with us once to discuss the Stélé in his charge, and to arrange for its "abstruction." His French assistant curator, who translated the hieroglyphs on the Stélé for us.*¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ For Émile Brugsch, see: Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier. Who was who in Egyptology. 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995, p. 66. • See also note⁶⁶³, note⁷⁹⁰ and note⁴⁶⁴⁵ below.

⁹⁹ Ahmed-Bey Kamal (1851-1923). Egyptian Egyptologist. Was made Pasha shortly before his death. • Ibid., p. 224.

¹⁰⁰ Georges Émile Jules Daressy (1864-1938). French Egyptologist. An extremely prolific contributor to journals. Wrote several books as well. Ibid., p. 116. • See note⁴⁴⁹⁹ above.

¹⁰¹ EG, p. 114.

TSK, p. 369: "[We print the most recent translation of the Stélé, by Messrs Alan Gardiner, Litt.D., and Battiscombe Gunn. It differs slightly from that used by Fra. P., which was due to the assistant-curator of the Museum at Bulak.]" For Alan Gardiner and Battiscombe Gunn, two great figures in Egyptology, and their teamwork on the so-called 'Gardiner-Gunn Translation' published in *TSK1912*, see note⁹⁴⁷ below.

And also in EG:

*Between March 23 and April 8 the Hieroglyphs on the Stélé were evidently translated by the assistant-curator at Boulak, into either French or English – I am almost sure it was French – and versified (as now printed) by me.*¹⁰²

It is clear to me that there is some possibility that during the conversation with Émile Brugsch Bey, or other persons attached to the Cairo Museum, Crowley may have heard the antiquities collection of the Cairo Museum spoken of as the 'Boulak Collection', or the mention of the 'Boulak Museum'. This had been said not with reference to location, but to its founding as collection, since the Boulak Museum was the first National Collection, or, National Museum, in the true sense of the word, and

¹⁰² EG, p. 116. • TSK, p. 383 has: "During the period March 23rd-April 8th, whatever else may have happened, it is at least certain that work was continued to some extent, that the inscriptions of the stélé were translated for Fra. P., and that he paraphrased the latter in verse. For we find him using, or prepared to use, the same in the text of *Liber Legis*." • On Fra. P.'s Paraphrase of the translated hieroglyphs upon the Stélé of Revealing, see note³⁶², note⁹²⁸, note⁹⁹¹, note²¹⁷⁵ and note²¹⁷⁶ below. • In *Aleister Crowley with Mary Desti and Leila Waddell*. *Magick. Liber ABA*, Book Four, Parts I-IV. Ed. Hymenaeus Beta. Second edition, revised and Enlarged. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1997, (hereinafter cited as "*Magick.I-IV*.")) there is a note²⁵⁸ to page 413 ("We print the most recent translation of the Stèle, by Messrs. Alan Gardiner, Litt. D., and Battiscombe Gunn. It differs slightly from that used by Fra. P., which was due to the assistant-curator of the Museum at Būlāq.²⁵⁸"), which reads: "The Būlāq Museum assistant curator who provided the translation was identified as Delormant in a MS note by J.F.C. Fuller to page proofs for a planned appendix to Volume III of Crowley's *Collected Works* that included *The Book of the Law* and the French translation of the Stèle (or Stela) of Revealing (Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin); this appendix was omitted on publication. This identification was possibly mistaken as the assistant-keeper at the Būlāq Museum in 1904 was Georges Émile Jules Daressy (1864-1938); efforts to trace a Delormant among Egyptologists have been unsuccessful." • The MS. note by J. F. C. Fuller giving the name "Delormant", and his office as "assistant-keeper", is clearly erroneous (see also note⁴⁵⁰³ below). The closest name match I have found is a French orientalist named Charles François Lenormant (1837-1883), who also worked with Egyptian antiquities, but he died in 1883. In my opinion, Fuller might well have known the name of this orientalist from a book translated from French in 1877 and entitled *Chaldean Magic: Its Origin and Development*. His father, the French Egyptologist and numismatist Charles Lenormant (1802-1859), had accompanied Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832) – the Founder and 'Father' of Egyptology, and the decipherer of hieroglyphs – to Egypt in 1828. Curiously enough, he published in 1840 a work on Rabelais and Renaissance architecture, a restitution of the Abbey of Thelema, with an engraving showing his version of the Abbey. • For the Lenormants, see: Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier. Who was who in Egyptology. 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995, p. 248. • For Champollion, see: Ibid., pp. 92-4. • For the book on Chaldean Magic, see: François Lenormant. *Chaldean Magic: Its Origin and Development*. Translated from French with Considerable Additions by the Author and Notes by the Editor. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, nd [1877]. • For Charles Lenormant's work on Rabelais, see: Charles Lenormant. *Rabelais Et l'architecture de la Renaissance: restitution de l'abbaye de Thélème* par Ch. Lenormant. Paris: J. Crozet, 1840. • In a note by Crowley on one of the papers containing the French translation of the hieroglyphs on the stèle is written: "We are indebted to the kindness of [Émile] Brugsch Bey & M. [...] for the above translation of the stèle whose discovery led to the creation of the ritual by which Aiwass, the author of *Liber L* [*Liber AL*], was invoked." This paper has the title "Stèle 666", and in connection with its publication in 1983 E.V. it was given the editorial subtitle "*La Traduction du Musée Boulak*". The note has in the publication of the paper been given the editorial title [ACKNOWLEDGEMENT] and the signatures [— Aleister and Rose Crowley]. If the unidentified name in square brackets, "M. [...]", is French as expected, then "M." is evidently an abbreviation of *Monsieur*. For a discussion on this translation, and the note mentioned above, see below together with note⁹²⁰ below. For the page proofs of Crowley's *Collected Works*, see note⁹²³ below. • For the Būlāq French translation see: ΘΕΛΗΜΑ. *The Holy Books of THELEMA*. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, pp. 233-49, Appendix A, The Stèle of Revealing. [See note¹⁰¹ above and note⁴⁵⁰⁹ below] • For proofs of who wrote the translations of the hieroglyphic text on the 'Stélé of Revealing', see Chapter 16 in this book.

further, as we shall see below, this collection grew big in the little more than twenty-five years where the museum was located in the building in Boulak, directly on the bank of the River Nile. It may well have been a normal designation, I think, used by the staff at the museum at Gizeh, and also in the first years at Kasr en-Nil. I think that some of this gave cause for Crowley's misnaming of the museum. Besides, I notice also, as mentioned above, that the old Boulak Museum had been used as storage while the collection was in the Gizeh Museum, and that these objects had been moved to the new building at Kasr en-Nil – a transfer which had started in March 1902.¹⁰³

In support of the theory that the antiquities collection in 1904 E.V. could have been called the "Boulak Museum", I find a noted American historian, Harvard professor, and author Albert Bushnell Hart (1854-1943)¹⁰⁴, writing in a book published in 1911 E.V., in a chapter dealing with Egypt:

*In addition, the arts and the lives of the Egyptian are set forth in the superb Boulak Museum at Cairo. In the spacious new building is a wonderful series of collections of every kind.*¹⁰⁵

Hart is clearly talking about the newly built, very large museum at Kasr en-Nil! And in an issue of the journal *American Anthropologist* from 1897, is found the following lines in a note dealing with some clay tablets written in Assyrian, and found at Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt:

*The Boulaq Museum at Gizeh, owned by the Egyptian government, has 60 of these precious relics*¹⁰⁶

One must assume that what is meant here is the 'Boulaq Museum', or 'Boulaq Collection', at the museum at Gizeh, bearing in mind that the Boulak Museum's collection was transferred to the new Gizeh Museum in 1889!¹⁰⁷ Another American, Lee Stewart Smith (1844-1926)¹⁰⁸, a dentist, manufacturer, author, lecturer, and high Masonic official of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, published in 1896 a travel book, *Through Egypt to Palestine*, and here he stated in a chapter about a visit to the "Boulak Museum":

*Arriving at Cairo we visited the Boulak Museum, at Ghizeh, near the city. It is an immense collection of Egyptian antiquities, the largest in the world.*¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ See: Zahi A. Hawass. *Hidden Treasures of the Egyptian Museum. One Hundred Masterpieces from the Centennial Exhibition*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2001, pp. xxviii-xxix. (*History of the Museum*)(A *Celebration of One Hundred Years of the Egyptian Museum*, pp. ix-xxix.) • See also note⁷⁹ above.

¹⁰⁴ For Prof. Hart, see note³²⁸⁹ below

¹⁰⁵ Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.d., LL.D., Litt.D. *The Obvious Orient*. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1911, p. 314.

¹⁰⁶ *American Anthropologist*. (Old series) Washington, D.C.: Anthropological Society of Washington, Vol. X., No. 4., 1897, p. 122. (*Notes and News / Historic Documents from the Fourteenth Century B. C.*—)

¹⁰⁷ See note⁵⁶ above.

¹⁰⁸ For Lee Stewart Smith, see: *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography; Being the History of the United States*. New York, NY: James T. White & Company, 1893- ♦ Volume XVII, 1920, p. 286.

¹⁰⁹ Lee Stewart Smith. *Through Egypt to Palestine*. Chicago, IL: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1896, p. 96. (*Chapter X. Boulak Museum*, pp. 96-101.)

His visit to Egypt and “*the Boulak Museum*” took place in 1893, thus four years after that the Boulak Museum’s collection had been transferred to the Gizeh Museum, or, in Smith’s words “*the Boulak Museum, at Ghizeh*”! Furthermore, I find H. W. Dunning saying in *To-day on the Nile* from 1905 E.V.:

*Then in 1878 [sic] Mariette founded the Egyptian Museum. It was first established at Bulaq and therefore is often referred to as the Bulaq Museum. In 1889 it was moved to the palace of Gizeh.*¹¹⁰

Nonetheless, the new Gizeh Museum had in fact also been mentioned as the “*Boulak Museum*” by a well-known Englishman in the British Parliament in April 1890. It was in a question asked by the Conservative member of the House Sir Henry Howorth (1842-1923), President of the Royal Archaeological Institute, to Sir James Fergusson (1832-1907), Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, about an attempt by three Europeans to set fire to “*the famous Boulak Museum in Egypt*”:

Mr. Howorth (Salford, South.): *I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if his attention has been called to an attempt which has recently been made by three Europeans to set fire to the famous Boulak Museum in Egypt, which contains objects of priceless value for the history of art and of early man; and whether the Government can see their way to putting some pressure on the Authorities in Egypt to secure that these objects shall be housed in some building less liable to be burnt down than the Palace in which they are now contained, and for their better custody and protection. I also wish to have an answer to a question put some time ago whether the Egyptian Authorities are taking any means for the protection of monuments which have been recently much destroyed by travellers in the Nile Valley? My right hon. Friend said that he would inquire of Sir Evelyn Baring and inform the House.*

Sir J. Fergusson: *No information has yet been received as to an attempt made by three Europeans to set fire to this Museum. On February 9, Her Majesty’s Agent and Consul General reported that the transfer of the Boulak Museum to the Palace of Ghizeh has been effected with complete success, and that there could be no doubt that the ancient Egyptian monuments had been placed in far greater security and would be seen to far greater advantage than had hitherto been the case.*¹¹¹

The mentioned incident at the museum is forgotten today, however, the English civil engineer Sir Francis Fox (1844-1927), of Douglas Fox & Partners, London, mentioned in 1904 E.V. in his book *River, Road, And Rail*, that there had been an attempt to rifle the collection of the Gizeh Museum, and that the thieves had tried to cover their escape by setting fire to the building, and he recalled the disastrous destruction of the great Library of Alexandria by fire, and described the political pressure that finally lead to the building of the Cairo Museum:

Whilst in Cairo I naturally visited the great collection of antiquities, first kept at Boulak Museum, but from which it was removed, for fear of the whole place being swept away by a Nile flood, it having been found that there was a depth of 72 ft. [c. 22 metres] of water just outside its walls. It was then placed at Ghizeh, in a palace built chiefly of lath and plaster, and occupying sixty-seven separate rooms, where an attempt was made to rifle the collection, the thieves covering their escape by endeavouring to set the place on fire. I called

¹¹⁰ Harry Westbrook Dunning. *To-day on the Nile*. New York: James Pott & Company, 1905, p. 154.

¹¹¹ *Great Britain. Parliament; Thomas Curson Hansard* (Editor). *Hansard’s Parliamentary debates*. Third Series, Vol. CCCXLIII; Comprising the Period From March 27 - May 1, 1890. London, UK: Hansard, 1890, pp. 685-6. (April 17, 1890.) • Sir James Fergusson (1832-1907). British soldier, Conservative politician and colonial administrator.

"The Boulak Museum" in Cairo mentioned as late as 1939 E.V.:

A quote from an article by Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, which appeared in the London paper *Weekly Dispatch* in December, 1939 E.V.



"The ancient Egyptians carried their reverence for a corpse to a height never paralleled in history. Their supreme desire was to preserve the pitiful remains of earthly life in solitude and dignity for ever.

They quarried their tombs deep in the living rock. Shaft led into gallery, and gallery opened into shaft. To these devices of secrecy the embalmers added their wonderful art. Never was so great an effort made by human beings to achieve such a particular object.

It procured exactly the opposite result. As it turned out, it was the only conceivable manner in which they could have achieved the opposite result. Four thousand years afterwards the bodies of their kings and princes are dragged from their hiding-places to be exposed to vulgar and unsympathetic gaze in the halls of the Boulak Museum.

They just managed by infinite effort, sacrifice and skill to achieve the one thing above all others they wished to avoid."

(From: Weekly Dispatch. London, England: Weekly Dispatch. ♦ Sunday Dispatch, December 31, 1939, p. 5. (*The Narrowest Escape of My Life*; In "My Life Story," to-day Mr. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, tells the full story of a miraculous escape from death when he was serving with the Guards Division in the trenches. By Winston Churchill.))

on Col. Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, who with laudable effort had done all in his power to protect the museum; but so serious did I consider the danger of fire that after seeing him I interviewed Lord Cromer, and urged that it should be properly housed in a suitable fire-proof building. It is a matter of congratulation that he has seen his way to impress upon the Khedive the necessary provision by the Government of a suitable museum for these priceless and unique treasures. One fire at Alexandria was sufficient to destroy its great library, and a similar fate would have awaited these papyri and records, from which alone the history of Egypt could be written, had not the representative of Great Britain brought pressure to bear upon the Egyptian authorities.¹¹²

It is shocking to learn that there were some 22 metres of water just outside the walls of the Boulak Museum, and thus that the collection's chances of survival, based on technical facts, and the knowledge of recurrent flooding, had been a gamble in twenty-five years!

As regards the mutilation of ancient monuments by tourists mentioned by Sir Henry Howorth, so had Mariette written about the problem in 1872 in *Itinéraire de la Haute-Égypte*, The Monuments of Upper Egypt, and had mentioned how a young American traveller in 1870 visited all the ruins in Upper Egypt: "with a pot of tar in one hand and a brush in the other, leaving on all the temples the indelible and truly disgraceful record of his passage", and also how two Dutch visitors, an admiral and a consul-general, in 1868 had written: "their names and full titles in huge letters over the entrance gate of Denderah and in other conspicuous places"¹¹³

Another mentioning of a 'Boulak Museum' in Cairo found several years after the opening of the Cairo Museum is from 1906 E.V. When the chapel and its wooden statue of Hathor as the divine cow made by Thutmose III, and now exhibited in the Cairo Museum (JE 38574-5), was discovered near the temple of Deir el-Bahari in 1906 E.V., an English paper reporting the find wrote:

*And now this fine temple together with the wooden cow, are to be transferred to Cairo and re-erected in the splendid Boulak Museum, perhaps in the very hall in which lie the prone figures of Menephtah and the Great Rameses.*¹¹⁴

A final and rather confusing example is from a notice in the *London Globe*, May 4, 1910 E.V., headed "THE CAIRO MUSEUM":

*Students of Egyptian archæology, and especially those who intend to study at the National Museum at Ghizeh, will be pleased to hear that this famous collection has at last received its due in the form of a complete catalogue of its valuable contents [i.e. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (CGC)].*¹¹⁵

¹¹² Francis Fox. *River, Road, and Rail; Some engineering Reminiscences*. London, UK: John Murray, 1904, p. 163-4. (Chapter X. *The Mediterranean*, pp. 153-71.) • See also note⁷⁰⁶ below.

¹¹³ Auguste Mariette-Bey; Alphonse Mariette (Translator). *The Monuments of Upper Egypt; A translation of the "ITINÉRAIRE DE LA HAUTE ÉGYPTÉ"*. Alexandria and Cairo : A. Mourès ; London : Trübner & Co., 1877, p. 55; Note*. (VI. – *Generalities*, pp. 35-57.)

¹¹⁴ *Gloucestershire Chronicle*. Gloucester, Gloucestershire, England: Gloucestershire Chronicle. ♦ Saturday, March 17, 1906, p. 3. (*AN ENTOMBED FANE*, p. 3.)

¹¹⁵ *The Globe*. London, England: The Globe and Traveller. ♦ Wednesday Evening, May 4, 1910, p. 8. (*THE CAIRO MUSEUM*, p. 8.)

I will conclude by saying that the above examples of the use of the expression the “*Boulak Museum*” fully explain why Fra. P. called the museum in which Ouarda discovered the stele for the “*Boulak Museum*”, and it is an unquestionable fact that the stele of Ankhefenkhonsu together with his 1858 discovered other funeral belongings are part of what may be termed the “*Boulak Museum*”, or, “*Boulak Collection*”! And the mistaken statement about the museum’s location: “*the museum at Boulak*”¹¹⁶, developed from his use of the “*Boulak Museum*” (Crowley had clearly never been to Boulak, the river-harbour of Cairo).

Finally, I notice something strange regarding the stele and Rose’s discovery of it appearing in a book published in 1967 E.V., where the stele’s right location in 1904 E.V. is stated, but without any reference to Crowley’s misnaming of its museum, and thus not any mentioning of the “*Boulak Museum*”, and the actual facts regarding the new Cairo Museum’s opening in 1902 – therefore clearly a fallacy. In the book *Secret Societies*, and in a chapter titled “*The Rosicrucians*”, written by the late British writer, novelist, biographer, and journalist Mervyn Jones (1922-2010), is found the following explaining text to a picture showing a yellow-white wax seal with the hieroglyphic imprint of Crowley’s Ankh-af-na-khonsu ring on what looks like the back of a red envelope:

*Below, Crowley’s seal as a Magus. It bears the name of the Egyptian priest Ankh-f-n-khonsu whose stele – exhibit no. 666 in the Cairo Museum – was “discovered” there by Crowley’s wife Rose.*¹¹⁷

Interestingly, the photograph has the credit of “*courtesy Frater Volo Intellegere*”, and is thus made available by Gerald Yorke.¹¹⁸ Therefore, one should immediately think that this information came from Yorke. This could be the case, but the author had probably read it in John Symonds’s *The Great Beast: The Life of Aleister Crowley*, which was published in 1951 E.V. This book, which also included “*Bibliography of the Works of Aleister Crowley Compiled by Gerald Yorke*”¹¹⁹, says of Rose’s discovery of the stele:

*For an answer she took him [i.e. Fra. P.] to the Cairo museum, which they had not previously visited.*¹²⁰

There is no mention at all of the ‘*Boulak Museum*’, as given by Crowley! The book’s dedication reads: “*For Gerald Yorke | Together we tracked down The Beast*”¹²¹. Later Symonds renamed the

¹¹⁶ TSK1912, p. 368. • EG, p. 73.

¹¹⁷ *Secret Societies*. Edited by Norman Ian MacKenzie. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston / London, UK: Aldus Books Limited, 1967, p. 148. (6 *The Rosicrucians* by Mervyn Jones, pp. 130-51.) • To the left of the picture, described above, is a reproduction of the photograph of Fra. P. first published in *Book Four, Part II*, where he is seen standing, c. 1910 E.V., in his magical garment behind ‘The Replica’. The text given to this reproduction reads: “*Aleister Crowley, the Golden Dawn’s most notorious member, in the regalia of an Adeptus Minor (photograph of 1907)[sic]. Crowley declared himself master of the society’s highest order, the Argentum [sic] Astrum, or “Silver Star”.*” • Fra. P.’s Adeptus Minor (5^o=6^o) initiation took place on January 23, 1900, and at the Equinox of the Gods in 1904 E.V. he held this grade. • For Fra. P.’s Adeptus Minor grade, see note³¹⁸ below. • For the Cairo Working leading to the grade of Adeptus Major (6^o=5^o), see note³¹⁸ below. • For the photograph in *Book Four, Part II*, and in the first volume of *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley*, see note⁹⁰⁶ and note⁹⁰⁷ below.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 349. (148) • For Gerald Yorke, whose A.:A.: motto was *Volo Intellegere*, see below in this chapter.

¹¹⁹ John Symonds. *Gerald Yorke. The Great Beast: The Life of Aleister Crowley*. London, UK: Rider & Co., 1951, pp. 301-10. (*Bibliography of the Works of Aleister Crowley compiled by Gerald Yorke*, pp. 301-10.)

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 58. (*Chapter V; Prince and Princess Chioa Khan*, pp. 47-57.) • John Symonds (1914-2006). English author and biographer. Chosen by Crowley as his literary executor. • For John Symonds, see also note²³⁷⁰ below.

museum as the “*Boulak Museum*” without any further explanation, and in the book’s 1971 E.V. version a note explains that the “*Boulak Museum*” no longer exists, and that its antiquities have been transferred to the “*National Museum, Cairo*”! – the same explanation had been given in a note in *Confessions* published by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant in 1969 E.V.¹²² Also the late British writer and historian Gerald Suster (1951-2001), mentions “*the Cairo Museum*”, without any mentioning of the Boulak Museum, in *The Legacy of the Beast; The Life, Work and Influence of Aleister Crowley*, published in 1988 E.V.:

*She [Rose] also took her husband to the Cairo Museum and pointed out the image of Horus in the form of Ra-Hoor-Khuit painted upon a wooden stele of the 26th dynasty.*¹²³

And when J. F. C. Fuller in 1966 E.V. sold his collection of Crowleyana the sales catalogue included an essay by Fuller titled “*Aleister Crowley 1898-1911*”, and here he stated:

*There he [Crowley] spent a night with Rose in the King’s Chamber of the Great Pyramid, and carried out an invocation, which lit up the chamber – so he said – with astral light. Next, when in the Cairo Museum, Rose suddenly stopped before a show-case; pointed at a stele numbered 666 – the number of the Beast – and exclaimed – “there!”*¹²⁴

As to Gerald Yorke mentioned above, Gerald (Joseph) Yorke (1901-1983), had joined the A.:A.: in 1928 E.V., taken the motto *Volo Intellegere*, ‘I will to understand’. However, he could not accept the Law of Thelema, nor its book.¹²⁵ Gerald Yorke was born in Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, England, on December 10, 1901, as the second son of Justice of the Peace for Gloucestershire, landowner and industrialist Vincent Wodehouse Yorke (1869-1957), and Hon. Maud Evelyn Wyndham (1874-1963), a daughter of Henry Wyndham, 2nd Baron Leconfield (1830-1901).¹²⁶ Vincent Wodehouse Yorke had been a captain in the Gloucestershire Imperial Yeomanry. Educated at Eton and King’s College, Cambridge, he was associated with several companies, and was a director of the Westminster Bank, and for many years chairman of Mexican Railways Ltd. He died at the age of

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹²² John Symonds. *The Great Beast: The Life and Magick of Aleister Crowley*. London, UK: Macdonald & Co. Ltd, 1971, p. 61, Note¹. • Symonds maintained this version in *The King of the Shadow Realm* (1989 E.V.) and in *The Beast 666*. (1997 E.V.) • *Confessions*, Note 5 on p. 394, found on p. 928. • See also note⁴⁹⁸ below.

¹²³ Gerald Suster. *The Legacy of the Beast; The Life, Work and Influence of Aleister Crowley*. London, UK: W. H. Allen & Co., 1988, p. 125. (*PART THREE; THE IDEAS – 4. The Book of the Law*, pp. 125-34.) • For Gerald Suster, see also note³⁸³⁸ below.

¹²⁴ 666 – *Bibliotheca Crowleyana: Catalogue of a unique Collection of Books, Pamphlets, Proof Copies, MSS., etc. by, about, or connected with Aleister Crowley; formed, and with an Introductory Essay, by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. For sale as a collection. Tenterden, Kent, UK: Keith Hogg, nd [1966], p. 4. (Aleister Crowley 1898-1911; An Introductory Essay by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, pp. 2-8.)*

¹²⁵ On his problems with the Law of Thelema and *Liber Legis*, see a letter from him to Crowley (dated 14 August, 1928) preserved in his Collection at the Warburg Institute, and quoted in: *Richard Kaczynski. PERDURABO: THE LIFE OF ALEISTER CROWLEY*. Tempe, AZ: New Falcon Publications, 2002, pp. 342-3; *Chapter 17, Note 23*, p. 529. • See also note³⁶⁶⁰ below.

¹²⁶ GRO Birth and Death Registers.

eighty-eight in London on November 27, 1957 E.V.¹²⁷ Gerald Yorke was the middle one of three boys.¹²⁸ He gained the rank of Major at the Royal Gloucestershire Hussars.¹²⁹ Like Crowley he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, wherefrom he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts. In 1935 E.V. he published the book *China Changes*.¹³⁰ *China Changes* is primarily a record of his two years in China as Reuter's correspondent. British newspapers wrote in March 1933 E.V. that he had been arrested by the Chinese military authorities during the Defence of the Great Wall, a campaign between the armies of Republic of China and Empire of Japan, which took place from January 1 to May 31, 1933 E.V.:

Mr. Gerald Yorke, the Tewkesbury journalist, who is one of Reuter's correspondents in the Jehol war zone, has been arrested by the Chinese military authorities at Miyunhsien, 50 miles from Peking [Peking], while returning from the Jehol front. He is being held in custody at a small Chinese inn. The charges against him are at present unknown.

[...]

*He left Peking for Jehol on February 27 astride a pony and clad in a sheepskin coat which he also used as a sleeping bag.*¹³¹

He was released after a few days. The order for release had been preceded by representations from the British Legation.¹³² Yorke wrote in *China Changes* that the Chinese had thought he was a spy.¹³³ Yorke served on the Council of the Buddhist Society for many years, and was a reader for Buddhist books, first for Rider and Hutchinsons, and then for Allen & Unwin, and he furthered the publication of Buddhist works at a time when such were rare.¹³⁴ Yorke was also the personal representative to the West of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thubten Gyatso (1876-1933). On July 21, 1937 E.V., he married at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, London, Angela Vivien Duncan (1907-1988), eldest daughter of Major-General Sir John and Lady Duncan, London.¹³⁵ The couple got three sons. Yorke was the major contemporary collector of Crowleyana, but he also collected papers etc from others, for instance, from the English occultist Frederick Leigh Gardner (1857-1930), 'Fratres De Profundis ad Lucem', of the Golden Dawn. Gerald Yorke once promised Crowley to preserve his

¹²⁷ Obituary: The Birmingham Post & Gazette. Birmingham, West Midlands, England: The Birmingham Post & Gazette. ♦ Friday, November 29, 1957, p. 9. (OBITUARY; Mr. Vincent W. Yorke, p. 9.)

¹²⁸ See: Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage. Editor Charles Mosley. 107th edition. 3 vols. Wilmington, DE, U.S.A.: Burke's Peerage Genealogical Books Ltd, 2003. ♦ Vol. 2, p. 1778.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ *Gerald Yorke; Chin fu p'eng* (Introduction). *China Changes*. London, UK: Jonathan Cape, nd [1935]. ♦ New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936.

¹³¹ Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic. Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, England: Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic. ♦ Saturday, March 18, 1933, p. 10. (PRISONER OF THE CHINESE; TEWKESBURY MAN OF AN UNKNOWN CHARGE, p. 10.)

¹³² Gloucestershire Echo. Cheltenham Spa, Gloucestershire, England: Gloucestershire Echo. ♦ Saturday, March 18, 1933, p. 1. (MR. YORKE LIBERATED; War Correspondent Who Was Arrested By Chinese, p. 1.)

¹³³ *Gerald Yorke; Chin fu p'eng* (Introduction). *China Changes*. London, UK: Jonathan Cape, nd [1935], p. 85f. (CHAPTER FOUR; ON PONYBACK WITH A CHINESE ARMY, pp. 79-100.)

¹³⁴ For his Buddhist work etc, see: The Middle Way; Journal of the Buddhist Society. London, UK: Buddhist Society. ♦ Vol. 58, No. 2, August 1983, p. 130. (OBITUARIES; "GERALD YORKE, 1901-1983" signed "Irmgard Schloegl", p. 130.) [Austria born Irmgard Schloegl was the Rinzaï Zen Buddhist nun Ven Myokyo-ni (1921-2007)]

¹³⁵ Gloucester Citizen. Gloucester, Gloucestershire, England. ♦ Thursday, July 22, 1937, p. 5. (MR. GERALD YORKE MARRIED; CEREMONY IN LONDON, p. 5.)

papers, and he kept his promise. Thanks to him and his great effort much which otherwise would have been lost was saved. Yorke bequeathed the major part of his collection to the Warburg Institute, School of Advanced Study, University of London, deposited on permanent loan.¹³⁶ Personally, I find it somehow strange that he did what he did, and saved the work of a Magus whose Word & Law he rejected, and whom he in the 1970's termed a "pseudo-Messiah" in the foreword to *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn* by the English author Ellic (Paul) Howe (1910-1991).¹³⁷ However, I assume that he somehow did according to his true will. In 1949 E.V. he had written in a biographical note on Crowley:

*Whatever Crowley was, he was not a charlatan. He believed, he worked, he suffered, he had power. He failed to put over the religion of Thelema in his lifetime, which, considering its nature, is not surprising. The Christian world regards him as one of the Devil's Contemplatives. His few friends will not see his like again; but his still fewer disciples mourn the passing of a Magus.*¹³⁸

Gerald Yorke evidently had the collector gene, and, for instance, preserved a large amount of his younger brother's juvenilia from the wastepaper basket – this younger brother was the English novelist Henry Vincent Yorke (1905-1973), who wrote under the pen-name Henry Green.¹³⁹ Regarding that Gerald Yorke not could accept the Law of Thelema and *The Book of the Law*, the English journalist, and Labour Party politician Thomas (Tom) Edward Neil Driberg, (Baron Bradwell) (1905-1976)¹⁴⁰, who knew both Yorke and Crowley, said in a BBC broadcast by James Webb titled "*The Wickedest Man in the World*", in the spring of 1976 E.V.:

*For Gerald York [sic], a former disciple, the misfortune was that Crowley became too Tantric, too pagan. With his salutes of the Golden Dawn, and his Book of the Law unintelligible even to himself, and his frissons like crucifying a frog, and his later dotty sexual theories whereby he tried to put orgasm to the service of inducing a trance in which to contact the Guardian Angel, and his Autohagiography, Crowley came across as almost wholly camp.*¹⁴¹

I shall return to Tom Driberg in another chapter.

Gerald Yorke died at the age of eighty-one in Tewkesbury on April 29, 1983 E.V.¹⁴²

¹³⁶ For the Yorke Collection in the Warburg Institute, see: *Kenneth Garside, University of London, Library. Guide to the Library Resources of the University of London*. London, UK: University of London, Library Resources Co-ordinating Committee, 1983, p. 140. (YORKE COLLECTION, p. 140.)

¹³⁷ For Gerald Yorke's words in Howe's book, see: *Ellic Howe. The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1972, p. xix. (Foreword by Gerald Yorke, ix-xix.)

¹³⁸ *The Occult Observer; A Quarterly Journal of Occultism, Art and Philosophy*. London: Offices of The Occult Observer. ♦ Vol. I, No. 2, Summer 1949, p. 124. (*Aleister Crowley; A Biographical Note. By G. J. Yorke*, pp. 121-4.)

¹³⁹ For preserving his younger brother's juvenilia, see: *Henry Green; Matthew Yorke. Surviving: The Uncollected Writings of Henry Green*. Edited by Matthew Yorke; Introduction by John Updike. London, UK: Chatto & Windus, 1992, p. viii. (Foreword; By Matthew Yorke, pp. vii-viii.)

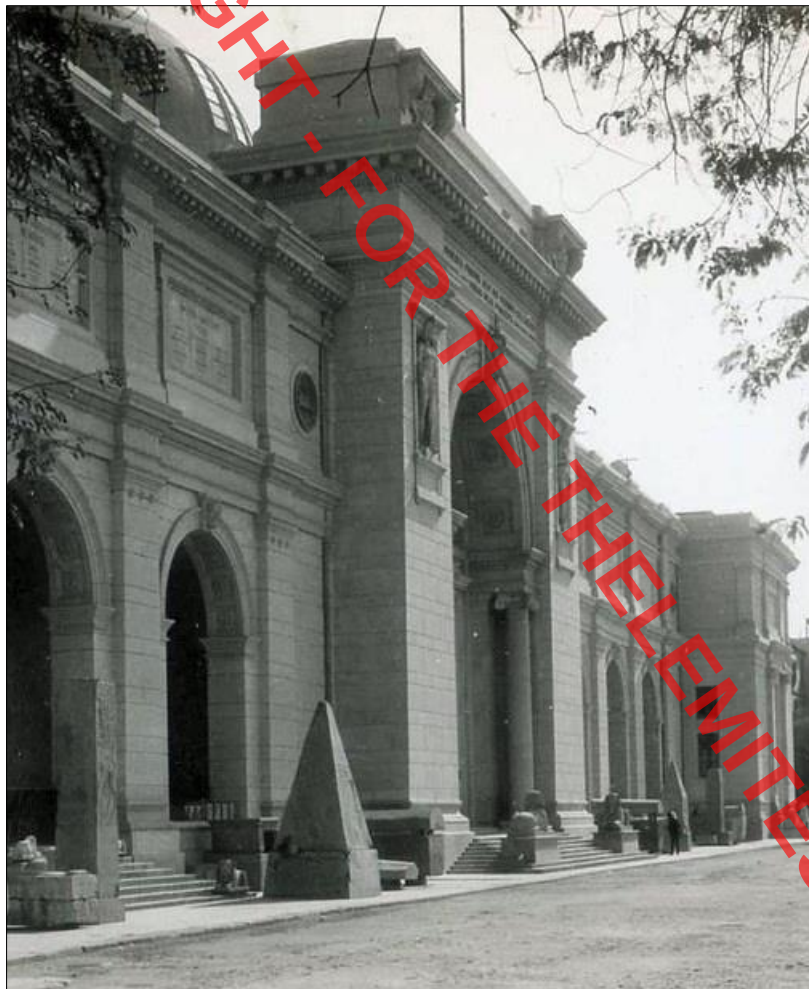
¹⁴⁰ For Tom Driberg, see also note³⁹³¹ below.

¹⁴¹ *The Listener*. London, UK: British Broadcasting Corporation. ♦ Vol. 95, No. 2448, Thursday 11 March, 1976, p. 312. ("Lord Bradwell, better known as Tom Driberg, MP, put in a word for Aleister Crowley, the practitioner of 'magick', in James Webb's programme, 'The Wickedest Man in the World' (Radio 4)")(Wicked old man, pp. 299; 312.)

¹⁴² GRO Death Register.



In February 2002 E.V. the foundation stone to a new museum, The Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM), was laid.¹⁴³ It is located only 2.5 kilometres from the Gizeh Pyramid plateau on the edge of the Nile Delta and western desert plateau, and is scheduled to be partially open in 2018 E.V. Only the museum's Conservation Center is completed and working. GEM is planned to exhibit 100000 pieces of artifacts. The present Egyptian Museum in Midan Tahrir will retain its function as an archaeological museum, and is planned to accommodate nearly 7000 artifacts from among the masterpieces of art. Today approximately 35000 artifacts are exhibited in the Egyptian Museum. As to the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu, I notice that it found its way to the homepage of GEM (spring, 2015 E.V.), where a photograph shows the stele (obverse) in an exhibition area, and beneath it is a link to the "Children Museum", which is located on the museum's first floor.¹⁴⁴



1900s photograph of a newly built Cairo Museum at Kasr en-Nil.

¹⁴³ For this project, see: <http://www.gem.gov.eg> • The museum is designed by Roisin Heneghan and Shih-fu Peng, *heneghan.peng.architects* – a firm located in Dublin, Ireland.

¹⁴⁴ See: <http://www.gem.gov.eg/index/Museum%20-Museum%20Building.htm>

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Pages 53-1047 are not part of this book preview.

Let us take a look at the hieroglyphs belonging to the name of the lord enthroned on the Stèle of Revealing, and see how they were transliterated in the museum translations obtained by Fra. P. in Cairo, together with their transliteration in older and in contemporary Egyptological literature, and how they are given by Aiwass in *Liber L vel Legis*.

On the writing of *Liber L vel Legis* and the paraphrase of the Stele Fra. P. writes in EG:

*The versified paraphrase of the hieroglyphs on the stèle being ready, Aiwaz allowed me to insert these later, so as to save time.*⁴⁴⁴⁰

In the two museum translations the name of the God enthroned is “*Râ Hor Khut*”⁴⁴⁴¹ (transliterated)/“*Ra-Hor-Khut*”⁴⁴⁴² (in French). It seems clear when looking at Fra. P.’s paraphrase that he must have used this name to begin with, and later after the writing of *Liber L vel Legis* then changed it to “*Ra-Hoor-Khuit*”, which first appears in the book’s first chapter, Verse 36 as “*Ra-Hoor-Khu-it*”, and in Verse 49 as “*Ra-Hoor-Khuit*”. The spelling “*Ra-Hoor-Khuit*” is, as mentioned, not found in the museum translations, which only has “*Ra-Hoor-Khut*”⁴⁴⁴³, the same as found in the first line of Chapter Three of *Liber L vel Legis*: “*Abrahamadabra; the reward of Ra Hoor Khut.*” The spelling “*Ra-Hoor-Khuit*” is found in Verse 2. But he did not change Ankh-f-n-Khonsu – the spelling used in the museum translations⁴⁴⁴⁴ – to Ankh-af-na-khonsu as given in *Liber L vel Legis* in his original paraphrase.⁴⁴⁴⁵ However, in *Liber CCXX* he gives in the different parts of his paraphrase the spelling “*Ankh-af-na-khonsu*”.⁴⁴⁴⁶

Let us take a look at how the various combined names of Ra and Horus were transliterated in catalogues and guides from the three Egyptian Museums. In 1869 Mariette has “*Ra-Hor-em-khou*” and “*Hor-em-Khou, Armachis*”.⁴⁴⁴⁷ *Armachis* – which later was written as *Harmachis* – is the Greek form of “*Horus-on-the-Horizon*”, and transliterated today as “*Hor-em-akhet*”. Maspero has in his Boulaq Guide from 1883 “*Harmakhouti*” and “*Harmakhtis*”⁴⁴⁴⁸. Then in 1892 the first French guide to the Gizeh Museum has the name “*Râ-hor-khouti*” found in the description of item № 153 – a

⁴⁴⁴⁰ EG, p. 119. • For the spelling “*Aiwaz*”, see note²¹⁸² above.

⁴⁴⁴¹ ΘΕΛΗΜΑ . The Holy Books of THELEMA. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, p. 241, Stèle 666 [L’Analyse du Musée Boulaq/The Boulaq Museum Analysis] [Face Principale/Obverse] [B].
• See also note⁹⁷⁶ above.

⁴⁴⁴² Ibid., p. 241. • See also note⁹⁷⁶ above.

⁴⁴⁴³ Ibid., p. 241-9.

⁴⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 241-9. Stèle 666 [L’Analyse du Musée Boulaq/The Boulaq Museum Analysis] has “*Ankh f n khonsu*” without hyphens (p. 241-6.). Stèle 666 [La Traduction du Musée Boulaq] gives “*Ankh-f-n-khonsu*” with hyphens (p. 241-6.). Stèle 666 [La Traduction du Musée Boulaq] gives “*Ankh-f-n-khonsu*” with hyphens (p. 247-8.) • On the ‘museum translations’, see note¹⁰² and note⁴⁵⁰⁹ above.

⁴⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 250-2. [A Paraphrase of the Stèle of Revealing] A Paraphrase of the Inscriptions upon the Obverse of the Stèle of Revealing, p. 250-1. A Paraphrase of the Hieroglyphs of the 11 Lines upon the Reverse of the Stèle, p. 252.

⁴⁴⁴⁶ See: LIBER L. VEL LEGIS SVB FIGVRÂ CCXX AS DELIVERED BY LXXVIII VNTD DCLXVI: I,14; III,37-38, in: [Aleister Crowley, et al.] The Equinox. Vol. I, No. X. London: Wieland & Co., September MCMXIII o.s. (1913 E.V.), pp. 12; 28-9. (LIBER L. VEL LEGIS SVB FIGVRÂ CCXX AS DELIVERED BY LXXVIII VNTD DCLXVI, pp. [9]-33.) • Also the Centennial Edition of: *The Book of the Law; Liber AL vel Legis*. York Beach, ME & Boston, MA: Red Wheel/Weiser, LLC (in ass. with Ordo Templi Orientis), 2004 E.V. (pp. 23-66.)

⁴⁴⁴⁷ NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D’ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE VICE-ROI A BOULAQ. PAR AUG. MARIETTE-BEY. TROISIÈME ÉDITION. PARIS: LIBRAIRIE A. FRANCK, 1869, pp. 155, 203.

⁴⁴⁴⁸ Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq par Gaston Maspero. Boulaq: Au Musée, 1883, p. 9.

stone showing Ramses II and Râ-hor-khouti.⁴⁴⁴⁹ This item was found the same year (1892) by the museums new Director Jacques de Morgan, who succeeded E. Grébaut.⁴⁴⁵⁰ In the edition of this guide from 1895 we find this name (№ 153) changed to “Râ-hor-khouti”.⁴⁴⁵¹ In the French guide to the new Egyptian Museum from 1902 we find an amulet in shape of the hieroglyph  transliterated as “*khouît*”.⁴⁴⁵² In the same book the name “*Râ-Harmachis*” is found.⁴⁴⁵³ In Guide1903 we find the latter amulet  described in English as: “*The sun on the horizon*  *khuît*”.⁴⁴⁵⁴ Worthy of mention is also “*Ra-Harakhti*” found in the ‘*Gardiner-Gunn Translation*’ from circa 1911-12 E.V.⁴⁴⁵⁵, and that Moret in 1913 uses “*Râ Horkhouti*”; “*Râ Harmakhis*”, and “*Harmakhis*” in his publication of sarcophagi belonging to the Priests of Mentu.⁴⁴⁵⁶ As mentioned in a previous chapter, E. A. Wallis Budge, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, published in 1920 E.V. a hieroglyphic dictionary, and here he used “*Râ Heru-âakhuti* [...] *Râ Harmakhis*, i.e., *Râ + Horus of the two horizons*.”⁴⁴⁵⁷ However, in 1904 E.V. Budge had published the two-volumed *The Gods of the Egyptians*, and here used “*Râ Heru-khuti*”.⁴⁴⁵⁸ Finally in this going through, I find that Gauthier, who not gives any transliteration of the name in *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou*, in a glossary from 1912 E.V. have both “*Hr-iakhouti*” (“*Horus de l’Horizon*”), and “*Hr-m-iakhou-it*” (“*Horus à l’Horizon*”).⁴⁴⁵⁹ He also has the hieroglyphs   [Râ-Hr-iakhouti] without any transliteration⁴⁴⁶⁰, and “*âakhou-it*” (“*l’horizon*”).⁴⁴⁶¹ Today’s transliteration “*Hor-em-akhet*”, meaning “*Horus-on-the-Horizon*”, is whom the Greek called “*Harmakhis*”⁴⁴⁶², and identified with the Sphinx of Gizeh, which the Arabs later called *Abu el-Hol*, “*Father of Fear*”.

Maspero writes in Guide1903 concerning associations with the sun on stelae from the late period that:

⁴⁴⁴⁹ Notice des Principaux Monuments Exposés au Musée de Gizeh. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892, p. 51.

⁴⁴⁵⁰ See: E. A. Wallis Budge. The Nile. Notes for Travellers in Egypt. Eighth Edition. London & Cairo: Thos. Cook & Son Ltd., 1902, pp. 560-1.

⁴⁴⁵¹ In Guide1903, p. 149, we find this item (№ 153) as № 395. Here the gods name is changed to Tanen.

⁴⁴⁵² GUIDE DU VISITEUR AU MUSÉE DU CAIRE PAR G. MASPERO. LE CAIRE: IMPRIMERIE DE L’INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D’ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE, 1902, p. 196.

⁴⁴⁵³ Ibid., p. 211.

⁴⁴⁵⁴ Guide 1903, p. 276. (*Amulets*)

⁴⁴⁵⁵ ΘΕΛΗΜΑ . The Holy Books of THELEMA. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, pp. 253-4. • This translation was, as mentioned above, first published in TSK1912, pp. 369-71.

⁴⁴⁵⁶ 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. 333-5.

⁴⁴⁵⁷ E. A. Wallis Budge. An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary. With an index of English words, king list and geographical Coptic and Semitic alphabets, etc. In Two Volumes. London, UK: John Murray, 1920. ♦ Vol. I., p. 418b. • See note⁹⁷⁸ above.

⁴⁴⁵⁸ E. A. Wallis Budge. The Gods of the Egyptians; Or Studies in Egyptian Mythology. In two volumes. London, UK: Methuen & Company, 1904. ♦ Vol. I., p. 178. (*Chapter V; The Underworld*, pp. 170-262.)

⁴⁴⁵⁹ La Grande Inscription Dédicatoire d’Abydos Publiée avec Notes et Glossaire par M. H. Gauthier. (Bibliothèque d’Étude. Tome Quatrième) Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, MDCCCXCII, p. 98. (*Glossaire*, pp. 28-148)

⁴⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 98. • However, *Râ-Hr-iakhouti* seems to have been its proper transliteration. ♦ See: “*Hr-iakhouti*”, *ibid.*, p. 98 and “*Râ*”, *ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴⁴⁶¹ Ibid., p. 30.

⁴⁴⁶² See, e.g.: Barbara Watterson. Gods of Ancient Egypt. Phoenix Mill, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1996, p. 99.

The old theory of the association of the deceased with the sun had lost less ground. There were doubtless fewer people who became entirely absorbed into the sun, and became Râ after death, as other became Osiris; this doctrine had disappeared after the political changes in Thebes had destroyed the priesthood of Amonra [Amon-Ra], and reduced the Theban god to the proportions of a provincial deity. But there were still many of the faithful to whom supreme bliss meant the power to mount into the bark of the sun, and these people advertised their beliefs upon their stelae. They depicted their mummy drawn by the celestial jackals behind the bark which contained the dead sun, – Afu, the flesh of the sun, – and crossing the dominions of Night under his protection, or it might be imploring the sun for permission to enter his bark. There had even been invented, for the benefit of such people, the stelæ called by Mariette – “Harmakhis Stelæ”. These stelae have in the usual rounded top the ordinary solar emblems, the winged disc, the uraei etc., but the picture is always dedicated to the great solar deities of Heliopolis, Harmakhis the rising and setting sun, the sun which lights the world, Atumu [Atum] the sun which existed previous to the Creation, and which was lost in the bosom of the celestial waters; these two united form Râ, the sun of all times and seasons.⁴⁴⁶³

On the Stélé of Revealing we find Ankh-af-na-khonsu adoring who in modern transliteration is called *r^c-hr-3ht*, *Ra-Hor-akhet*, meaning ‘*Ra-Horus-of-the-Horizon*’.⁴⁴⁶⁴ *3ht*, *akhet*, horizon – the place where the sun rises and sets – is here written as in the Pyramid Texts, using the hieroglyph  instead of .⁴⁴⁶⁵ This form appears to be rare on wooden stelae where mostly the dual form *3hty*, *akhty*, the two horizons, written with the hieroglyph , is found in the god’s name, which then becomes *Ra-Hor-akhty*, or, *Re-Horakhty*, meaning ‘*Ra-Horus-of-the-Two-Horizons*’. The roof-temple of Ra where Ankh-af-na-khonsu served was, as mentioned, dedicated to *Ra-Hor-akhty*⁴⁴⁶⁶, the “*Ra-Hoor-Khuit*” of *Liber L vel Legis*. The 1904 E.V. museum translations transcribe the hieroglyphs correctly as “*Khut*”, “one” horizon, but the later ‘*Gardiner-Gunn Translation*’ gives the name as “*Ra-Harakhti*”, which today mostly is written as “*Re-Horakhty*” and which signifies “the two horizons”. When Zayed published the stele he seemed surprised at the name, and wrote “*Rā-Horakhet (sic)*” in his transcription, and when referring to the god in his further discussion he calls him “*Rā-Horakhty*”.⁴⁴⁶⁷ The two names are often found with the same transliteration and in older works are both often just referred to as “*Harmakhis*”.⁴⁴⁶⁸ The rendering “*Ra-Harakhte*” is often used, and has the meaning of “*Ra-Horus-of-the-horizon*”, and this horizon is normally considered as the horizon of sunrise. We must conclude that the name found on the Stélé of Revealing is “*Ra-Hor-khut*”, as given in the museum translations, as well as in *Liber CCXX*⁴⁴⁶⁹, and that its modern transcription is “*Ra-Hor-akhet*” or “*Re-Hor-akhet*”!

⁴⁴⁶³ Guide1903, pp. 202-3.

⁴⁴⁶⁴ The hieroglyphs spelling his name are:        See: Magick.I-IV., Figure 20A. The Stèle of Revealing (obverse), facing p. 300. See also: Stèle 666 [L’Analyse du Musée Boulaq/The Boulaq Museum Analysis] [Face Principale/Obverse] [B], in: ΘΕΛΗΜΑ . The Holy Books of THELEMA, ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, p. 241.

⁴⁴⁶⁵ For these hieroglyphs, see note⁴⁵⁹ above.

⁴⁴⁶⁶ See note³⁹³⁴ above.

⁴⁴⁶⁷ *Revue d’égyptologie*. Publiée par la Société française d’égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie National. ♦ Tome 20, 1968, p. 151. (*Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid Zayed*, pp. 149-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B)

⁴⁴⁶⁸ See, e.g.: *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. 331.

⁴⁴⁶⁹ I.e. “*Ra Hoor Khut*”

In the above-mentioned catalogues and guides we also find some forms of “Horus, the Child”. In a catalogue from 1867 Mariette uses the name “*Horpekhroti* (Horus enfant), type de l’Harpocrate des Grecs.”⁴⁴⁷⁰ He also uses “*Hor-Pe-Khoti* (Horus enfant), type de l’Harpocrate des Grecs.”⁴⁴⁷¹ In his guide to the Boulaq Museum from 1883 Maspero only uses “*Harpochrate* (Horus enfant)”.⁴⁴⁷² “*Harpocrate*” is the form found in the four catalogues of Musée de Gizeh⁴⁴⁷³, and in the French and English guides to the Egyptian Museum from respectively 1902 and 1903.⁴⁴⁷⁴ Gauthier has in his glossary from 1912 “*Har-pa-khrd*” (Horus-l’enfant).⁴⁴⁷⁵ None of these forms of “Horus, the Child” are found in the two museum translations of the Stèle of Revealing, but something in that style is found in *Liber L vel Legis*. The names found in *Liber L vel Legis* – their spelling, and context with the law of $\Theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\mu\alpha$ and its doctrine – are unique, and should mainly be studied in this book, since their meaning intended by Aiwass may differ from their general expounding in Egyptological literature.

I notice one thing which is distinctive in the French museum translations⁴⁴⁷⁶, namely that Ankh-af-na-khonsu’s name in its French transliteration always is “*Ankh f n khonsu*”⁴⁴⁷⁷, or “*Ankh-f-n-khonsu*”⁴⁴⁷⁸, and not as one should expect from a French Egyptological transliteration, namely “*Ankh-f-n-khonsou*”. The god Khonsu is at that time in French Egyptological literature nearly always written as “*Khonsou*”, and the same is found in compounds.⁴⁴⁷⁹ German Egyptologists used “*Chonsu*” or “*Chons*”⁴⁴⁸⁰, and English Egyptologist, as mentioned, “*Khonsu*”, but also sometimes “*Khons*”.⁴⁴⁸¹ In both museum translations this syllable is consistently written as “*khonsu*” the seven times it is found on the stele!⁴⁴⁸² Recalling also “*Ankhefenkhonsou*”, found in the 1892 French guide to the Gizeh Museum⁴⁴⁸³, and “*Ankhoufnikhonsou*” in the 1902 French guide to the new Egyptian Museum⁴⁴⁸⁴, and “*ankh-f-n-khonsou*” found on the old label (Figure 10), giving the stele’s

⁴⁴⁷⁰ Exposition Universelle de 1867 Description du Parc Égyptien par M. Auguste Mariette. Paris: Dentu, Libraire, Palais-Royal, 1867, p. 65.

⁴⁴⁷¹ NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D’ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE VICE-ROI A BOULAQ. PAR AUG. MARIETTE-BEY. TROISIÈME ÉDITION. PARIS: LIBRAIRIE A. FRANCK, 1869, p. 65.

⁴⁴⁷² Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq par Gaston Maspero. Boulaq: Au Musée, 1883, p. 174.

⁴⁴⁷³ Notice des Principaux Monuments Exposés au Musée de Gizeh. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1897.

⁴⁴⁷⁴ GUIDE DU VISITEUR AU MUSÉE DU CAIRE PAR G. MASPERO. LE CAIRE: IMPRIMERIE DE L’INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D’ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE, 1902. • Guide 1903.

⁴⁴⁷⁵ La Grande Inscription Dédicatoire d’Abydos Publiée avec Notes et Glossaire par M. H. Gauthier. (Bibliothèque d’Étude. Tome Quatrième) Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, MDCCCXCII, p. 112. (Glossaire, pp. 28-148)

⁴⁴⁷⁶ See note¹⁰² and note⁹²⁰ above and note⁴⁵⁰⁹ and note⁴⁵⁰⁹ below.

⁴⁴⁷⁷ »Stèle 666. *L’Analyse du Musée Boulaq / The Boulaq Museum Analysis*« • See: $\Theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\mu\alpha$. The Holy Books of THELEMA. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, pp. 241-6. (Also as The Equinox III (9). Corrected 2nd printing. York Beach, ME: Weiser, and New York, NY: 93 Publishing Ltd., 1989.)

⁴⁴⁷⁸ »Stèle 666. *La Traduction du Musée Boulaq / The Boulaq Museum Translation*« • See: Ibid., pp. 247-8.

⁴⁴⁷⁹ See also note¹¹⁸⁴ above.

⁴⁴⁸⁰ See, e.g.: *Heinrich Karl Brugsch*. Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter. Nach den Denkmälern bearbeitet von Heinrich Brugsch. 2. Ausg. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1891, pp. 406; 493. • See note¹¹⁸⁵ above.

⁴⁴⁸¹ See, e.g.: *Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson*. A Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians. Two volumes. London: John Murray, 1854, vol. I, p. 293.

⁴⁴⁸² On the ‘museum translations’, see note¹⁰² above and note⁴⁵⁰⁹ below.

⁴⁴⁸³ Notice des Principaux Monuments Exposés au Musée de Gizeh. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892, p. 165. (Premier Étage, Salle 59, Cage M.) • See note⁶³ above.

⁴⁴⁸⁴ GUIDE DU VISITEUR AU MUSÉE DU CAIRE PAR G. MASPERO. LE CAIRE: IMPRIMERIE DE L’INSTITUT FRANÇAIS

provenance etc. in French.⁴⁴⁸⁵ I must conclude that “*Ankh-f-n-khonsu*” seems an uncommon transliteration when done in French. However, I have lately noticed that Maspero a few times in his French books instead of “*Khonsou*” writes “*Khonsu*”⁴⁴⁸⁶, and that seems noteworthy, especially when we find the same used in the two French translations!

I recall, as described above, that Fra. P. on March 23 – after the discovery of the Stélé of Revealing – made a tarot divination, and in “*The Book of Results*” wrote the name “*Ank[sic]-f-n-khonsu*”.⁴⁴⁸⁷ “*Ank[sic]-f-n-khonsu*” is probably, as suggested above, an Englishing of the French “*ankh-f-n-khonsou*”, as given on the stele’s label, and I think that this transliteration was likely provided verbally to Fra. P. by someone at the museum on the day when the stele was discovered. Subsequently on making the tarot divination he then rendered it in “*The Book of Results*” as “*Ank[sic]-f-n-khonsu*”. Later when he received the translations of the stele it was found spelled as “*Ankh-f-n-khonsu*”.

I will also make mention of that there in these translations are indications of that more than one person has been working on them. We find, for instance, different transliterations of some god names: “*Mentu*” and “*Menthou*”, “*Tum*” and “*Toum*”, “*Hudit*” and “*Houdit*”! Normally only one transliteration of a name is used by a translator in the same work.

Concerning “*Hudit*” and “*Houdit*”⁴⁴⁸⁸, we find Maspero saying in one of his books – translated into English – on discussing “*Harhûditi at Edfu*” (i.e. the Horus of Edfû):

*The reading Har-Behûditi was proposed by Mr. Lepage-Renouf [in 1885-6] and has been adopted by most Egyptologists. I do not think it so well founded as to involve an alteration of the old reading of Hûdit for the name of the city of Edfû*⁴⁴⁸⁹

The spelling found in Maspero’s original French edition of 1895 is “*Houdit*”!⁴⁴⁹⁰ In another book in French by him from 1889, dealing with the same subject, the name is also spelt “*Houdit*”!⁴⁴⁹¹

D’ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE, 1902, p. 220. • See note⁶⁵ above.

⁴⁴⁸⁵ Note that apart from “*ankh-f-n-khonsou*” then almost the rest of the information found on the label exhibited together with the stele is maintained in the translation as: “*Provient de Gournah (Thèbes) XXVI^e dynastie.*” • For the mentioned ‘*label*’, see note⁶⁸⁵ above. • For the ‘*Provient*’ quote see: ΘΕΛΗΜΑ . The Holy Books of THELEMA. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, p. 248.

⁴⁴⁸⁶ E.g., in: *Gaston Maspero. Études de Mythologie et d’Archeologie Egyptiennes.* (Bibliothèque Égyptologique. Tome septième.) Paris: Ernest Leroux, éditeur, 1898, vol. III, p. 9. (*Essai sur la Stèle du Songe*, pp. 5-18)(“*C’est à la suite d’un songe que le prince de Bakhtan renvoie à Thèbes la statue du dieu Khonsu;*”)

⁴⁴⁸⁷ See note¹¹⁸³ above.

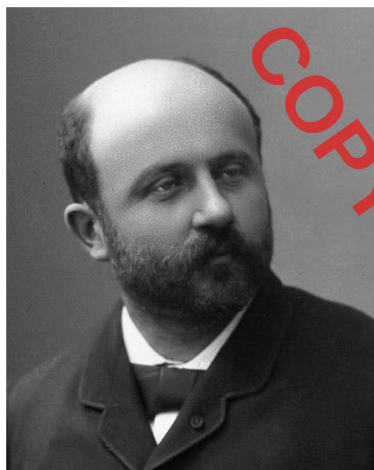
⁴⁴⁸⁸ “*Hudit*” is found in: » *Stèle 666 [L’Analyse du Musée Boulaq / The Boulaq Museum Analysis]* [Face Principale/ Obverse] [A] « • See: ΘΕΛΗΜΑ . The Holy Books of THELEMA. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, p. 241. • “*Houdit*” is found in: » *Stèle 666 [La Traduction du Musée Boulaq]* Face Principale [A] « • See: Ibid., p. 247.

⁴⁴⁸⁹ *G. Maspero. The Dawn of Civilization. Egypt and Chaldaea.* Translated [from the French] by M. L. McClure. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1894, p. 100, note¹. • Vol. 1 (1895) of: *G. Maspero. Histoire ancienne Des peuples de l’Orient classique.* 3 vols. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1895, 1897, 1899. • The transliteration “*Hudit*” is not in use today. (*bḥdt*)

⁴⁴⁹⁰ *G. Maspero. Histoire ancienne des peuples de l’Orient classique.* 3 vols. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1895-1899. • Tome 1 (1895). Les origines. Égypte & Chaldée, p. 100, note 1. (« *La lecture Har-Behouditi a été proposée par M. Lepage-Renouf [...] et adoptée par la plupart des égyptologues : elle ne me paraît pas être établie assez fermement pour qu’il soit nécessaire de changer la lecture ancienne Houdit, du nom de la ville d’Edfou [...].* ») (CHAPITRE DEUXIÈME, pp. [81]-132)

⁴⁴⁹¹ *Gaston Maspero. Études de Mythologie et d’Archeologie Egyptiennes.* (Bibliothèque Égyptologique. Tome

Sometimes the name “*Har-Hut*” was used also, as in a work from 1879 dealing with the inscriptions upon Egyptian Obelisks in Rome: “*Behind the Sphinx is a winged disk, the Har-Hut.*”⁴⁴⁹², and sometimes also variants as “*Her-Hud*”, or “*Hor-Hud*”, used by, for instance, the German Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch, the brother of Émile Brugsch Bey, in the 1850s.⁴⁴⁹³ However, like most Egyptologists Heinrich Brugsch stopped using the old reading of the name, and adopted “*Bahudti*”.⁴⁴⁹⁴



**Gaston (Camille) (Charles)
Maspero (1846-1916)**

I believe that Maspero for some part had been involved in the translation of the stele! Considering his natural talent for translation of hieroglyphs, and his quickness – both experienced by Mariette in 1867⁴⁴⁹⁵ – together with the indications mentioned above of that more than one person seems to have been involved in the translation, but mainly since that he undoubtedly would have used “*Hudit*” or “*Houdit*”, instead of something like “*Behdet*” or “*Bahudti*”! As noted by Maspero, then most Egyptologists had adopted “*Behdet*” at this time, and, for instance, we find it used by the British Egyptologist Flinders Petrie in 1897⁴⁴⁹⁶, and also in the ‘*Gardiner-Gunn Translation*’, which Crowley obtained later.⁴⁴⁹⁷ These things considered, then it must be looked on as a distinctive feature to find the ‘old reading’ – “*Hudit*”, “*Houdit*” – in the papers on the stele. Regarding their likeness with the word “*Hadit*”, as found in *Liber L vel Legis*, so is the latter unique, and this holds as well for “*Had*”! Besides, Maspero liked to write, and was a highly

prolific writer who penned around 1,200 titles (both academic and popular works) – more titles than any other Egyptologist.

To find *Hudit/Houdit* in the beginning of the translations is almost the same as finding Maspero’s signature on the paper! I believe that the translation of the stele, as stated by Crowley, was done by the Keeper’s “*French assistant curator*”⁴⁴⁹⁸, but the work was probably initiated by the museum’s Director himself, and completed by the museum’s French assistant curator. The French

deuxième.) Paris: Ernest Leroux, éditeur, 1893, vol. II, note², pp. [313]-4. (*Les forgerons d'Horus et la légende de l'Horus d'Edfou – I*, pp. [313]-21.) • The transliteration “*Houdit*” is not in use today. (*hḥdt*)

⁴⁴⁹² John Henry Parker. *The Twelve Egyptian Obelisks in Rome: Their History explained by Translations of the Inscriptions upon them.* Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1879, p. 64.

⁴⁴⁹³ For *Her-Hud* and *Hor-Hud*, see: *Heinrich Brugsch*. *Geographische Inschriften Altägyptischer Denkmäler*. 3 vols. Leipzig: Verlag der J. C. Hinrichs’schen Buchhandlung, 1857-60.

⁴⁴⁹⁴ See, for instance: *Heinrich Brugsch*. *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter. Nach den Denkmälern bearbeitet von Heinrich Brugsch. Zweite, mit Namenregister vermehrte Ausgabe.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Buchhandlung, 1891, pp. 272-3. (*Hur-Bahudti/Hor-Bahudti*)

⁴⁴⁹⁵ See note⁵⁰ above.

⁴⁴⁹⁶ *William Matthew Flinders Petrie*. *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the XVIth Dynasty.* New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1897, p. 10. (“*the followers of Har-behdet*”)

⁴⁴⁹⁷ The ‘*Gardiner-Gunn Translation*’ has “*Behdet (? Hadit ?), the Great God, the lord of Heaven.*” • For this, see: TSK1912, pp. 369-71. (STÉLÉ OF ANKH-F-NA-KHONSU. [THE GARDINER-GUNN TRANSLATION], *Obverse. Topmost Register*) • However “(? *Hadit* ?)” is most likely inserted by Fra. P. • For the ‘*Gardiner-Gunn Translation*’ see note⁹⁴⁷ above.

⁴⁴⁹⁸ See: EG, p. 114. • I do not think that the Keeper É. Brugsch Bey participated in the translation of the stele, but he arranged for it. Émile Brugsch Bey did not write much and seems to have been more practical in his work at the museum. • See note⁹⁸ and note⁷²³ above.



Georges (Émile) (Jules) Daressy, c. 1890

assistant curator, or, conservator, in 1904 E.V. was Georges (Émile) (Jules) Daressy (1864-1938)⁴⁴⁹⁹, the French Egyptologist who had been appointed as an associate curator in the Boulaq Museum on January 1, 1887. He had begun to work in the museum under a recently appointed new Director Eugène Grébaut.⁴⁵⁰⁰ Later he became an extremely prolific contributor to journals, as well as author of several books, and, as mentioned above, so was the stele's first description and numbering in the French guide to the Gizeh Museum, from 1892, a work he had carried out together with Grébaut.⁴⁵⁰¹ The other assistant curator Ahmed-Bey Kamal was not French, but Egyptian.⁴⁵⁰² As mentioned in a note in Chapter I, J. F. C. Fuller in a note to page proofs for a planned appendix to the third volume of Crowley's *Collected Works*, identified the museum's assistant curator who provided the translation as a "Delormant", something which clearly is mistaken.⁴⁵⁰³ I have seen the handwriting on the documents, and I have compared it with several hand-written letters written by Georges Daressy, and the translations are clearly written by him! So when we find Crowley writing in *EG* that he met the "French assistant curator, who translated the hieroglyphs on the Stélé"⁴⁵⁰⁴, then he is clearly speaking of Georges Daressy! Two days before the Crowleys visit to the Cairo Museum on March 21, Georges Daressy had celebrated his fortieth birthday – he was born on March 19, 1864, in Sourdon in northern France, and he died at the age of 73 on February 28, 1938 E.V., in his birth town.⁴⁵⁰⁵

In support of that Gaston Maspero likely had initiated the translation of the stele, using Hudit/Houdit, two years after that the stele had been translated we find Georges Daressy on publishing a volume of *Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, using the transliteration "Bahudti", when he translates the name Horus of Behdet, , *Hr Bḥdt*, as "HOR-BAHUDTI"⁴⁵⁰⁶ Finally, as already stated, the translations of the stele were high class translations. It is annoying that Crowley not had access to these priceless documents, which J. F. C. Fuller had borrowed, and just added to his collection of Crowleyana instead of returning them after his break with Crowley and the A.:A.:!

⁴⁴⁹⁹ For Daressy, see note¹⁰⁰ and note⁷²¹ above and Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier. Who was who in Egyptology. 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995, p. 116.

⁴⁵⁰⁰ *Dia' Abou-Ghazi*. The Eighty Anniversary of the Museum's Building. Personalities that Developed the Egyptian Museum. ♦ Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1988, Tome LXVII, p. 34. (pp. 1-78, + plates)(*Personalities that developed the Egyptian Museum*, pp. 19-58.) ♦ For Grébaut, see note⁷²⁰ above.

⁴⁵⁰¹ See note⁷²¹ and note⁶³ above.

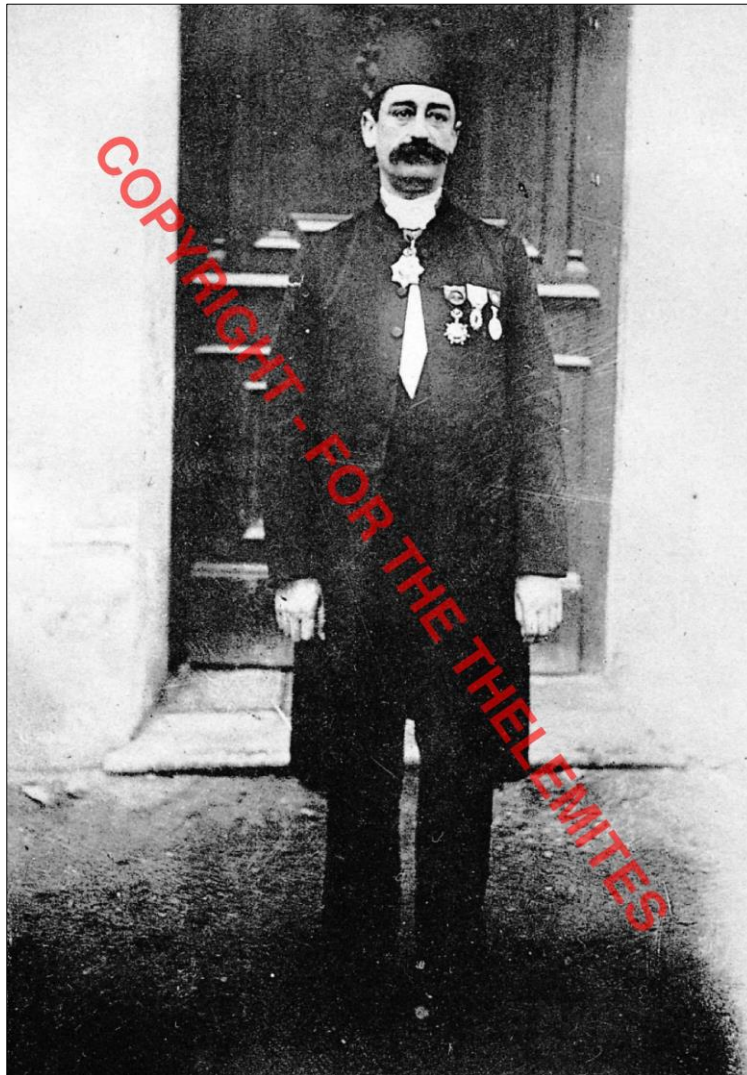
⁴⁵⁰² See note⁹⁹ above.

⁴⁵⁰³ See note¹⁰² above.

⁴⁵⁰⁴ *EG*, p. 114.

⁴⁵⁰⁵ See : Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. ♦ Tome XXXIX, MDCCCCXXXVIII (1938), pp. 11-7. (*Éloge funèbre de Georges-Émile-Jules Daressy*, pp. 11-7.)

⁴⁵⁰⁶ *Georges Daressy*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. N^{os} 38001-39384. Statues de divinités ; Par M. Georges Daressy. 2 tomes. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1905-6. ♦ Tome premier (1906), p. 162. (*HOR-BAHUDTI*. 38621-38622, pp.162-3.)



Georges (Émile) (Jules) Daressy (1864-1938)