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# FOR THE THELEMITES

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.



The priest Ankh-af-na-khonsu (Ankhefenkhons i) from the obverse of his double-sided, wooden, funeral stele, "Stèle 666" (Cairo A 9422). Note that his shaven head is crowned by the festal perfume-cone.



CHAPTER 5 [Mntꜣw (*Mentu*), “the god Mentu”] • The priest Ankh-af-na-khonsu

Let us return to the Stélé of Revealing and its owner Ankh-af-na-khonsu. In modern transliteration his name is written as Ḥnh·f-n-ḥnsw and rendered in Roman types in various ways like Ankhefenkhons, Ankh-f-n-khonsu, Ankh-ef-en-khonsu or Ankh-af-na-khonsu. ‘Ankh-af-na-khonsu’ is the way it is written in the MS. of *Liber L vel Legis*, so of course I prefer this spelling.<sup>501</sup> The German Egyptologist Hermann Ranke (1878-1953), translates the name as “*er lebt für Chons*”<sup>502</sup>, he lives for Khonsu, the moon-god of Thebes, and in the 1904 E.V. museum translations which Fra. P. obtained in Cairo it is rendered as “*He lives in Khonsu*”.<sup>503</sup> The name is a so-called theophoric name – a name which establishes a relationship between a deity and the holder of the name. Khonsu was a moon god of Thebes and was looked upon as the divine child of Amun and Mut whom the Greek equaled with Heracles. Ankh-af-na-khonsu seems to have been a popular name, a name which the Greek rendered as Χαποχωνσις,<sup>504</sup> *Chapochonsis*.

Much genealogical information concerning Ankh-af-na-khonsu and his family, the Besenmut family, is found in Egyptological literature today and it is fascinating how much information which has survived through their belongings after all these years. The fundamental modern study was published in 1973 E.V. by the British Egyptologist Kenneth Anderson Kitchen (1932-).<sup>505</sup> Two other important studies followed, the first in 1975 E.V. by the British Egyptologist Morris Leonard Bierbrier (1947-)<sup>506</sup>, and the second in 1978 E.V. by the Austrian Egyptologist and Demotist Günter Vittmann (1952-).<sup>507</sup> I have decided here to focus mainly on the genealogy and chronology published in Bierbrier’s book and to use Kitchen’s and his naming of the various individuals. Let us look at Ankh-af-na-khonsu, his ancestry, his two wives and their children. As described above so is Ankh-af-na-khonsu – the one to whom the Stélé of Revealing belongs – in Egyptological literature known by different variants of his name and in genealogical studies further by an additional Roman numeral added to his name in order to distinguish between individuals bearing the same name. The two mainly found is Ankhefenkhons I – used by Moret and Gauthier in their

<sup>501</sup> First found in the MS. of *Liber L vel Legis* in its first Chapter, Verse [36]: “*My scribe Ankh-af-na-khonsu, the priest of the princes*”

<sup>502</sup> Hermann Ranke. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. Bd. I-III. Glückstadt: Verlag von J. J. Augustin, 1935-77. ♦ Band I; Verzeichnis der Namen (1935), p. 67: (Ḥnh·f-n-ḥnsw) „*er lebt für Chons*“ [he lives for Khonsu].

<sup>503</sup> Stèle 666 [L’Analyse du Musée Boulaq/The Boulaq Museum Analysis], Obverse, [C] : « *Il vit par Khonsu* » / “*He lives in Khonsu*” ♦ See: ΘΕΛΗΜΑ . The Holy Books of THELEMA. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, *Appendix A, The Stèle of Revealing*, pp. 233-60. ♦ I will deal with the museum translations of the Stélé of Revealing obtained by Fra. P. from the Cairo Museum in 1904 E.V. in detail later. (See note<sup>4542</sup> below) ♦ Ḥnsw, Khonsu, means “the traveler”.

<sup>504</sup> See: Hermann Ranke. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. Bd. I-III. Glückstadt: Verlag von J. J. Augustin, 1935-77. ♦ Band I; Verzeichnis der Namen (1935), p. 67.

<sup>505</sup> K. A. Kitchen. *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*. Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1973. ♦ 2<sup>nd</sup> edition with supplement. Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1986. (3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1995.)

<sup>506</sup> M. L. Bierbrier. *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.): A Genealogical Chronological Investigation*. (Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies) Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1975.

<sup>507</sup> Günther [Günter] Vittmann. *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie*. Wien: Afro-Pub, 1978.

description of his sarcophagi and coffins in volumes of *Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* both from 1913 E.V.<sup>508</sup> – and Ankhefenkhons i found in the genealogical data given by Bierbrier, numbered with a small Roman numeral to distinguish between him and a Ankhefenkhons A of late XXth dynasty and another Ankhefenkhons I of dynasty XXII. Hereafter, when referring to Ankhefenkhons in the main text I will consistently use Ankhefenkhons i. Although Ankhefenkhons i's name include the name of the moon god of Thebes, Khons or Khonsu, he did not serve this god in the Khonsu temple at Karnak, nor did apparently any of the members of the Besenmut family.<sup>509</sup> There were several priests of the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period named Ankhefenkhons and therefore also many items belonging to persons named Ankhefenkhons in museum collections worldwide. At least some ten persons named Ankhefenkhons, priests or officials, are known from the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties.

Kitchen argues an earlier dating of the Besenmut family than the German Egyptologist Hermann (Alexander) (Jakob) Kees (1886-1964), had suggested in the 1950s. According to Kitchen, Kees dates Besenmut i (*Bś-n-Mwt*) too late, by as much as 30-50 years.<sup>510</sup> Kitchen suggests that Ankhefenkhons i may have witnessed Piankhy's (Piya's) invasion of Egypt (about) 728 BCE in the twenty-third dynasty.<sup>511</sup> Bierbrier employs the late dating but adjust the date and writes that he

<sup>508</sup> *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. 6-22; 75-8. (*Catal. du Musée № 41001*.) ♦ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. I-II. (*Catal. du Musée № 41001*.) ♦ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 22-38. (*Catal. du Musée № 41001 bis*.) ♦ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. III-VI. (*Catal. du Musée № 41001 bis*.) ♦ Note that as stated in his *Additions et Corrections* so are the details of the "Couvercle" belonging to № 41004 erroneous given on pp. [1]-6! The right details of the "Couvercle" belonging to № 41001 are found on pp. 75-8! ♦ *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., Inner coffin: *Catal. du Musée № 41042*, pp. [1]-26. ♦ Vol. I., Inner coffin: Pl. I-II. ♦ Vol. I., Outer coffin: *Catal. du Musée № 41043*, pp. 26-30. ♦ Vol. I., Outer coffin: Pl. III. ♦ As to the year of the publication of both Moret and Gauthier's works, a volume of both works were likely published in 1912 E.V., as stated on their covers. However, both works's title pages state 1913 and I will use this dating in my references. Furthermore, the first volume of Moret's work to be published was the volume containing the plates and it was Vol. 61 of *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. It has 1912 on its cover together with "Premier fascicule" but 1913 on its title page together with "Tome second". The volume containing the text, Vol. 70 of *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, has the year 1913 on both its cover and title page, but "Deuxième fascicule" on cover and "Tome premier" on title page. The first volume of Gauthier's work, which was Vol. 62 of *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, also has the year 1912 on its cover but 1913 on the title page, but both volumes has the right order of the volumes both on covers and title pages. The second volume of Gauthier's work was Vol. 65 of *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. In my references I will call the text volume of Moret's work for Vol. I, and the volume containing the plates for Vol. II. Gauthier's has his plates in the back of the first volume.

<sup>509</sup> For this see: *M. L. Bierbrier*. *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.): A Genealogical Chronological Investigation*. (Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies) Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1975. ♦ *Günther [Günter] Vittmann*. *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit*. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie. Wien: Afro-Pub, 1978. ♦ However, there was at least one priest of Khons in Thebes named Ankhefenkhons at the Khonsu Temple at Karnak. ♦ EA30721; Painted wooden coffin of Ankhefenkhons; 22nd Dynasty. ♦ See the British Museum's Collection online at: <http://www.britishmuseum.org/> ♦ *John H. Taylor*. *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*. London, UK: British Museum Press, 2001, p. 232; ill. 171. ("[EA30721] *Painted wooden coffin of the priest of Khons in Thebes, Ankhefenkhons*")(Chapter 7. *The Chest of Life: Coffins and Sarcophagi*, pp. 214-243.)

<sup>510</sup> *K. A. Kitchen*. *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition with supplement. Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1986, p. 226. (3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1995.)

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 180; 226.

believes that Ankhefenkhons i flourished under the Pharaoh Shoshenk V (Sheshonq V) at the end of the twenty-second dynasty.<sup>512</sup> Bierbrier dates Piankhy's invasion to shortly after the death of Shoshenk V.<sup>513</sup> The so-called Standard Date given on this king today is from 767-730 BCE.<sup>514</sup> The standard chronology of the Third Intermediate Period (1100-650 BCE) is primarily the work of Kenneth A. Kitchen. However, there is no unanimity among specialists and another chronology, called the Revisionist Version, has 780-743 BCE for Shoshenk V.<sup>515</sup> Very little is known of Shoshenk V. The short reign of his two predecessors seem rather obscure and the same is true of his much longer reign. They all ruled from Tanis situated in the north-eastern Nile Delta and the capital during the Third Intermediate Period. However, before the end of the reign of Sheshonq V he had become no more than a 'first among equals' among the many local rulers found in the Delta. Ankhefenkhons i's father, Besenmut i, is by Bierbrier dated to the reign of Osorkon III – a contemporary of Pimay (Pemay) and his son Shoshenk V.<sup>516</sup> Vittmann argues the later dating of the Besenmut family shedding new light on various elements.<sup>517</sup>

In 1984 E.V. the British Egyptologist John Hilton Taylor (1958-), published an article in which he suggested by the evidence of his coffins that Ankh-af-na-khonsu's death took place c. 700-675 BCE<sup>518</sup> and thus also argued the "late" date on the Besenmut family. The death of Ankhefenkhons i's father, Besenmut i, is by Taylor dated to c. 725-700 BCE.<sup>519</sup> Ankhefenkhons i's death took according to Taylor thus place in the late twenty-fifth dynasty before it was brought to an end by an Assyrian invasion and a sack of Thebes. The kings of this dynasty were descendants of a family that had established itself in Kush in Upper Nubia and who ruled also as pharaohs of Egypt. The two kings found in the period given by Taylor are Shabtaqa (c. 705-690 BCE) and Taharqa (690-664 BCE).<sup>520</sup> They were both sons of Piankhy.

So the above suggests that Ankh-af-na-khonsu was born sometime at the end of the twenty-second dynasty and died in the late twenty-fifth dynasty. As regards dynasties, the Third Intermediate Period is complicated and its dynasties, generally given as twenty-first through twenty-fifth dynasties, must be studied separately.

In his genealogical study of the Besenmut family Bierbrier writes regarding the family that:

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<sup>512</sup> For an account of Shoshenk V's reign, see: *Ibid.*, pp. 349-55; 580-1.

<sup>513</sup> *M. L. Bierbrier. The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.): A Genealogical Chronological Investigation.* (Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies) Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1975, p. 102. (*Chapter Five; The Families of Dynasties XXIV and XXV; Chronological Considerations*, pp 102-8.) • Piankhy's (Piya's) reign is today given as c. 735-712 BCE. ♦ For this, see: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 3, p. 392. • See also note<sup>4597</sup> below.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392.

<sup>515</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392.

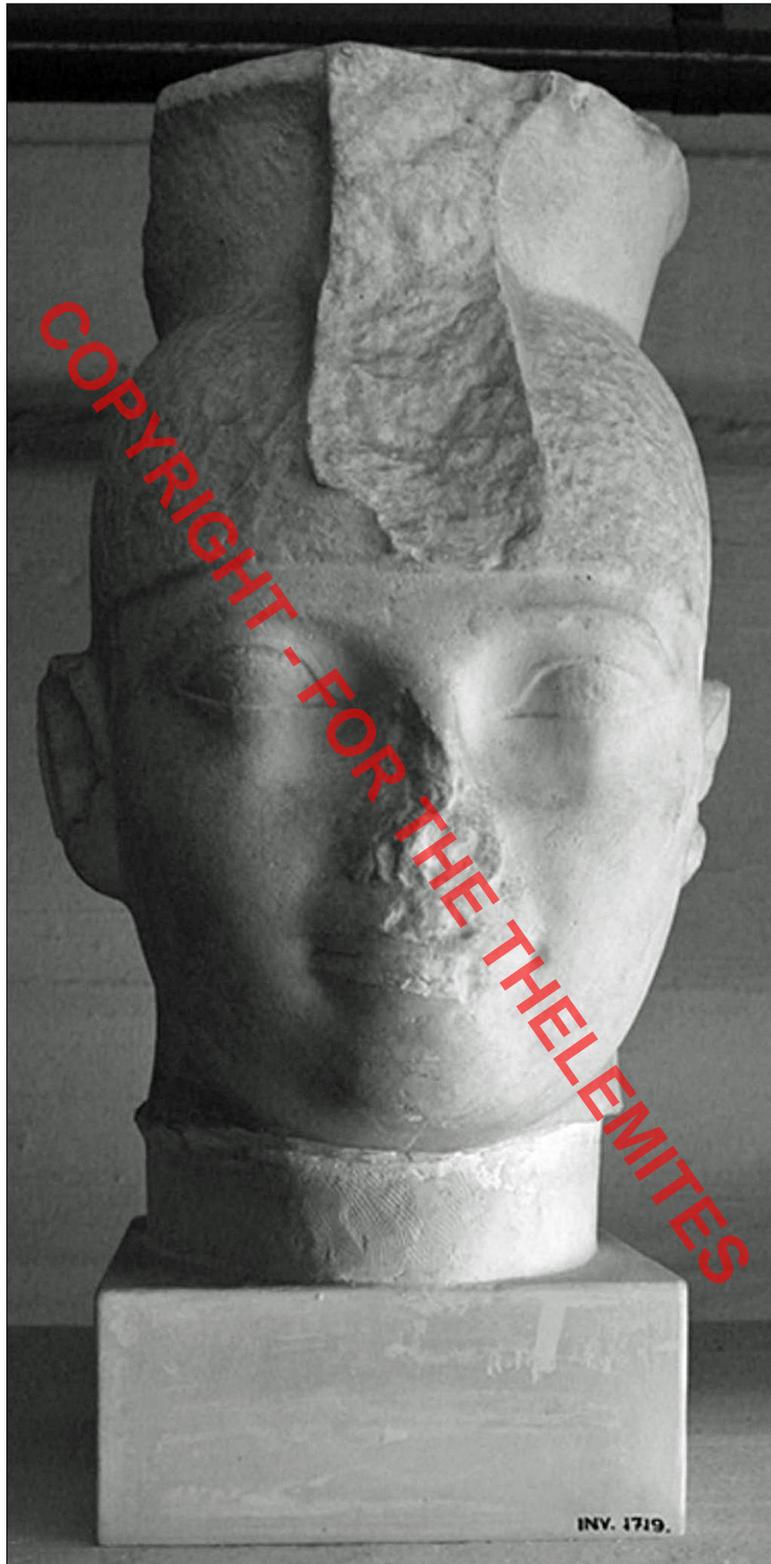
<sup>516</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>517</sup> See note<sup>522</sup> and note<sup>523</sup> below.

<sup>518</sup> *John H. Taylor. A Priestly Family of the 25th Dynasty. Chronique d'Égypte : Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth.* Brüssel : Brepols Publishers. Volume 59, Number 117/1984, p. 29. (Pp. 27-57.) ♦ Taylor's article is primarily dealing with the brother of Besenmut i, Hor 'A' and his family. • See also note<sup>626</sup> and note<sup>684</sup> below and note<sup>4546</sup>, note<sup>4645</sup> and note<sup>4646</sup> below. • For Peter Munro's dating of the stele (c. 680-670 BCE) in 1973 E.V. – a dating that like Taylor's was based on a stylistic study – see note<sup>4707</sup> below.

<sup>519</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>520</sup> For these dates, see: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 3, p. 392. • For an account of their reigns, see: *K. A. Kitchen. The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.).* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition with supplement. Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1986, p. 226. (3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1995.)



Head of the Kushite Ruler Taharqa (690-664 BCE), sixth king of the twenty-fifth or Kushite dynasty. Taharqa was the son of Piankhy (c. 735-712 BCE) and was a younger brother of Shabtaqa (c. 705-690 BCE). Traditionally, the twenty-fifth dynasty was four kings of Kush – Upper Nubia, in the northern Sudan – who ruled also as pharaohs of Egypt. Plaster cast from original in the Musée impérial égyptien, Caire. National Gallery of Denmark.

The Besenmut family is by far the most complex and confusing of the many official families that are known to have flourished at the time of Dynasty XXII. The main source of information on this family consists of the coffins, stelae, and other objects discovered in several caches near Deir el-Bahri. Unfortunately, before any full inventory of these finds was made, the objects were scattered throughout the museums and private collections of the world, and even today it is difficult to piece them together again.<sup>521</sup>

On Ankhefenkhons i's great sarcophagus, CGC 41001, is found his direct paternal line seven generations back to *Nb-ntrw* (Nebneteru ix) who had the title of "Prophet of Amun in Karnak, Head of the scribe of the mat of the Vizier"<sup>522</sup> and thus not a prophet of Mentu. According to Kitchen and Bierbrier, the first known member of the Besenmut family was a Vizier called Nebneteru ix, but as seen above, he was not a Vizier but a Prophet of Amun who also held the office of Head of the scribe of the mat of the Vizier.<sup>523</sup> Ankhefenkhons i's grandfather was Wennofer i<sup>524</sup> who held the office of third Prophet of Amun in Thebes together with the office of Prophet of Mentu as found on Ankhefenkhons i's great sarcophagus.<sup>525</sup> Wennofer's father, *p(3j)š-tnfj*, (Pestjenef) who was married to *Ns-Imn* (Nesamun i) seems to have been the first to bear the title of Prophet of Mentu and this title was hereditary.<sup>526</sup> The father of Ankhefenkhons i was the Prophet of Mentu Besenmut i (*Bš-n-Mwt*).<sup>527</sup> *Mntw*, Mont, Montu, Monthu, or Mentu, was a local Upper Egyptian solar deity who became state god. This came about because of his association with the victorious King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep of the eleventh dynasty (Revisionist Version: r. 2061-2011 BCE), who had successfully reunified Egypt. This king's birth name, the fifth and last name in his titulary, is the theophoric Mentuhotep, which



**Mentu-Ra**

- <sup>521</sup> M. L. Bierbrier. *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.): A Genealogical Chronological Investigation*. (Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies) Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1975, p. 92. (Chapter Four; *The Families of Dynasties XXII and XXIII*, pp. 54-101.) • The genealogical data on the Besenmut family given below is accumulated from the work of M. L. Bierbrier. • *Ibid.*, pp. 92-108. • See also note<sup>751</sup> below.
- <sup>522</sup> See: Günther [Günter] Vittmann. *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie*. Wien: Afro-Pub, 1978, p. 10. (2.2; *Die ältesten Glieder Bš-n-Mwt-familie*, pp. 9-10.)
- <sup>523</sup> *Ibid.* • Both Kitchen and Bierbrier state that Nebneteru was a Vizier. The Vizier was the highest administrative functionary – the supreme chief of the government administration – second only to the Pharaoh. The Egyptians called his office *Tjaty* (*Bty*). However, Vittmann corrects that he was a Vizier and offer also a new source which gives a variant of the earliest generations of the Besenmut family having a Nesamun (*Ns-Imn*) instead of Nebneteru and before him an *Imn-ḥtp* and a *P3-dj-Imn* (*Kairo JE 36 957*) • *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10; 51.
- <sup>524</sup> Wennofer i had the double name *Wn-nfr/irj-irj* (Wennofer i / Iryiry i) – in Moret called "Ounnefer (*1<sup>er</sup>*) surnommé Arioui". • M. L. Bierbrier. *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.): A Genealogical Chronological Investigation*. (Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies) Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1975, p. 92, note<sup>231</sup>, explained on p. 139. (Chapter Four; *The Families of Dynasties XXII and XXIII*, pp. 54-101.) • Alexandre Moret. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à l'époque saïte*. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1913. ♦ Vol. I., pp. 14,137,322.
- <sup>525</sup> Great sarcophagus of Ankhefenkhons I, № 41001. (Wennofer i is here called Ounnefer I.) "Prophète de 3<sup>e</sup> classe d'Amon-Râ dans Karnak". • *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- <sup>526</sup> See: Günther [Günter] Vittmann. *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie*. Wien: Afro-Pub, 1978, p. 10. (2.2; *Die ältesten Glieder Bš-n-Mwt-familie*, pp. 9-10.)
- <sup>527</sup> For a coffin in Louvre stated perhaps to be his but without the title of Prophet of Mentu, see note<sup>4594</sup> below.

means "Mentu is satisfied". Mentu is most commonly represented as a falcon-headed man, whose wig is surmounted by a solar disc, with a double Uraeus – i.e. the royal cobra – behind which two tall plumes extend vertically. He was often equated with Horus and was called "Horus with the strong arm". Early in the Middle Kingdom he seems to have been regarded as the Upper Egyptian counterpart of Ra of Heliopolis. The two deities were merged as Mentu-Ra and seen either as a Falcon-headed man, or in the shape of a bull. During the Middle Kingdom began Mentu's veneration as a war god.<sup>528</sup> The god-name is spelt as 'Mentu' in Crowley's paraphrase like in the museum translations procured by Crowley in 1904 E.V., a spelling which I have maintained in this work.<sup>529</sup>

From the work of Günter Vittman we know that Besenmut i (whom Vittmann calls *Bś-n-Mwt* I (Besenmut I)) was the first in his family to bear a title that shows that he served in the "*Re-Stiftung vom Dach der Amunsdomäne*", the Ra-temple on the roof of Amun's temple, which had been added to the roof of the Festival Temple of Thutmose III, a temple dedicated to Ra-Hor-akhty (the Ra-Hoor-Khuit of *Liber L vel Legis*) and a part of Amun's temple in Karnak.<sup>530</sup> The Festival Temple of Thutmose III (Figure 28) is a hall of columns in the style of tent poles designed to celebrate the king's *sed*-festival – it was probably a mortuary temple that commemorated his Jubilee Sed Festival.<sup>531</sup> The great hypostyle hall possesses three aisles, the central aisle higher than the side ones and windows between two levels of the hall's roof admits light. The shape of the columns resemble the tent poles of the twin Pavilion of Festival which was a tent used at the king's heb-sed ceremonies as seen in the hieroglyph , *sd*, *sed*, 'to celebrate the sed-festival'. On the left seat of the pavilion the king would appear wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt and on the right seat, the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. To me the Sed or Heb-Sed festival and its ritual is the very core of ancient Egypt since it contains every aspect of this great civilization and I see it as the founding ritual of the civilization, a ritual reflecting a kind of 'royal primordial mound'. The king's father, the creator, had created the world and his son, the king, had to create and maintain a united land. The Festival Temple was named *3h-mnw*, Akh-menu, which means 'glorious-of-monuments' and situated south-east of the main sanctuary of Amun. In the 1970s it was discovered that the roof-temple played an important role in the celebration of the winter solstice.<sup>532</sup> This shrine, also

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<sup>528</sup> For Mentu, see: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 2, pp. 435-436. ♦ Also: *Barbara Watterson*. Gods of Ancient Egypt. Phoenix Mill, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1996, pp. 196-200. ♦ Some interesting drawings of Mentu are found in: *Ridolfo V. Lanzone*. Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia. 5 vols. Torino: Litografia fratelli Doyen, 1881-86. ♦ Vol. 1., Tav. CXIX-CXX. (Reprinted, Amsterdam, 1975.) ♦ Spelt as Mentu in Crowley's paraphrase as well as in the museum translations – a spelling which I have maintained. ♦ For Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, see note<sup>603</sup>, note<sup>615</sup> and note<sup>4562</sup> below.

<sup>529</sup> For this and other matters concerning the translations of the Stélé procured by Crowley, see: QEAHMA. The Holy Books of THELEMA, Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983. (Also as: The Equinox III (9). Corrected 2<sup>nd</sup> printing. York Beach, ME: Weiser, and New York, NY: 93 Publishing Ltd., 1989.) & *Magick.I-IV*. ♦ See also note<sup>4562</sup> below.

<sup>530</sup> See: *Günther [Günter] Vittmann*. Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie. Wien: Afro-Pub, 1978, pp. 59-61; 106; 201. ♦ "*Re-Stiftung vom Dach der Amunsdomäne*" ♦ Thutmose III ruled from 1504-1452 BCE in the eighteenth dynasty. ♦ Besenmut i's [*Bś-n-Mwt* I's] title in the "*Re-Stiftung vom Dach der Amunsdomäne*" was "*mtj n s3 n pr-Rc tp-hwt pr lmn hr s3 tpj*" ♦ Ibid., p. 59. (2.16; *Übersicht über die Titel der Angehörigen der Bś-n-Mwt-Familie; Bś-n-Mwt* I, p. 59.) ♦ See also note<sup>544</sup> below. ♦ For the list of Ankh-af-nakhsu's titles given by Vittmann, see note<sup>4632</sup> below.

<sup>531</sup> For the *sed*-festival and its performance, see note<sup>4561</sup> below.

<sup>532</sup> See: *Mosalam Shaltout* and *Juan Antonio Belmonte*. On the Orientation of Ancient Egyptian Temples: (1) Upper

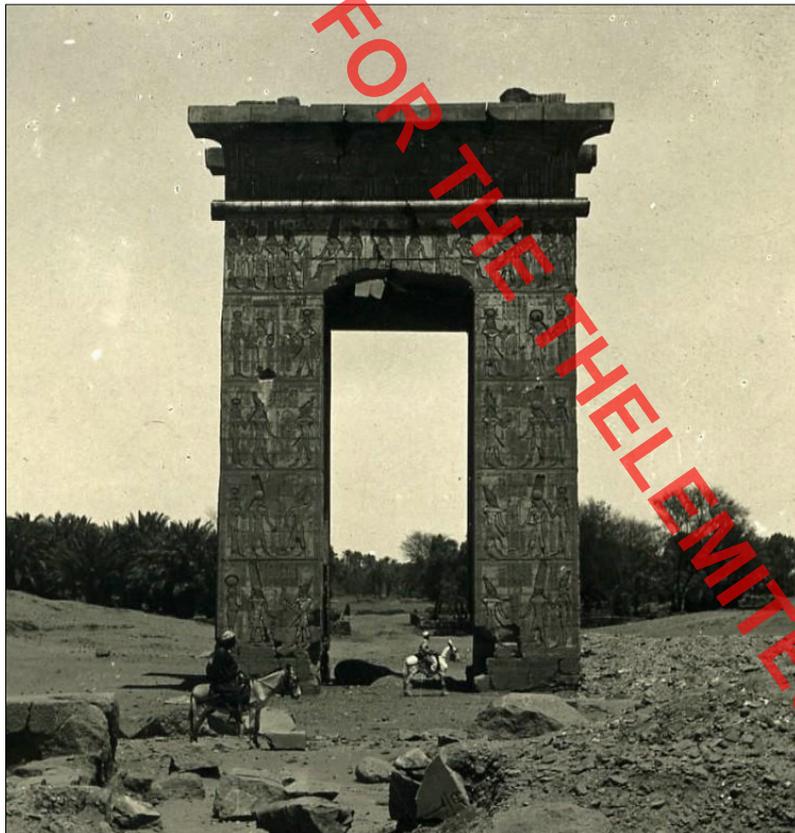


FIGURE 28. *Karnak – Festival Temple of Thutmose III*

1900s photograph of the Festival Temple of Thutmose III, which was named Akh-menu, 'glorious-of-monuments'. The Eighteenth Dynasty temple situated to the rear of the main sanctuary of Amun at Karnak was probably a mortuary temple that commemorated the king's Jubilee Sed Festival. Added to the roof of the Festival Temple was an open-to-the-sky temple of Ra, the so-called "High Room of the Sun", where Ankh-af-na-khonsu, like his father before him, held an office as priest of Ra-Hor-akhty, '*Re-and-Horus-of-the-Two-Horizons*' – the 'Ra-Hoor-Khuit' of *The Book of the Law*! The temple, which dates from the Nineteenth Dynasty seems to have played a very important role in the observation of the winter solstice and its ritual celebration in Thebes. © From the author's collection.



Another old photograph of the Festival Temple of Thutmose III in Karnak.



Ankh-af-na-khonsu held the office of Prophet of Mentu in the Temple of Mentu at Karnak, north-northeast of Luxor. The temple (now severely damaged) and its precinct are situated to the north of the Nektanebo enclosure. Mentu was a local Upper Egyptian solar deity who because of his association with the victorious King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep (r. 2061-2011 BCE) – his second name Mentuhotep means "Mentu-is-satisfied" – had reunified Egypt after his victory over his Herakleopolitan rivals, which brought an end to the First Intermediate Period (c. 2000-1650 BCE). On the picture is seen the monumental gate in the Precinct of Mentu at Karnak (Ptolemaic Period). The decoration on the gate was completed under Ptolemy IV (r. 180-145 BCE). 1900s photograph.

known as the High Room of the Sun, was approachable by a sloping staircase located near the North-East corner of the Festival Hall. In the 1960s the French Egyptologist Paul Barguet (1915-2012), noticed that "*le salle haute du soleil levant*", the upper room of the rising sun, as he called it, is elevated upon a massive pyramid-like construction that was added against the north wall of the Akh-menu<sup>533</sup>. The 'upper room', which was erected in the Nineteenth Dynasty<sup>534</sup> seems to have been a small but important shrine, an open-to-the-sky chamber which measured about 10.5 metres in length and about 8 metres in breadth with a square alabaster altar – dating back to Thutmose III<sup>535</sup> – situated near the entrance, and at the other end a rectangular window opening to the south-east. The altar looks like an eight-pointed star but is, in fact, constructed of four  glyphs – *hṯp*, *hetep*, meaning 'altar' – combined to form a squared altar (approx. 2 by 2 metres), the four hepet points and the four corners create the eight-pointed star.<sup>536</sup> The English astronomer Gerald Stanley Hawkins (1928-2003)<sup>537</sup>, discovered that it was possible to observe the rising of the sun at the winter solstice through the window and its light would penetrate the window and reach the altar.<sup>538</sup> The High Room of the Sun, as Hawkins called it, was clearly an observatory as well as a temple. On its wall Thutmose III is depicted, facing the window, one knee to the ground, and perhaps greeting the rising sun.<sup>539</sup> At the winter solstice the Sun reaches its maximum declination south of the equator, i.e. declination  $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  south, creating the shortest day of the year and from this day the power of the Sun increases and therefore was this moment where the Sun appeared to stand still of the utmost importance for the king and for the priests in their rituals.<sup>540</sup> An inscription in the Festival Hall also suggested that the High Room might have something to do with the sun:

*One makes for the Festival Hall, horizon of the sky, and climbs there to the 'Place of Combat' [ḥ3, Aha], secluded place of the majestic spirit, high room of the Ram that crosses the sky; there for him are opened the doors of the horizon [the sanctuary] of the primordial Lord of the Two Lands to see the mystery of Horus shining.*<sup>541</sup>

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Egypt and Lower Nubia. ♦ Journal for the History of Astronomy. Vol. 36. Part 3, August 2005, No. 124. Cambridge, UK: Science History Publications Ltd, pp. 283-6. (*On the Orientation of Ancient Egyptian Temples: (1) Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia*, pp. 273-98.) • See also note<sup>538</sup> below. • For Crowley's Ra-worship at the winter solstice in London in 1937 E.V., see note<sup>3950</sup> below.

<sup>533</sup> See: Paul Barguet. *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d'exégèse*. Le Caire: Imprimerie de Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1962, pp. 203-5. (*CHAPITRE IV; Le Akh-menou, temple de régénération de Thoutmosis III; I. La « Salle des Fêtes » – f) La salle haute du soleil levant.*, pp. 203-5.)

<sup>534</sup> See: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*. Edited by Byron E. Shafer, Dieter Arnold, Gerhard Haeny, Lanny Bell and Ragnild Bjerre Finnestad. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997, p. 98. (3. *New Kingdom "Mortuary Temples" and "Mansions of Millions of Years; By Gerhard Haeny – Royal Cult complexes of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, pp. 90-106.)

<sup>535</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>536</sup> The hieroglyph shows a loaf on a reed-mat and the four loaf points together with the four corners resemble, as mentioned, an eight-pointed star.

<sup>537</sup> English astronomer and author who lived in the United States. Famous for his work in the field of archaeo-astronomy.

<sup>538</sup> See: *Gerald S. Hawkins. Beyond Stonehenge*. New York, NY: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973, p. 193ff. (11; *AMON-RA*, pp. 193-218.) • For his theory on the Karnak Temple's main axis, see note<sup>3968</sup> below.

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>540</sup> For 'the standing still of the sun', see note<sup>3971</sup> below. • See also note<sup>3963</sup> and note<sup>3966</sup> below for the winter solstice sunrise and the so-called 'Lateran' obelisk, originally situated in Karnak.

<sup>541</sup> Here in Ed Krupp's translation: *Records In Stone; Papers in Memory of Alexander Thom*. Edited by C. L. N. Ruggles. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 480. (21. *Light in the Temples; By Ed Krupp – Solar connotations at Karnak*, pp. 479-83.) • Paul Barguet. *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d'exégèse*. Le Caire:

– and Paul Barguet became convinced that the ‘secluded place of the majestic spirit, high room of the Ram that crosses the sky’ was the High Room of the Sun and thought that the references to combat had something to do with a conflict between the sun and the darkness.<sup>542</sup> Very interestingly, Paul Barguet wrote that he believed that the Akh-menu became a place of initiation into the "mysteries" for the priests of Amun, and that the above text, which was engraved on one of the windows of the Festival Hall by a priest under Takelot II in the Twenty-second Dynasty, in a way summarized this priest's initiation into the "mysteries".<sup>543</sup> (Takelot II ruled from 844-819 B.C.E.) The name of the priest who wrote this text was Hor and he was a son of an Ankh-ef-en-Khonsu, who most likely also was a priest of Amun, however, they seem not to have been of the Besenmut family.

Regarding the ram, so was it found several places in ancient Egypt as symbol of various deities. The ram of Amun was distinguishable from the other sacred rams since its horns curved downwards, whereas the others had horns projecting horizontally. Recalling the daily combats between the sun and Apophis: the sun-god crosses the celestial ocean in his barque as helmsman of the world – in his barque are also his vizier, Thoth, and his daughter, Maat, the personification of cosmic order. Each morning and evening Apophis, the huge serpent, anti-god and enemy of order, threatens the sun-god and thus endangers world stability. The serpent attacks the sun barque each morning when the sun-god emerges from the nether-world, and each evening at the beginning of the barque's nightly voyage. Apophis is wounded by the barque's crew and this causes the sky to be dyed red with the blood of the defeated and wounded serpent. Apophis's coils, which are described as ‘sandbanks’ are also a hinder for the barque. Winter solstice, I think, was probably seen as the yearly ‘battle of battles’.

Like his father Ankhefenkhons i (whom Vittmann calls *ḥnhf-n-Ḥnšw* I (Ankhefenkhonsu I)) also became a priest of Ra, and possibly priest-astronomer, in the temple on the roof of Akh-menu and bore the title of ‘(phyle) controller of the 2nd phyle in the Ra-temple on the roof of Amun's temple’.<sup>544</sup> The phyles were a system of labor organization found from the middle of the first dynasty and used in all kind of work. The body of priests was divided into groups and such a subdivision of priests was called “sa” (s3) by the Egyptians and “phyle” (φυλή) by the Greeks and was headed by a “controller” (mtj/ mty). Each phyle served for one lunar month and then its priests returned to their other offices. There were four phylae until the Ptolemaic period where a fifth was added. It is worthy of mention that Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari (Figure 32) where Ankhefenkhons i's sarcophagi and coffins were found also seems to have been aimed towards the winter solstice sunrise.<sup>545</sup> As mentioned on Ankhefenkhons i's sarcophagus, Besenmut i also bore

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Imprimerie de Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1962, pp. 287-8. (*Deuxième partie; Essai d'interprétation. A. Interprétation des parties originales du temple. – 1. Signification et rôle du Akh-menou*, pp. 283-99.)

<sup>542</sup> Records in Stone; Papers in Memory of Alexander Thom. Edited by C. L. N. Ruggles. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 481. (21. *Light in the Temples; By Ed Krupp – Solar connotations at Karnak*, pp. 479-83.)

<sup>543</sup> Paul Barguet. Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d'exégèse. Le Caire: Imprimerie de Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1962, p. 287ff. (*Deuxième partie; Essai d'interprétation. A. Interprétation des parties originales du temple. – 1. Signification et rôle du Akh-menou*, pp. 283-99.)

<sup>544</sup> See: Günther [Günter] Vittmann. *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie.* Wien: Afro-Pub, 1978, p. 59. (“*ḥnhf-n-Ḥnšw* I: [...] *mtj n s3 n pr-R<sup>c</sup> tp-ḥwt pr lmn ḥr s3 2-nw*”)(2.16; *Übersicht über die Titel der Angehörigen der Bš-n-Mwt-familie; ḥnhf-n-Ḥnšw* I, p. 59.) • See also note<sup>4610</sup> below. • For Besenmut i's title, see note<sup>530</sup> above.

<sup>545</sup> See: Records in Stone; Papers in Memory of Alexander Thom. Edited by C. L. N. Ruggles. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge

the title of “Commandant [? Spelt  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , *sh̄m*, sekhem, powerful] d’Amon-Râ”<sup>546</sup>, Commandant of Amun-Ra – a title not found on the other sarcophagi published by Moret. Besenmut i married at least twice. By the Lady Taneshet<sup>547</sup>, daughter of the prophet of AmenRe Sonter Hahat i, son of Penpe, he had a son Ankhefenkhons i; and by the Lady Itawy iii<sup>548</sup>, daughter of Nespasef i, he had another son Nespasef ii<sup>549</sup>, who had at least two sons by the Lady Tashepen Khons, daughter of the Priest of Amun Iuiuf ii. (Both sons bore the title *Prophet of Mentu*.) Ankhefenkhons i’s mother Taneshet held the title of ‘*Sistrum-player of Amon-Ra*’ (*iḥy-n-Imn-Rʿ*).<sup>550</sup>

The Prophet of Mentu Ankhefenkhons i was like his father also attached to the cult of Amon(-Ra), as we shall see in detail later, and often a son inherited his fathers priestly offices.<sup>551</sup> Ankhefenkhons i further had two *sm3*-titles, which also shall be discussed later.<sup>552</sup> Like his father he also married twice and had a very numerous family. Indubitably he had seven sons. By Neskhons i,<sup>553</sup> daughter of the Treasurer of Pharaoh Hormaat i, he had 4 sons<sup>554</sup> and by Muthetepti ii,<sup>555</sup>

University Press, 1988, pp. 491-2. (21. *Light in the Temples; By Ed Krupp – The solar sanctuary of Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple at Deir El-Bahri*, pp. 491-2.)

<sup>546</sup> Ankhefenkhons i’s sarcophagus № 41001 bis. (See note<sup>4608</sup> below for another connection with the service of Amon) *Alexandre Moret*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Sarcophages de l’époque bubastite à l’époque saïte. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1913. ♦ Vol. I., pp. 23; 327. • *bs-n-mwt* is in the museum translations obtained by Crowley in Cairo rendered both as “*Bes n mut*” and “*Bes-n-Maut*” and is in Crowley’s paraphrase of the Stèle of revealing (V. 6.) written as “*Bes-na-Maut*”. (Stèle 666 [L’Analyse du Musée Boulaq/The Boulaq Museum Analysis] [Face Principale/Obverse] [E]) (Stèle 666 [La Traduction du Musée Boulaq] Face Principale [E]) ♦ See: ΘΕΛΗΜΑ. The Holy Books of THELEMA. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, Appendix A, *The Stèle of Revealing*, pp. 244; 247. (Pp. 233-60.) • On the ‘museum translations’, see note<sup>102</sup> above and note<sup>4542</sup> below.

<sup>547</sup> Her name (*t3-nšt*) means “*The hairdresser*” ♦ See: *Hermann Ranke*. Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Bd. I-III. Glückstadt: Verlag von J. J. Augustin, 1935-77. ♦ Band I; Verzeichnis der Namen (1935), p. 364: „*die Haarmacherin*“.  
• In the museum translations obtained by Crowley in Cairo – and also in his paraphrase of the Stèle of revealing (V. 6.) – she is called “*Ta-nech*”. (Stèle 666 [L’Analyse du Musée Boulaq/The Boulaq Museum Analysis] [Face Principale/Obverse] [E]) ♦ See: ΘΕΛΗΜΑ. The Holy Books of THELEMA. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, Appendix A, *The Stèle of Revealing*, p. 244. (Pp. 233-60.) • On the ‘museum translations’, see note<sup>102</sup> above and note<sup>4542</sup> below.

<sup>548</sup> *It3wj*

<sup>549</sup> *Nš-p3-šfj*

<sup>550</sup> *Alexandre Moret*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Sarcophages de l’époque bubastite à l’époque saïte. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1913. ♦ Vol. I., pp. 14; 325. “*Porteuse [joueuse] de sistre d’Amon-Râ*”. “*Taneshet (femme de Bisadouenmout I<sup>er</sup>, mere d’Ankhefenkhonsou I<sup>er</sup>)*” A sistrum was a sacred rattle. In the temple of Amun-Ra at Karnak was a naos-shaped (i.e. temple shaped) sistrum a prime cult object. • See: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 3, pp. 292-3. ♦ Also: *Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson*. A Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians. Two volumes. London: John Murray, 1854, vol. I, pp. 131-3. • For Taneshet’s title, see also note<sup>4635</sup> below.

<sup>551</sup> See note<sup>4608</sup> and note<sup>4610</sup> above.

<sup>552</sup> See note<sup>4566</sup> below.

<sup>553</sup> For her stele see note<sup>4708</sup> and note<sup>4709</sup>. Her name, which seems to have been both a masculine and feminine name, means “*She belongs to Khonsu*” • See: *Hermann Ranke*. Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Bd. I-III. Glückstadt: Verlag von J. J. Augustin, 1935-77. ♦ Band I; Verzeichnis der Namen (1935), p. 178: *nš-ḥnšw* „*er (sie) gehört dem Chons*“.

<sup>554</sup> Nesamun ii, Besenmut ii, Wennofer ii / Iryiry ii, and Menkhpre. • For Nesamun ii see note<sup>4681</sup> and note<sup>4708</sup> below.  
• For the sons of Ankhefenkhons i, see: *M. L. Bierbrier*. The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.): A Genealogical Chronological Investigation. (Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies) Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1975, pp. 92-3. (Chapter Four; *The Families of Dynasties XXII and XXIII*, pp. 54-101.) • On the genealogical tree published by Vittmann he gives Ankhefenkhons i and Neskhons i a fifth son named “*Irtj-iw*”. ♦

daughter of Iuf-o i and first cousin of Neskhnons i, he had 3 sons.<sup>556</sup> All these sons bore the title of Prophet of Mentu. Taylor suggests by the evidence of their coffins that Ankhefenkhons i's children died c. 675-650 BCE<sup>557</sup> [i.e. in the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty/beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty].

Let us sum up the above data. The owner of the Stélé of Revealing, Ankhefenkhons i was the son of Besenmut i and the Lady Taneshet. Ankhefenkhons i was their only child but he had a half brother, Nespasef ii, who was the son of Besenmut i and the Lady Itawy iii – Besenmut i's other wife. Ankhefenkhons i married twice. With his wife Neskhnons i he had 4 sons and with his other wife Muthetepti ii he had 3 sons – all seven were prophets of Mentu. I shall return later to Ankhaf-na-khnonsu's wives in connection with their wooden stelae.<sup>558</sup>

Before moving on let us revive where in the Cairo Museum the Stélé of Revealing was exhibited in 1904 E.V., according to the *Guide to the Cairo Museum* by Maspero from 1903<sup>559</sup>, and briefly also mention its location today. In 1904 E.V. the stele was exhibited on the upper floor (as we also are informed by Fra. P.) in "Room F" located in the floor's south-east side and in "Case K" in the room's middle.<sup>560</sup> Today the stele is still exhibited at the upper floor but in Room № 22 located in the floor's north-west side and in a case in the room's upper right corner at the eastern doorway (see Figure 10), and both the case and the stele are east-oriented.<sup>561</sup>

It is now proper to look at the stele's provenance together with the rest of the funeral belongings of Ankhaf-na-khnonsu. As mentioned, in October 1863 the Boulak Museum opened as a public museum. Before 1863 Mariette had begun a huge excavation programme with excavations at several spots including both Gournah and Deir el-Bahari in the Theban Necropolis at the Western bank of the Nile at Thebes or modern Luxor of today. He had a new museum to fill and his high activities filled it in few years.<sup>562</sup> It also seems that the registration of funds could not keep pace with the fast filling of the museum. It is almost certain that the Stele of Ankhaf-na-khnonsu

*Günther [Günter] Vittmann. Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie. Wien: Afro-Pub, 1978, p. 7. (Genealogische Tabelle II: Partielle Rekonstruktion des Stammbaums der Bś-n-Mwt-familie, 2. Teil, p. 7.)*

<sup>555</sup> For her stele see note<sup>4711</sup>. • Her name (*Mwt-ḥtpj*) means "Mut is gracious" • See: Hermann Ranke. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Bd. I-III. Glückstadt: Verlag von J. J. Augustin, 1935-77. ♦ Band I; Verzeichnis der Namen (1935), p. 148: „Mut ist gnädig“.*

<sup>556</sup> Harsiese M, Hahat ii, and Ankhpkhered iii. • For the sons of Ankhefenkhons i, see: M. L. Bierbrier. *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.): A Genealogical Chronological Investigation. (Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies) Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1975, pp. 92-3. (Chapter Four; The Families of Dynasties XXII and XXIII, pp. 54-101.)*

<sup>557</sup> See: John H. Taylor. *A Priestly Family of the 25th Dynasty. Chronique d'Égypte : Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth. Brüssel : Brepols Publishers. ♦ Volume 59, Number 117/1984, p. 29. (Pp. 27-57.)*  
• See also note<sup>730</sup> below.

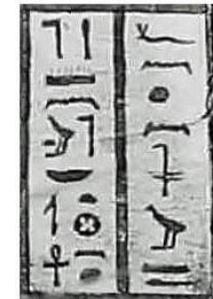
<sup>558</sup> See note<sup>4708</sup> and note<sup>4710</sup> below.

<sup>559</sup> Guide1903. • See note<sup>65</sup> above for the description of the stele in this book and its French first edition from 1902.

<sup>560</sup> In the middle of the room were apparently two cases – "J" and "K". ♦ *Ibid.*, pp. 299-302, together with a plan of the upper floor, facing p. 219. • Today this Room is № 35.

<sup>561</sup> An orientation observed by me in the 1980's. • The Egyptian Museum has a website where photographs of the rooms in the Museum can be found: <http://www.egyptianmuseum.gov.eg/roomu22.html> (*Picture of Room 22*)  
• See also note<sup>734</sup>, note<sup>4689</sup> and note<sup>4816</sup> below.

<sup>562</sup> *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. 19. (pp. 1-78, + plates) (Personalities that developed the Egyptian Museum, pp. 19-58.)*



Hieroglyphs  
spelling: "the Priest  
of Mentu, Lord of  
Thebes, Ankh-f-n-  
khonsu, justified."  
From Ankh-af-na-  
khonsu's great  
sarcophagus, Cairo  
GC 41001.

The Eighteenth Dynasty mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (r. 1502-1482 BCE) at Deir el-Bahari in the 1980's where Ankh-af-na-khonsu's sarcophagi and coffins were found by Auguste Mariette in 1858. To the left are seen the remains of the Eleventh Dynasty mortuary temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep (r. 2061-2011 BCE), the founder of the Eleventh Dynasty who reunited the Two Lands, upper and lower Egypt.

like his sarcophagi and coffins, as we shall see, were found by Mariette or some of the more than 7000 workmen which he employed in these huge excavations all over Egypt.<sup>563</sup> In his last years in spite of illness he published many works – including but a small part of his discoveries – and in 1872 he published as described above *Album du Musée de Boulaq*<sup>564</sup> where he shortly mentioned the stele and published the first photographs<sup>565</sup> whereon it can be seen. There is no excavating date, provenance or other additional information on the find. We know from Gauthier's 1913 E.V. book *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou* (Anthropoid coffins of the priests of Montu) – which gave the publication of Ankhaf-nakht's coffins<sup>566</sup> – that his sarcophagi and coffins were found by Mariette in 1858 at the Temple at Deir el-Bahari, i.e. Valley Temple of Hatshepsut. In those days the other two temples situated at Deir el-Bahari had not yet been discovered and Hatshepsut's temple was just spoken of as the Temple of Deir el-Bahari – however, in the days of Ankhaf-nakht it was known as *Djeser-Djeserw*, meaning 'Holy of Holies'.<sup>567</sup> There is no mention of Ankhaf-nakht's funeral stele in Mariette's find. Gauthier tells us that during work on the Temple of Deir el-Bahari in 1858 Auguste Mariette made a great find of sarcophagi belonging to priests of Mentu in one subterranean room under the eighteenth dynasty temple.<sup>568</sup> Moreover, we are also informed that the information on the circumstances of the discovery is rare and that none of the coffins appear in the "*Journal d'entrée du Musée*".<sup>569</sup> Only some brief notes survived, which mentioned the find in the subterranean room. He further mentions that the find belongs to the oldest collection of funds held in Boulaq<sup>570</sup> – and as already mentioned so must the find and thus the belongings of Ankhaf-nakht have been stored in the old mosque at Boulak.<sup>571</sup> Very interestingly, I discover that there in fact exists a fantastic piece of information dating from May 24, 1858, which seems to have been forgotten since its publication in the London paper, *The Morning Advertiser*. Firstly, it is very interesting since it tells us that the sarcophagi and coffins of Ankhaf-nakht and the other priests of Mentu most probably were discovered in the second half of 1858, secondly, it states that Mariette just had been named "*conservator-General*" by Said Pasha of all historical monuments of Egypt, and furthermore, that the Viceroy charged him with the formation of a new museum, an "*immense museum*" which he had ordered built at Alexandria!

<sup>563</sup> See: Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier. Who was who in Egyptology. 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995, pp. 275-6.

<sup>564</sup> ALBUM DU MUSÉE DE BOUQAQ comprenant QUARANTE PLANCHES photographiées PAR MM. DÉLIÉ ET BÉCHARD AVEC UN TEXTE EXPLICATIF rédigé PAR AUGUSTE MARIETTE-BEY. LE CAIRE: MOURES & C<sup>IE</sup>, IMPRIMEURS-ÉDITEURS, 1872. PLANCHE 14, PLANCHE 15 – MONUMENTS FUNÉRAIRES. See note<sup>26</sup> and note<sup>27</sup> above.

<sup>565</sup> These photographs were, as mentioned above, taken by the two photographers Hippolyte Délié and Émile Béchard.  
• See note<sup>26</sup> above.

<sup>566</sup> 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, Inner coffin: Catal. du Musée № 41042, pp. 1-26. ♦ Ibid., Inner coffin: Catal. du Musée № 41.042, Pl. I-II. ♦ Ibid., Outer coffin: Catal. du Musée № 41043, pp. 26-30. ♦ Ibid., Outer coffin: Catal. du Musée № 41.043, Pl. III.

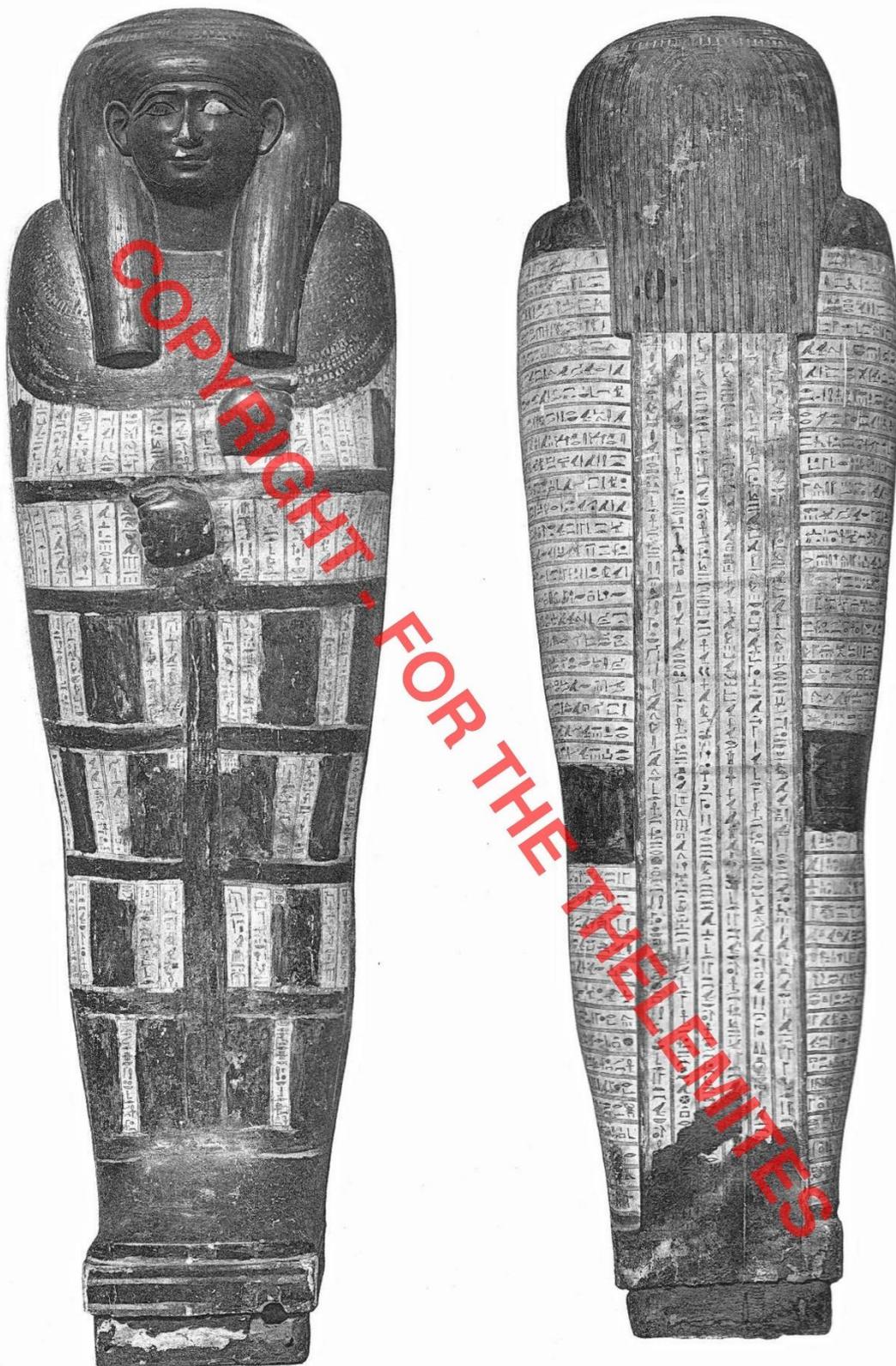
<sup>567</sup> See: Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt. Compiled and edited by Kathryn A. Bard. London, UK: Routledge, 1999, p. 234.

<sup>568</sup> Ibid., pp. III-VIII for the 1858 discovery. See note<sup>593</sup>, note<sup>594</sup>, note<sup>621</sup> and note<sup>759</sup> below.

<sup>569</sup> See note<sup>590</sup> and note<sup>590</sup> below. • *Journal d'entrée du Musée* was the register books of finds at the Boulaq Museum.

<sup>570</sup> 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, p. [III].  
• See note<sup>680</sup> below.

<sup>571</sup> For the old mosque, see note<sup>36</sup> and note<sup>46</sup> above.



The exterior of Ankh-af-na-khonsu's (Ankhefenkhons i) inner coffin, the egg, Cairo GC 41.042. From: *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, Pl. I.

### *A letter from Alexandria says: –*

*“Some excavations made under the direction of M. Mariette, conservator of the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre, have led to the discovery of a great number of valuable antiquities. Thirty cases have already reached the French consulate, where they await the arrival of a vessel of the State to convey them to Marseilles. Among them is a sarcophagus in rose-coloured granite of the time of Chéops, the founder of the great pyramid. It is 2½ metres (about 8ft. 2in.) in length, and covered with sculpture in excellent preservation. There are also a poignard with a gold hilt; a gold box with hieroglyphic inscriptions; two lions couchant in gold found in the neighbourhood of Thebes on the mummy of an unknown king of one of the most ancient dynasties; some statues in bronze; some bassi-relievi of the primitive dynasties which are wanting in the public collections of Europe – in all 1,500 articles, which will form a fine collection, and are estimated in value at more than 200,000f. The viceroy has just issued an ordinance which the whole of Europe will applaud. He has ordered the formation at Alexandria of an immense museum, in which will be collected curiosities from every part of the country of the Pharaohs, where so many still remain, notwithstanding the dilapidations which have taken place up to this time. MM. de Montant and Linant-Bly, engineers-in-chief of the Government, are already engaged in drawing out plans for this building, which the Viceroy wishes to be worthy of the antiquities which it is intended to contain. Said Pasha has named M. Mariette conservator-General of all the historical monuments of Egypt, and has charged him with the formation of the new museum, as well as with the direction of all the excavations which are to be made.”<sup>572</sup>*

Sixteen days before this article was printed, May 8th, had a small notice appeared in the London weekly paper *The Examiner*:

*The Egyptians do not mean that we shall import into the West all their monuments. M. Auguste Mariette, the discoverer of Memphis and Curator of the Egyptian Antiquities at the Louvre, has just been offered by the Viceroy of Egypt the post of Inspector-General of Historical Monuments, and Director of a National Museum at Cairo, with a salary of 18,000 francs, and the household appointment of a Bey.*<sup>573</sup>

So here we have the beginning of it all and that Said Pasha to begin with apparently had planned to build an immense Museum in Alexandria that should house the future finds of his new “conservator-General”, Auguste Mariette! The letter, which appeared in *The Morning Advertiser* on May 24, 1858, is not signed, but is apparently from a correspondent in Alexandria. We can also conclude that if the find of the funeral remains of the Mentu priests at Deir el-Bahari was done by Mariette in 1858 the find must have taken place after the writing of this letter since it otherwise probably would have ended up in France! The very first item (No “1.”) that was entered in the Journal d’entrée at Boulak was a figure of Isis that had been found in the “*Sérapéum Juillet 1858.*”, Sérapéum July 1858, i.e. shortly after the notice had appeared in *The Examiner*.

Some two years later on March 20, 1860, appeared in *The Morning Advertiser* another letter, this time from Cairo, where “*an Egyptian museum at Boulak*” is being mentioned:

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<sup>572</sup> *The Morning Advertiser*. London, England: *The Morning Advertiser*. ♦ Monday, May 24, 1858, p. 5. (*A letter from Alexandria says*., p. 5.) ♦ A few other British newspapers also printed the letter.

<sup>573</sup> *The Examiner*. London, England: *The Examiner*. ♦ No. 2,623, Saturday, May 8, 1858, p. 293. (*FINE ARTS*, pp. 292-3.)

[...] At Thebes I found some hundreds of men at work excavating the tombs or mummy pits. There are also hundreds at work at Sahara [sic, but perhaps Sakara], and hundreds more at Abydos, and all under the direct superintendence of a Frenchman, M. Marryat. [...]

These excavations have brought to light some most valuable relics, all of which are intended to form an Egyptian museum at Boulac.<sup>574</sup>

The mentioned M. Marryat should not have been 'M. Mariette' since the former name appears in other sources<sup>575</sup>.

The finding-place of the priests is stated to be Deir el-Bahari but on going through the twenty-five priests's coffins (belonging to fourteen men and eleven women) published by Gauthier it turns out that the provenance of four of them are "Deir-el-Bahari (?)"<sup>576</sup>; one is from "Deir-el-Bahari ou Deir-el-Medineh"<sup>577</sup>, and finally one is from "Gournah"<sup>578</sup>! However, Ankh-af-na-khonsu's two coffins, No. 41042 and No. 41043, are both stated being from Deir el-Bahari.<sup>579</sup> Moret writes in the introduction to his work that the Journal d'entrée du musée not contains the sarcophagi published by him except for one, N° 41024<sup>580</sup>, stated by him to belong to a son of Ankhefenkhons i, Besenmut<sup>581</sup>, of which only remains one side (Côté 3):

"2099. Gournah, octobre 1858. Bois. Côté d'un cercueil en bois du  Bisamout."<sup>582</sup>

"2099. Gournah, October 1858. Wood. Side of a wooden coffin of  Bisamout [Besenmut]." This "Bisamout" is Besenmut ii<sup>583</sup> and his coffin is No 41047 published by Gauthier – a coffin whose provenance is stated to be Deir el-Bahari.<sup>584</sup> His stele, Kairo A 9919 (Kairo RT 27/1/25/15), is stated found at Thebes (which most likely is Thebes west).<sup>585</sup> As to Gournah as the finding place of No. 41024, I shall discuss in detail its location below and also that both Mariette and his later colleagues were well aware of the difference between Gournah and Deir el-Bahari!

<sup>574</sup> The Morning Advertiser. London, England: The Morning Advertiser. ♦ Tuesday, March 20, 1860, p. 5. (*THE STATE OF EGYPT. [FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.] CAIRO, MARCH 6, 1860, p. 5.*)

<sup>575</sup> See: The English Mechanic and World of Science. London: Office. ♦ Vol. XX, No. 513, Friday, January 22, 1875, p. 476. ([8669]; Signed Jas. Green., p. 476.)

<sup>576</sup> N° 41055; N° 41058; N° 41069; N° 41070 • 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. II., p. 255 (N° 41055); 323-4 (N° 41058); 497 (N° 41069); 502 (N° 4170).

<sup>577</sup> N° 41067 • Ibid., p. 465-6. (N° 41067)

<sup>578</sup> N° 41044 • Ibid., ♦ Vol. I., p. 31 (N° 41044).

<sup>579</sup> Ibid., pp. [1] (N° 41042); 26 (N° 41043)

<sup>580</sup> 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. [vii]; note <sup>(5)</sup>. (Introduction, pp. [VII]-XV.)

<sup>581</sup> Ibid., "Tableau généalogique (Suite)", second folded plate inserted after the Introduction.

<sup>582</sup> Ibid., p. 237 (Bibl.). (Sarcophages 41024, pp. 229-37.) • Moret also assigns the sarcophagus N° 41007 to him. ♦ Ibid., "Tableau généalogique (Suite)", second folded plate inserted after the Introduction.

<sup>583</sup> For Besenmut ii, see note<sup>554</sup> above.

<sup>584</sup> Ibid. • 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. 111-38. (N° 41047)

<sup>585</sup> Peter Munro. Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen. Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1973, Textband, pp 15f; 203. (Theben I: Month-Priester Bš- mwt II (Bš-n-mwt II))(Theben I: Kairo A 9919: = T. 27/1/25/15)

There is no mention of the mummies of the priests from the 1858 find, but we must assume that Ankh-af-na-khonsu's mummy was part of the find, i.e. that his mummy was inside his 'egg', the inner coffin, Cairo GC 41042. But I think that we for the present must conclude that the mummy not is present today and I have found no proof of its existence. What has happened to it? It seems that the practice in those days often was to unwrapped the mummy in search for pieces of jewellery etc. This practice led to the destruction of many mummies and produced, for instance, the large collections of funeral scarabs taken from the breasts of mummies. Sometimes when mummies were removed from their tombs they started decaying like some of the royal mummies (Sekenrenre Ta'o and Sety I) from the great find of royal mummies found by Émile Brugsch at Deir el-Bahari in 1881 that Maspero in July 1886 were enforced to unroll.<sup>586</sup> Some mummies were found damaged in the tombs, and many were damaged by mould fungus, insects, moisture and flooding both in tombs and in the museum – and many mummies were burned after that they had been unwrapped and plundered!<sup>587</sup> But it was not only mummies which were destroyed and for instance were over 350 stelae destroyed by the flooding of the Boulak Museum in 1878 once again urging the necessity of a new museum.<sup>588</sup> I think that we must conclude that the mummy of Ankh-af-na-khonsu perhaps was "reburied" in some cache, perhaps the same that it had been discovered in, after that it had been unwrapped and separated from its funeral equipment! A dark chapter. But as we know the spiritual and magickal parts of Ankh-af-na-khonsu survived and found new bodies!!! – In truth, the dead man Ankh-af-na-khonsu came forth and did his will all upon the round Earth among the living!

In a description of Deir el-Bahari published in 1877 Mariette writes that from the XXIIInd dynasty and even under the emperors the Temple of Deir el-Bahari was used as a cemetery – mummies were stacked in its rooms, were put in its foundations and under the floors, and the speos of the north and south were filled from top to bottom.<sup>589</sup> And in his *Itinéraire de la haute Égypte* from 1872 was said about the Temple of "Hatasou" [Hatshepsut], here quoted from its 1877 English translation, *The Monuments of Upper Egypt*:

*...it is probable that this temple was soon abandoned even as early as the XXIIInd dynasty it was already used as a cemetery, and in one of its chambers were found, piled up one above the other almost to the ceiling, mummies of the Greek period, lying over rows of other mummies, of which the most ancient probably belonged to the XXVIth dynasty.*<sup>590</sup>

<sup>586</sup> See the verbatim translation of "Professor Maspero's official report" printed in: *The Times*. London, UK: Published and printed by George Edward Wright. ♦ Friday, July 23, 1886, p. 7. (*Unbandaging of the Mummies of Sekenren-Ra-Ta-Āken and Seti I. at the Boulak Museum; Professor Maspero's official report*, p. 7.) • See also: E. A. Wallis Budge. *The Nile. Notes for Travellers in Egypt and in the Egyptian Sūdān*. Twelfth Edition. London & Cairo: Thos. Cook & Son Ltd., 1912, pp. 740-5. • See note<sup>662</sup> and note<sup>641</sup> below.

<sup>587</sup> For the fate of many mummies, see note<sup>754</sup> below.

<sup>588</sup> *Salima Ikram*. *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005, p. 103, note 18. • See *Planche 1* in *Album du Musée de Boulaq* for a picture of the museum's location extremely close to the Nile. ♦ *ALBUM DU MUSÉE DE BOUQAQ comprenant QUARANTE PLANCHES photographiées PAR MM. DÉLIÉ ET BÉCHARD AVEC UN TEXTE EXPLICATIF rédigé PAR AUGUSTE MARIETTE-BEY. LE CAIRE: MOURES & C<sup>IE</sup>, IMPRIMEURS-ÉDITEURS, 1872, PLANCHE 1*. • See note<sup>55</sup> above and note<sup>703</sup> and note<sup>713</sup> below.

<sup>589</sup> *Auguste Mariette*. *Deir-el-Bahari: Documents topographiques, historiques et ethnographiques recueillis dans ce temple pendant les fouilles exécutées par Auguste Mariette-Bey*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1877, (Texte) p. 6. • See note<sup>569</sup> above. • The Greek σπέος, speos, means cave and is a name sometimes applied to temples cut out of the living rock.

<sup>590</sup> *The Monuments of Upper Egypt*. A translation of the "ITINÉRAIRE DE LA HAUTE ÉGYPTÉ" of Auguste Mariette-Bey by



Unwrapping Ancient Egyptian Mummies in the Boulak Museum at Cairo. *The Illustrated London News*, July 31, 1886.

Cache (or cachette) is French meaning 'hiding-place'. A cache is a term used for a place (a shaft) where several mummies were concealed in order to protect them from robbers. To prevent these tomb robberies some priests preferred to be buried in mass burials.<sup>591</sup> Tombs seem – years after their burials had taken place – to have been emptied and their objects moved by priests to safer caches. It seems also that they sometimes had split the funeral objects so that the most important, namely the mummies & coffins were placed in the safest located caches and other objects such as stelae, etc. were collected and buried in other caches apart from their owners' mummies. Safe burial-places were in short supply so that called for strategy. Many subsequent priests and other officials were engaged to take care of their ancestors funeral belongings. I think that something points to that the custom of giving genealogical information etc. on funeral objects in the Third Intermediate Period et al. also had a more practical use among the living in this world. When this information was placed on the exterior of the sarcophagus it gave the possibility of a quick identification of the owner, his titles and family relations. If later priests decided to rebury tombs in order to prevent them from tomb robbings they then had easy access to this information – and identity, rank and family had of course some importance here. Death was serious business among people who used their life, so to say, in order to be able to live on after death and through magic make advance – some times even great advance!

Mariette made excavations of the Temple at Deir el-Bahari and its area also in 1862 and 1866.<sup>592</sup> According to the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission surveying burials of the temple from 1980s onward:

*The shafts of the tombs of priests of Montu and Amun from the times of the Third Intermediate Period were hewn under the chapel pavements (including the chapel of Hathor and the main sanctuary) in the abandoned temple.*<sup>593</sup>

Further we are informed that the finds by Mariette were done within the main sanctuary of Amun-Ra located in the upper portico of the temple. The tombs were carved into the bedrock floor of the main sanctuary.<sup>594</sup> The temple is a terraced building with three levels of porticoes. It is partly hewn in the cliff and provided with long ramps leading from level to level. The Valley Temple of Hatshepsut was in use many years after the eighteenth dynasty. There were priests here – some dead and some alive – also in the Ptolemaic period and at the end of the sixth century a Coptic

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Alphonse Mariette. Alexandria and Cairo, Egypt : A. Mourès and London, UK: Trübner & Co., 1877, p. 229. ♦ Alexandrie, Égypte: MOURÈS & C<sup>ie</sup>. Imprimeurs-Éditeurs, 1872, pp. 222-3. ♦ See note<sup>569</sup> above.

<sup>591</sup> See: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 3, p. 387 and p. 439.

<sup>592</sup> Bertha Porter; Rosalind Moss; Ethel W. Burney. Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. I. Theban Necropolis. Part 2. Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries. Second Edition; Revised and Augmented. Oxford, UK: At the Clarendon Press, 1964, pp. 643-9.

<sup>593</sup> Franciszek Pawlicki. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Translated by Iwona Zych. Cairo: Ministry of Culture, the Supreme Council of Antiquities in association with the Polish Center of Archaeology, 2000, p. 10. ♦ See note<sup>568</sup> above and note<sup>594</sup>, note<sup>621</sup> and note<sup>759</sup> below.

<sup>594</sup> F. Pawlicki. Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut 1997/1998. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 10, pp. 119-30. ♦ Mirosław Barwik. New Data Concerning the Third Intermediate Period Cemetery in the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari. ♦ In: The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future. Edited by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor. London: British Museum Press, 2003, pp. 122-30. ♦ Also: Cynthia May Sheikholeslami. The burials of priest of Montu at Deir el-Bahari in the Theban necropolis. ♦ Ibid., pp. 131-7. ♦ See also note<sup>568</sup> and note<sup>593</sup> above and note<sup>621</sup> and note<sup>759</sup> below.

monastery of Saint Phoebamon was founded in the temples upper part. It lasted about one hundred years.<sup>595</sup> Hatshepsut – meaning ‘*foremost of noble ladies*’ – was the fifth ruler of the eighteenth dynasty in the New Kingdom and ruled from 1502-1482 BCE. She was the daughter of Thutmose I and married to Thutmose II and stepmother of Thutmose III and she was a queen who became a pharaoh in a land where queen and king were two very different persons.<sup>596</sup> For many years she succeeded in keeping Thutmose III away from the throne. When Thutmose III became king then after some forty years of his reign Hatshepsut’s name was suddenly for unknown reasons erased from all monuments and her statues smashed. Her name was thus also omitted from later king lists and it has been very difficult for Egyptologist to prove her existence and accomplishments. That it happened so many years into the reign of Thutmose III seems to exclude an act of revenge.

Deir el-Bahari was a holy place especially also for the priesthood of Thebes. The first temple was built here by the famous Nebhepetre Mentuhotep (Mentuhotep II)<sup>597</sup>, the king of the eleventh dynasty who had reunited a divided Egypt after the First Intermediate Period and had chosen Thebes as his residence and new capital of the reunited land. Nebhepetre Mentuhotep was thus the founder of the Middle Kingdom. His mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari was built seven dynasties before the Temple of Hatshepsut and each year for five centuries the image of Amun from the temple at Karnak had been brought by priests to his temple at Deir el-Bahari in festal procession during the so-called Valley Festival.<sup>598</sup> So this place, which was the ultimate destination of this procession was a sacred place in many ways since its great king both had united a broken Egypt through victorious battles and further brought the city of Thebes to greatness, but also since it was situated at the ‘utmost’ west where the entrance to the underworld was located in Egyptian cosmography. As regards orientation in ancient Egypt and the sun’s daily course reflecting birth and death the Egyptians when they spoke of east and west were facing the south and thus the east and daybreak were to their left and west and sunset to their right. So the Theban Necropolis was situated to the left and west of Karnak and its temple and Deir el-Bahari was further at the ‘utmost’ west! I have thought about whether a part of the reason behind the destruction of the memory of Hatshepsut under the reign of her stepson Thutmose III could be owing to that she somehow had violated the temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep and its status on building her own mortuary temple. It is certain that Nebhepetre Mentuhotep was one of the most important kings in Egyptian consciousness. In Ramesses II’s mortuary temple known as the Ramesseum<sup>599</sup> and raised two centuries after Hatshepsut’s death is found a relief on the Second Pylon showing attendants at the annual festival of the god Min carrying royal statues. Seen are the statues of Ramesses himself and his nearest predecessors together with Menes<sup>600</sup>, the legendary founder of the unified Egypt; Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, who reunited Egypt and founded the Middle Kingdom; and Ahmose,

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<sup>595</sup> See: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. • Vol. 1, p. 368. • For the Coptic monastery and the name Deir-el-Bahari, see note<sup>611</sup> below.

<sup>596</sup> For Hatshepsut, see, e.g.: *Joyce A. Tyldesley*. *Hatchepsut: the Female Pharaoh*. London, UK: Viking, 1996.

<sup>597</sup> See note<sup>603</sup>, note<sup>615</sup> and note<sup>4562</sup> below.

<sup>598</sup> For the Valley Festival, see, e.g.: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*. Edited by *Byron E. Shafer, Dieter Arnold, Gerhard Haeny, Lanny Bell and Ragnhild Bjerre Finnestad*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997, pp. 93-5. (3. *New Kingdom "Mortuary Temples" and "Mansions of Millions of Years; By Gerhard Haeny – Royal Cult complexes of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, pp. 90-106.) • For the name of the festival, see note<sup>613</sup> below.

<sup>599</sup> The memorial temple of Ramesses II located at the Theban Necropolis a little west of the Temple at Gournah.

<sup>600</sup> Ménês, Μήνης, the Greek form of the name of the legendary first human king of the unified Egypt as given by the Heliopolitan priest and historian Manetho of the third century BCE.



The dark-coloured seated sandstone statue of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II that Howard Carter discovered in December 1900 in the Bab el-Hosan (Gate of the Horse) in the forecourt of Mentuhotep II's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari. The king is wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt and is clad in a short white cloak similar to the garment worn by the Egyptian kings at their *sed*-festival.

who finally conquered the Hyksos and founded the New Kingdom.<sup>601</sup> The last-mentioned three kings were the kings whom the ancient Egyptians venerated above all others for having brought unity to their country. The importance of a unified country is in my opinion best illustrated by saying that it touches the very core of the ancient Ra worship and that it was the greatest duty of every son of Ra to secure that the two lands remained united under one king. After having reunited Upper and Lower Egypt Nebhepetre Mentuhotep took a new Horus name, namely *Sematawy*, 'uniter of the Two Lands'. In the Ramesseum Ramesses II also gives a retrograde list of kings from himself and back to Ahmose, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty and founder of the New Kingdom – excluding Hatshepsut, Akhenaten and the other Amarna kings – and at the head of these kings only Nebhepetre Mentuhotep and finally Menes!<sup>602</sup> An exhibition catalogue from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, published in 2015 E.V., interestingly states about Mentuhotep II in an article by two of the museum's curators, Dieter Arnold and Dorothea Arnold:

*The eminent Egyptologist Labib Habachi was the first to emphasize the fact that Mentuhotep II – who in later periods was invariably represented as one of the unifiers of the Egyptian state, together with Menes (Early Dynastic Period) and Nebhepetre Ahmose II (New Kingdom) – was actually the only one among them to be deified during his lifetime. More recent studies have confirmed this remarkable fact. Considering the complexity of ruler divinization throughout history, and especially in ancient Egypt, the evidence has to be handled with some caution [...]. There can be no doubt, however, that several monuments represented Mentuhotep II in the guise of a god; examples are the reliefs on the walls of his chapel at Dendera (now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo).<sup>603</sup>*

We know that Hatshepsut's temple was squeezed in at the side of the Temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep. A part was raised over the northern portion of the temenos of his temple and this was probably not the only 'violation'. I think that it is clear that Hatshepsut by the building of her huge temple had tried to take away the focus on Mentuhotep's temple and its central ritual position and that at a time when the king still was deeply honoured and furthermore it was done by a queen who acted as a male ruler – adopting the title of pharaoh and appearing bearded on statues and images.

The American Egyptologist H.(erbert) E.(ustis) Winlock (1884-1950), discovered in 1926 E.V. that Nebhepetre Mentuhotep had nothing less than a small army buried close to his own tomb in his funerary complex.<sup>604</sup> Some sixty bodies identified as young soldiers killed in combat were

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<sup>601</sup> See, e.g.: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 2, p. 437.

<sup>602</sup> Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>603</sup> Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom. Edited by Adela Oppenheim, Dorothea Arnold, Dieter Arnold, and Kei Yamamoto. New York, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2015, p. 40. (*A New Start from the South; Thebes during the Eleventh Dynasty. By Dieter Arnold and Dorothea Arnold*, pp. 38- 53.) ♦ For this see: *Labib Habachi*. King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods. ♦ Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (MDAIK). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. ♦ Band 19, 1963, pp. 16-52, taf. 4-14. ♦ *Ludwig D. Morenz*. Die Zeit der Regionen im Spiegel der Gebelein-Region: Kulturgeschichtliche Re-konstruktionen. ♦ Probleme der Ägyptologie, Band 27. Leiden and Boston: Koninklijke Brill, 2010.

<sup>604</sup> See: *H. E. Winlock*. The Slain Soldiers of Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-hotpe. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Publications of Egyptian Expedition, Vol. 16, 1945. ♦ The grave had been discovered in 1923 E.V. and after a brief examination taken to contain bodies of Coptic monks and then sealed again for later examination.

found buried in a mass grave and they must have been very special men who likely were killed during the final battle which conquered the king's enemies in Herakleopolis in Upper Egypt and secured him the victory and kingship over both Upper and Lower Egypt. The king had apparently ordered these men collected from the battle field and rewarded their heroic deeds by burying them close to his own tomb.

As a matter of fact at the time when W. and Fra. P. visited Egypt the remains of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep's mortuary temple were just being excavated and more or less already recognized as a temple which from an architectural point of view was even more peculiar than the Temple of Hatshepsut. The excavation was carried out by the Swiss Egyptologist Édouard Naville assisted by the British Egyptologist H. R. Hall for the Egypt Exploration Fund in London.<sup>605</sup> The two men cleared the temple 1903-06 E.V.<sup>606</sup> Nebhepetre Mentuhotep's temple was called *Akh-asut-Neb-hepet-Ra*, 'glorious are the seats of King Neb-hepet-Ra,' determined by a pyramid  $\triangle$ , a pyramid which by Naville was suggested to have been the construction found on the top of the terraced building of the mortuary temple.<sup>607</sup> The name of the temple determined by the pyramid was given by the stele of Tetu who was chief lector priest there and is also found in the 20th dynasty Abbott Papyrus in the British Museum. In the Abbott Papyrus, which is a report of an inspection of among others "the tombs of the old kings" from the reign of Ramesses IX of late twentieth dynasty, the tomb complex is explicitly designated as a pyramid. Nebhepetre Mentuhotep's terraced complex combined a pyramid complex with the elements of the saff-tomb, i.e. a rock-cut tomb having a façade made up of a row of pillars. Later it was suggested by the German Egyptologist Dieter Arnold after having completed Winlock's excavations from 1968-71 E.V. that it instead of a pyramid was a flat-topped mound made of stone roughly cuboid in form with angled sides.<sup>608</sup> In the 1980s the German Egyptologist Rainer Stadelmann saw it as a mound of earth supporting trees – a great circular mound symbolizing the primeval mound which appearance from the primeval waters denoted the emergence of the world.<sup>609</sup> The debate still goes on and until recently, many seemed to think that a true pyramid at Thebes sounded too strange. However, the Abbott Papyrus also mentions a tomb which in 2001 E.V. was rediscovered by the German Egyptologist Daniel Polz. The tomb was that of Pharaoh Nub-Cheper-Re Intef of the 17th dynasty located at Dra' Abu el-Naga in the northern part of the Theban Necropolis and this tomb revealed the remnants of a small mud-brick pyramid and is thus a 'pyramid-complex'!<sup>610</sup>

I shall return to Nebhepetre's temple and a pyramid and its symbolic meaning later.

The area of Deir el-Bahari includes the mortuary temples of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut and between them the small temple of Thutmose III discovered in 1962 E.V. by the Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo. Deir el-Bahari is Arabic for 'The Northern

<sup>605</sup> Henri Édouard Naville (1844-1926). Swiss Egyptologist and Biblical scholar. • Henry Reginald Holland Hall (1873-1930). British Egyptologist and historian.

<sup>606</sup> See: *Edouard Naville, et al.* The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari. 3 vols. London, UK: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1907, 1910, 1913.

<sup>607</sup>  (written within )  (Akh-asut-Neb-hepet-Ra) • Ibid., Vol. I (1907), p. 10. • For the temple and its construction, see *ibid.*, p. 9 ff. • For Naville's reconstructions with the pyramid, see the plates in Vol. I & II.

<sup>608</sup> See illustration in: *Barry J. Kemp.* Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization. Second Edition. Abingdon, Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2006, Figure 57, p. 157.

<sup>609</sup> *Ibid.*, Figure 57, p. 157.

<sup>610</sup> See: *Daniel Polz.* Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef in Dra' Abu el-Naga: ein Vorbericht Sonderschrift (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institute. Abteilung Kairo*); 24. Mainz: Zabern, 2003.

*Monastery*<sup>611</sup> or *'The Convent of the North'*<sup>612</sup> alluding to the Coptic monastery once situated in Hatshepsut's temple but the valley's original name in Egyptian was *'Valley of Nebhepetre'*.<sup>613</sup> Reynolds-Ball1905 has a chapter dealing with "RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH" and here he quotes from an article dealing with Deir el-Bahari which probably was published around the time of the Crowleys visit in 1904:

*M. Naville and Mr. H. R. Hall worked at Deir-el-Bahari (1903-04), and discovered a temple of the Eleventh Dynasty close to that of the Eighteenth Dynasty, built by Hatshepsu. Before this discovery queen Hatshepsu and her architect Semut, were credited with the peculiar design of this temple built in terraces; now, however, we find that Mentuhotep of the Eleventh Dynasty (2500 B.C.) had already built a small temple, which is copied in nearly every detail by queen Hatshepsu.*<sup>614</sup>

Today the date of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep's reign is fixed to 2061-2100 BCE.<sup>615</sup> Winlock continued the two men's work on the clearance of both the Temple of Hatshepsut and the Temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep from 1911-1931 E.V.<sup>616</sup> Besides, I note that Winlock's accommodation address in Egypt in 1914 E.V. happens to be a well-known one, namely: "Care Congdon & Co., Sharia Kasr en Nil, Cairo, Egypt."<sup>617</sup>

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<sup>611</sup> Otto Friedrich August Meinardus. *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002, p. 239. • For the monastery, see note<sup>595</sup> above.

<sup>612</sup> Alexandre Moret. *Kings and Gods of Egypt*. Translated by Madame Moret. New York, NY: G. P. Putnam's Sons, and London, UK: The Knickerbocker Press, 1912, p. [1]. (*Chapter I. The Queen Hatshepsut and her Temple of Deir-el-Bahari*, pp. [1]-40.)

<sup>613</sup> *int Nb-hpt-Rc*, '(desert) valley of Nebhepetre'. This name clearly gave name to the Valley Festival. • For the Valley Festival, see note<sup>598</sup> above.

<sup>614</sup> Reynolds-Ball1905, p. 254. The quote is signed "E. P." and is most likely from a newspaper or a magazine. (*RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH. Deir-el-Bahari* —, pp. 245-54.)

<sup>615</sup> See: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. • Vol. 2., p. 436. (*Montuhotep I, Nebhepetre*) • See, note<sup>528</sup> and note<sup>603</sup> above

<sup>616</sup> Herbert E. Winlock. *Excavations at Deir el Bahri, 1911-1931*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. • H. E. Winlock. *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947.

<sup>617</sup> "Winlock, Herbert Eustis [c 1902-6, A.B. Curator] *Care Congdon & Co., Sharia Kasr en Nil, Cairo, Egypt; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.*" • Harvard University Directory (Harvard Alumni Directory). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1914, p. 885. • For Congdon & Co., see note<sup>412</sup>, note<sup>420</sup> and note<sup>489</sup> above.

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**Pages 146-168 are not part of this book preview.**

Mariette was not the first to find belongings of priests of Mentu at Deir-el-Bahari. There was another find of funeral belongings of priests of Mentu at Deir el-Bahari. The German Egyptologist Dr. Karl Alfred Wiedemann (1856-1936), gives us information about a family-tomb of prophets of Mentu, or Mont, found by a French antiquities dealer M. Maunier at Deir el-Bahari about 1850.<sup>750</sup> More than sixty sarcophagi and other objects were found but Wiedemann says that they were:

*not studied as a series when still together, but were partly burned by their first possessor, and the rest dispersed to such an extent that almost no large collection exists at the present time without some antiquities from this tomb.*<sup>751</sup>

We also hear of a priest named Bes-mut, a son of Nespasefi, who had some pieces of his sarcophagus (not part of the latter find), in the French-house at Luqsor (i.e. Luxor) and two other pieces serving as a door of the hotel at Luqsor. Wiedemann continues by saying regarding the family-tomb that:

*A collection of their inscriptions would be very useful for the history of the Egyptian hierarchy from the XXII<sup>nd</sup> dynasty downwards, as this family occupied not only the priesthood of Mont, but was also connected by relationship or marriage with the holders of different high posts in the Egyptian government. A genealogy of those members of the family whose coffins are at Bulaq was prepared some years ago by Brugsch [Heinrich Brugsch Pasha], but has not yet appeared.*<sup>752</sup>

As regards destruction of mummies, the greatest destructions took place in the 19th century in several ways, and, for instance, were hundreds of tons of mummies used as a fuel and even used instead of coal for the newly built railway lines – in Persian *momiyā*, mummy, also means petroleum<sup>753</sup> – and at the same time the bandages and shrouds covering mummies were used for paper production by the paper factories.<sup>754</sup> Despicable actions! The first railway in Egypt (and Africa and Middle East) running between Alexandria and Cairo was inaugurated in 1856. In Victorian England unwrapping of mummies became entertainment at social gatherings, usually followed by tea, or dinner, and at one time pulverized mummy was an ingredient used in artists' colour to create the brown "Mummy Colour". Mummies pounded to a pulp was used in medicine in the Middle Ages and gallipots containing "Mumia" stood on the shelves of every European pharmacy. As late as 1773 an English translation of a well-known chemistry by the German

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bubastite à l'époque saïte. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1913. ♦ Vol. I, p. 11. (*Catal. du Musée N° 41001*)

<sup>750</sup> Karl Alfred Wiedemann. *Monuments of the Prophets of Mont at Thebes*. ♦ Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. Vol. XI. Bloomsbury, London: The Offices of the Society, 1889, pp. 69-75.

<sup>751</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69. ♦ Notice that this was before the Egyptian Antiquities Service was established and Mariette appointed as its first head in 1858. Things changed indeed for the better after this. ♦ See note<sup>36</sup> above. ♦ See also note<sup>521</sup> above.

<sup>752</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>753</sup> In Persian, *momiyā*, *mūmiyā*, the substance with which mummies are preserved, pissasphalt; a mummy; petroleum. ♦ See: Francis Joseph Steingass. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be met with in Persian Literature*. London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1892, p. 1349.

<sup>754</sup> See: Professor Tadeusz Dzierzydryay-Rogalski. *Problems of Preservation of Ancient Mummies in Contemporary Egypt*. In: Proceedings of 'Science in Egyptology' Symposia. [University of Manchester, 1979 & 1984] Edited by A. Rosalie David. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, p. 92. (Pp. 91-6.)

chemist and pharmacist, Caspar Neumann (1683-1737), contained a chemical examination of mummy, in a chapter entitled “*Animal Flesh*”, which further stated:

*Human bodies embalmed, called Mummies (a word said to be of oriental origin, and to signify pissasphaltum or Bitumen mixed with Pitch) have been brought from Egypt, counterfeited in Europe, and recommended by the superstition of former times for medicinal uses. Some dispensatories have received mummy as an officinal; and many who have disclaimed the use of it as a preparation of perhaps diseased human flesh, have nevertheless been prejudiced in its favour by the balsamic and aromatic ingredients with which it is prepared. How ridiculous a pretence! Have we not balsams and aromatics in abundance, free from the disgusting mixture which makes, or is supposed to make the basis of mummy. And how much more prudent is it to use known substances, mixed in known proportions, than an unknown medley, of which perhaps we shall not meet with two parcels alike.*<sup>755</sup> [Written with modern typography.]

What was the price of a mummy with coffins? In 1821 a Danish family decided to present a museum in Copenhagen with a mummy, and some natives in Lower Egypt were hired and they found a tomb that had never been opened, discovering a moomiyá<sup>756</sup> with five cases, which they asked 6000 piastres of Egypt for, the same as 133 pound sterling, which in today’s money is like £11500.<sup>757</sup> This sale took place almost thirty years before Mariette arrived in Egypt as representative of the Louvre Museum in Paris.

The find by Maunier at Deir el-Bahari was done within the Mortuary Temple of Hatshepsut, and it was the news of this find that attracted Mariette’s interest which resulted in the above-mentioned excavations in 1858, 1862 and 1866.<sup>758</sup> The shafts containing Maunier’s find were also surveyed by the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission in their work at Deir el-Bahari mentioned above.<sup>759</sup> Maspero also mentions a find by Mariette of sarcophagi of priests of Mentu at Assasif, or Asasif, a small depression not far from Deir El-Bahari in the direction of Qurna.<sup>760</sup> Later, in the winter of 1932-33, the French architect and archaeologist, Emile Baraize (1874-1952), discovered a small family of priests of Mentu buried in the Valley Temple of

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<sup>755</sup> Caspar Neumann; William Lewis. *The Chemical Works of Caspar Neumann, M.D.; Profeffor of Chemistry at Berlin, F.R.S. &c. Abridged and Methodized; With Large Additions, Containing the Later Discoveries and Improvements Made in Chemistry, and the Arts Depending Thereon.* By William Lewis, M.B.F.R.S. 2 vols. Second Edition. London, UK: Printed for J. and F. Rivington; etc; etc, MDCCLXXIII (1773) ♦ Vol. II, pp. 407-8. (*Sect. VIII. Animal Flesh*, pp. 405-8.) ♦ For “*pissasphaltum*”, see note<sup>756</sup> below.

<sup>756</sup> Arabic for ‘mummy’. ♦ See also note<sup>753</sup> above.

<sup>757</sup> *The Monthly Magazine; Or British Register.* London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co. ♦ Vol. LII, No. 360, November 1, 1821, p. 351. (*Varieties, Literary, and Philosophical, Including Notices of Works in Hand, Domestic and Foreign*, pp. 345-52.)

<sup>758</sup> Bertha Porter; Rosalind Moss; Ethel W. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. I. Theban Necropolis. Part 2. Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries.* Second Edition; Revised and Augmented. Oxford, UK: At the Clarendon Press, 1964, pp. 643-9.

<sup>759</sup> F. Pawlicki. Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut 1997/1998. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 10, pp. 119-30. ♦ Mirosław Barwik. New Data Concerning the Third Intermediate Period Cemetery in the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari. ♦ In: *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future.* Edited by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor. London: British Museum Press, 2003, pp. 122-30. ♦ Also: Cynthia May Sheikholeslami. The burials of priest of Montu at Deir el-Bahari in the Theban necropolis. ♦ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-7. ♦ See also note<sup>568</sup>, note<sup>593</sup>, note<sup>594</sup> and note<sup>659</sup> above.

<sup>760</sup> See: *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq* par Gaston Maspero. Boulaq: Au Musée, 1883, pp. 311-2.

Hatshepsut.<sup>761</sup> There was also a discovery of four coffins etc. belonging to persons attached to the cult of Mentu in the area of the mortuary Temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari, which probably was a reburial of a robbed tomb where mummies and coffins were destroyed.<sup>762</sup> However, prior to the above mentioned finds had 'The Great Belzoni', the Venetian circus strongman, engineer and excavator of Egyptian archaeological sites, Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778-1823), examined the Valley Temple of Hatshepsut in the 1810s, and probably plundered some burials of priests of Mentu in the temple (or some others did the plundering soon after his examination of the sanctuary) – burials from shafts, which Heinrich Brugsch saw emptied in the early 1850s.<sup>763</sup> It is also worthy of mention that Jean-François Champollion in 1829, twenty-nine years before Mariette's 1858 discovery, had visited the ruins of the temple and discovered that Amun was the temple's main god.

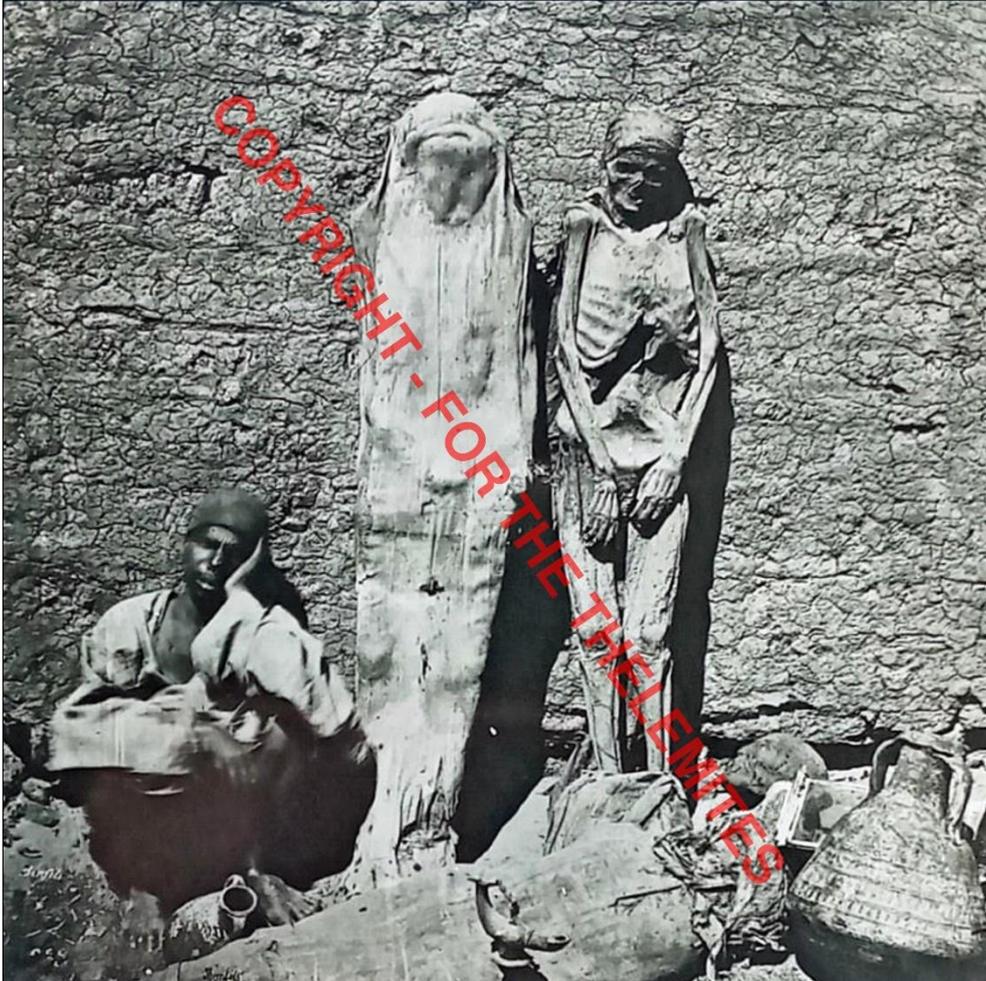
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<sup>761</sup> *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1956, Tome LIV : *B. Bruyère*. Une nouvelle famille de prêtres de Montou trouvée par Baraize à Deir el Bahri, pp. 11-33.

<sup>762</sup> See: *E. Dabrowska-Smektała*. Coffins found in the Area of the Temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale* 66. Cairo, 1968, pp. 171-81 (& plates).

<sup>763</sup> See: *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean XI*. Warsaw: Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, Warsaw University, 2000, p. 165, note 16.



Egyptian mummy seller. Photograph from c. 1880 by the French photographer Felix Bonfils (1831-1885). Felix Bonfils opened a studio in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1867. In 1878 his son Adrien (1861-1929), joined the studio. © From the author's collection.

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**Pages 172-1075 are not part of this book preview.**

I find another thing leaping to the eye on the stele and that is the position in which Ankh-af-na-khonsu is seen standing before the Hawk-headed Lord enthroned. On many stelae the buried is seen standing before a deity in a position of adoration with arms lifted up and hands palm outward toward the deity. This position is also found in the hieroglyph , *dw3* (*dua*), adore, worship. But Ankh-af-na-khonsu is seen standing in another position – which Zayed calls “*gesture of declamation*” – with one arm hanging along the side and the other stretched forward and bent with the palm turned upward and with the thumb seen on top of the hand and this gesture in fact expresses invocation!<sup>4554</sup> Its corresponding hieroglyph is , *nis* (*nis*), invoke, summon. This gesture is very vividly depicted on the stele and Ankh-af-na-khonsu does thus not solely adore the god enthroned but is, in fact, invoking him! In my opinion this fact points to a more close and active association between the buried and the god that he is standing before. Ankh-af-na-khonsu is not seen ‘eternally’ adoring the god but is depicted in an act of ‘eternal’ invocation of the god! And there is a very distinct difference between these two things – the act that Ankh-af-na-khonsu is performing is indisputably more powerful and indeed more magically active! It is important to note that the invoking gesture not is the same as the common greeting gesture which almost look alike but where the hand is rendered in profile with the thumb shown on the underside of the hand. The gesture of invoking is rare on wooden funeral stelae. On the other stelae in Zayed’s publication is the buried seen standing in the position of adoration or otherwise and in Saleh’s large corpus of stelae is only found one example of the invoking gesture.<sup>4555</sup>

The Hawk-headed Lord whom Ankh-af-na-khonsu is invoking is seated on a low-backed throne shaped like the hieroglyph for temple , *hwt* (*hut*), – a rectangular wall with a door indicated in one of the lower corners – a so-called *hwt*-block throne. He is thus seated on the temple or palace which is Egypt – the two united lands.<sup>4556</sup> The throne is decorated with multi-colored horizontal and vertical bands and this more elaborated type of *hwt*-block throne is less common. Ankh-af-na-khonsu gives his title as *hm-ntr Mnt(w) nb W3st*, “*Prophet of Mentu, Lord of Thebes*”.<sup>4557</sup> *hm-ntr*, *hem-netjer*, may also be translated as “*Servant of God*”.<sup>4558</sup> On the back of the Stélé [Reverse, line 6] are found the hieroglyphs saying:

*words said by the buried, the sm3-priest [] of Thebes [] Ankh-af-na-khonsu justified.*

The *sm3(sm3ty)*-priest<sup>4559</sup>, *sma*-priest, was a well known title in the Old Kingdom where , *sm3-mnw* (*sma*-priest of Min) was the priestly office associated with the clothing of the god Min, i.e. his

<sup>4554</sup> For this position, see also note<sup>4606</sup> below.

<sup>4555</sup> Heidi Saleh. Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities as Expressed on Wooden Funerary Stelae from the Libyan Period (c. 1069-715 B.C.E.) in Egypt. Oxford, UK: John and Erica Hedges Ltd., 2007. (Stela 74.)

<sup>4556</sup> The so-called *sm3-t3wy* emblem (*sema-tawy*, the union of the Two Lands, i.e. Upper & Lower Egypt) is sometimes seen at the bottom corner of the throne where the door is situated.

<sup>4557</sup> Obverse of stele: C; E,1; E,4. Reverse of stele: F,1.

<sup>4558</sup> See: Raymond O. Faulkner. A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian. Oxford, UK: Griffith Institute, 1962, p. 169.

<sup>4559</sup> The meaning of the sign used for *sm3*-priest and its transliteration was in many years disputable and it is still debated what this sign represent. Zayed transliterates it as “*sm3*” – “*sm3*-priest” – but does not define it further. Later on dealing with another stele we find him nevertheless writing: “*the son of the sm3(?)*-priest of Thebes,” thus apparently indicating that he is not absolutely sure of the sign’s transliteration. • For these two quotes from Zayed’s article, see: Revue d’égyptologie. Publiée par la Société française d’égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie Nationale. ♦ Tome 20, 1968, p. 152; 167. (*Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid Zayed*, pp. 149-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B) • The  sign is not translated in the two papers ‘Stèle 666: L’Analyse du Musée Boulaq’

statue etc., but also the king for festivals. This title is now often translated as “stolist” as found in the Greek Ptolemaic title *στολιστής*, *Stolistes*, which has the same meaning as *ἱερόστολος*, *Hierostolos*, ‘one that is over the sacred wardrobe’. In the New Kingdom this office became rarer but it is, for instance, found on a Karnak statue of Hatshepsut’s favored courtier, Senmut, where it is stated that he was *sm3 Hr*, stolist of Horus.<sup>4560</sup> Regarding the prophets of Mentu from Thebes it is significant that the *sm3* title often is found belonging to them and seems to have been an important office. I think it is worth remembering that to clothe a god often meant to enter the temple’s innermost sanctuary and become face to face with the god’s image and also the clothing of a king for his coronation or *Sed*-festival<sup>4561</sup> rituals points to that these priests in Thebes must have belonged to the upper priesthood. Furthermore, when these priests who often had other offices of great importance usually chose to mention themselves as prophets of Mentu then it clearly seems to indicate that it must have been a prestigious title. It was probably owing to that the falcon-headed war-god Mentu under the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep who founded the Middle Kingdom and chose Thebes as his ruling city became state god and though Amun took over so was Mentu still most venerated and important in Thebes as also seen from his epithet, “Lord of Thebes”!<sup>4562</sup> Since the title  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , *sma*-priest of Thebes, is found in connection with many prophets of Mentu it was in several years considered equal with the title “Prophet of Mentu, Lord of Thebes”<sup>4563</sup>, mainly since a considerable part of the prophets had the title  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , though not all of them!<sup>4564</sup> One

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and ‘Stèle 666: *La Traduction du Musée Boulaq*’ obtained by Fra. P. in Cairo nor in the later ‘Gardiner-Gunn Translation’. The two “Boulaq” papers have “the deceased Theban priest” and “The Deceased, priest of Thebes”.

Gardiner-Gunn ignore the sign and have: “Saith Osiris, he who is in Thebes”. The sign  $\text{𓂏}$  later turned up in the Sign-list of Gardiner’s famous *Egyptian Grammar* as unclassified [Aa 25] but explained as “title of a priest whose function consisted in clothing the god (Min, Horus, etc.)” The same words are found in Faulkner’s ‘*A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*’ from 1962. See: Sir Alan Gardiner. *Egyptian Grammar*. Third edition. Oxford, UK: Griffith Institute, 1957, p. 543. ♦ Raymond O. Faulkner. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford, UK: Griffith Institute, 1962, p. 227. • For the “Boulaq” papers see:  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ . The Holy Books of THELEMA. Ed. Hymenaeus Alpha and Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1983, *Appendix A, The Stèle of Revealing*, pp. 233-60. • For an object suggested to be the one depicted in the sign  $\text{𓂏}$ , see note<sup>4570</sup> below.

<sup>4560</sup> Betsy M. Bryan. The Career and Family of Minmose, High Priest of Onuris. *Chronique d’Égypte : Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth*. Brüssel : Brepols Publishers. Volume 61, Number 122/1986, p. 17. (Pp. 5-30.)

<sup>4561</sup> The *hb-sd*, Heb-Sed festival, was a festival usually occurring around the king’s thirtieth regnal year and celebrated again every two, three or four years thereafter until the king’s death. The rituals performed were related to the dual kingship of Upper and Lower Egypt and designed to renew his vitality and power – the rebirth of kingship. • For the festival, see note<sup>531</sup> above.

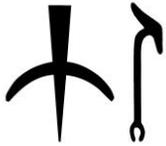
<sup>4562</sup> For Mentu, see note<sup>528</sup> above, and for Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, see note<sup>603</sup> and note<sup>615</sup> above.

<sup>4563</sup> Mentu had the epithet “Lord of Thebes” (*nb w3st*).

<sup>4564</sup> Wiedemann points out that  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  appears to be nearly synonymous with  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , “Prophet of Mont”, since it appears almost nowhere besides the former on the objects that he has examined and seems to denote a person who was Mont-prophet of Thebes. ♦ K. A. Wiedemann. *Monuments of the Prophets of Mont at Thebes*. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. Vol. XI. Bloomsbury, London: The Offices of the Society, 1889, p. 72. • Gauthier draws the conclusion that: “ $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}, \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}, \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}, \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  (synonyme de  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ )”, i.e. that the former title is synonymous with the latter “Prophet of Mentu, Lord of Thebes”. ♦ 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. II, p. 543. (*Index III*.) • In Moret’s work from 1912-3 E.V. is found  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  with the translation “Sacrificateur de Thèbes”, i.e. Sacrificer of Thebes.

$\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  is given as “Prophète de Montou, Seigneur de Thebes”, i.e. Prophet of Mentu, Lord of Thebes. ♦ Alexandre Moret. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Sarcophages de*

could easily get an impression that the two titles may be synonymous with each other when, for instance, they are found side by side on the stele of Harsiese M, son of Ankh-af-na-khonsu and Muthetepti ii, where Harsiese M says that he is the son of *sm3j W3st* [𓂏𓂏] *ḥnḥ.f-n-Ḥnsw* (*sm3 W3st ḥnḥ.f-n-ḥnsw*), i.e. “*sma-priest of Thebes, Ankh-f-n-khons*” and then gives his own title as *ḥm ntr Mntw nb W3st* (*ḥm-ntr Mntw nb W3st*), “*Prophet of Mentu, Lord of Thebes*”.<sup>4565</sup> On the other hand, these titles when belonging to the same person seem not to accompany each other in inscriptions, which to



some extent could be expected if they belonged to the service of the same deity. In 1959 E.V. the German Egyptologist Hermann Kees interestingly suggested on examining various 𓂏-titles that the title 𓂏𓂏, “*sma-priest of Thebes*” instead of being a designation of a prophet of Mentu seemed to point to a priestly function in the Luxor temple’s cult of Amun-Min-Kamutef.<sup>4566</sup> He takes the title *sm3 n K3-mwtf*, i.e.

“*sma-priest of Kamutef*” as a variation of the title “*sma-priest of Thebes*”. He further mentions that the oldest bearer of the title “*sma-priest of Kamutef*” that he know of is a High Priest of Amun called “*Bekenchons*”.<sup>4567</sup> I think this also confirms that the title when found among priests in Thebes denotes a special office belonging somehow to the higher priesthood and it might have been a minor title as regards duty and size of the cult’s appointed staff but most likely a prestigious one! It must be noted here that there was no clergy specifically dedicated to the Kamutef-forms found in Thebes. Among the sarcophagi and coffins published by Moret and Gauthier is the title of “*sma-priest of Thebes*” frequently found but the title of “*sma-priest of Kamutef*” is rather rare. Ankh-af-na-khonsu has twice on his smaller sarcophagus (CGC 41001 bis) the 𓂏-title *sm3 n K3-mwtf*, “*sma-priest of Kamutef*” or “*Sacrificateur de Qamoutef*” (*Sacrificer of Kamutef*) as Moret calls it.<sup>4568</sup> Kamutef means ‘*bull of his mother*’ and was an epithet of the ithyphallic Menu, whom the Greek called Min and associated with Pan, and of Amun(-Ra). Thus it was not a god but signified that the gods were self-begotten and came into being without a father – i.e. the god was his own father. Thus we find Amun(-Ra) as Amun(-Ra)-Kamutef. It seems to have developed in the Middle Kingdom and there

l’époque bubastite à l’époque saïte. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1913. ♦ Vol. I, pp.325-6. (*Index III.*)

<sup>4565</sup> *Hr-s3-jst*. (*Hr-s3-3st*) His stele is *Chicago OIM 12220*. There is a picture of the stele in: *Thomas George Allen*. *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago*. Edited by *Thomas George Allen* Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960. pl. CIII. The above information is from *Peter Munro*. *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*. Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1973, Textband, p. 196.

• For Harsiese M. and his family see: *M. L. Bierbrier*. *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.): A Genealogical Chronological Investigation*. (Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies) Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1975, p. 92, and note 233 on p. 139. (*Chapter Four; The Families of Dynasties XXII and XXIII*, pp. 54-101.) • *Hr-s3-3st*, *Hor-sa-aset*, means “*Horus son of Isis*”. The name was rendered by the Greeks as *Ἡρσιέσις* (*Harsiesis*). For this, see: *Hermann Ranke*. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. Bd. I-III. Glückstadt: Verlag von J. J. Augustin, 1935-77. ♦ Band I; Verzeichnis der Namen (1935), p. 250.

<sup>4566</sup> *Hermann Kees*. *Zur Familie des 3. Amonspropheten Amenophis*. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig 1959, 84. Band, pp. 54-67.

<sup>4567</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65, note <sup>1</sup>)

<sup>4568</sup> *Alexandre Moret*. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Sarcophages de l’époque bubastite à l’époque saïte*. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1913. ♦ Vol. I, pp.23; 31; 327. (41001 bis): (p.23) 𓂏𓂏 𓂏𓂏 (p. 31) 𓂏𓂏 𓂏𓂏 • For this title among other members of the Besenmut family, see: *Günther [Günter] Vittmann*. *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit*. *Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie*. Wien: Afro-Pub, 1978, pp. 59-61. (*2.16; Übersicht über die Titel der Angehörigen der Bś-n-Mwt-familie*, pp. 59-61.)



was a sanctuary of Amun(-Ra)-Kamutef at Karnak.<sup>4569</sup> Today it is customary to attribute the building in front of the Temple of Mut at Karnak to Amun-Ra-Kamutef, but this attribution can somehow be questioned. It seems likely that both Karnak and Luxor had cults performing rites of the Kamutef-forms as seen on representations on walls and pillars on both sites. But it is an open question if these cults were one organization as well as whether the titles “*sma-priest of Thebes*” and “*sma-priest of Kamutef*” were the same office in the same temple or if they in fact were two different offices where, for instance, the one belonged to Luxor and the other to Karnak? Personally, I am inclined to believe that the two titles represent different offices. Representations of the ithyphallic Amun-(Min-)Kamutef are, as mentioned above, found in several places both in Karnak and in Luxor and the sign  was at one time also suggested to depict a conventionalized phallus sheath.<sup>4570</sup>

The Lector-priest was the priest who recited the spells and rites, in temple ceremonies as well as at funerals. They were first attested in the Old Kingdom cult of Ra at Heliopolis. The earliest holders of this title were of the royal family but later by the Middle Kingdom non-royal persons were also appointed to this office. In Egyptian literature he was often portrayed as a sage who could foresee coming events – e.g. in the *Tale of King Khufu and the Magicians*.<sup>4571</sup> In fact, they were considered prophets in the true sense of the word, and owing to their knowledge of spells etc. they were among the principal practitioners of magic as well as medicine. There were also specialist priests who were called magicians and healers but their status was lower than that of the Lector-priest. The Lector-priest was specialized in the religious texts and thus had knowledge to judge which spell was appropriate in a certain connection. His work was also to preserve texts and rituals and I think that since he was a prophet and a magic priest he was also in a position to develop or help developing new spells and rituals. Regarding the leopard-skin mantle – that Ankh-af-na-khonsu also wears on the Stéle of Revealing – so were the so-called *smw*-priests from the Old Kingdom associated with the ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth the first priests to wear these leopard-skin robes. Later in the New Kingdom a few other priests – some of them high-ranking – wore them as well.<sup>4572</sup> The Lector-priest was like Thoth. He normally appeared dressed in the same way as the Lord of Writing and Magic, namely with a short semi-pleated kilt and the conspicuous wide sash worn across the chest. Sometimes we find the Lector-priest depicted holding a scroll and in the Late Period he also appears wearing two ostrich feathers (sometimes only one) on his head. It was probably a kind of lector-priest whom the Greek called *πτεροφόρος*, ‘*pterophoros*’ or *πτεροφόρας*, ‘*pterophoras*’, from the hawk’s wing worn on the priests head<sup>4573</sup> – I can not help thinking of the lines said by the Queen of Heaven: “*Put on the wings, and arouse the coiled splendor within you: come unto me!*”<sup>4574</sup> The word for Lector-priest, *hry-hbt* (*khery-hebet*), means literally ‘*He who carries the ritual-book*’ or ‘*He who is in charge of the ritual-book*’ and as Thoth was regarded as the ‘Lord of Magic’ so was the Lector-priest considered the archetypal magical

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<sup>4569</sup> See: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 2, pp. 221-2.

<sup>4570</sup> See: Sir Alan Gardiner. Egyptian Grammar. Third edition. Oxford, UK: Griffith Institute, 1957, p. 543. (*Sign, Aa 25*)

<sup>4571</sup> In Papyrus Westcar, Tales of the Court of King Khufu. See: A. M. Blackman. The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians: Transcribed from Papyrus Westcar, Berlin Papyrus 3033. Edited by W. V. Davies. Reading (UK): JV Books, 1988.

<sup>4572</sup> For a work on Egyptian priests, see: Serge Sauneron. The Priests of Ancient Egypt. New augmented edition. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.

<sup>4573</sup> On this, see, e.g.: Anne Burton. Diodorus Siculus. Book I: A Commentary. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972, p. 257.

<sup>4574</sup> *Liber L vel Legis*, I, [61].

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[The above is only a part of many pages in *For the Thelemites* dealing with Ankh-af-na-khonsu, his funeral belongings, and the history of his family, the Besenmut family.]