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The extract "*Ankh-af-na-khonsu*" from *For the Thelemites*

**PART 2**

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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.

If we turn to the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu we find that the matters relating to its discovery are unknown. Like his sarcophagi and coffins it was not registered in the “*Journal d’entrée du Musée*” – the museum’s register books – when found. On the face of it, one would expect that all Ankh-af-na-khonsu’s belongings were found together at Deir el-Bahari in 1858. However, the label exhibited together with the stele bearing the number “666” gives the information that it is from “*Gournah*” (or Qurna)<sup>618</sup>, the same information, which was maintained in the translations that Fra. P. obtained in Cairo<sup>619</sup>, and this information thus tells us – if the provenance is correct, and we have no proof for the present to doubt it – that since it is from Gournah it can not have been among the discovery that Mariette made in the Temple of Deir el-Bahari in 1858. In other words the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu is here stated not to have been found together with his mummy, sarcophagi and coffins! In support of this I discover that one of the plates whereon the stele appears in *Album du Musée de Boulaq* in 1872 have an explaining text, which gives some surprising information relating to the stele and its provenance. *Planche 15* whereon the stele is displayed together with other funeral monuments has an explaining text saying that all the objects on the plate are gathered in order to show belongings of a single funeral mummy. Mariette says that they often come to find graves as complicated as the one displayed, but he warn the reader that they have failed to assemble enough objects from the same burial for this plate, and that the objects shown are from various mummies. He mentions the various items on the plate together with the stele, which is displayed and briefly discussed on the previous *Planche 14* (that displays items from various cemeteries). But most important he states that all the objects belong to mummies not only from the same place and time, but also of the same family, and that they had been collected in one of the hypogeums<sup>620</sup> of Thebes, and in a pit of the XXII<sup>nd</sup> dynasty.<sup>621</sup> If this is right then all these items are belongings of persons connected with the Besenmut family, and the stele is thus stated found in a cache in the subterranean part of some building in Thebes – the Theban Necropolis understood. This sounds just like a description of conditions resembling the 1858 find, but a close examination shows that the four posted *qrsu* sarcophagus and the other coffins displayed here not are part of Mariette’s 1858 find published by Moret and Gauthier. However, this in itself does not rule out that they could have been part of the 1858 find, since this find was a great find, and therefore were parts of it evidently sold or given away due to lack of space in the museum and its

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<sup>618</sup> For a description of this label see note<sup>684</sup> below. • *Gournah, Gurna, Gournah, Kurna*. This name has been spelled in several ways, but *Qurna* seems to be preferred today. For its location, see, e.g., the map in *Baedeker*. Egypt and the Sudan. Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1908. *Necropolis of Thebes (Kurna)*.

<sup>619</sup> “*Provient de Gournah (Thèbes) XXVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie.*” (Provenance – Gurna (Thebes) XXVI<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.) The contents of these documents are published in: 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.

<sup>620</sup> Hypogeum is the underground part of a building.

<sup>621</sup> « *Nous ajouterons que, dans le cours de nos fouilles, il nous est arrivé souvent de trouver des sépultures aussi Compliquées que celles dont nous présentons ici le tableau. Le lecteur est averti cependant que nous n’avons pas réussi à assembler les parties suffisamment conservées d’un même tombeau, et que les boîtes et cercueils qui figurent ici dans un but démonstratif proviennent de diverses momies. Mais si l’on veut bien nous permettre de faire remarquer que tout ce que nous avons sous les yeux appartient à des momies non-seulement du même lieu et du même temps, mais de la même famille, on verra que l’unité de notre tableau n’est pas rompue. C’est dans un des hypogées de Thèbes et dans un puits de la XXII<sup>me</sup> dynastie que les monuments figurés sur la Planche 15 ont été recueillis.* » • Quoted from: 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, [description of] PLANCHE 15 – MONUMENTS FUNÉRAIRES. • See note<sup>26</sup>, note<sup>27</sup>, note<sup>568</sup>, note<sup>593</sup> and note<sup>594</sup> above.



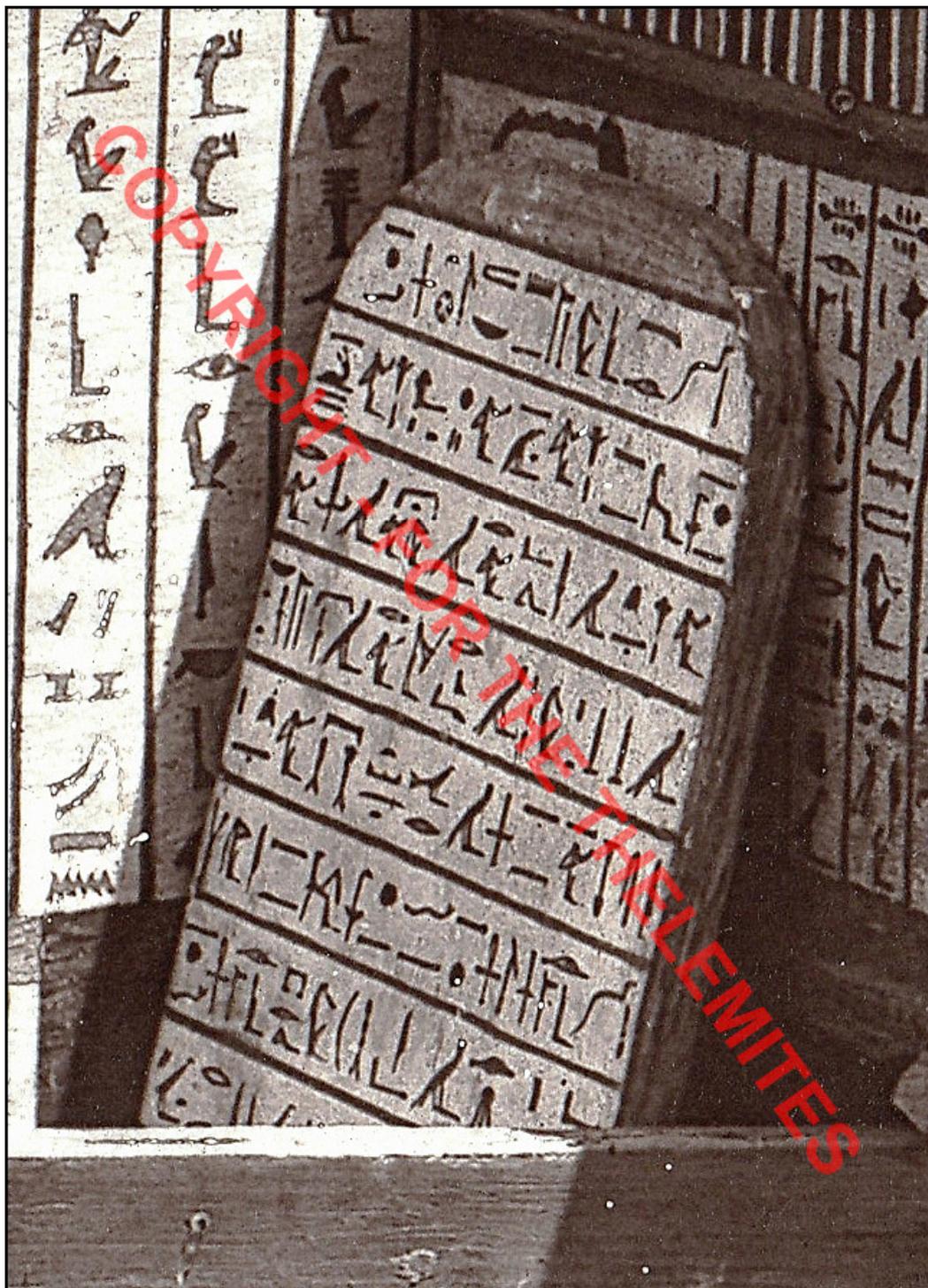
Section from "Planche 14 – Monuments Funéraires" from Auguste Mariette-Bey's 1872 *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, showing the reverse of the stela of Ankh-af-na-khonsu in the court of the Boulaq Museum in 1871. The wooden stela standing to the right belongs to a lady *T'at-Amen-aouf-ankh*. Below the complete "Planche 14".





FIGURE 8. *Plate from Album du Musée de Boulaq showing an arrangement of funeral monuments in the court of the Boulaq Museum in 1871 which includes the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu*

The first known appearances of the funeral stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu on photographs are found on two arrangements made by Auguste Mariette for the use in *Album du Musée de Boulaq* and photographed by the two French photographers, Hippolyte Délié, and Émile Béchard, who had the photographic concession at the museum. The above photograph is “*Planche 15 – Monuments Funéraires*” from the album where the stele is seen leaning against a wooden chest containing four canopic jars. (See selective enlargement on FIGURE 9.) It is the reverse side of the stele that is exhibited since it contains a part of Chapter 30 (or Spell 30) of *Book of Going forth by Day*, which usually was found engraved upon funeral scarabs as pointed out by Mariette in the text to the previous plate where the stele also is seen in another arrangement exhibiting its reverse side. In the text to the present photograph Mariette states that the arrangement has been made in order to show belongings of a single funeral mummy but that the objects shown not are from the same person. The stele has thus been added the arrangement in order to complete it. However, we are informed that all the objects in the arrangement were found in the same place – a pit in one of the hypogeums of Thebes – and that they all are from the 22nd Dynasty, and furthermore belong to members of the same family. This arrangement and its explaining text thus support that the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu not was found together with his mummy, sarcophagi and coffins, which were part of the great find of belongings of Mentu prophets discovered by Mariette in Hatshepsut’s Valley Temple at Deir-el-Bahari in 1858. When found, the stele was not registered in the museum’s register books but appeared later exhibited with the provenance of Gournah, a location close to Deir-el-Bahari at the Theban Necropolis. Note that the objects stand in the sand in the museum court and are photographed in the crisp, direct light of the Egyptian sun. The impressive album was published in 1872 but the photographs were probably taken in the first part of 1871. The photographic process used was carbon printing; a process depending on a complex of gelatine added the bright yellowish-red crystalline compound potassium bichromate being sensitive to light. There are no light-sensitive silver salts in the final print and therefore are carbon prints considered ‘permanent’. Carbon print measuring 7.6 by 9 in. (19.3 by 22.8 cm) by Délié and Béchard from *Album du Musée de Boulaq*. © Author’s collection.



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

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

magazines, but it is very unlikely that the museum later should have parted with objects from Mariette's famous album. The objects on the plate are likely belongings of priests of Amun, who also were prophets of Mentu, and they are all likely – as stated by Mariette – somehow connected with the same family. We must expect that this family is the Besenmut family, but at present I have not succeeded in identifying these objects that not seem to have been included in the Boulak catalogues.<sup>622</sup> I think that the information given in the text to the plate can be interpreted as indirect proof of that the stele not was part of the 1858 discovery. The logical consequence of this information is clear and it stands to reason to think that the hypogeum, which hid this find was situated at Gournah. It of course also makes one consider if the 1858 find included the priests's wooden stelae, or they of some specific reason were found in another place. One could imagine that Mariette could have found all the objects needed from one burial to this plate, showing belongings of a single funeral mymmy, if his find of the priests of Mentu from 1858 had consisted of the priests stelae also. We must remember that the find Mariette made in 1858 was a great find of many items, and at the time of the publication of the album the memory of this find likely still fresh. I shall go into detail about this below, since it appears that the 1858 find lacked most of the priests stelae, owing to a religious motive, namely, the wish of their living descendants, who also were priests of Mentu and Amon, to help them in their afterlife, and apparently also themselves hoping somehow to receive help from the Beyond!

It is noteworthy that the objects on *Planche 15* are stated as belonging to the XXIIInd dynasty – a dynasty whose beginning, we are told, corresponds to the “*règne de Jéroboam*”, a fact maintained today. So we must assume that Mariette thus assigned Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele and his other belongings to the XXIIInd dynasty. When W. discovered the stele in the Cairo Museum it was dated to the XXVIth dynasty, which in 1904 E.V. normally was estimated to 666 BCE.<sup>623</sup> Mariette dated the XXIIInd dynasty to 980 BCE.. Jeroboam was the first king of the northern kingdom of Israel. He had found sanctuary at the court of Sheshonq I, the Shishak of The Bible.<sup>624</sup> With King Solomon's death, Israel had split into two kingdoms at the time of the reign of Sheshonq I, who was the founder of the XXIInd dynasty, and whose reign today is estimated to 931-910 BCE.<sup>625</sup> As seen above, so is the funeral belongings of Ankh-af-na-khonsu – and thus the *Stelé of Revealing* – today assigned to the

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<sup>622</sup> The mentioned *grsw* sarcophagus has wooden statuettes of hawks on its four posts and also on its back a wooden statuette of a lying black jackal, i.e. Anubis. This sarcophagus is of the same type as the one belonging to the Fourth Prophet of Amun Djedthotefankh (DjedThutefankh B) which was found by the Swiss Egyptologist Henri Édouard Naville in 1895 in the temple at Deir el-Bahari in a pit in the floor of the vestibule of the Hathor shrine. This sarcophagus is today in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (*Oxford 1895.153*) • For this, see, e.g.: *Maarten J. Raven*. On some Coffins of the Besenmut Family. Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. 62. Leiden, Netherlands: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1981, p. 15; Pl. 7, B. (Pp. 7-21, Pl. 1-7.) • For a find of funeral belongings of priests of Mentu at Gournah stated in the Gizeh Museum's first catalogue from 1892, see note<sup>4705</sup> below.

<sup>623</sup> This date was assigned by Heinrich Brugsch-Bey in 1877. Mariette had almost the same assignation, namely 665 BCE and the Norwegian J. D. C. Lieblein had 678 BCE. • For the various assignations at that time, see: *E. A. Wallis Budge*. The Nile. Notes for Travellers in Egypt and in the Egyptian Sûdân. Twelfth Edition. London & Cairo: Thos. Cook & Son Ltd., 1912, p. 63. • For Heinrich Brugsch-Bey's 666 BCE assignation, see note<sup>4706</sup> below.

<sup>624</sup> See: *1 Kings*, 11.40.

<sup>625</sup> For this, see: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 1, p. 182, and Vol. 2, p. 194.

late twenty-fifth dynasty, c. 700-675 BCE.<sup>626</sup>, and he is said to have flourished under Sheshonq V, whose reign was from 767-730 BCE at the end of the twenty-second dynasty.<sup>627</sup>

The photographs in the impressive *Album du Musée de Boulaq* were, as mentioned, taken by the two French commercial photographers Hippolyte Délié and Émile Béchard, who collaborated on this project, which probably took place in 1871.<sup>628</sup> Délié and Béchard are thought to have arrived in Egypt in 1869, and they established a studio together in the Ezbekiah Gardens in the early 1870s.<sup>629</sup> One cannot preclude the possibility of that the two men saw the ancient Egyptian exhibition at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1867, and thus met Mariette.<sup>630</sup> They had the photographic concession at the Boulak Museum before Émile Brugsch Bey, as mentioned, became assistant conservator in the museum in 1871, and at one time started taking photographs for the museum.<sup>631</sup> Their partnership was dissolved sometime after the publication of the album, and both continued to work in Egypt as commercial photographers, and it is thought that Hippolyte Délié probably returned to France in around 1878.<sup>632</sup> As we are informed by Mariette, so was the idea of an album originated from Délié and Béchard. The text to *Planche 1*, which shows the museum and its location very close to the River Nile, draws attention to a small table placed in the middle of the museum court, and Mariette says that the arrangement on the table is that found on *Planche 23*.<sup>633</sup> The table has a cloth backdrop, and only a few metres behind it to the west is the River Nile. It seems that all the arrangements in the album were photographed in the museum court, where the described set-up was used to photograph small and medium-sized objects. It is interesting to note the sand beneath the objects on *Planche 15* – the arrangement mentioned, where all the objects on

<sup>626</sup> See note<sup>518</sup> above. • For the dating of the stele in 1904 E.V., see note<sup>684</sup> and note<sup>1186</sup> below.

<sup>627</sup> See note<sup>514</sup> above.

<sup>628</sup> ALBUM DU MUSÉE DE BOULAQ comprenant QUARANTE PLANCHES photographiées PAR MM. DÉLIÉ ET BÉCHARD AVEC UN TEXTE EXPLICATIF rédigé PAR AUGUSTE MARIETTE-BEY. LE CAIRE: MOURES & C<sup>IE</sup>, IMPRIMEURS-ÉDITEURS 1872. • The publication of the album took place in 1872 and the photographs were probably taken in 1871 since Mariette signs his prefatory note « 1<sup>er</sup> Novembre 1871. » and further in the text to « *Planche 1* » writes that this photograph was taken in the second half of April. However, Nissan N. Perez gives the year as 1870 in his book *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East, 1839-1885*. ♦ Nissan N. Perez. *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East, 1839-1885*. (Published in association with Domino Press and the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.) New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988, p. 132. • Hippolyte Délié was active from the 1860s-1880s, and Émile Béchard from the 1870s-1880s. • See also note<sup>26</sup> and note<sup>28</sup> above. • For Délié and Béchard, see also: *John Hannavy* (Editor). *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*. 2 vols. New York, NY, USA, and London, UK: Routledge, 2007, Vol. 1, p. 131. ♦ Ken Jacobsen. *Odaliques & Arabesques: Oriental Photography 1839-1925*. London, UK: Bernard Quaritch Ltd., 2007, pp. 224-5; 210-2. (*Hippolyte Délié (1841-?, active 1860s-1880s)*, pp. 224-5.) (*Émile Béchard (active 1870s-1880s)*, pp. 210-2.)

<sup>629</sup> As found on their photographs: « AU JARDIN DE L'ESBEKIEH H. DÉLIÉ ET É. BÉCHARD DB CAIRE (ÉGYPTE) ». Their logo « DB » is an interlaced monogram of their initials.

<sup>630</sup> For the World Exhibition, see note<sup>647</sup> below. • Both Délié and Béchard later received medals at the 1878 Paris Universal Exposition.

<sup>631</sup> See note<sup>98</sup> above and note<sup>789</sup> and note<sup>4682</sup> below.

<sup>632</sup> See: Ken Jacobsen. *Odaliques & Arabesques: Oriental Photography 1839-1925*. London, UK: Bernard Quaritch Ltd., 2007, p. 224. (*Hippolyte Délié (1841-?, active 1860s-1880s)*, pp. 224-5.)

<sup>633</sup> ALBUM DU MUSÉE DE BOULAQ comprenant QUARANTE PLANCHES photographiées PAR MM. DÉLIÉ ET BÉCHARD AVEC UN TEXTE EXPLICATIF rédigé PAR AUGUSTE MARIETTE-BEY. LE CAIRE: MOURES & C<sup>IE</sup>, IMPRIMEURS-ÉDITEURS 1872. *PLANCHE 1*, *PLANCHE 23*. • For the set-up in the museum court, see also: Nissan N. Perez. *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East, 1839-1885*. (Published in association with Domino Press and the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.) New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988, p. 153. ♦ Here this set-up is shown on the photograph “154” which has been given the explaining text: “*The Garden of the Boulaq Museum with Setup to Photograph the Collections.*”

the plate are said to have been gathered in order to show belongings of a single funeral mummy. Mariette chose the objects that he considered most worthy for inclusion in the album, and the arrangements on the photographs were evidently taken from the museum's normal exhibition and recreated by him in the museum court, and he says in his prefatory note that the album is an illustrated catalogue to the museum, which followed the summary catalogue sold at the entrance. A part of the idea behind the album was that travellers could buy it at the entrance (if they could afford it), and thus have a great souvenir of their visit to the museum, and scholars were able to study the objects and their hieroglyphs in details. That the arrangements were taken from the museum's normal exhibition is clear when examine, for instance, *Planche 7*, where an arrangement of statuettes of various deities and their labeled numbers reveal, when found in the fourth edition of Mariette's Boulaq catalogue from the same year as the Album, that they all are exhibited together in a case in "*Salle du Centre*".<sup>634</sup> But the question is whether the arrangement where Ankh-af-nakhonsu's stele is shown standing in the sand, leaning against a chest containing four canopic jars, was an arrangement also found in the museum's exhibition, or it was done by Mariette especially for the album? The stele is said to have been added to this arrangement in order to show belongings of a single funeral mummy. But that it appears on the previous *Planche 14* where it is shown together with another wooden stele<sup>635</sup>, two wooden boxes intended to contain funerary statuettes, several of these statuettes, and a few other objects, clearly seems to indicate that it originally belongs to this arrangement. So we must assume that the arrangement on *Planche 14* was the same as found by a visitor at the museum. That this is right is confirmed by the wooden stele displayed to the right of Ankh-af-nakhonsu's stele, and the two wooden boxes. In the museum's 1872 catalogue is the wooden stele clearly № 390<sup>636</sup> belonging to the lady *T'at-Amen-aouf-ankh*, and with the provenance Deir-el-Bahari, and the two wooden boxes mentioned are apparently № 394-395<sup>637</sup>, also with the provenance Deir-el-Bahari. All three items are exhibited in "*Cage P.*" in "*Salle du Centre*", and it is therefore likely to assume that Ankh-af-nakhonsu's stele is exhibited in this case too, although not mentioned, since it perhaps was newly founded!<sup>638</sup> However, sometimes a plate seems to contain objects from neighbouring arrangements in the museum's exhibition.

It is important to take notice of that the arrangement on *Planche 15* does not include a mummy, and, in fact, there is no mummy shown anywhere in the album. It seems strange, especially, since the arrangement is said to show belongings of a single funeral mummy. A few human mummies were exhibited in the museum, but it was probably problematic to exhibit them at that time, and a photograph in the album would likely draw too much attention to them.<sup>639</sup> A photograph of a human mummy would undoubtedly have displeased the Khedive, Ismail

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<sup>634</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D'ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE KHÉDIVE, A BOUFAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Quatrième Édition. PARIS: LIBRAIRIE A. FRANCK, 1872, pp. 111-24. (*Cage A.*)(n<sup>os</sup> 120, 121, 125, 126, 130, 148, 149, 159, 161, 164, 166)

<sup>635</sup> For this stele, see note<sup>649</sup> below.

<sup>636</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D'ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE KHÉDIVE, A BOUFAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Quatrième Édition. PARIS: LIBRAIRIE A. FRANCK, 1872, pp. 159-60. (*Cage P.*)(n<sup>os</sup> 390)

<sup>637</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162. (*Cage P.*)(n<sup>os</sup> 394-395)

<sup>638</sup> For its likely location in the museum in 1883, see note<sup>731</sup> below.

<sup>639</sup> See: NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D'ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE KHÉDIVE, A BOUFAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Quatrième Édition. PARIS: LIBRAIRIE A. FRANCK, 1872, pp. 238-9. (*Vitrine D.*)(n<sup>os</sup> 741-743)

Pasha<sup>640</sup>. However, ten years later the museum exhibited the royal mummies discovered by Émile Brugsch at Deir el-Bahari in July 1881, in a new room built on the order of his son, the new Khedive, Tewfik Pasha.<sup>641</sup> When finding Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele appearing twice in an album composed by the foremost objects in the museum without being described in the museum's 1872 catalogue, then it is an idea, which immediately suggests itself if this is owing to that it just had been found, together with the rest of the objects on *Planche 15*? It could easily be the case, and the stele would then likely have been discovered around 1869-70!<sup>642</sup>

The photographing took apparently place in the museum court owing to problems with lighting indoors, so the arrangements were placed outdoors under the peerless Egyptian sun. That most of the photographs were taken in the crisp direct light of the sun is unmistakable seen, for example, on *Planche 15* in its bright parts and shadows. As to the time of the photographing, the text to *Planche 1*, discussed above, gives the information that the picture was taken in the second half of April, i.e., in the Egyptian autumn. The album's forty photographs, which measure in the neighbourhood of 7.6 by 9 in. (19.3 by 22.8 cm)<sup>643</sup>, were reproduced as high quality carbon prints made from glass plate negatives, and mounted separately on heavy card stock in the large album, which measures about 14 by 20 in. (35.5 by 50.8 cm) – today an exceedingly rare and very expensive book, which also must have been expensive to buy at the museum in the 1870s.<sup>644</sup>

The wooden stele exhibited next to Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele on *Planche 14* belonging to the lady *T'at-Amen-aouf-ankh* is, as a matter of fact, found in Mariette's first catalogue to the Boulak Museum, from 1864, and exhibited in the same room and case as in 1872, but with another labeled number<sup>645</sup>, and also the two boxes mentioned are present as well, and also with other labeled numbers<sup>646</sup>. The stele of *T'at-Amen-aouf-ankh* is almost found in every museum's catalogue from Boulak to the present museum, since it displays a rare example of an Egyptian landscape. It was also among the objects selected by Mariette for the World Exhibition in Paris in 1867.<sup>647</sup> On this rounded top stele the lady is seen adoring Harmachis, and in Guide1903 we find Maspero saying about it:

*Case Q. Wooden tablets and stelae from Gurnah, belonging to different periods, [...] One of them (n° 640) is a very rare example of an Egyptian landscape. The mountain, painted yellow with red stripes, covers the ground to the left of the picture, where two little doors surmounted by pyramidions, mark the tomb of the lady Zadamon-Efônukhi [Djedamoniouankh]. A kneeling woman is crying and tearing her hair in token of mourning; behind her some trees indicate the funeral garden of the defunct, where the soul flutters down and*

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<sup>640</sup> Ismail Pasha (1830-1895). Wālī (a prince, governor of a province) and subsequently Khedive of Egypt and Sudan from 1863-1879.

<sup>641</sup> See: Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq par Gaston Maspero. Boulaq au Musée 1883, p. 314f. (*Salle des momies royales*) • See note<sup>586</sup> above. • Muhammed Tewfik Pasha (1852-1892). Son of Ismail Pasha and Khedive of Egypt and Sudan between 1879 and 1892.

<sup>642</sup> See note<sup>681</sup> below.

<sup>643</sup> This is the exact measure of the print on *Planche 15* but some are a bit smaller or larger.

<sup>644</sup> Carbon prints was a photographic process depending on a complex of gelatin with added potassium bichromate being sensitive to light. The process was in general use between 1870-1910.

<sup>645</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D'ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE VICE-ROI, A BOULAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Alexandrie : Imprimerie Française Mourès, Rey & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1864. p. 137. (n<sup>os</sup> 282) • For editions of this catalogue, see note<sup>689</sup> below.

<sup>646</sup> Ibid., p. 138. (*Cage P.*)(n<sup>os</sup> 286-287)

<sup>647</sup> Exposition Universelle de 1867. Description du parc Égyptien par M. Auguste Mariette. Paris, France : Dentu, Libraire, Palais-Royal, 1867, p. 74. (N<sup>o</sup> 282.)



Musée de Boulaq. Photograph by Bonfils Félix. © Author's collection.

*feeds at a table laden with offerings. On the upper register, the lady Zadamon-Efônukhi comes up to claim from Harmachis her share of the sacrifices offered to her by her relatives. – XXII<sup>nd</sup>-XXVI<sup>th</sup> Dynasties.*<sup>648</sup>

Here its provenance is given as Gurnah, but in Maspero's catalogue to the Boulaq Museum from 1883 the stele is found with the same statement as given by Mariette, namely that it is from Deir el-Bahari – a provenance maintained in the Cairo Museum's Official Catalogue from 1987 E.V.<sup>649</sup> Nevertheless, the Official Catalogue says that it was found c. 1880. But, as we have seen above, it was found sometimes before 1864, owing to its appearance in the Boulaq Museum's first catalogue! We must suppose that we on this stele witness a picture of the place where the (original) tomb was situated, and if right, this object can thus be said to own a kind of 'inherent pictorial provenance'. Moreover, I think we must conclude that though this stele and Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele were exhibited side by side in the album, they were not found together, and neither came from the same spot.

That the Mentu priests's belongings from the 1858 find were present in the museum we are told by Mariette in the 1864 catalogue, where parts of the find are described in "*Magasin N° 5.*"<sup>650</sup> In the catalogue's fourth edition from 1872 some of these items are described more detailed, and

<sup>648</sup> Guide1903, p. 293. (n° 640) • In the text to "*Planche 14*" in the album Mariette says among other things about the stele: « *Sur l'autre on voit au premier register une dame défunte se présentant devant le dieu Ra, accompagnée d'offrandes que la piété des parents a déposés devant le tombeau. Au second register une petite composition dans un style étranger aux habitudes de l'art égyptien mérite de fixer l'attention. Le tombeau, précède d'une porte en forme de pylône, s'élève sur la lisière du désert. Une parente est à genoux, dans la posture des pleureuses. Sous les arbres qui bordent les terres cultivées une petite table chargée d'offrandes a été disposée.* » ♦ ALBUM DU MUSÉE DE BOULAQ comprenant QUARANTE PLANCHES photographiées PAR MM. DÉLIÉ ET BÉCHARD AVEC UN TEXTE EXPLICATIF rédigé PAR AUGUSTE MARIETTE-BEY. LE CAIRE: MOURES & C<sup>IE</sup>, IMPRIMEURS- ÉDITEURS, 1872.

(*Planche 14 – Monuments Funéraires.*) • For stelae and offerings, see also note<sup>689</sup> below.

<sup>649</sup> Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq par Gaston Maspero. Boulaq au Musée 1883, p. 131. (*N° 1622, Bois peint*) • In the latter catalogue Maspero also mentions that there is a stele in the Museum of Turin showing some Egyptian landscape too. On this stele he gives no provenance. The stele seems to be *Museo Egizio, Turin. C.1598*. Egyptologist Heidi Saleh says in a study of wooden funerary stelae from the Libyan Period published in 2007 about this stele which she calls "*Stela 73*" [i.e. its no. in her corpus of stelae examined] and the one held in Cairo which she calls "*Stela 36*" that "*Stelae 36 and 73 each feature a tomb in the desert-cliff scene as part of the bottom-most register. Such scenes may allude to the location of the tomb, or they may refer more generally to the West (i.e. the land of the dead) (Russmann 2001: 222).*" Further she says about "*Stela 36*" – which is Cairo. RT 25/12/24/20. – that it "*was excavated from Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh in 1880, but the Journal d'Entrée does not provide any additional information on its excavation history.*" That "*Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh*" and "*1880*" likely not is correct data is seen above. • *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. ♦ For the above quotation on *Stela 36*, see p. 43 ♦ For its description, see p. 190. ♦ For *Stela 73*, see p. 227 and for both stelae, see p. 19, ♦ For the Russmann 2001 quotation, see: *Edna Russmann*. Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001, p. 222. ♦ Saleh's study of 117 wooden funerary stelae does not include (nor mentions) the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu but is interesting since it covers the period and gives some new knowledge together with an overview of the latest investigations in the field. • '*Stela of Djedamoniunkh*' (*N° 243*) is found reproduced in colour in: *Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian*. Official Catalogue - The Egyptian Museum Cairo. Published by the Organisation of Egyptian Antiquities. The Arab Republic of Egypt. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1987, N° 243. ♦ Here its provenance, as mentioned, is "*Thebes, Deir el-Bahari. Found c. 1880*"

<sup>650</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D'ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE VICE-ROI, A BOULAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Alexandrie : Imprimerie Française Mourès, Rey & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1864, pp. 230-56. (*Magasin N° 5.*) • For editions of this catalogue, see<sup>689</sup> below.

here, for instance, we find the coffin of the lady, “*T'estmaut-per*”<sup>651</sup> of the Besenmut family, who in Gauthier’s publication is called “*Tes-maut-perou*”, owner of CGC 41053. Further, in the 1864 catalogue there is a coffin of the lady, “*Ta-t-ankh*”<sup>652</sup> – a singer of Amun, and member of the Besenmut family – who in Gauthier’s publication is called “*Tatânkh*”, and owner of the coffin CGC 41060/41061 found at “*Deir-el-Bahari*”.<sup>653</sup> In the text to this coffin it is mentioned that a wooden stele, once covered with gilded stucco, was found together with the coffin in the underground chamber, which we are told provided the museum with a rich set of funerary monuments.<sup>654</sup> Mariette apparently mentions this stele, since it in a special way seems to bear evidence of a tomb robbing. The thieves who has removed most of the gold from the stele has left intact the image of Osiris depicted on the stele. This fearful respect of Osiris seems to be an evidence of that this desecration likely took place at a time when Egypt still worshipped Osiris!<sup>655</sup> This is the only instance I have seen, where a stele is mentioned in connection with the 1858 find at Deir el-Bahari.

In the 1872 edition of the catalogue – the same year that saw the publication of his *Album du Musée de Boulaq* – are found several wooden sarcophagi and coffins stated to be from “*Thèbes. – Deir-el-Bahari*”. Gauthier writes on publishing the 1858 find of coffins that he believes that Ankh-af-na-khonsu’s inner coffin (*Catal. du Musée N° 41042*) must be identified with “*cercueil 750 de Boulaq*” – as found in this catalogue.<sup>656</sup> Like in the rest of the catalogues published by Mariette we find provenances of both “*Thèbes. – Qournah*”; and “*Thèbes. – Abd-el-Qournah*”. But none of the several

<sup>651</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D’ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE KHÉDIVE, A BOUFAQ. PAR AUG. MARIETTE-BEY. Quatrième Édition. PARIS: LIBRAIRIE A. FRANCK, 1872, p. 236. (N° 732)

<sup>652</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D’ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE VICE-ROI, A BOUFAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Alexandrie : Imprimerie Française Mourès, Rey & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1864, pp. 195-6. (VI. *Salle de l’Est Vitrine D; N° 8. – Thèbes. – Deir-el-bahari. Bois*) • This lady’s name *Dj-<sup>c</sup>nḥ* (Djedankh) has the variant *Dj-Mwt-šp-n-<sup>c</sup>nḥ*. To her belongs the sarcophagus CGC 41019 and the coffin CGC 41060. ♦ 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. 48. (2.13; *Bemerkungen zu weiteren Monthpriestern, die in den CG-Särgen vorkommen und wegen deren Herkunft zur Bš-n-Mwt-Familie gehören (können)*), pp. 48-52.) • Bierbrier calls her Djedmutesankh vii. ♦ 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.

<sup>653</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. II, pp. 363-81. (*Catal. du Musée N° 41060-41061*, pp. 363-81)

<sup>654</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D’ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE VICE-ROI, A BOUFAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Alexandrie : Imprimerie Française Mourès, Rey & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1864, p. 196. (VI. *Salle de l’Est Vitrine D; N° 8. – Thèbes. – Deir-el-bahari. Bois*, pp. 195-6.) • Also in the 1872 catalogue: NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D’ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE KHÉDIVE, A BOUFAQ. PAR AUG. MARIETTE-BEY. Quatrième Édition. PARIS: LIBRAIRIE A. FRANCK, 1872, p. 237. (N° 734, pp. 236-7.)

<sup>655</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D’ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE VICE-ROI, A BOUFAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Alexandrie : Imprimerie Française Mourès, Rey & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1864, p. 196. (VI. *Salle de l’Est Vitrine D; N° 8. – Thèbes. – Deir-el-bahari. Bois*, pp. 195-6.) • This stele is also mentioned in Maspero’s guide from 1883 as N° 4420 belonging to the lady “*Tatonkh*” ♦ *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq* par Gaston Maspero. Boulaq: Au Musée, 1883, p. 241. • See also note<sup>688</sup> below.

<sup>656</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D’ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE KHÉDIVE, A BOUFAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Quatrième Édition. PARIS : LIBRAIRIE A. FRANCK, 1872, p. 240, n<sup>os</sup> 745-752. • See also note<sup>723</sup>, note<sup>4626</sup> and note<sup>4707</sup> below.

wooden stelae from Thebes mentioned in the 1872 catalogue, are stated as being from “Thèbes. – Qournah”, but many of them are stated as being from “Thèbes. – Deir-el-Bahari”!<sup>657</sup> These early catalogues in many instances bear the impress of superficiality and lack of systematic registration of finds. As discussed above, there were several reasons behind this, and one palpable reason – which, from a purely theoretical point of view could effect the provenance being under discussion – is stated by Mariette in the preface to the first edition of his Boulaq catalogue from 1864, where he says that a good part of the collection’s small items had been purchased from a Monsieur Huber, a former Consul-General for Austria in Egypt!<sup>658</sup> These objects were, of course, most likely without any provenance at all. There are no mentioning of Huber and his collection in *Album du Musée de Boulaq*. I do not know exactly when the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu – or the other priests’s stelae – “received” the provenance of Gournah, but it is very clear that this information is provided by Egyptologists who knew that his sarcophagi and coffins – together with the rest of the 1858 find of sarcophagi and coffins belonging to the priests of Mentu – were discovered at Deir el-Bahari! When we witness this systematically mentioning of “Gournah” in relation to these stelae one should think that there is some truth in it, and that this information likely was supplied by someone who took part in the find, or, someone who while working at the Boulaq Museum have heard it mentioned by persons close to the find! But there is no conclusive proof behind this theory, as well as there is no conclusive proof behind the provenance of the stele, apart from the statement by Mariette in *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, and its logical consequence! However, as we shall see below, I discover that the old label exhibited together with Ankh-af-na-khonsu’s stele (see Figure 10) besides giving the information that the stele is from Gournah, also hides very valuable information, which seems to suggest that the label was written in the Boulaq Museum!

We are informed by Henri Gauthier that the “*conservateur du Musée de Boulaq*” in the days of Mariette’s find at Deir el-Bahari was L. Vassalli, who also assisted with the find, and later mentions it in a book.<sup>659</sup> Luigi Vassalli (1812-1887), an Italian painter and later Egyptologist, had in 1848 at the age of thirty-six been involved in a political plot, and was condemned to death, but released and had gone into exile.<sup>660</sup> Later he migrated to Egypt, and lived as a portrait-painter until he

<sup>657</sup> These fifteen stelae are №: 390, 391, 426 à 431, 705 à 710 and 734.

<sup>658</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D’ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE VICE-ROI, A BOULAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Alexandrie : Imprimerie Française Mourès, Rey & Cie, 1864, p. 4. (*Avant-propos.*) • Christian Wilhelm Huber (1804-1871). Consul-General in Alexandria from 1850. ♦ For him, see: *Johanna Holaubek, Hana Navrátilová, Český egyptologický ústav. Egypt and Austria I: Proceedings of the Symposium: Czech Institute of Egyptology, August 31<sup>st</sup> to September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2004. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2005.*

<sup>659</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]-IV. ♦ See note<sup>658</sup> above. ♦ Luigi Vassalli. I monumenti storici egizi, il museo e gli scavi d’antichità eseguiti per ordine di S. A. il Vicerè Ismail Pascia, Notizia sommaria. Milano: Tipografia Guglielmini, 1867, pp. 143-4. (“Nelle dinastie posteriori si servirono di questi sotterranei per seppellirvi le mummie, le quali vennero pure sepolte intorno al tempio in una quantità di camere che i lavori misero a giorno. Forse appartenevano a varie famiglie sacerdotali addette al culto del tempio ; la maggior parte dei sarcofagi ivi trovati abbelliscono ora le sale del nostro museo. [...]”)(CAPITOLO DECIMO; TEBE, § II. Sponda sinistra del Nilo., pp. 120-49.)*

<sup>660</sup> See *Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier. Who was who in Egyptology. 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995, p. 424. ♦ Also: 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. 21. (pp. 1-78, + plates)(*Personalities that developed the Egyptian Museum* pp. 19-58.)*

became acquainted with Mariette, and became assistant to him c. 1853. He conducted many of Mariette's excavations, and was appointed Keeper of the Bulaq Museum in 1859, and remained the museums Keeper until 1883. It seems likely to me that we have here two men very closely connected to the discovery of the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu, namely Auguste Mariette and Luigi Vassalli. I believe that in 1883 by Vassalli's retirement, and by Mattéo Floris's death in 1884, and Mariette's death in 1881, there were none left at the museum who could have answered our questions concerning the discovery of Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele in details. If the details at that moment not had been secured for the future in writing – in the museums register books, or in other papers – they were now lost. But what about Émile Brugsch Bey, whom the Crowleys dined with in Cairo, could he not have been involved in the finding of the stele? In 1871, at the time when Mariette was preparing the publication of *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, Émile Brugsch Bey became assistant conservator in the Boulaq Museum. He had come to Egypt in 1870 as assistant to his brother Heinrich, but shortly after he became Mariette's assistant, owing to the reasons mentioned above.<sup>661</sup> So it is unlikely that Émile Brugsch Bey had anything to do with the find of Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele, but he could have known its provenance.

Regarding Mariette and Brugsch Bey, in 1881 Mariette was lying sick just before his death, when a message came from Thebes about a discovery of some mummies, which likely were royal mummies. Mariette was seriously ill, and Gaston Maspero had been appointed as his successor, but was in Paris when the message came. Heinrich Brugsch was in Cairo, but had to return to Germany. Mariette asked Émile Brugsch Bey to hurry to Thebes in order to secure the find for the museum before it was robbed; a find, which he hoped contained the one royal mummy, which he had searched for almost all his years in Egypt, namely the great Ramses II. Mariette is said to have asked Émile Brugsch Bey to continue his search for Ramses II if he died. When Émile Brugsch Bey later returned by steamer from Luxor with the mummy of Ramses II, together with 39 other royal mummies, Mariette had died without having heard about the find of Ramses II. The 40 royal mummies, which originally were buried in the Valley of the Kings, had been reburied in an 11th-dynasty shaft tomb at the southern end of Deir el-Bahari.<sup>662</sup> Among the mummies were Ahmose, the founder of the New Kingdom, Sety I, the second king of the nineteenth dynasty, and the father of Ramses II, and Thutmose III, the fifth king of the eighteenth dynasty. Mariette had died on January 19, 1881, and he was buried as a king, almost among the royal mummies, in a sarcophagus outside the Boulaq Museum. When the new Cairo Museum was built, he was moved to the garden of the museum. During the Crowleys stay in Cairo, a large ceremony took place in the garden of the museum, Thursday, March 17th, where a statue of Mariette Pasha by the French sculptor, Denys Pierre Puech (1854-1942), was revealed.<sup>663</sup> As to March 17th, so was it, as discussed above, the day when Fra. P. wrote in *The Book of Results*: "It is "all about the child." Also "all Osiris.""<sup>664</sup> – the day before, Wednesday, March 16th, He and Rose had moved into the apartment in Cairo, as Crowley later wrote in *Confessions*: "We had taken an apartment (address unascertained) on Wednesday, March 16th."<sup>665</sup> Regarding the royal mummies discovered by Émile Brugsch Bey in 1881, the two

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<sup>661</sup> For Émile Brugsch Bey, see note<sup>98</sup> above.

<sup>662</sup> See note<sup>586</sup> above.

<sup>663</sup> See: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. • Tome V, MDCCCIV (1904), pp. [54]-68. (*CÉRÉMONIE D'INAUGURATION DU MONUMENT ÉLEVÉ PAR LES SOINS DU GOUVERNEMENT ÉGYPTIEN À MARIETTE PACHA*, pp. [54]-68.)

<sup>664</sup> EG, p. 70. • For March 17, see note<sup>309</sup> above.

<sup>665</sup> *Confessions*, p. 293. • For March 16, see note<sup>269</sup> above.

British princes Albert Victor (1864-1892), and George of Wales (1865-1936), the later King George V, visited the year after the find, in March 1882, the “*Boolak Museum*”, and there Émile Brugsch Bey told them about his find, and a dream, as their later published journals etc. revealed:

*March 22nd. [1882] – Off directly after breakfast to the Boolak Museum, and went carefully once more over some of the most interesting objects there with [Émile] Brugsch Bey, especially his great mummy find. He told us how he did not sleep for two nights after the discovery of all these mummies, and of how, when he first saw the coffins of all these kings brought out from their hiding-place in the rock, and laid on the ground outside, and spelt out each of their names, it was as much as he could do to persuade himself he was not asleep and in a dream; and then how after, when he had got them all down to Cairo, and safely housed in the Boolak Museum, and had gone home to rest that night, he had the dream in which he saw the mummies all sitting on horseback, and galloping away from him as fast as they could go, all down the Shoobra Road: then just as it seemed as if he would never overtake them, round they all wheeled upon him, and chevied him back to the town, wielding this time their royal whips and their crooks over their heads, and pursuing him with angry glances and threatening gestures, for having disturbed their royal and ancient sleep.<sup>666</sup>*

The princes were on a two years cruise, 1879-82, with Her Majesty's Ship “*Bacchante*.” Shortly after, in July 1882, the Anglo-Egyptian War broke out. July 22 *The Academy* revealed that the Egyptian Minister of War Ahmad Urabi Pasha Al-misri (1839-1911), who also was known as Arabi, had plans of selling the Boulak Museum's collection to some European government:

*There is now no indiscretion in revealing what has long been known to the few – that Arabi Pasha had been contemplating the improvement of his finances by the sale of the Boolak Museum to some European Government. With this object he obtained some while ago an appraisalment of the value of its contents from M. Maspero.*

*Last of the archaeological staff of Cairo, Prof. Maspero still remains at Boolak. Herr Emil Brugsch, M. Vassalli, and the members of the French Archaeological College at Cairo are all gone; but the brave Director-General of Museums, who has seen military service in his day, refuses to abandon his trust. When last heard from he was living on board his steamer alongside the Boolak Museum, resolved not to quit his post. His position is believed to be one of extreme danger.<sup>667</sup>*

All this is long forgotten. Around the middle of September the same year the war was over. The rebels had laid down their arms, and all the important posts, and the army of the Egyptians were now in the hands of the English. The Khedive was now the supreme authority in civil matters, and the Boulak Museum was safe, and in the hands of Maspero.

Returning to the discussion of the stele's provenance, it must be said that the Theban Necropolis covers about a 9-square-kilometres area, so things are within a few kilometres. Qurna

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<sup>666</sup> The Cruise of Her Majesty's Ship “*Bacchante*.” 1879-1882. Compiled from the Private Journals, Letters, and Note-Books of Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales, with Additions by John N. Dalton. 2 vols. London, UK: Macmillan and Co., 1886. ♦ Vol. II. – The East., pp. 550-1. (*Cairo – Tombs of the Khalifs – [Foreigners in Egypt] – Alexandria*, pp. 546-57.) ♦ The mentioned Shoobra Road was the “*Drive*” and the “*Rotten Row*” of Cairo, a long and beautiful avenue of sycamores and acacias leading to the Palace of Shoobra some six miles from Boulaq – in the 1880's a dilapidated palace that once had been a luxurious home of Ibrahim Pasha, the eldest son of Mohammed Ali.

<sup>667</sup> *The Academy*. London, UK: The Academy. ♦ No. 533, New Series, Saturday, July 22, 1882, p. 73. (*EGYPTIAN JOTTINGS*, p. 73.) ♦ See also note<sup>708</sup> below.

(Gournah) and Deir el-Bahari are two widely different things – but having in common that they are close to each other. When speaking of Qurna it is important to know that in older terminology, Qurna referred to the area in the north-western part of the necropolis, around and including the mortuary Temple of Sety I, which also is referred to as the Temple of Qurna. This Qurna is sometimes also called Old Qurna, as opposed to Qurna, or new Qurna, a modern village located some 3 kilometres east of the necropolis. The word Qurna seems to deviate from el-Qurn, “*The Peak*”, which seems to refer to the mountain overlooking the Theban necropolis (482 metres above sea level). The hillside and the plain east of it – located in the centre of the Theban necropolis – was the main private cemetery during the New Kingdom.<sup>668</sup> In Guide1903 objects found there are said to be from Sheikh Abd el-Gurnah – which today mostly is written as Sheikh Abd-el-Qurna – and the hill is spoken of as “*the knoll of Sheikh Abd-el-Gurnah*”.<sup>669</sup> A going through of Guide1903 shows many items with the provenance of “*Gurnah*”, but I have so far only found two items where the provenance is specified, namely № 293, “*discovered [...] in the Temple of Menephtah [i.e. Merenptah]*”; and № 319, “*found [...] on the south of the Ramesseum*”.<sup>670</sup> In both these finds “*Gurnah*” means that they are found on the desert edge, a low silt-and-sand-covered limestone plain showing the remains of more than two dozen mortuary temples and shrines, and including the area of the Temple of Sety I from the nineteenth dynasty, the temple also known as the ‘Temple of Qurna’, located at the entrance to the valley of Deir el-Bahari some 2.5 kilometres south-east of the Valley Temple of Hatshepsut.<sup>671</sup> As late as 1861 the entrance to the temple was through a pylon, which has disappeared today, and the present entrance is by the colonnade of one of the hypæthral courts. The pillars, originally ten in number, are of the papyrus type with lotus-bud capitals, and the colonnade forms the entrance to the hypostyle hall. An engraving showing the pylon was made by the French Commission on the Sciences and Arts of Egypt during Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of in 1798.<sup>672</sup>

Here follows a short description of the Theban Necropolis by the man who found the funeral belongings of Ankh-af-na-khonsu there:

*On the left bank [of the Nile at Thebes], going from N.[orth] to S.[outh], are the temple of Goornah [French, Qournah], the temple of Deir-el-Bahari, the Rameseum, the Colossi, the temple of Deir-el-Medineh, and the temple of Medinet-Abou. Besides these there were other temples which adorned the left side of Thebes; but they are utterly demolished, and some among them have hardly left any traces by which their site may be ascertained. On the left bank are also to be found the various cemeteries of Thebes. Behind the temple of Goornah is that which is called Drah-Abou'l-neggah. In front of Deir-el-Bahari is a second necropolis called El-Assassif, and on the slope of the hills situated behind the Rameseum is another called Scheikh Abd-el-Goornah, and Goornah-Mourai. We may further mention the Valley of Queens and the two Valleys of Kings (Bab-el-Molouk), situated in the desert at some distance to the west.*<sup>673</sup>

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<sup>668</sup> In the hillside and the plain are found far more than 150 decorated tombs. • On this, see: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 3, pp. 105-10.

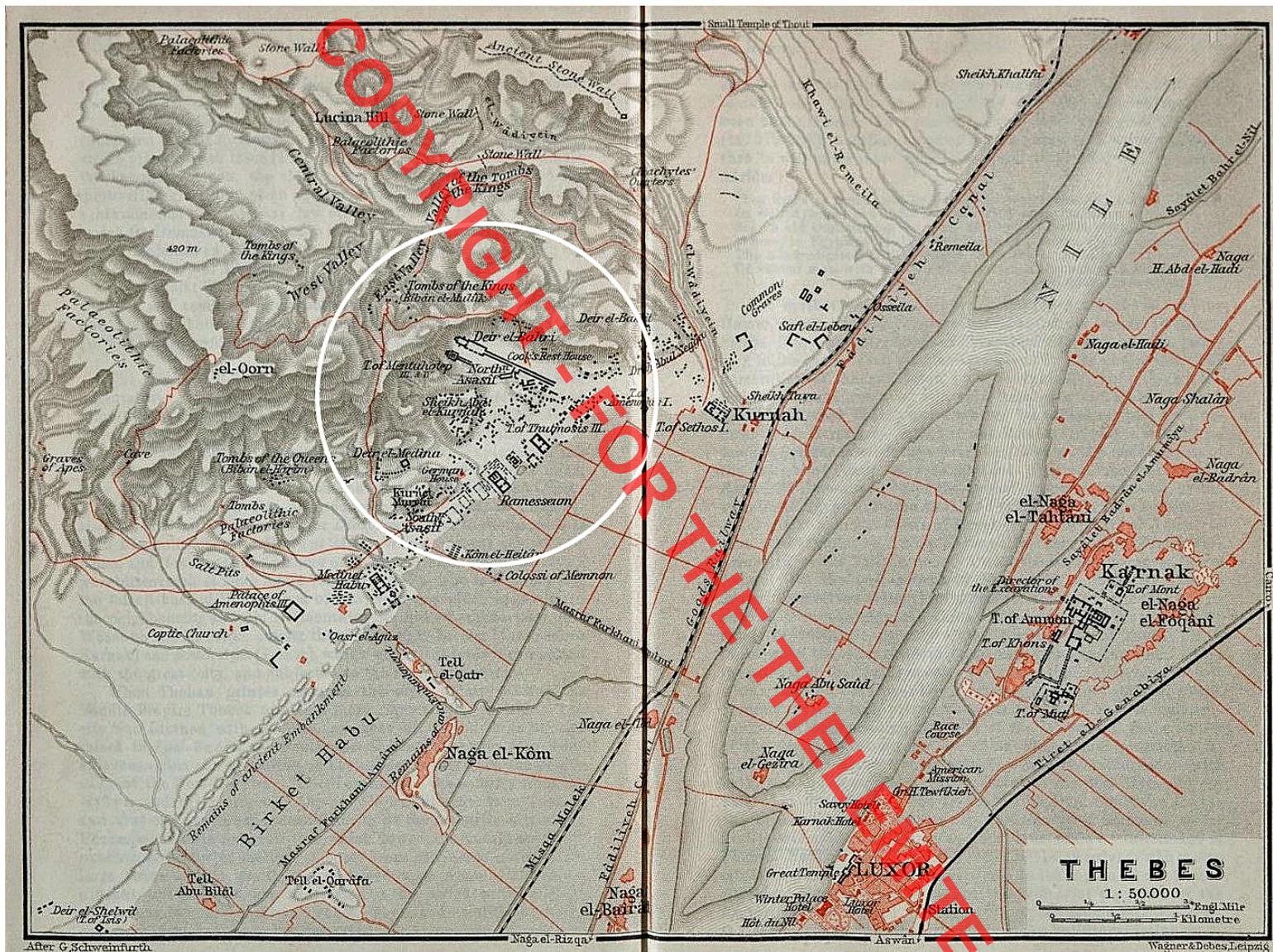
<sup>669</sup> Guide1903, p. 410.

<sup>670</sup> Ibid., p. 118 for № 293 and p. 129 for № 319. See note<sup>649</sup> above for a likely indirect specified provenance.

<sup>671</sup> Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Vol. 3, pp. 381-84. • Sety I, second king of the nineteenth dynasty in the New Kingdom, who reigned from 1314-1304 BCE.

<sup>672</sup> Description de l'Égypte. Seconde édition. Antiquités; Tome deuxième. Paris: Imprimerie de C. L. F. Panckoucke, MDCCCXXI (1821), Pl. 41; 42; 43. (*Thèbes. Qournah.*) • See also note<sup>96</sup> above.

<sup>673</sup> The Monuments of Upper Egypt. A translation of the “ITINÉRAIRE DE LA HAUTE ÉGYPTÉ” of Auguste Mariette-Bey by Alphonse Mariette. Alexandria and Cairo, Egypt : A. Mourès and London, UK: Trübner & Co., 1877, pp. 145-6. ♦



1910s German map of Thebes, Egypt. In the white circle are the Temple of “Deir el-Bahri” and the Temple of Mentuhotep, and to the right of the circle “Kurnah”, or Gournah, with the Temple of “Sethos I”, Sety I (r. 1314-1304 BCE), the second king of the nineteenth dynasty in the New Kingdom.



FIGURE 33. *The Temple of Qurna (Gournah)*

The Temple of Qurna at the Theban necropolis at the western bank of the River Nile. The mortuary temple, which was built in the nineteenth dynasty by Sety I, the father of Ramesses II, is located at the entrance to the valley of Deir el-Bahari, some 2.5 kilometres south-east of the Valley Temple of Hatshepsut. The temple's pylon has not survived and the entrance today is by the colonnade of one of the hypæthral courts. The seen colonnade, originally of ten pillars, forms the entrance to the hypostyle hall. 1900s black and white postcard. © Author's collection.

Luigi Vassalli – who as mentioned conducted many of Auguste Mariette’s excavations – writes about the tombs of Gournah that a part of them are carved in the hill, and another part in the plain, and that some of the latest tombs have the vertical well leading to the burial chamber, but that most have not:

*Le tombe di Gurnah sono scavate parte nella collina e parte nella pianura. Alcune delle ultime hanno il pozzo verticale che conduce alla camera sepolcrale, ma la maggior parte ne sono prive.*<sup>674</sup>

In fact, another double-sided stele was found at Gournah. Stelae inscribed on both sides are rather rare, but in 1896 the British Egyptologist Flinders Petrie<sup>675</sup> discovered one in the ruins of the temple of Merenptah at Gournah, and it became famous. This stele, made of black syenite, has the name of Israel ('Israelites') written on its reverse side, and this is the first mentioning of this name on an Egyptian monument. Flinders Petrie prophesied after he and a colleague after some problems succeeded in decoding the few hieroglyphs hiding the name: "This stele will be better known in the world than anything else I have found."<sup>676</sup> The stele, which became known as the Merenptah stele, or simply Israel Stele, was double-sided, since it had been erected by king Amenhotpe III (1410-1372 BCE) of the XVIIIth dynasty, but engraved on the reverse side in the XIXth dynasty by its fourth king Merenptah (1237-1226 BCE).<sup>677</sup> Sir Flinders Petrie is one of the giants of Egyptology. He pioneered systematic methods in archaeology, and by linking styles of pottery with time periods he was the first to use what is known as seriation, a scientific method of relative dating.

When was Ankh-af-na-khonsu’s stele excavated, and who was its excavator? The answer must be that it was found at the latest in 1871 in the light of its appearance in *Album du Musée de Boulaq* in 1872 whose photographs apparently were taken in 1871.<sup>678</sup> Leaving out of account the above given information from *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, so could the stele from a purely theoretical point of view have been part of the Khedive collection before Mariette’s time – a collection where pieces often were given away as gifts to foreign visitors – but for the fact that most of the remaining pieces of what was known as 'Mohammed 'Aly Egyptian Museum' under a visit of Archduke Maximilian of Austria in 1855, who had expressed his wish to get some of the antiquities, were given away and transferred to Austria in 1855 and 1866.<sup>679</sup> I consider the text in *Album du Musée de Boulaq* as an unmistakable indication of that the stele was found in the days of Mariette, by him or his staff, and that the first place it was exhibited was in the Boulaq Museum, or in the old mosque at Boulaq, which was Mariette’s first museum, and evidently the place where

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Alexandrie, Égypte: MOURÈS & C<sup>ie</sup>. Imprimeurs-Éditeurs, 1872, pp.169-70.

<sup>674</sup> *Luigi Vassalli*. I monumenti storici egizi, il museo e gli scavi d'antichità eseguiti per ordine di S. A. il Vicerè Ismail Pascia, Notizia sommaria. Milano: Tipografia Guglielmini, 1867, p. 128. (CAPITOLO DECIMO; TEBE, § II. Sponda sinistra del Nilo., pp. 120-49.)

<sup>675</sup> (Sir) William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853-1942).

<sup>676</sup> *Margaret Stefana Drower*. Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1985, p. 221.

<sup>677</sup> *Guide 1903*, pp. 150-1. (№ 397) • See also: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 2., p. 194.

<sup>678</sup> See note<sup>628</sup> above.

<sup>679</sup> *Dia' Abou-Ghazi*. The Eighty Anniversary of the Museum's Building. The First Egyptian Museum. ♦ *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1988, Tome LXVII, p. 9. (pp. 1-78, + plates)(*The First Egyptian Museum*, pp. 1-13.) • See note<sup>36</sup> above.

Ankh-af-na-khonsu's other funeral belongings from the 1858 find first were placed.<sup>680</sup> So the conclusion must be that the stele was found at the earliest in 1858, when Mariette was appointed as head of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, and at the latest when it was photographed for *Album du Musée de Boulaq*. However, as discussed above, the way the stele appears in the album could suggest that it was found just before the work on the album took place, around 1869-70.<sup>681</sup>

Regarding the label exhibited together with the stele – giving its number as “666”, and its provenance as “Gournah” – so is it clearly an old label maintained through the years by different curators, since it gave the information of the stele's finding place, and therefore, even in spite of that the stele was given new numbers, retained. I am fully convinced that this label was present when W. and Fra. P. visited the Cairo Museum, and its information is clearly used in the museum translations, which Fra. P. obtained in the museum.<sup>682</sup> This hand-written piece of pasteboard (see Figure 10) was present in the 1980s when I visited the museum.<sup>683</sup> The number “666” is printed on a sticker mounted to the card's upper left corner, and apparently a duplicate sticker (“666”) is attached to the stele's reverse upper lunette. In handwriting is written in black ink below the number on the card:

*Gournah — Stèle à double face du prêtre de Mentou ankh·f·n·khonsou. Bois. XXVI<sup>e</sup> dyn<sup>e</sup>*<sup>684</sup>

Gournah — Double-sided stele of the Priest of Mentou ankh·f·n·khonsou. Wood. XXVIth dynasty. It is important to note that the number “666” found on the label not is written in ink as the rest of the text, but printed on an attached sticker, and thus indicating that the holograph label and the sticker not necessarily is from the same time, and further that the sticker from a purely theoretical point of view could hide another number. As to the “ankh” (𓀀) in “ankh·f·n·khonsou”, in the catalogues from the Boulaq Museum and the Gizeh Museum we find it transliterated both as “ankh” and as “onkh”. These two transliterations reflect the Coptic word for ‘life’, ⲁⲛⲏ (aunh), the verb ‘live’, ⲁⲛⲏ (aunh), and some of its dialectic forms, ⲁⲛⲏⲃ (aunkh), ⲁⲛⲏⲃ (onkh).<sup>685</sup> Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832), the French founder and father of Egyptology, and the first person to decipher hieroglyphs since antiquity, had transcribed 𓀀 (“vie”, life) in Coptic letters as ⲁⲛⲏⲃ.<sup>686</sup> If we look at the catalogues from the Boulaq Museum published by Mariette it is significant that only the transliteration “ankh” is found, and it seems further, as far as I am aware, that he never used the transliteration “onkh” in his published works, apart from three times in *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, which he published in 1857, when he still was assistant curator at the Imperial Museum

<sup>680</sup> See note<sup>36</sup>, note<sup>46</sup>, note<sup>570</sup> and note<sup>571</sup> above.

<sup>681</sup> See also note<sup>642</sup> above.

<sup>682</sup> For the ‘museum translations’, see note<sup>102</sup> above and note<sup>4546</sup> below.

<sup>683</sup> This label, which is still attached to the stele (see FIGURE 10.), was to the left of the stele and to its right was a black label with the stele's official number “9422” in white (i.e. *Cairo A 9422*). • See note<sup>4548</sup> below.

<sup>684</sup> Regarding its provenance ‘Gournah’, see note<sup>4552</sup> and note<sup>4720</sup> below. • For the stele's dating, see note<sup>518</sup> and note<sup>626</sup> above and note<sup>4550</sup> below.

<sup>685</sup> For ⲁⲛⲏ and its dialectic forms, see: *W. E. Crum. A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford, UK: At the Clarendon Press, 1939, p. 525. (ⲁⲛⲏ)

<sup>686</sup> JEAN-FRANÇOIS CHAMPOLLION. GRAMMAIRE ÉGYPTIENNE DU PRINCIPES GÉNÉRAUX DE L'ÉCRITURE SACRÉE ÉGYPTIENNE. Paris, France : Typographie de Firmin Didot Frères, MDCCCXXXVI (1836), p. 61. • For Champollion, see note<sup>102</sup> above, and note<sup>1601</sup> below.



1900s photograph of a newly built Cairo Museum at Kasr en-Nil, where Ouarda the Seer during the Cairo Working discovered the 'Stélé of Revealing' in March 1904 E.V. © Author's collection.

of the Louvre.<sup>687</sup> It appears that “*onkh*” is introduced in the Boulaq Museum by the arrival of Maspero who uses it several times in transliteration of personal names in his Guide from 1883<sup>688</sup>, and there is no use at all of “*ankh*” in the book! In the first catalogue to the Gizeh Museum from 1892, where the stele shortly is described with the number “666”, together with the name “*Ankhefenkhonsou*”, “*onkh*” is only found a few times, and the spelling “*ankh*” chiefly used. In the French Guide to the new Cairo Museum, from 1902, “*ankh*” is only used. “*ankh*” is maintained in modern works, but now and again “*onkh*” is also found. That Maspero appears as the originator of the use of “*onkh*” in the Boulaq Museum, indicates that the old hand-written label “666” could date from his days together with Mariette in Boulak – Mariette was one of the few at the museum, probably together with Mattéo Floris, who knew where the stele came from, and there were apparently no written sources, which could give that information! As mentioned, there are some indications suggesting that the sticker on the stele with the number “666” originated in the Boulak Museum, and I believe that the number given to the stele dates from the days of its finder, Auguste Mariette. It is very important that the old label gives the stele’s provenance as “*Gournah*” – it must have been written by someone who knew that the stele came from this spot, and not Deir el-Bahari like the rest of Ankhefenkhons i’s funeral belongings, and it explains why the label has survived in the museums, since it gave its provenance, a provenance not registered in other places!

The numbers given to objects in the various editions of Mariette’s *Notice des Principaux Monuments*, seems to change constantly, concurrently with the growing collection.<sup>689</sup> Thus, it does not leave the impression that a number belonged to an item for long, and one should think that this exhibiting system must have called for a constant replacement of number labels in the exhibition. None of the catalogues from the Boulaq Museum published by Mariette list the stele of Ankhefenkhons (i). In Mariette’s first catalogue to the Boulaq Museum from 1864 the items in each room of the museum have their own numeration starting with No. 1. The largest room, “*Salle du Centre*”, has most items exhibited, and here is the highest number in the catalogue found, namely No. “440”.<sup>690</sup> In the next edition of the catalogue from 1869 are all the items in the catalogue (except in the Appendice) numbered in succession from 1 to 866.<sup>691</sup> Here is the number 666 in use for the first time, “652 à 678. – *Tanis.-Sân. Calcaire*”, a collection of eleven limestone faces.<sup>692</sup> It was, of course, only a small amount of the museum’s collection that were included in these catalogues, and many items were likely exhibited without number and explanation, and many were in store. It was thus only the principal items that were numbered and explained in these catalogues.

In *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq par Gaston Maspero*, from 1883, the numbers between 647 and 686 are not found – but likely in use.<sup>693</sup> This guide shows a rearranged collection assigned

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<sup>687</sup> *Auguste Mariette*. Le Sérapéum de Memphis. Paris: Gide, libraire-éditeur, 1857, pp. 20, 22. § VI. XXI<sup>e</sup> Dynastie – Sept Apis, pp. 17-23.)

<sup>688</sup> For an example, see note<sup>655</sup> above.

<sup>689</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D’ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES...A BOULAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. This guide appeared in six editions from 1864-76.

<sup>690</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D’ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE VICE-ROI, A BOULAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Alexandrie : Imprimerie Française Mourès, Rey & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1864, p. 178. (IV. *Salle du Centre* (N<sup>o</sup> 1 – N<sup>o</sup> 440), pp. 87-178.)

<sup>691</sup> NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D’ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE VICE-ROI A BOULAQ. PAR AUG. MARIETTE-BEY. TROISIÈME ÉDITION. PARIS: LIBRAIRIE A. FRANCK, 1869, N<sup>o</sup> 1 – N<sup>o</sup> 866, pp. 56-269.

<sup>692</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216. (*Salle de l’Ouest*, 652-678, p. 216)

<sup>693</sup> N<sup>o</sup> 647 on p. 426 and N<sup>o</sup> 686 on p. 429 in *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq par Gaston Maspero*. Boulaq au

to new numbers, but neither here is the stele listed. It seems that the collection throughout the years often were rearranged, and new numbering added by different directors or curators.<sup>694</sup> There is no proof of that the number “666” was the first more permanent number given to the stele that also was mounted to its surface, but it seems likely, I think. The two numbers, “666” and “4.784”, attached to its reverse upper lunette today are not present on the photographs found in *Album du Musée de Boulaq*.<sup>695</sup> When a find arrived at the museum it should as a principal rule be entered in the *Journal d'Entrée du Musée* – as is normal practice in all museums. In this register its provenance and excavation history were recorded, and the object received a museum entry number, ‘JE’. A look into the museum’s Official Catalogue of the more important exhibited monuments shows nevertheless, that many of the older finds lack this number. These monuments have normally various other numbers attached, but the missing JE-numbers shows that they not originally were entered into the *Journal d'Entrée du Musée*. As seen in the museum’s exhibition, so is the JE-number often marked directly on the monuments in black.<sup>696</sup> But, as mentioned above, the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu was not entered in the museum’s register books after its finding, so its excavation history and first numbering are missing.

As to new finds added to the collection of the Boulaq Museum, I notice that in 1885 Maspero started publishing a yearly list of new items in the museum in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*.<sup>697</sup> These lists, which were published from 1885-1887, gave the year, month, and place of finding of each new item. When we experience that Crowley later in a comment to *The Book of the Law* says, regarding the number 666, and the stele that:

*the actual name of the Stèle, its ordinary name, the only name it ever had until it was called the “stèle of revealing” in The Book of the Law itself, “its name” in the Catalogue of the Museum at Būlāq, was just this: “Stèle 666.”*<sup>698</sup>

then it seems true, inasmuch as the first number mounted on the stele probably was 666, as well as it was the number under which it first was registered in a museum catalogue. Fra. P. had, of course, most likely inquired about this numbering at the museum, since it happened to be his number. The number “666” followed the stele in the catalogues from the Gizeh Museum, and in

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Musée 1883. • See note<sup>700</sup>, note<sup>731</sup> and note<sup>4687</sup> below.

<sup>694</sup> See note<sup>4548</sup> above.

<sup>695</sup> The lunette is the space within the top curve of the stele. The second number seems to be “4.784”. This kind of number was once used in the museum and for instance has the wooden stele, Kairo A 9403, the number “3.025” attached to its front, and another wooden stele, Kairo A 9417, has the number “1.302” attached to its front. • Concerning the number “666”, see note<sup>684</sup> above.

<sup>696</sup> As seen today in the museum so are other kind of numbers found marked directly on the objects or found on various labels placed near them. For instance, is the number of the *Catalogue Général (GE)*, marked in red or white directly on the exhibit. • On these various numbers and their systems, see: *Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian*. Official Catalogue - The Egyptian Museum Cairo. Published by the Organisation of Egyptian Antiquities. The Arab Republic of Egypt. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1987, p. 12. • See also note<sup>4548</sup> below.

<sup>697</sup> *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*. Deuxième Série. - N° 6. Année 1885. Le Caire: Imprimerie nouvelle J. Barbier, 1886, Annexes - Extrait de l'inventaire du Musée de Boulaq, par M. Maspero, pp. I-XL.

<sup>698</sup> Commentary to chapter III, verse 19, of *The Book of the Law* and written in 1921 E.V. at the Abbey of Thelema in Cefalù, Sicily. Quoted from: *Aleister Crowley*. *The Law is for All*. The Authorized Popular Commentary on Liber AL vel Legis sub figura CCXX, *The Book of the Law*. Edited by Louis Wilkinson and Hymenaeus Beta. Tempe, AZ: New Falcon Publications, 1996, p. 160. See also note<sup>4581</sup> and note<sup>4688</sup> below.

some of the catalogues from the new Cairo Museum. However, in his preface to the second and third edition of *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, published 1905 E.V. and 1906 E.V., Maspero wrote:

[...] *I hope to revise the description of the upper floor when the classification of the objects there is completed.*<sup>699</sup>

As discussed above, through the years the items exhibited in the Boulaq Museum received several numbers, numbers which were only loosely associated with their objects, and it seems that this practice first changed around the time when the collection was transferred to Gizeh, where the objects received more permanent numbering. The numbering applied to the collection by Maspero in his 1883 guide was meant, it seems, to be a more permanent numbering, but the objects received new numbers in the Gizeh Museum. As mentioned, my guess is that the holograph label together with the gray-blue stickers with the number "666", which were glued to both the holograph label and the lunette on the back of the stele dates from the days of Auguste Mariette in Boulak. As mentioned, so are the numbers between 647 and 686 – and thus the number "666" – not found belonging to any objects described in Maspero's 1883 guide to the Boulaq Museum, but these numbers were very likely in use. We know that new numbers were supplied in the Gizeh Museum, but one cannot exclude the possibility that some of the numbers given to objects in Boulak were maintained in Gizeh.<sup>700</sup> As we have seen, so was the current catalogue to the Cairo Museum when W. and Fra. P. visited it Guide 1903, the English translation of the French Guide by Maspero from 1902, where the stele's name was "(N<sup>o</sup> 666)", and when Fra. P. later wrote that its name "*was just this: "Stèle 666."*", then he is quoting its exact name as given by the official(s) at the museum who made the translations that he obtained in 1904 E.V..<sup>701</sup> It shall also be mentioned that in 1904 a supplement titled "*The Egyptian Museum at Cairo*" was published and issued 'gratis' with the 1902 fifth remodelled edition of Baedeker's *Egypt. Handbook for Travellers*, however, I have not been able to examine a copy of this rare supplement, which was inserted loose. Many travellers bought a copy of Baedeker's handbook, however, it is somehow unlikely that the Crowleys did – the newest edition in 1904 E.V. was, as mentioned, the fifth remodelled edition.<sup>702</sup>

We might expect that Mariette in connection with the find of the stele had a kind of registration, or some notes concerning the find – excavating information, which he likely, when he could spare the time had planned to enter into the '*Journal d'entrée du Musée*', and also maybe use in his guide to the museum. The same goes for the 1858 find at Deir el-Bahari of sarcophagi and coffins. (As mentioned above, the very first item (N<sup>o</sup> "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.*") Being an archaeologist, he most likely kept a form of diary in notebooks, which we should expect could give us some answers regarding the provenance of Ankh-af-na-khonsu's belongings, as well as give other information of inestimable importance regarding his and his collaborators many finds, which

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<sup>699</sup> Gaston Maspero. *Guide to the Cairo Museum*. Translated by J. E. and A. A. Quibell. Second Edition. Cairo: Printing-office of the French Institute of Oriental Archæology, 1905, p. VI. (*Preface*, pp. III-VII.) • *Ibid.*, Third Edition. Cairo: Printing-office of the French Institute of Oriental Archæology, 1906, p. VII. (*Preface*, pp. [V]-VIII.) • See also note<sup>695</sup> above and note<sup>4548</sup> and note<sup>4698</sup> below.

<sup>700</sup> See note<sup>693</sup> above and note<sup>731</sup> and note<sup>4687</sup> below.

<sup>701</sup> As I shall discuss below, so was the two papers obtained by Crowley from the Cairo Museum both titled « *Stèle 666* » • See also note<sup>4688</sup> below.

<sup>702</sup> *Karl Baedeker*. *Egypt. Handbook for Travellers*. Fifth Remodelled Edition. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1902.

founded the main Egyptological museum in the world. However, in 1878 his house at Boulak was flooded, and most of his papers were destroyed!<sup>703</sup> This was a catastrophe for Mariette and his work, and for Egyptology in general. The sixth edition of *Notice des Principaux Monuments...*, 1876, and *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, 1872, were the last books of their kind from his hand, before Gaston Maspero took over as Director of the Boulak Museum, and produced the new guide to the museum in 1883.<sup>704</sup> Sadly, a lot of important knowledge seems to have been destroyed in the flooding of Mariette's home. As to unregistered objects in the Cairo Museum, the museum's 3000 square metres basement is filled with objects, which are mostly unregistered – finds that has fallen into oblivion, but now are being rediscovered and registered. The Boulaq Museum was also flooded in 1878, and Mariette had of course known all along that it was to be expected at the Nile's bank, and had worked for another location for the museum for some time – as mentioned, there was a depth of not less than 22 metres of water just outside the museum's walls, and there was fear of that the whole building could be swept away by a Nile flood.<sup>705</sup> However, the English weekly review *The Academy* wrote, July 26, 1879:

*The Boulak Museum, which has been for some time closed to the public, is being raised forty centimetres, and other precautions are being taken to render it secure against the attacks of future high Niles.*<sup>706</sup>

– nonetheless, these initiatives were stopgap solutions, and it was necessary to find a new location for the museum. The English weekly magazine *The Athenæum; A Journal of Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music, and the Drama*, wrote years later, in 1887, while Gaston Maspero was Director, concerning the museum, and its problems:

*The Minister of Public Works has lately addressed a report to the Egyptian Council of Ministers of sufficient importance to demand immediate consideration from that body. The report calls attention to the peril in which the Boulaq Museum stands, from the contiguity of certain buildings belonging to Daira of Gelal Pasha; these are comprised in a piece of ground adjoining the museum on the north side. The Minister points out that the danger is twofold: from fire and robbers, the latter owing to the facilities afforded by the terraces of the building to gain access to the museum. Obviously the museum should be isolated. It is at present clear on the south side, the garden front; the east and west face towards the street and the Nile; the report suggests that the Daira ground should be purchased and assigned to the museum. The superficies of this plot is about 2,680 square metres, and to obtain the necessary funds the Minister proposes that permission be given to sell a piece of ground in the neighbourhood belonging to the museum. As to the propriety of the latter proposal we can offer no opinion, but respecting the acquisition of the Daira ground and the isolation of the museum, there can be no doubt that these objects should be accomplished without*

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<sup>703</sup> See: Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier. *Who was who in Egyptology*. 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995, p. 276. • See note<sup>55</sup> and note<sup>588</sup> above.

<sup>704</sup> *Dia' Abou-Ghazi*. The Eighty Anniversary of the Museum's Building. The Museum's Guides and Catalogues. ♦ *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1988, Tome LXVII, pp. 59-60. (pp. 1-78, + plates)(*The Museum's Guides and Catalogues*, pp. 59-74.) • See also note<sup>689</sup> above.

<sup>705</sup> See note<sup>112</sup> above.

<sup>706</sup> *The Academy; A Weekly Review of Literature, Science, and Art*. London, UK: The Academy. ♦ Vol. XVI, No. 377, Saturday, July 26, 1879, p. 67. (*NOTES FROM EGYPT*, by ROLAND L. N. MICHELL, p. 67.)

delay. Another question, still more grave, has long arrested the attention of those interested in the art of ancient Egypt, namely, whether the museum should be retained on its present site. The Nile has once invaded its halls; and even if it should not do so again, the proximity to the river involves a constant humidity that has already done serious damage to the more tender and fragile objects of the collection. It is easy to see how such an unfortunate position was originally chosen, on account of the saving of expense in the transport of colossal granite statues and sarcophagi, which can there without difficulty be landed from ships or steamers at the grounds of the museum. But there are other and less bulky objects, of equal or greater importance, that could very readily be removed to some locality in the city of Cairo, out of the reach of damp, and far more accessible to students and visitors, none of whom reside at Boulaq. As at present constituted the museum is of the smallest service to students, and is simply bewildering to the general visitor. Indeed, a distinguished Egyptologist and conservator of a continental museum makes no secret of his opinion, that in the interest of science it would be most desirable to remove the larger portion of the collection to London, where it would receive adequate presentation and systematic classification in the galleries of the British Museum.<sup>707</sup>

As mentioned above, before the Anglo-Egyptian War in 1882 Arabi Pasha had been contemplating the improvement of his finances by the sale of the Boulaq Museum to some European Government.<sup>708</sup> After the Anglo-Egyptian War Egypt was in the hands of the British, however, the museum was in the hands of the French!

After the Boulaq Museum's transfer to the larger premises at Gizeh the stele appears in the guide to this new museum, and with the number 666 attached to it. How is that? The Boulaq Museum was, as seen above, eventually lacking room. There was a very great increase of items throughout the years. Consequently a part of the collection was in store – perhaps, as mentioned, in the building at the Ezbekiyeh Gardens, which had housed a collection before the Boulaq Museum was founded.<sup>709</sup> An addition was built to the Museum in order to receive the royal mummies discovered at Deir el-Bahari in 1881, and several rooms had previous to the building of this addition been enlarged, so that most of the treasures, which had been stored in magazines, now became exhibited. The arrangement of the museum was entirely altered, and the new guide published by Maspero in 1883.<sup>710</sup> But only a few years later, in 1886, the museum was almost full, and the passing through the collection difficult, so new magazines were built, but finally in 1889, there was no more space available, either in the museum, or in magazines.<sup>711</sup> With regard to storing, I found a notice in the scientific journal *Nature* from 1879 saying that:

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<sup>707</sup> The Athenæum; Journal of Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music, And the Drama. London, UK: The Athenæum. ♦ No. 3125, Saturday, September 17, 1887, p. 379. (*The Boulaq Museum*, p. 379.)

<sup>708</sup> See note<sup>667</sup> above.

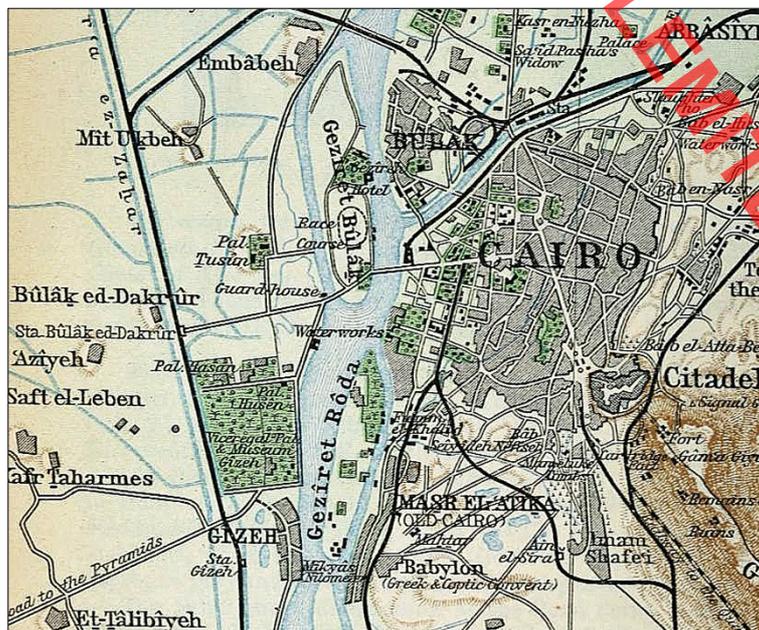
<sup>709</sup> See note<sup>37</sup> above.

<sup>710</sup> "The arrangement of the museum has recently been entirely altered, and most of the treasures formerly stored in the magazines have now found a place in the building itself. Several of the rooms have been enlarged and an addition has been built to receive the objects found at Dêr el-Bahri, near Thebes, in 1881. Prof. Maspero has also caused a room to be fitted up for monuments of the Greek, Roman, and Coptic periods." In: Egypt. Handbook for Travellers. Edited by K. Baedeker. Part First: Lower Egypt, with the Fayûm and the Peninsula of Sinai. Second Edition. Revised and augmented. Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1885, p. 295.

<sup>711</sup> *Dia' Abou-Ghazi*. The Eighty Anniversary of the Museum's Building. The Journey of the Egyptian Museum from Boulaq to K̄asr el-Nil. ♦ *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Le Caire : Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1988, Tome LXVII, p. 15. (pp. 1-78, + plates)(*The Journey of the Egyptian Museum from Boulaq to K̄asr el-Nil*, pp. 15-7.)



The Gizeh Museum – North front.



Baedeker Map, 1898 – "Viceregal Pal. & Museum Gizeh" to the left.

*The well-known Boulak Museum at Cairo has been undergoing repairs, and the fine collection was deposited in a neighbouring warehouse under what seemed proper guardianship. But, the Times correspondent writes, robbers the other day broke in through the roof, and they must have been robbers of a certain rank of intellect, for some 80 or 100 scarabees of great value pecuniarily, and impossible to replace, as they related to the early dynasties, were abstracted, although they were things of no apparent worth to an ignorant person.*<sup>712</sup>

Tomb-robbers had thus found their way also to the greatest tomb. The mentioned repairs, which also had extended the museum, were of course owing to the 1878 flooding, where many objects were washed away, and, as mentioned above, so were over 350 stelae, apparently wooden stelae, destroyed!<sup>713</sup>

The rearranged Boulak Museum exhibited in *Salle funéraire* some of the sarcophagi and coffins from Mariette's 1858 find.<sup>714</sup> Maspero says concerning the belongings of these priests of Mentu found by Mariette, that many of this colorful series with its many scenes, ornaments and legends, not have been exposed owing to lack of space in the museum, but that they are available to scholars who wants to study them in the museums magazines.<sup>715</sup> Moret also says in his publication of the sarcophagi of these priests, that most of them were in stores in the days of Boulak and Gizeh.<sup>716</sup> There was no mention of other objects belonging to the priests in the 1883 guide, but they could well have been exhibited without being mentioned, as I have seen some instances of. My guess is that the stele during the last years in Boulak had been in store. Hence the quick appearance of it in *Notice des Principaux Monuments Exposés au Musée de Gizeh* in 1892<sup>717</sup>, after the remove of the collection to a much larger building (Figure 3). We know from a note in the American bimonthly magazine *The Andover Review*, that thirty-eight rooms of the palace contained antiquities in the winter of 1891-92, and that some eighty-five were opened in 1892-93.<sup>718</sup> The first edition of the museum's catalogue, was the work of Eugène Grébaut<sup>719</sup>, and Georges Emile Jules

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<sup>712</sup> Nature – A Weekly Illustrated Journal of Science. London, UK and New York, NY: Nature Publishing Group, Macmillan and Co. ♦ Volume XXI. No. 528, 11 December, 1879, p. 140. (*Miscellany*, pp. 139-40.) ♦ Concerning scarabs see note<sup>1194</sup> below.

<sup>713</sup> See note<sup>588</sup> above. ♦ Also: *Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian*. Official Catalogue – The Egyptian Museum Cairo. Published by the Organisation of Egyptian Antiquities. The Arab Republic of Egypt. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1987.

<sup>714</sup> Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulak par Gaston Maspero. Boulak au Musée, 1883, pp. 310-4. ♦ This is also mentioned by Baedeker: "[...] *the Salle Funeraire, which contains wooden sarcophagi from Thebes, chiefly belonging to the priests of Mentu, [...]*". In: *Egypt. Handbook for Travellers*. Edited by K. Baedeker. Part First: Lower Egypt, with the Fayûm and the Peninsula of Sinai. Second Edition. Revised and augmented. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1885, p. 308.

<sup>715</sup> Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulak par Gaston Maspero. Boulak au Musée, 1883, pp. 313-4. (*Salle du Centre*)

<sup>716</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].

<sup>717</sup> *Notice des Principaux Monuments Exposés au Musée de Gizeh*. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892, p. 165. (*Premier Étage, Salle 59, Cage M.*) See note<sup>63</sup> and note<sup>79</sup> above.

<sup>718</sup> *The Andover Review; A Religious and Theological Bi-Monthly*. Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. ♦ Vol. XIX, No. CXI, May-June, 1893, p. 341. (*Archæological Notes*, pp. 338-48.)

<sup>719</sup> Eugène Grébaut (1846-1915). French Egyptologist. Succeeded Maspero as Director of the Egyptian Antiquities Service in 1886. He resigned in 1892. ♦ For this, see: *Ann Rosalie David*. The Experience of Ancient Egypt. London: Routledge, 2000, p. 126. ♦ Also: *Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier*. Who was who in Egyptology. 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995, pp. 176-7. ♦ See note<sup>4537</sup> below.

Daressy.<sup>720</sup> Grébaut, Maspero's successor, who had carried out the removing of the Boulaq Museum's collection to the Gizeh Museum, becoming its first Director, resigned the same year.<sup>721</sup> In other words, the short description of the stele was done by one of these two men, and as I shall discuss later, so was Georges Daressy the Cairo Museum's 'French assistant curator' in 1904 E.V., when Rose and Fra. P. visited the museum.<sup>722</sup>

Further, it seems that Ankh-af-na-khonsu's great sarcophagus, like his stele, turns up for the first time in this first catalogue published by the Gizeh Museum. In "Salle 88" are found № 1287-1290, four rectangular, painted wooden coffins with arched lids, and with the provenance "Thèbes (Deir-el-Bahari)", and here № 1290 – *Ankhfenkhonsou*, most likely is Ankh-af-na-khonsu's great sarcophagus, CGC 41001. № 1289 – *Nesamen*, seems to be his son's sarcophagus CGC 41002, and № 1287 – *Taamenshapenankh*, likely CGC 41019, and № 1288 – *Tabadjat*, maybe CGC 41009.<sup>723</sup> There are probably also other coffins from the 1858 find exhibited, since the catalogue mentions some other wooden sarcophagi with the same provenance as the four described.<sup>724</sup>

Was the stele exhibited when Maspero produced *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*<sup>725</sup> in 1883? If exhibited then could the reason why it not was mentioned in this guide be owing to that Maspero's guide, as a notice stated, was a guide for the general visitor, and not the expert who was invited to the director's office, where a card-catalog and other records of the excavations were kept. In this context I wish to remark that objects showing rarities were obvious at a premium among curators and directors, both in connection with exhibition and publication, but to the general visitor more stately and instructive monuments, and objects of royal provenance were of course of greater interest. This also seems to answer why a rarity like Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele first later was included in guides and catalogues. Regarding provenance, it seems that at the time when Maspero became director in the Boulaq Museum, the provenance and other details on a find had become very important, and when he became director of the Cairo Museum this information was almost as important as the find itself. Lack of data on an object had become scientific problematic. To the Egyptologist information on provenance etc. was of great importance from a scholarly point of view, since much new knowledge could be gained from such information, for instance, when objects with the same provenance could be compared. This was a great change for the museum that research had become more important than collecting and exhibition, and this process was, of course, started by Mariette, and his founding of the first national museum of

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<sup>720</sup> *Dia' Abou-Ghazi*. The Eighty Anniversary of the Museum's Building. The Museum's Guides and Catalogues. ♦ *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1988, Tome LXVII, p. 60. (pp. 1-78, + plates)(*The Museum's Guides and Catalogues*, pp. 59-74.) See note<sup>63</sup> above and note<sup>4536</sup> and note<sup>4538</sup> below.

<sup>721</sup> "Troubled by work, resigned in 1892." Ibid., Personalities that developed the Egyptian Museum, p. 26., (*Personalities that developed the Egyptian Museum*, pp. 19-58.) • See also note<sup>63</sup> and note<sup>719</sup> above.

<sup>722</sup> See note<sup>4535</sup> below.

<sup>723</sup> Notice des Principaux Monuments Exposés au Musée de Gizeh. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892, p. 328. (*Rez de chaussée, Salle 88*) • For the sarcophagi CGC 41001-CGC 41019, see: *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. • For Gauthier's guess on a coffin in the Boulaq Museum's catalogue from 1872, which he believes is Ankh-af-na-khonsu's inner coffin, see note<sup>4626</sup> below. • See also note<sup>656</sup> above and note<sup>4708</sup> below.

<sup>724</sup> Notice des Principaux Monuments Exposés au Musée de Gizeh. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892, p. 328. (*Rez de chaussée, Salle 88*)

<sup>725</sup> *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq* par Gaston Maspero. Boulaq: Au Musée, 1883.

Egypt. But provenance had no importance at all to the antique dealers in those days<sup>726</sup> – the latter have changed their opinion, both regarding archaeological specimens and other objects. Today provenance has become a much-coveted spice. Provenance is actually a very Egyptian term. I feel tempted to say that ancient Egypt in a manner of speaking was founded on provenance, inasmuch as their religion, and cosmology was a great card-catalog, which gave the provenance on everything from god to man, and from heaven to underworld!

In my search for the stele, and the other Mentu priests's stelae in a Boulaq Museum headed by Maspero, and rearranged according to his guide from 1883, I witness that persistence bears fruit! On reading Baedeker's handbook for Lower Egypt from 1885, I find an interesting mentioning of a stele. In the section dealing with the Boulaq Museum, is a description of a wooden stele exhibited in "Salle du Centre", and described as:

*Cabinet J. [...] 1558. Wooden Stele, with wonderfully preserved gilding and colouring; the scene represents a priest of Mentu in adoration before Harmachis and Tum.*<sup>727</sup>

This stele is not found described in Maspero's new guide to the museum from 1883, and this guide was of course the current guide at the time of the description, as also stated in Baedeker's handbook. The book's preface shows, that the information on the stele likely was provided by the museum's keeper, Émile Brugsch Bey.<sup>728</sup> As described, the arrangement of the museum had been entirely altered, and the new Catalogue by Maspero published – matters, which also are described in Baedeker's book. The number "1558" is not found in Maspero's guide, but clearly a number in use, and the description of the items in "Armoires J, K, L."<sup>729</sup> does not reveal the stele either, but it appears that only a fraction of the content of these three cupboards are described. It seems that especially the gilding of this beautiful stele has attracted attention, and this brings us in a very favourable position, since its description almost certainly points to one specific stele, namely the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu's son, Nes-Amon ii, who he had with Neskhons i!<sup>730</sup> That this stele is exhibited in the first of three cupboards in which, only a few items are found described in Maspero's 1883 guide, to me highly suggest that his father's stele in all likelihood also was present in one of these three cupboards.<sup>731</sup> As I shall discuss later, so was the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu published in 1968 E.V. by the Egyptian Egyptologist Abd el Hamid Zayed (1915-)<sup>732</sup>, in an article that also published other painted wooden stelae belonging to persons attached to the cult of Mentu

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<sup>726</sup> This is unfortunately a fact which becomes very clear when looking at museum collections all over the world.

<sup>727</sup> Egypt. Handbook for Travellers. Edited by K. Baedeker. Part First: Lower Egypt, with the Fayûm and the Peninsula of Sinai. Second Edition. Revised and augmented. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1885, pp. 300-1. • A going through the catalogues published by Mariette, the first guide to the Gizeh Museum (1892) and the French guide to the new Cairo Museum from 1902 does not reveal the stele, nor does other editions of Baedeker's handbooks.

<sup>728</sup> Ibid., Preface [p. v].

<sup>729</sup> Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq par Gaston Maspero. Boulaq: Au Musée, 1883, pp. 145-7. (*Salle du Centre, Armoires J, K, L.*)

<sup>730</sup> For this, see note<sup>554</sup> above. • By the evidence of Nes-Amon ii's coffins it is suggested by John H. Taylor that his death took place in c. 675-650 BCE. • 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 LIX, Number 117/1984, p. 29. (Pp. 27-57.) • See also note<sup>557</sup> above.

<sup>731</sup> See note<sup>638</sup>, note<sup>693</sup> and note<sup>700</sup> above.

<sup>732</sup> Pioneering Egyptian archaeologist who introduced the science of museology (the science of museum design, organization and management) to Egypt. Professor of Ancient History at Cairo University. Has written several archaeological articles and books both in Arabic and English.

and Amun. Among these stelae was Nes-Amon's stele, "private No. 9900", (i.e. Cairo A 9900), published with the statement that it was found at Gourna!<sup>733</sup> This stele is today, like the 'Stèle of Revealing', exhibited at the Cairo Museum's upper floor in Room 22.<sup>734</sup> Nes-Amon's sarcophagus (CGC 41002), and his coffin (CGC 41044), were published together with Ankh-af-na-khonsu's by Moret and Gauthier in 1913 E.V.. Zayed says concerning the stele of Nes-Amon, that it is "A beautiful and well-preserved round-topped stela of painted and gilded wood, found at Gourna."<sup>735</sup> This stele, which has a double scene showing Nes-Amon worshipping to the left Atum, and to the right Ra-Horakhty, has its principal figures and inscriptions rendered in incised sheet gold.<sup>736</sup> The adoration hymns on the stele are beautiful, and especially the one to the left, below Atum:

*He [i.e. Nes-Amon] adores Atum in the evening: Welcome, Welcome, mayst thou land in peace, O Ruty [i.e. the double lion-god, Rwtj], secret and concealed, shining forth in Nun, in Nun; thy beams, they penetrate the earth; those who are in the Duat receive thee joyfully. May thy beautiful face be pleased with the sm3-priest of Thebes [𓂏𓂐] Nes-Amon.*<sup>737</sup>

We have here the splendid mentioning of Atum, the creator of the Ennead, who for a while returns to the dark, primeval waters, the secrets of the god Nun, wherefrom he comes forth again, showing his beautiful face to the inhabitants of the Duat, the netherworld. To the Ancient Egyptians this was their cycle of stability, which on the one hand was that yesterday always became tomorrow through the journey of the sun – the great task for the sun-god – and on the other hand was the continuation of a united Upper and Lower Egypt under one king, which was the great task for the son of Ra, the Pharaoh! Those apart from the gods whom the ancient Egyptians venerated most of all, and never forgot, or erased from walls, or memories, were the few great kings who had succeeded in uniting a divided Egypt. This also brings, I think, a new dimension to the meaning of the word Pharaoh, which in Egyptian was *Pr-ꜥ3*, Per-o, the 'great house'. The king was the chief priest in that temple, which was the 'Great House', or Egypt, and in his lifetime he was, in fact, as the kings of Egypt later thus was called, a personification of this great house, or temple. There is another symbol, which belongs in this connection, namely the winged sun, Behdety<sup>738</sup> – the royal god whose image was found above the Pylon, thus signifying

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<sup>733</sup> Revue d'égyptologie. Publiée par la Société française d'égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie National. ♦ Tome 20, 1968, pp. 166-8; Pl. 15, B. (Stela N° XIII). (*Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid Zayed*, pp. 149-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B) pp. 166-8. Pl. 15, B. (Stela N° XIII). ♦ For Zayed's article and the publication of Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele, see note<sup>4544</sup> below. ♦ The stele is referred to in later references as (Stele) 'Cairo A 9900' or 'Kairo A 9900' ♦ For Nes-Amun's stele, see also note<sup>4614</sup> below. ♦ Besides the black and white photograph of Nes-Amun's stele in Zayed's publication there is recently published a colour photograph of the stele in a book published by the American University in Cairo Press. However, the explaining text to this photograph gives erroneously the owners name as "Ankhefenkhonsu [sic]". The rest of the information seems faithful: "184. The stela of Ankhefenkhonsu | Wood, gold leaf; Qurnah [...]" ♦ Farid S. Atiya, *Abeer El-Shahawy*. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo: A Walk Through the Alleys of Ancient Egypt. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005, pp. 275-6. (184. The stela of Ankhefenkhonsu)

<sup>734</sup> See note<sup>561</sup> above.

<sup>735</sup> Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>736</sup> Ibid., pp. 166-7.

<sup>737</sup> Revue d'égyptologie. Publiée par la Société française d'égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie National. ♦ Tome 20, 1968, p. 168. (*Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid Zayed*, pp. 149-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B)

<sup>738</sup> *Bhdty*, "He of Behdety", i.e. Horus of Edfu. ♦ On the winged sun and Behdety, see note<sup>4666</sup> below. ♦ In Greek times Behdety was called Apollonopolis Magna (in Greek 'Megale') owing to the association of Horus with Apollo.

that it revealed the temple of a united Egypt, the two wings united by the sun in their midst! There were, in fact, two towns called Behdety – a northern one in the Delta in Lower Egypt, and a southern one at the site of Edfu in Upper Egypt, and at an early time the borders of the ‘Great House’, which was Egypt, laid between these two towns.<sup>739</sup>

Worth noting regarding Nes-Amun’s stele is also, that his father’s name the four times it appears in the text on the stele is written as *ḥnh-f-ḥnsw* [sic], i.e. “*Ankh-f-khonsu*”.<sup>740</sup> This makes one wonder if this is the right Ankh-af-na-khonsu, i.e., Ankhefenkhons i, who was married to Nes-Khons, i.e., Neskhons i, and who was the mother of Nes-Amun, i.e., Nesamun ii, but found on Nes-Amun’s coffin (CGC 41044) is his whole genealogy stated once, and all agree!<sup>741</sup> At first sight this use of “*Ankh-f-khonsu*” looks like an artist’s blunder, but when looking at Nes-Amun’s sarcophagus and coffin, strangely enough, it turns out that both items have the name written as “*Ankh-f-n-Khonsu*” to begin with, and then the two almost alternates!<sup>742</sup> One might wonder if this instead of being an error in writing covers up some kind of accepted practice in this case, since when done so consistently one should expect a specific explanation. Gauthier dispense with it at last, and stops writing [sic] after it. Moret makes no annotation at all. It is most significant that an examination of Ankh-af-na-khonsu’s sarcophagi and coffins uncover the same practice, as found on Nes-Amun’s belongings. In the start of the inscriptions his name is written as , *ḥnh-f-ḥnsw*, “*Ankh-f-n-Khonsu*”, but later on several variations of the name occurs. This is normal, inasmuch as, that hieroglyphs used to spell a word can be more or less spelt in full, as seen, for instance, in the writing of the word “life”, which can be done just by using the sign  (*ḥnh*) or by spelling it out as  (*ḥnh*). On his sarcophagi and coffins are found what may be transliterated as *ḥnh-f-ḥnsw*, “*Ankh-f-n-Khonsu*” written in at least nine different ways, more or less shortened, or spelt in full, and by use of various hieroglyphs. On his great sarcophagus we find, in fact, the spelling *ḥnh-f-ḥnsw* [sic], i.e., “*Ankh-f-khonsu*”<sup>743</sup>, but also once the spelling *ḥnh-n-ḥnsw* [sic], i.e., “*Ankh-n-khonsu*”!<sup>744</sup> On his smaller sarcophagus “*Ankh-f-khonsu*” is found twice.<sup>745</sup> And his inner coffin has “*Ankh-f-khonsu*” written in three places<sup>746</sup>, and furthermore, it has the very special form of , which also is equal to *ḥnh-f-ḥnsw*.<sup>747</sup> This special form is also found once on the inner

<sup>739</sup> On ‘lower’ and ‘upper’ Behdety, see, e.g.: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 3, p. 468.

<sup>740</sup> This name is not found in: Hermann Ranke. Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Bd. I-III. Glückstadt: Verlag von J. J. Augustin, 1935-77.

<sup>741</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. 38.

<sup>742</sup> See: 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. 38-61. (*Catal. du Musée No 41002*) • 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. 31-74. (*Catal. du Musée No 41044*)

<sup>743</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. 18. (Once)(*Catal. du Musée No 41001*)

<sup>744</sup> Ibid., p. 17. (*Catal. du Musée No 41001*)

<sup>745</sup> Ibid., p. 34. (*Catal. du Musée No 41001 bis*)

<sup>746</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., pp. 17 ; 21. (*Catal. du Musée No 41042*)

<sup>747</sup> Ibid., p. 5. (*Catal. du Musée No 41042*) The sign  which depicts a little piece of ‘flesh’ seems to have been printed

coffin written as  or *ḥnh·f-n-ḥnsw*!<sup>748</sup> The shortest form of his name is found on the great sarcophagus, where the signs  ending with what seems to be an image of the god Khonsu, in standing posture, spell *ḥnh·f-n-ḥnsw* in a special way!<sup>749</sup> I also note that one of Ankhefenkhons i's descendants, Harsiese R, mentions him twice as  [sic], *ḥnh·f-n-ḥnsw*, where the sign , *dšrt*, the 'red crown', is used with its late phonetic value of 'n'.<sup>750</sup> The Stélé of Revealing does not contain the two spellings written without  and , but has some variations in the spelling of *ḥnh·f-n-ḥnsw*. Observing the above different spellings, I find that there seems to be strong indications of that it is done deliberately, and with some special purpose. A king over a united land had five names, and gods had many names and epithets, names and epithets, which gave their powers expression and vitality. The ancient Egyptians believed that such powers could survive in a name, which was properly constructed. As is well known, they also believed that a person could be destroyed by erasing this person's signature from walls, stelae, coffins, etc. In my opinion, the many different spellings found on Ankh-af-na-khonsu's sarcophagi and coffins, show a powerful priest who behaves like a king when he writes his name in several different ways, and thereby create new names belonging to him, and it is clearly a magical way to secure his personal powers in the other world, and thus a magical way to accumulate power for a person with a single name!

Why did the ancient Egyptians worship their gods in shape of animals, saying, for example, that the falcon was Horus, and using the bird as a hieroglyph for him? What they in fact meant and saw, was a certain thing in the animal's behavior, or bodily shape, which in a flash revealed some of the powers, which the god possessed, and therefore they knew that a part of him was reflected in that animal, or even dwelt within it – but of course the animal was not the god himself. It is language, it is symbols! However, foolishness is always present, and at times even priests and kings forgot the true interpretation, and acted foolish in these matters. I think that the ancient Egyptians were very particular about, that their gods were 'ones' that came from the 'one' God, their chief god, just as their Pharaoh had to be one only, and not two or even three, as it were in evil years, when Egypt was divided! Today the scientist isolates some atoms declaring them to be a certain element created, from what may be called the 'father of elements', hydrogen, H, with the atomic number 1. In the very same way the ancient Egyptians declared that a certain animal was holy, since it contained a small amount of a certain force, which originated from the great source itself, the god – and there were many forces, many gods, many names, and many animals, and plants. In its essence it is the creation of language. Silent thoughts, spoken language, and written language, the root of civilization and consciousness – and the same alphabets spell everything, although there are secret ways! Specific observations gave birth to the ancient Egyptians's written language, I believe, since the hieroglyphs clearly hide such observations relating to gods, man, animals, plants and nature. The original pictorial meaning of each hieroglyph is often a riddle,

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laterally reversed.

<sup>748</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7. (*Catal. du Musée N° 41042*)

<sup>749</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. 11. (*Catal. du Musée N° 41001*)

<sup>750</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. II, pp. 212-3. (*Catal. du Musée N° 41051*) • Harsiese R (*Hr-s3-3št*) is the son of Nesamun ii and thus Ankhefenkhons i's grandson. • For the sign , see: *Sir Alan Gardiner*. *Egyptian Grammar*. Third edition. Oxford, UK: Griffith Institute, 1957, p. 504. (*Sign, S3*) • For two other hieroglyphic variants of *ḥnh·f-n-ḥnsw*, see note<sup>4633</sup> below.

strange mysteries, which always will be a challenge for man. This is, in fact, the original 'Book of Thoth' – the explanation of everything condensed into a few strokes by Tahuti, and written in his hand, and by his feather! This feather was inherited by the Lector-priest who mostly beheld his peace about it! Returning to the discussion of the various spellings of Ankh-af-na-khonsu's name, they could be looked upon as a way of expressing great powers hidden within this man – powers, which needed expressions to survive, and expand for the benefit of the whole man in his afterlife. I think that the five names that the king had both expressed his powers while alive, but also insured him greatly in his afterlife! Further, it must somehow have been obvious for a reader, that both *ḥnh-f-hnsw* and *ḥnh-n-hnsw* signified a person named *ḥnh-f-n-hnsw*, "Ankh-af-na-khonsu", inasmuch as none of these spellings seem to have interfered with other personal names.<sup>751</sup> So, in my opinion, it seems to be a deliberate act, owing to magic, and done by a Lector-priest for the benefit of his afterlife!

In conclusion, the above discovery of Nes-Amon's stele exhibited in the Boulaq Museum around 1884-85, shows clearly that his father's stele easily could have been exhibited as well, without any mention in the museum's guide! So my guess is that the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu without doubt was exhibited both before and after the time, when Maspero rearranged the collection, and published his new guide, but that it probably was in store in the last years in Boulaq.

The same offering scene as seen on the stele of Nes-Amon ii, is also found depicted on another stele belonging to Ankh-af-na-khonsu's son Hahat (ii), whom he had with Muthetepti ii. This stele, which belongs to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, shows an offering scene, which is divided symmetrically into two separate scenes, where Hahat (ii) to the left is facing Atum, and to the right Ra-Horakhty.<sup>752</sup> The stele has in the lunette, following its curve, the sign for 'sky',  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , *pt* (*pet*), and this bending sky hieroglyph has been sprinkled with stars,  $\star$ , *sb3* (*seba*). Below, above the whole offering scene, is the same star sprinkled hieroglyph painted in a straight version. A bending Nuit, like the one found on Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele, is very rare, unlike the sky sign, sometimes resting on two  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , *w3s* (*was*) scepters, which is frequently found.<sup>753</sup>

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>754</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>755</sup>

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<sup>751</sup> See: Hermann Ranke. Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Bd. I-III. Glückstadt: Verlag von J. J. Augustin, 1935-77.

<sup>752</sup> Wein 5073. Stele of Hahat. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. • Peter Munro. Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen. Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1973, Textband, p. 17. • Ibid., Tafelband, Tafel 5, abb. 17. • See note<sup>556</sup> and note<sup>4614</sup> below. • For Nes-Amon's stele, see note<sup>733</sup> above.

<sup>753</sup> For the bending Nuit, see note<sup>4718</sup> below.

<sup>754</sup> Karl Alfred Wiedemann. Monuments of the Prophets of Mont at Thebes. • Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology. Vol. XI. Bloomsbury, London: The Offices of the Society, 1889, pp. 69-75.

<sup>755</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.

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>756</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>757</sup> – and at the same time the bandages and shrouds covering mummies were used for paper production by the paper factories.<sup>758</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 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>759</sup> [Written with modern typography.]

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<sup>756</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>757</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>758</sup> See: *Professor Tadeusz Dzierzydry 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.)

<sup>759</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, MDCCCLXXIII (1773) ♦ Vol. II, pp. 407-8. (Sect. VIII. *Animal Flesh*, pp. 405-8.) • For "pissasphaltum", see note<sup>760</sup> below.

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 mummy<sup>760</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>761</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>762</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>763</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>764</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 Hatshepsut.<sup>765</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>766</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>767</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>760</sup> Arabic for 'mummy'. • See also note<sup>757</sup> above.

<sup>761</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>762</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.

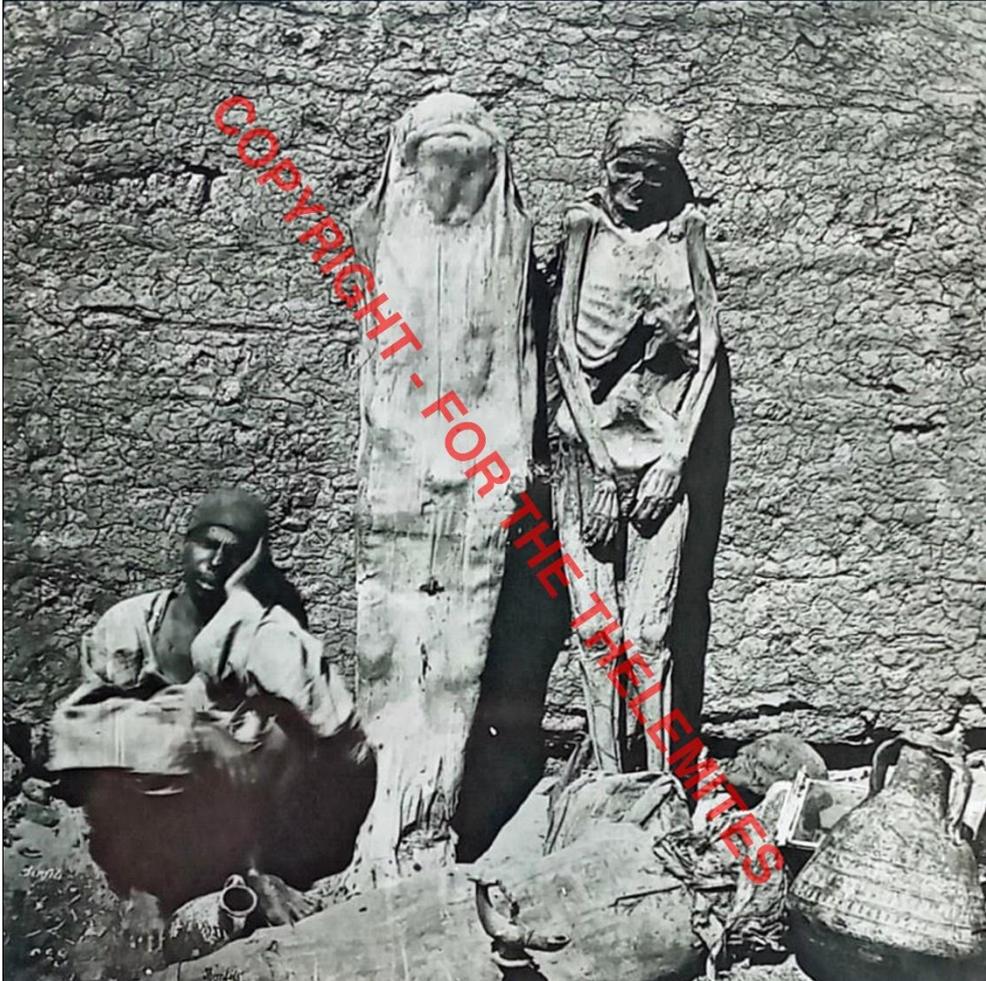
<sup>763</sup> *F. Pawlicki*. Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut 1997/1998. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 10, pp. 119-30. • *Mirosław Barwik*. New Data Concerning the Third Intermediate Period Cemetery in the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari. ♦ In: *The Theban Necropolis: Past, 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>764</sup> See: *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq* par Gaston Maspero. Boulaq: Au Musée, 1883, pp. 311-2.

<sup>765</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>766</sup> See: *E. Dabrowska-Smektała*. Coffins found in the Area of the Temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale* 66. Cairo, 1968, pp. 171-81 (& plates).

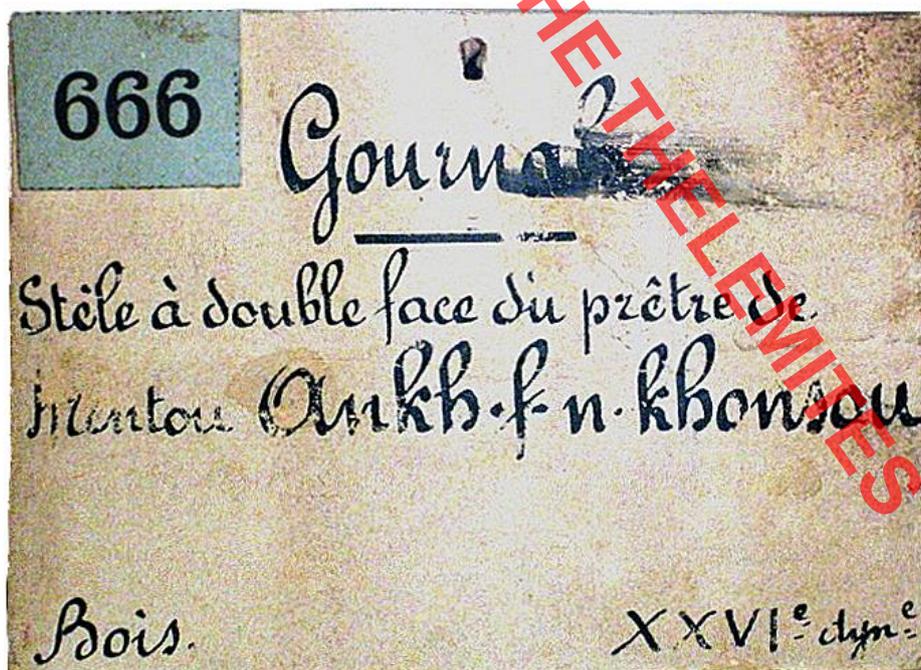
<sup>767</sup> See: *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean XI*. Warsaw: Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, Warsaw University, 2000, p. 165, note 16.



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.



I have compared the handwriting found on the old label with the handwriting of the following persons attached to the Boulak Museum; the Gizeh Museum; and the Cairo Museum: Auguste Mariette; Luigi Vassalli, who was appointed Keeper of the Boulak Museum in 1859; Gaston Maspero; Alexandre Barsanti; Emile Brugsch; George Émile Daressy; and Eugène Grébaut, who together with George Émile Daressy published the first catalogue from the Gizeh Museum; and finally Jacques de Morgan, who became Director of Antiquities after Eugène Grébaut – and in my judgement, there is no match among these eight persons. I was thinking whether the label could have been the creation of Mattéo Floris (d. 1884)\*, a Corsican craftsman, who worked under Mariette at the Boulak Museum, and who after his death in 1884, was replaced by the artist, technician, and excavator, ‘Conservateur-Restorateur’, Alexander Barsanti (1858-1917)†, whom I wrote about in Chapter 6 that he probably/perhaps made the replica of the “Stele 666”, which Aleister Crowley commissioned at the Cairo Museum in 1904 E.V., however, I have not so far been able to find any handwriting by Mattéo Floris. But I have always believed that the text on the label originated in the Boulak Museum, and the present label is either the original one, or it was replaced by a ‘replica’ in the Gizeh Museum – the first place where the stele appeared registered in a catalogue, and under the number “666”!

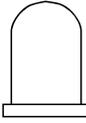


\* See: Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier. Who was who in Egyptology. 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995, p. 32. • Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1917, Tome XVII, pp. 245-60. (Alexandre Barsanti Par M. G. Daressy, pp. 245-60.)

† See: Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, M. L. Bierbrier. Who was who in Egyptology. 3. rev. edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995, p. 153.

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Here follows a separate printing of '*Chapter 19*' of *For the Thelemites*.

CHAPTER 19  [wd, "stele"] • The Stelé of Revealing

As we have seen, so was the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu published by the Egyptian Egyptologist Abd el Hamid Zayed in 1968 E.V.. Although not said directly by Zayed, so is the stele, as I have discussed, missing in "Journal d'entrée du Musée". It was like Mariette's 1858 discovering of Ankh-af-na-khonsu's sarcophagi and coffins at Deir el-Bahari not entered into the Boulak Museum's "Journal d'entrée du Musée."

It is not stated directly by Zayed, that the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu not is found in "Journal d'entrée du Musée". And therefore, he does not mention the stele's discovery details like he does with some of the other stelae, which he publishes, and this is of course expected if such information exists, especially when an object is published for the first time. As a matter of fact, he does not mention the stele's provenance of 'Gournah' as found on the stele's label, and he is clearly not aware of its appearance in 1872 in *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, together with Auguste Mariette's important statement about the items on the album's 'Planche 15', where the stele is seen. But, as mentioned above, there are some other stelae with the provenance of Gourna in Zayed's publication, and three of the published stelae are stated found at Deir el-Bahari, but none of these belong to priests of Mentu.<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, there are two of the stelae from Gourna whose owners are priests of Mentu, and furthermore, information given by Zayed shows that their coffins and sarcophagi were found together with Ankh-af-na-khonsu's belongings in 1858. The first is a member of the Besenmut family, a priest of Mentu named Pa-di-Amonet (Pediāmun ii)<sup>2</sup>, and the other is one of the four sons of Ankh-af-na-khonsu (Ankhefenkhons i) and Neskhons i, the priest of Mentu, Nes-Amon (Nesamun ii), whose stele and person already have been discussed in details above.<sup>3</sup> Here, like in the description of Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele, we are not informed of the year in which they were found, nor who found them. Zayed also publishes a stele belonging to a lady Nekht-bast-iryw (Nakhtbasterou), whose sarcophagus and coffin also happen to be among the 1858 find.<sup>4</sup> Like the stelae of Pa-di-

<sup>1</sup> Revue d'égyptologie. Publiée par la Société française d'égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie National. ♦ Tome 20, 1968, pp. 152-6. (*Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid Zayed*, pp. 149-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B)

<sup>2</sup> 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. 106. (Chapter Five; *The Families of Dynasties XXIV and XXV*, pp. 102-8.) • 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. 37. (*P3-dj-Imn II*)(2.11; *Zur genealogischen Querverbindung der Familien Bš-n-Mwt - Mntw-m-ḥ3t*, pp. 36-9.)

<sup>3</sup> The stele belonging to Pa-di-Amonet (Pediāmun ii) has *private No 9917* and to him belong the sarcophagi Cairo (CGC) 41008 and 41057. The stele belonging to Nes-Amon (Nesamun ii) has *private No 9900* and to him belong the sarcophagi Cairo (CGC) 41002 and 41044. Revue d'égyptologie. Publiée par la Société française d'égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie National. ♦ Tome 20, 1968, pp. 156-8, 166-8. (*Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid Zayed*, pp. 149-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B) • For these two Mentu priests' sarcophagi and coffins, see: 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. ♦ (CGC) 41008: Vol. I., pp. 101-17.; (CGC) 41002: Vol. I., pp. 38-61. • 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., pp. 297-323.; (CGC) 41044: Vol. I., pp. 33-74. • Pa-di-Amonet (*p3-di-Imn*) means "The one Amon (Amun) gave". Nes-Amon (*ns-Imn*) means "Belonging to Amon (Amun)".

<sup>4</sup> Her stele has *private No 9905*. To her belong the sarcophagus CGC 41005 and the coffin CGC 41050. • Revue

Amonet and Nes-Amon it is given the provenance of Gournah. None of these three stelae were like Ankh-af-na-khonsu's originally entered in *Journal d'entrée du Musée*, but, as discussed above, at one time they all seem to have received the provenance of Gournah from someone who must have known that they were not among Mariette's 1858 find at Deir el-Bahari. I think that this assigning of them to Gournah was done at one time in the Boulaq Museum by someone who had learned of the separate find of the priests's stelae from a person, who likely had taken an active share in their discovery. If there were no records on these stelae, then their most logical provenance, when they were known as belongings of the priests of Mentu found at Deir el-Bahari, would, of course, be the provenance of Deir-el-Bahari! As discussed above, the old French label belonging to Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele, giving its provenance as "Gournah", was likely written in the Boulaq Museum.

Regarding the number "666" and its origin, I think that though it seems that the collection received new numbers in Gizeh, one cannot preclude the possibility of that some of the Boulaq numbers were maintained in the Gizeh Museum, and thus that both the stele's label, and its number could have originated in the Boulaq Museum. But the most important thing to notice is that the stele's official number when it was discovered by W. and Fra. P. in 1904 E.V. was "666"! And observing the importance that this number had for Fra. P., it is self-evident that he made inquiries about the origin of it in relation to the stele, and when we find him saying that:

*the actual name of the Stèle, its ordinary name, the only name it ever had until it was called the "stèle of revealing" in The Book of the Law itself, "its name" in the Catalogue of the Museum at Būlāq [but Fra. P.'s name for the new Cairo Museum, and thus its newly published catalogue!], was just this: "Stèle 666."*<sup>5</sup>

then I believe that he is repeating what he was told at the museum, by someone who must have known that "666" was the first number attached to the stele!

As we also have seen above is the assigning of these priests's stelae to Gournah, instead of Mariette's 1858 discovery at Deir el-Bahari, strongly supported by the description given to the arrangement on *Planche 15* in *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, which the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu is part of, since Mariette here states that all the objects on the plate were found in the same cache in a hypogeum of Thebes, and none of the sarcophagi and coffins on the plate are found among the Mentu priests' belongings from the 1858 find at Deir el-Bahari published by Moret and Gauhier! Therefore, it is obvious to conclude that the cache containing these objects, and thus Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele, was located in a hypogeum at Gournah in the Theban Necropolis, being mindful of that Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele together with many other Mentu priests's stelae are stated to have been found at Gournah.

But why are these stelae not found buried in same place as the mummies of the priests? This type of stelae are normally considered to be funerary stelae, which were placed in offering-chapels

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d'égyptologie. Publiée par la Société française d'égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie National. ♦ Tome 20, 1968, pp. 162-4. (*Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid Zayed*, pp. 149-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B) • Nakhtbasterou was the daughter of Ankhefenkhons iv. ♦ 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. 96. (*Chapter Four; The Families of Dynasties XXII and XXIII*, pp. 54-101.)

<sup>5</sup> Commentary to chapter III, verse 19, of *The Book of the Law* and written in 1921 E.V. at the Abbey of Thelema in Cefalù, Sicily. Quoted from: *Aleister Crowley. The Law is for All. The Authorized Popular Commentary on Liber AL vel Legis sub figura CCXX, The Book of the Law.* Edited by Louis Wilkinson and Hymenaeus Beta. Tempe, AZ: New Falcon Publications, 1996, p. 160.

## For the Thelemites

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located apart from the mummies. In the New Kingdom a nonroyal rock-cut tomb in the Theban Necropolis typically consisted of an open rectangular courtyard behind, which the offering chapel in shape of an inverted T were located. A hidden shaft located, either at the rear of the chapel, or in a corner of the forecourt, led down to the burial located in one or more subterranean chambers. Within the offering-chapel's far end was a niche that could house statues of the persons buried, and the niche sometimes also contained a false door. This niche was the main offering place. Family members and officials could then place their offerings in the offering chapel, and perform the offering ritual. Stele could be placed in the open court but also on the side walls of the offering-chapel, and function as a secondary offering place. In the late period could stelae also be found in the subterranean burial chambers. Some of the larger stelae sometimes stood on pedestals in the form of a double flight of steps, and were obviously intended to be free-standing.<sup>6</sup>

An offering-chapel could also be located elsewhere, since it was not necessary to bring offerings to the tomb, since it could be done magically by the recitation of the offering formula. A stele showed a picture of the buried, together with name and titles, and this was useful to a visitor who then could identify the buried, and make an offering to a visible portrayed person, and further, the stele secured that the magical connection with the mummy was established. This type of magical connection between an object and the mummy could also be found in other ways. For example, is it very likely that Ankh-af-na-khonsu had small statues of himself made with his name written on, and then placed in the temples where he had been serving as a living man under the sun, in order that he magically could follow the daily life in the temples, and take part in their services! The mentioned wooden statue in the Macclesfield Collection is possibly such a statue. Since this statue is provided with a suspension ring it could, I think, have been attached to a string, or a chain, and worn in the temple around the neck of the son, who after Ankh-af-na-khonsu's death had inherited his office. If this is the case, then was the function of this statue, apparently both to let the buried participate in the temple life, but also supply its bearer with an amulet, and a direct contact to his father and predecessor in the other world! On the face of it, one should think that the self-presentation, and long line of family succession in priestly offices given by the buried, served to introduce the person to gods and men in the other world, and thus was a kind of letter of introduction written by the buried when living among the living. But there were likely also other reasons of great importance behind this autobiographical practice. One reason that springs to mind is, that it could function as a sort of memory, and secure that the buried could remember his own identity, and who his family and priestly predecessors were. Besides, to write a person's name always helped to secure its owner's existence, and to mention family and ancestors by name were evidently an offer of force, rather than a handsome gesture. It is likely, I think, that these priests were expected to continue their priestly offices in the other world, and it was therefore also important for them to have the names of their predecessors at hand, predecessors who already were in the other world, and had continued their duties to the gods, and we must suppose that these priests were looked on as a close-knit body of priests in the other world. This could also explain why they evidently preferred to be buried together. And, as suggested above, their autobiographies probably also had a practical use among the living in this world, who had useful information at hand if it became necessary to find a new tomb to their mummies.

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<sup>6</sup> See: *Revue d'égyptologie*. Publiée par la Société française d'égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie National. ♦ Tome 20, 1968, p. 149. (*Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid Zayed*, pp. 149-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B) • *E. A. Wallis Budge*. *The Mummy. A History of the Extraordinary Practices of Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1894, p. 221.

So there is a quite natural explanation of why these stelae apparently were found apart from their owners' sarcophagi, coffins and mummies, which were in the common tomb. The offering rituals connected with the Mentu priests' stelae could have taken place in a part of the Temple at Deir el-Bahari, or in another temple located in Karnak or Luxor. At one time these stelae then have been stored together, likely in the place where they were discovered in modern time.

Taking into consideration that these priests were both of the same family and religious order, and furthermore buried together, then I think it is likely that their stelae must have been in use in offering rituals for many years, managed by succeeding priests of their religious order, as well as family. This also explains a find of stelae, etc., which were belongings of many Mentu priests, and a find located in a cache where access had been possible, and which had the necessary room. As stated by Mariette, then this cache must have been connected somehow with the family, i.e., the Besenmut family, and other related families, and my guess is that Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele likely was stored there many years after that his funeral had taken place. It is obvious to believe, when we witness the assigning of these stelae to Gournah, that the cache mentioned by Mariette was located somewhere on the spot known as Gournah, close to these priests' cache in Deir el-Bahari, and perhaps in a cache of more recent date. There is, in fact, a find of belongings of priests from Deir el-Bahari, which backs up the theories given above. In 1891 the Antiquities Department made one of the greatest finds in the history of Egyptian archaeology. The find consisted of priests of Amun, and their belongings dating from the XXIst dynasty, and was done in front of the temple of Deir el-Bahari. These priests had apparently been gathered into one tomb (a cache) at the end of the XXIst dynasty. The work of the find was entrusted to Georges Daressy, who discovered:

*153 cercueils, don't 101 doubles et 52 simples ;  
110 boîtes à statuettes funéraires ;  
77 statuettes osiriennes en bois, en majeure partie creuses et renfermant un papyrus ;  
8 stèles en bois ?*

– 153 coffins, 101 double and 52 single; 110 boxes for funerary statuettes, 77 Osirian statuettes of wood, mostly hollow and containing a papyrus, 8 wooden stelae.

That such a great burial only is accompanied by 8 stelae is a fact that speaks for itself!

The last edition published of Maspero's French *Guide du Visiteur au Musée du Caire*, was the fourth edition, issued in 1915 E.V.. Here, there is no direct mentioning of the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu, or of the other Mentu priests' stelae. But it is clear from the text, I think, that Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele together with some of the other priests's stelae now have been moved to the room on the upper floor, where the Stélé of Revealing is exhibited today. In 1915 E.V., this room was called "Salle G", but in 1902 it had been "Salle V", and today it is the upper floor's "Room 22". Like in the Boulaq Museum the arrangement of the collection in the new museum changed, especially in its first

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<sup>7</sup> *Georges Daressy*. Les sépultures des prêtres d'Ammon à Deir el-Bahari. ♦ *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1899, Tome I, p. 144. ( *Les sépultures des prêtres d'Ammon à Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 141-8.) • Many of the found objects were given as gifts, or sold abroad by the Egyptian government. ♦ *Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian*. Official Catalogue – The Egyptian Museum Cairo. Published by the Organisation of Egyptian Antiquities. The Arab Republic of Egypt. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1987, p. 10. • Some of the stelae from the 1891 find at Deir El-Bahari, was published by Zayed in his 1968 article. • For the find, see: *Notice des Principaux Monuments Exposés au Musée de Gizeh*. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892, p. 256f.

years. We are informed that the stelae referred to are from Gournah, and that the greatest part of them is so-called Harmakhis stelae!<sup>8</sup> It is very important to notice that the God invoked by Ankh-af-na-khonsu on his stele not is Harmakhis, the dawning sun in the east, but its opposite, the sun in the West – the sign of the West is behind the God to the left on the stele! It has been difficult for Egyptologists to understand why it not is *r<sup>c</sup>-ḥr-3ḥty* [3ḥtj], Ra-Hor-akhty, ‘Ra-Horus-of-the-Two-Horizons’, (i.e., the Ra-Hoor-Khuit of *Liber L vel Legis*) that is seen on the stele, but a God called *r<sup>c</sup>-ḥr-3ḥt*, Ra-Hor-akhet, ‘Ra-Horus-of-the-Horizon’, (i.e., the “Ra-Hoor-Khut” of *Liber L vel Legis*!). Almost every Egyptologist, which mention the God on Ankh-af-na-khonsu’s stele just call him Rā-Horakhty, or, Ra-Harakhti, although it not is the case! (Daressy and Maspero in their translations of the stele in 1904 E.V. gave the right translation!) However, there is nothing to discuss, it is one horizon (3ḥt, akhet), and not two (3ḥty [3ḥtj], akhty)! Abd el Hamid Zayed in his publication of the stele writes: “[...] a scene representing the deceased adoring the god Rā-Horakhty”<sup>9</sup> – i.e., ‘Ra-and-Horus-of-the-Two-Horizons’, however, a little later he suddenly writes: “« Rā-Horakhet (sic) who is the chief of gods ».”<sup>10</sup>

The stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu is, as a matter of fact, present on another page in this catalogue, namely, on a xylographic engraving showing *Planche 15* from *Album du Musée de Boulaq* (see, Figure 8).<sup>11</sup> The text to *Galerie A* of the museum’s upper floor – to which this engraving was given as an illustration – reveals, that this room mostly contains objects from the Bubastite and Persian periods, and largely from Akhmim, or Thebes. Of the latter are said that they are belongings of members of large families of priests of Amun and Mentu. Further, that after the fall of the XXVIth dynasty, the priests of Mentu had exercised religious authority at Thebes, an authority, which previously had been concentrated in the hands of the priesthood of Amun. As I have mentioned in several places, the high office of ‘Opener of the doors of the heaven in Ipet-sut’, mentioned on his stele, which belonged to Ankh-af-na-khonsu later in life, did that he likely belonged to the few at the very top of the priestly hierarchy in Thebes! In spite of the recent publications by Gauthier and Moret, the text informs us, that only one of the monuments exhibited in this large room deserves special mentioning, namely, the cartonnage of Princess Tantkashiri of the XXIIInd dynasty, which is depicted opposite the reproduction of the plate from Mariette’s album!<sup>12</sup> No information is given regarding the provenance of the objects exhibited on Mariette’s plate! Regarding the number “666”, the catalogue has a picture, which shows that another piece – a bronze statue of the Apis bull – at one time, like Ankh-af-na-khonsu’s stele, had a paper label with the number “666” mounted to its surface.<sup>13</sup> As mentioned in

<sup>8</sup> *Salle G. Armoire B; Armoire C.* • Guide du Visiteur au Musée du Caire par G. Maspero. Quatrième Édition. Le Caire : Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1915, pp. 338; 342. (II ; SALLES DU PREMIER ÉTAGE. SALLE G; Armoire B; Armoire C., pp. 338-43.)

<sup>9</sup> *Revue d’égyptologie.* Publiée par la Société française d’égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie National. • Tome 20, 1968, p. 150.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>11</sup> Guide du Visiteur au Musée du Caire par G. Maspero. Quatrième Édition. Le Caire : Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1915, p. 292. (« Fig. 98. – Ensemble funéraire des époques bubastite et saïte à Thèbes. ») • « Ce sont pour la premier âge thébain : en ce moment, ces derniers sont en minorité et rien n’y remonte au delà de la XXe dynastie. Ce sont pour la plupart des pièces des époques bubastite et persane (fig. 98), qui proviennent Presque toutes d’Akhmîm au de Thèbes : ces prêtres d’Amon et de Mantou. Après la chute de la XXVIe dynastie, les prêtres de Mantou exercèrent à Thèbes l’autorité religieuse, qui avait été concentrée jusqu’alors entre les mains du sacerdoce d’Amon. » ♦ *Ibid.*, p. 291. (II ; SALLES DU PREMIER ÉTAGE. GALERIE A., pp. 291-2.) • The catalogue was illustrated by 152 figures in black and white.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 291-2. (II ; SALLES DU PREMIER ÉTAGE. GALERIE A., pp. 291-2.)

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 472. (Fig. 136.)

a previous chapter, Maspero had written that he hoped to revise the description of the upper floor of the museum when the classification of the objects there was completed. As mentioned above, Maspero's French 1915 E.V. guide did not include the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu, and its number "666" appeared as the number of a large limestone stele from Heliopolis with an inscription relating to Ramses III, and in the 1950 E.V. *Musée du Caire – Description sommaire des principaux monuments*, the number "666" still belonged to same limestone stele, but now related to Ramses II.<sup>14</sup>

Concerning wooden stelae, it must also be noted that in many years they were not considered of great interest, and somewhat classified as 'cheap' stelae, unlike 'expensive' stelae made of stone. As most are aware of today this is absolutely not the case, and especially not when it comes to the better class of wooden stelae. This is demonstrated in no uncertain manner by the stelae of Ankh-af-na-khonsu and his son Nes-Amun. I also find that there is a certain thought behind the colourful and expressive wooden stelae, which in many ways leaves one with the unmistakable impression of something bright and luminous, and as we know so are their subject in fact often the glory of the sun. I in fact believe that the use of wood, especially in stele making, hide a religious, as well as magical refinement, which took place in Thebes. The use of wooden stelae originated, I think, in a linking of this material with the goddess Nuit – a fact clearly revealed in *Liber L vel Legis*, as well as in some chapters of the 'Book of Going Forth by Day'! The use of the organic material wood in stele making was clearly a religious & magical refinement – a manifestation of the connection between the stele and Nuit, which also was reflected in the stele's curved lunette. The same connection holds true of wooden sarcophagi and coffins, where we also find 'the vault of heaven', emphasized in various ways. And as Nuit swallowed the sun in the evening, and gave birth to it again in the morning, so were this constantly recurring joyous event, and its great immanent hope, attempted fixed on wood by use of many bright colours.

That the use of wood in stele making, as suggested by Zayed<sup>15</sup>, could be owing to its lighter weight, which created a more portable stele, is in my opinion unlikely. When it came to weight and stones, the ancient Egyptians had no scruples, as we know from their way of life as seen everywhere in ancient buildings and objects. They were both practical and realistic people. They knew that a boat made out of wood could navigate on the Nile, and that one made out of stone could not. Therefore, when it came to vessels, which were believed to navigate on the heavenly Nile, then a depiction on stone of such a vessel was magically fit for use, but a boat made out of wood, or a depiction of one on a piece of wood, was a magical refinement! We must not forget that the ancient Egyptians lived in a magical universe whose rules – the same as used today by every true magician – were established both in theory and practice by the Lord of Magic himself! The keyword was then, as now, the optimization of the right force in every part of the magical act!

I also think that the smell of wood was important. If one has visited a carpenter's workshop, then one knows that many kinds of wood emit a fantastic fragrance. Many of these fragrances can

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<sup>14</sup> Guide du Visiteur au Musée du Caire par G. Maspero. Quatrième Édition. Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1915, p. 182. (666) • Musée du Caire - Description sommaire des principaux monuments. Le Caire : Imprimerie Nationale, 1950, p. 44. (666) • During World War I a short guide to the chief exhibits of the Cairo Museum of Antiquities appeared in 7 editions, 1915-20 E.V. – they were short guides of some 50-90 pages compiled for the use of soldiers visiting the museum. I have examined some of them, and there seem not to be any mention of the stele of Ankh-af-na-khonsu in them. ♦ Ministry of Finance, Egypt; Government Publications Office. Short Guide to the Chief Exhibits of the Cairo Museum of Antiquities, With Explanatory Notes and Map, By E. S. Thomas [Ernest Seymour Thomas]. Compiled for the Use of Soldiers visiting the Museum. Cairo, Egypt: Government Press, 1915-20.

<sup>15</sup> Revue d'égyptologie. Publiée par la Société française d'égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie National. ♦ Tome 20, 1968, pp. 149-50. (*Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid Zayed*, pp. 149-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B)

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last for a long time, and are sometimes present even in very old wood. So, when the ancient Egyptians linked the scent of the Lotus flower with the new-born sun, then I think that especially the fragrances of resinous woods were sacred by them to the lasting and protecting Nuit. We must remember that resins and gums often can protect against various attacks of, for instance, fungus, germs and insects, and that resinous wood had a sort of immanent protection was a matter, which the ancient Egyptians were well aware of. Further regarding smell, then we all know that smells and memories often are closely bound up with each other, and to the buried memory and knowledge were matters of the utmost importance in the afterlife!

The use of wood also gave an opportunity to use colours in a most sophisticated manner, creating a striking, powerful symbolical language! This extensive use of colours on funeral equipment, likely contained both great hope and great powers to the ancient Egyptians, since, as we know, so was the buried looked on as 'black' in the underworld, and as the Egyptians were well aware of, I think, then colours were not seen in the dark tomb, but their hidden powers were suddenly revealed through the sun's light! After having wrote this, some words spring into my mind from a text to a frontispiece of a much later book, entitled *The Gates of Paradise*, by the English mystic, poet and artist William Blake (1757-1827):

*What is Man  
The Sun's Light when he unfolds it  
Depends on the Organ that beholds it.*<sup>16</sup>

This was caption for the image of a child-chrysalis asleep on a leaf, beneath a caterpillar on another leaf. Blake in a notebook also wrote:

*Do what you will this life's a fiction,  
And is made up of contradiction.*<sup>17</sup>

Concerning the stele of Ankhefenkhons i, then I believe that the true reason behind the lack of excavation data is to be found in the fact that Mariette's house in Boulaq, as we have learned was flooded, and his papers were destroyed. It seems likely that there somewhere in his notes must have been some information on the circumstances of the discovery of the stele, as well as information on the 1858 discovery in the Temple at Deir el-Bahari.

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<sup>16</sup> *William Blake*. *The Gates of Paradise*. These lines were added to the Frontispiece in a re-issue of the book from ab. 1820. Its first edition was published in 1793. • On this, see: *William Blake*. *Poems & Prophecies*. Edited by Max Plowman. London: Read Books, 2006, pp. 291-2; Note on p. 437 to p. 291.

<sup>17</sup> See: *The Lyrical Poems of William Blake*. Text by John Sampson. With an Introduction by Walter Raleigh. Oxford, UK: At the Clarendon Press, 1906. • QUATRAINS AND COUPLETS; 21, p. 178. (*QUATRAINS AND COUPLETS*, pp. 172-80.) • The lines were written in a notebook from around 1810 (*MS Book*). • The English writer, novelist, and philosopher Aldous (Leonard) Huxley (1894-1963), printed Blake's lines on the title page of his essays collection *Do What You Will*, published in 1929 E.V., however, they were erroneously quoted as:

*"Do what you will, this world's [sic] a fiction  
And is made up of contradiction.  
WILLIAM BLAKE"*

• *Aldous Huxley*. *Do What You Will: Essays*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1929, title page.

Most unexpectedly, I suddenly find it stated in the 1892 catalogue to the new Gizeh Museum, that some coffins belonging to priests of Mentu in fact had been found at Gournah, and exhibited on the first floor in *Salle 87*:

*Un grand nombre d'autres cercueils garnissent les murs de salle 87. nous ne pouvons les décrire en détail ; les uns proviennent des sépultures des prêtres de Mentou (ou Month), à Thèbes (Gournah) et sont surtout de l'époque saïte ;<sup>18</sup>*

– Many other coffins decorate the walls of *Salle 87*. We cannot describe them in detail; some of them come from tombs of the priests of Mentu (or Month) at Thebes (Gournah) and are mostly from the Saite period [i.e., the twenty-sixth dynasty, which Heinrich Brugsch-Bey in 1877 had assigned the date 666 B.C.<sup>19</sup>].

This is a great piece of information revealing that there apparently was a find of funeral belongings of Mentu priests at Gournah. Could this find hide the objects seen on *Planche 15* in *Album du Musée de Boulaq*? It goes well together with Mariette's statements given in the text to this arrangement, and all things considered we now have a good explanation of why the provenance given to Ankh-af-na-khonsu's stele, as well as the other Mentu priests' stelae, happens to be Gournah – to me it all seems to fit together perfectly! The catalogue also mentions some other sarcophagi belonging to priests of Mentu from the XXVIth dynasty exhibited in the first floor's *Galleries 75*<sup>20</sup>, but nothing in this room is specified, and finally, as mentioned already, so was Ankh-af-na-khonsu's great sarcophagus apparently exhibited together with some other sarcophagi from Mariette's 1858 find (provenance: "*Thèbes (Deïr-el-Bahari)*") in the first floor's *Salle 88*.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Notice des Principaux Monuments Exposés au Musée de Gizeh. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892, p. 326. (Premier Étage, Salle 87.)

<sup>19</sup> Henry [sic] Brugsch-Bey. A History of Egypt Under the Pharaohs: Derived Entirely from the Monuments, to which is Added a Discourse on the Exodus of the Israelites. First English edition. 2 vols. London, UK: John Murray, 1879-81, Vol. II, p. 286f. • Geschichte Ägyptens unter den Pharaonen. Nach den Denkmälern bearbeitet von Dr. Heinrich Brugsch-Bey. Leipzig, 1877. • This date was assigned by Heinrich Brugsch-Bey in 1877. Mariette had almost the same assignation, namely 665 BCE and the Norwegian J. D. C. Lieblein had 678 BCE. • For the various assignations at that time, see: 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, p. 63.

<sup>20</sup> Notice des Principaux Monuments Exposés au Musée de Gizeh. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892, p. 255. (*Premier Étage, Galleries 75.*)

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 328. (*Rez de chaussée, Salle 88*) • For the sarcophagi CGC 41001-CGC 41019, see: 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. • For Gauthier's guess on a coffin in the Boulaq Museum's catalogue from 1872, which he believes is Ankh-af-na-khonsu's inner coffin, see: Henri Gauthier. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1913. • Vol. I, p. 26. Gauthier writes on publishing the 1858 find of coffins, that he believes that Ankh-af-na-khonsu's inner coffin (*Catal. du Musée No 41042*) must be identified with "*cercueil 750 de Boulaq*" – as found in this catalogue: NOTICE DES PRINCIPAUX MONUMENTS EXPOSÉS DANS LES GALERIES PROVISOIRES DU MUSÉE D'ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DE S. A. LE KHÉDIVE, A BOULAQ. PAR Aug. MARIETTE-BEY. Quatrième Édition. PARIS: LIBRAIRIE A. FRANCK, 1872, p. 240, n<sup>os</sup> 745-752.

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**Pages 173-1075 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>4558</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.<sup>4559</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>4560</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>4561</sup> *hm-ntr*, hem-netjer, may also be translated as “*Servant of God*”.<sup>4562</sup> On the back of the Stéle [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>4563</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>4558</sup> For this position, see also note<sup>4610</sup> below.

<sup>4559</sup> Revue d'égyptologie. Publiée par la Société française d'égyptologie. Paris, France: Imprimerie National. ♦ Tome 20, 1968. *Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum; By Abd el Hamid Zayed*, pp. [149]-70; Pl. 7-Pl. 16B.

<sup>4560</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>4561</sup> Obverse of stele: C; E,1; E,4. Reverse of stele: F,1.

<sup>4562</sup> See: Raymond O. Faulkner. A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian. Oxford, UK: Griffith Institute, 1962, p. 169.

<sup>4563</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 National. ♦ 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*’ and ‘*Stèle 666: La Traduction du Musée Boulaq*’ obtained by Fra. P. in Cairo nor in the later ‘*Gardiner-Gunn*

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 *ιέροστολος*, *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>4564</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>4565</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>4566</sup> Since the title  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , *sm3*-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>4567</sup>, mainly since a considerable part of the prophets had the title  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , though not all of them!<sup>4568</sup> One

*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: *OEAFMA . 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>4574</sup> below.

<sup>4564</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>4565</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.

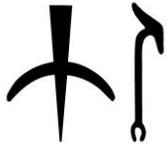
<sup>4566</sup> For Mentu, see note<sup>528</sup> above, and for Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, see note<sup>603</sup> and note<sup>615</sup> above.

<sup>4567</sup> Mentu had the epithet “*Lord of Thebes*” (*nb w3st*).

<sup>4568</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. (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 l’époque bubastite à l’époque saïte. 2 vols. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale,*

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 i and Muthetepti ii, where Harsiese M says that he is the son of *sm3j W3st* [𓄏𓄏] *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>4569</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 𓄏-titles, that the title 𓄏𓄏, “*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>4570</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>4571</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 i has twice on his smaller sarcophagus (CGC 41001 bis) the 𓄏-title *sm3 n K3-mwtf*, “*sma-priest of Kamutef*”, or “*Sacrificateur de Qamoutef*” (*Sacrificer of Kamutef*), as Moret calls it.<sup>4572</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,

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>4569</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>4570</sup> *Hermann Kees. Zur Familie des 3. Amonspropheten Amenophis*. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig 1959, 84. Band, pp. 54-67.

<sup>4571</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65, note <sup>1</sup>)

<sup>4572</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) 𓄏𓄏 (p. 31) 𓄏𓄏 • 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.)



The Egyptian Priapus, Min, god of fertility, ☪, *Mnw*, Menu, whom the Greek called Min.  
Picture credit: Carole Reeves.

and there was a sanctuary of Amun(-Ra)-Kamutef at Karnak.<sup>4573</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>4574</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>4575</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 i also wears on the ‘Stélé 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>4576</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>4577</sup> – I cannot 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>4578</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>4573</sup> See: The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. ♦ Vol. 2, pp. 221-2.

<sup>4574</sup> See: Sir Alan Gardiner. Egyptian Grammar. Third edition. Oxford, UK: Griffith Institute, 1957, p. 543. (*Sign, Aa 25*)

<sup>4575</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>4576</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>4577</sup> On this, see, e.g.: Anne Burton. Diodorus Siculus. Book I: A Commentary. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972, p. 257.

<sup>4578</sup> *Liber L vel Legis*, I, [61].

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As to the funeral belongings from the 1858 find, I note that when Gauthier tells of them on publishing the priests' coffins, he makes no mention of Ankhefenkhons i's stele, nor any other priests' stelae! Neither is Ankhefenkhons i's stele, nor any other priests' stelae, mentioned in Moret's publication of their sarcophagi.<sup>4640</sup> I also take this as a clear indication of – as concluded above – that the stele not was a part of the find done in 1858.

Regarding the stele and the year 1858, an incident took place in February 2013 E.V. that needs a commentary. On the Egyptian Museum's [Cairo Museum's] Facebook page appeared two photographs of the stele, respectively, the obverse and reverse. These pictures were accompanied by an explanatory text (unsigned), which, among other things, stated:

*The Stele of Ankh-ef-en-Khonsu i (also known as the Stele of Revealing) is a painted, wooden offering stele, discovered in 1858 at the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Dayr al-Bahri by François Auguste Ferdinand Mariette. It was originally made for the Montu-priest Ankh-ef-en-Khonsu i, and was discovered near his coffin ensemble of two sarcophagi and two anthropomorphic inner coffins.*<sup>4641</sup>

This is a strange statement, since, as mentioned, there is no original documentation in the museum for such a provenance, and the same holds true in old, as well as in modern Egyptological literature. However, I noticed that the German Egyptologist Karl Jansen-Winkel (1955-), in 2009 E.V. on publishing parts of the hieroglyphic texts (titles) found on Ankh-af-na-khonsu's coffins and stele in a volume of the work *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, gave as headline: "Sargensemble und Stele des ḥnḥ.f-n-Ḥnzw I aus Deir el-Bahri.", Coffin ensemble and stele of ḥnḥ.f-n-Ḥnzw I from Deir el-Bahri, thus stating that the stele came from Deir el-Bahri.<sup>4642</sup> However, only one of the four references given by Karl Jansen-Winkel (Porter and Moss; Zayed; Munro; Hisham El-Leithy) indirectly states that the stele was found at Deir el-Bahri. In the work of the two British Egyptologists and bibliographers Bertha Porter (1852-1941), and Rosalind L. B. Moss (1890-1990), assisted by another British bibliographer Ethel W. Burney (1891-1984), *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, second edition, published in the 1960s, the stele is listed together with the burials of the priests of Monthu from Deir el-Bahari found by Mariette in 1858.<sup>4643</sup> However, the last and newest reference given by Karl Jansen-Winkel, an article by the Egyptian Egyptologist Hisham El-Leithy from 2004 E.V., states that the stele was found at "Gurnah!"<sup>4644</sup>

<sup>4640</sup> For Ankhefenkhons i's sarcophagi, see: *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. ♦ Vol. II, Catal. du Musée N° 41001. Pl. I-II. ['Great sarcophagus']; ♦ Vol. I, pp. 22-38. ♦ Vol. II, Catal. du Musée N° 41001 bis. Pl. III-VI.

<sup>4641</sup> The Egyptian Museum's Facebook page, February 23, 2013 E.V. ♦ <https://www.facebook.com/EgyptianMuseum09>

<sup>4642</sup> *Karl Jansen-Winkel*. *Inschriften der Spätzeit*. Teil I-IV (5 vols.). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co., 2007-14. ♦ Teil III: Die 25. Dynastie (2009), p. 415 (143.). (*Familie Besenmut – 143. Sargensemble und Stele des ḥnḥ.f-n-Ḥnzw I aus Deir el-Bahri.*, pp. 415-6.) ♦ "Holzstele Kairo TN 25/12/24/11 (9422)", *Ibid.* p. 416.

<sup>4643</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. 647-8. ("In Cairo Museum; Wooden Stelae, [...] Ḥnḥefenkhnw (cf. supra, p. 643, No. 41001, probably [sic] same man), inscribed on both faces, Temp. No. 25.12.24.11.") (*Deir el-Bahri; Burials of Priests of monthu*. Dyn. XXII-XXVI, pp. 643-9.)

<sup>4644</sup> *Hisham El-Leithy*. Painted Wooden Stelae from Thebes from the 21<sup>st</sup> to the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties. In *Proceedings of The Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*. (Grenoble, 6-12 September 2004). Edited by Jean-Claude Goyon et Christine Cardin. Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2007, Vol. I., pp. 585-94, Plate I-II. (Series: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 150) ♦ For Hisham El-Leithy's article, see note<sup>4717</sup> and note<sup>4720</sup> below.

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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.]