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A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price: Part 7: The Unknown Abraham (Continued)

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A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price

Part 7 (Continued)



The Unknown Abraham

By Dr. Hugh Nibley

Because of widespread interest in the relationship of the Book of Abraham and the recently discovered Joseph Smith Egyptian papyri (see Era, January and February 1968), and in an effort to keep readers up-to-date with Dr. Nibley's penetrating and incisive analysis of this relationship, this series' monthly space will be enlarged and the series will be treated as a special supplement for Era readers. Through enlarged sections of Dr. Nibley's research, readers will also be better able to see the flow of discussion and understand the author's findings. Beginning with this issue, "A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price" will be found at the end of the magazine, until the series' anticipated completion sometime in 1970.

● First of all, there lies the king on the lion-couch in the *adyton*. He is defeated and beaten, hiding out from his opponent.¹⁰⁷ "It is a moment of extreme distress . . . the god has fallen beneath the blows of the evil one,"¹⁰⁸ exhausted; he is "the Weary One who sleeps,"¹⁰⁹ "the Lord of sleep upon his bed"—the lion-couch.¹¹⁰ Not only must Osiris face serious charges brought against him by relentless and well-equipped enemies,¹¹¹ but they also do their best to do him physical harm: W. Cermak has commented on the really terrifying nature of the ordeal that an Osiris-initiate had to pass through.¹¹² Here are some pictures of the young king in the formal attitude showing him to be "the prey of a holy terror" as he sits on a throne representing both the horizon and an altar "on the eve

of reigning or the threshold of Hades"—which shall it be? It is the moment of decision: "a guide of redoubtable name and terrifying aspect," wearing a "lion mask and bearing a huge sacrificial knife," with a majestic gesture beckons the prince to follow him across "the threshold of the other world . . . through the door which conceals the agonizing mystery of the beyond."¹¹³ It is enough to scare anybody—and notice the lion-motif. So everybody is feeling bad—our side has lost; with fear and despair comes the bitterness of hell;¹¹⁴ it is a time of mourning: the two ladies, Isis and Nephthys, are weeping at the head and foot of the lion-couch; Anubis appears with oil and bandages to embalm the dead and announces his horror and grief at the great crime that has taken place.¹¹⁵

It is all over—the earth has opened its mouth to receive Osiris.¹¹⁶

But hold on! There is still a tiny spark of hope: the Great Sleeper may be exhausted and inert, but still, as G. Thausing puts it, "he is not dead but sleepeth."¹¹⁷ Like the moon "the Lord of sleep upon his bed . . . never sleeps, he never comes to rest,"¹¹⁸ but fades only to appear again, "young on the day of the new moon, repeating the illuminations of the left eye. . . ."¹¹⁹ Equally reassuring is the example of the sun, who "only dies to be reborn" at the New Year,¹²⁰ and of the grain which springs up anew from the fallow earth, as you see in these so-called Osiris-beds—real beds with real grain growing on them in the form of a man, life-sized: these have been found perfectly preserved in some tombs.¹²¹ The same texts that announce the death of the king are quick to give encouragement—he is "justified . . . qualified to become a divine youthful Osiris," eligible for renewal;¹²² if he has run and hidden from his relentless enemy, he will soon return younger and stronger than ever, to certain victory.¹²³ Even as they weep for the king in the tomb, the mourners diligently search for him—they haven't given up hope after all,¹²⁴ everyone has a premonition that the show is not over;¹²⁵ ". . . he perishes only that he may live . . . and so he *wants* to die in order to be born!"¹²⁶ Here is a stele from Buto that pretty well sums up the whole drama. It is addressed to the pilgrims who come from far and near to celebrate the rites "in the Field of God when the plants are green," gathered "to worship during the festival of Horus [in this text he is designated as Min], and to bring succor to Min when he goes forth to his bed. . . ."

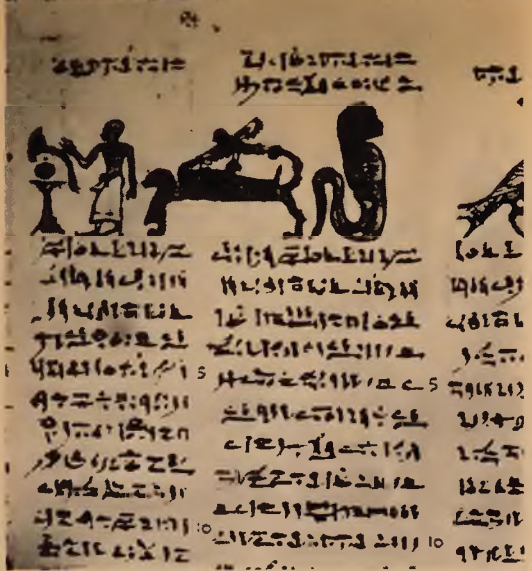
Jane: What's succor?

Mr. Jones: To rescue. You see, all these people have come to a special field or plain—the inscriptions always say this particular rite takes place "in the Field"—to save some divine person from some danger connected with a bed. Let us read on: ". . . at the time when all those who stand before the sleeping place [or lying-down place] are trembling because they see the danger he is in. But he escapes unharmed; he who was discouraged and paralyzed raises himself, seizes the spear and attacks his enemies. . . ."¹²⁷

Dick: How does he manage that?

Mr. Jones: Canon Drioton explains that his supporters suffer for him—the substitute motif again. But always there comes a wonderful and exciting moment when all the actors' roles are suddenly reversed. After the awful ritual hush comes the cry of joy. What

(Text continues on p. 100)



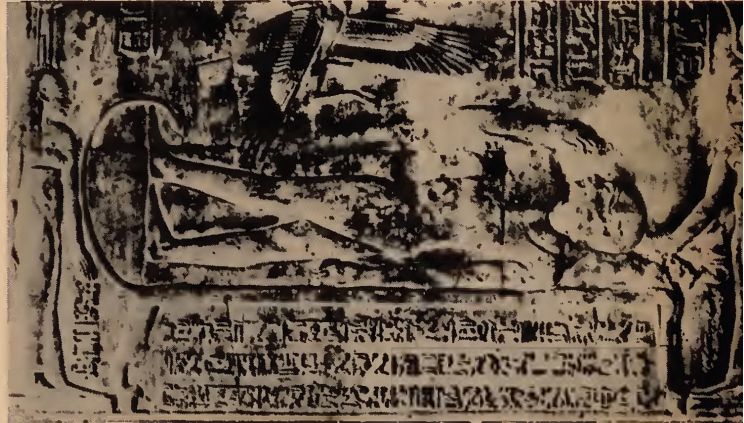
In reference to Fac. No. 1, Fig. 1, "The Angel of the Lord": In the many representations of a bird flying over a figure on a lion-couch, the bird almost always has a bird's head instead of a human head. This seems to disturb Egyptologists, who prefer a human-headed Ba-bird to something else. Professor T. G. Allen refers to this figure as one having "an unerased hawk's head." This particular vignette accompanies Chapter 85 of the Book of the Dead, in which the deceased prays to be delivered from a sacrificial death.



In reference to Fac. No. 1, Fig. 1: The lion-couch scenes most closely matching that in Joseph Smith Papyrus No. 1 (Fac. 1) all represent episodes of a larger drama involving the lion-couch in a number of different situations. Here is a typical sequence in which the dead is first seen lying inert but next appears bestirring himself and beginning to rise up from the couch. In such scenes it is always a hawk who liberates the dead man by his potent magical gestures or with his spear or club that beats down the adversary (see illustration in *Era*, May 1969, p. 87). In this scene the hawk is described as the one who avenges, vindicates, or rescues his father. The point is that the delivering "angel" is a hawk.



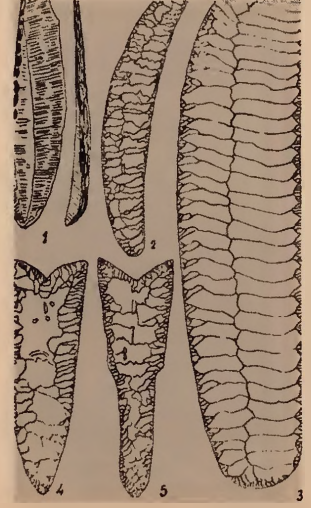
In Reference to Fac. No. 1, Fig. 2, "Abraham fastened upon an altar": This reproduction of an archaic funeral rite shows the lion-couch figuring in a variety of situations or episodes. The elaborate ritual here illustrated has never been explained to everybody's satisfaction, and shows that we are dealing here with a very obscure and complicated business.



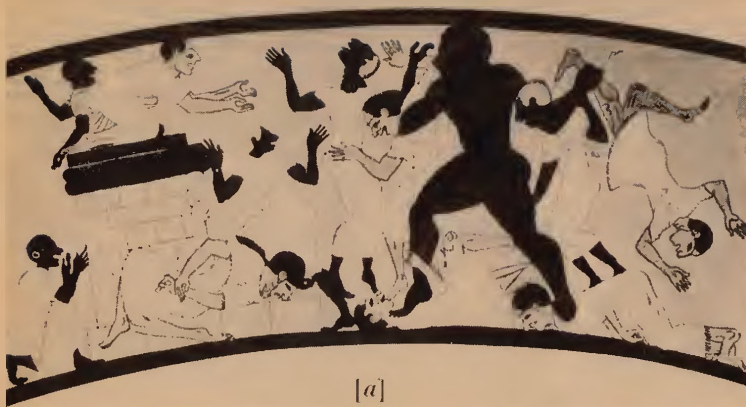
In reference to Fac. No. 1, Fig. 2: The central panel from the shrine of Opet closely resembles the composition of Papyrus No. 1. The most recent studies of this figure (by Varille, Uphill, and others) agree that the man on the couch is not being embalmed but is plainly in the act of arising from the couch. The bird represents his father, his mother, his son, and himself! This should be a warning against the dogmatic simplicity with which scholars have sought to explain Figure 2 of Facsimile 1 in the Book of Abraham.



In reference to Fac. No. 1, Fig. 2: This has been called both "The Tomb of Osiris" and "The Bed of Osiris." The presence of no less than five hawks is another warning against oversimplification. Death, sleep, birth, procreation, transformation, and resurrection are all represented in this imposing and controversial monument.



In reference to Fac. No. 1, Fig. 3. "The idolatrous priest of Elkenah attempting to offer up Abraham as a sacrifice": Egyptians used flint knives of prehistoric design both in sacrificing and in embalming rites, which were symbolically identical (see our discussion). The long thin crescent-shaped knife, No. 2, shown here is the type resembling the knife held by the priest in the Facsimile.



In reference to Fac. No. 1, Fig. 3: The famous Busiris Hydris. On a stone platform before the altar, Pharaoh, identified by his head-dress and his beard, is seen bound and helpless (as in Fac. No. 1, no ropes are necessary to show this); on top of the altar the priest is pleading for his life, while the mighty Herakles, who at the last moment burst his bonds and rose from the altar, is wreaking havoc among Pharaoh's retainers. This was the favorite Egyptian story of the Greeks, who here make typically Greek fun of the whole business.



In reference to Fac. No. 1, Fig. 4. "The altar for sacrifice by the idolatrous priests," with the four canopic jars (discussed later): Here is a very ancient Egyptian altar, dating from the III Dynasty. As anyone can see, it is shaped like a lion-couch.



In reference to Fac. No. 1, Fig. 4: Here is a very late Egyptian altar (discovered in 1948), which still faithfully preserves the likeness of the lion-couch.



In reference to Fac. No. 1, Fig. 4: Another altar, the head missing but the lion clearly accounted for. It is quite apparent by now that the proper form for an altar of sacrifice among the Egyptians was the lion-couch, as represented and explained in the Joseph Smith Papyrus No. I and Abraham 1:13.



In reference to Fac. No. 1, Fig. 4: This is the head of King Tutankhamon's lion-couch, the third of three ritual couches. This particular couch, though having the form of an ordinary bed (see Abr. 1:13) represents, according to A. Piankoff, the final stage in a couch-drama that culminates with the king's resurrection. Thus, whether we view the lion-couch as an altar, a bed, or an embalming table, it always stands "in this case, in relation to this subject" (see Fig. 12 caption), liberation from a death that was ritually and symbolically sacrificial and violent.

“Let us consider one of the truly important clues to the meaning of Facsimile No. 1—the lion-couch”

could be more stirring than this Coffin Text: “Be silent, be silent, O ye people. Give heed, give close attention—what is here? Here is great news, O ye people, Horus has an announcement to make: The King is *not* dead! He is going to live, he will never die again!”¹²⁸ All are stunned with amazement when Osiris begins to shake the dust from his face;¹²⁹ the thing is so unexpected that it is quite frightening: “The Watchers tremble when Osiris rises from the dead like a bird; they are taken by surprise.”¹³⁰ The dark night of despair is rent by the glad cry which marks the climax of the mysteries: “We have found him! Let us rejoice together!”¹³¹ With the first ray of hope, everyone’s mood changes abruptly: “N. [the king] is intact: the Eye of Horus at Heliopolis is intact. N. lives, N. lives! The Eye of Heliopolis lives!” There is still a spark of life, and that makes all the difference.¹³² The two ladies who come to mourn are now galvanized into new action: “Come, they say, let us gather his members; let us restore him completely!”¹³³ and so they start making life-giving passes, reciting formulas, and speaking words of encouragement and instruction to the late object of their tears.¹³⁴ Anubis, who arrived as a crepe-hanging undertaker, suddenly hears Isis cheering outside, and he gets the point: “Arise and live,” he tells the man on the couch, “. . . that you may *reverse* the damage inflicted on you!” “You live!” he cries. “Arise and live! You are *not* dead!”¹³⁵ The dread embalmer, without changing his jackal mask, instantly assumes the role of the healing physician; it is his hands that now impart the fluid of life to the erstwhile cadaver.¹³⁶ Naturally, the king’s own role is reversed: “The Weary One awakes and arises. The god stands up and resumes his body.”¹³⁷ “Today Osiris N. comes out of Heliopolis, his heart is in his body, returned to him. . . .”¹³⁸ “O Osiris, thou didst depart but thou hast returned; thou didst sleep but thou hast awakened; thou didst die, but art revived!”¹³⁹

Dick: A neat trick, if you can do it. Who makes all this happen?

Mr. Jones: Everybody—that is an important point. Though the whole thing is miraculous, everybody must work

like mad to bring it about! The devotees search diligently even while they mourn, and the joyful finding is in part a reward of their efforts. Even the morbid magical exercises that make up such a large part of the late Egyptian documents are nearly all positive efforts toward achieving one great goal—restoration of life.¹⁴⁰ Along with strange ordinances, gestures, and passes by the officiants, “mourning, dancing, and eating assist in the resurrection,” and in these all must participate.¹⁴¹ As the two ladies work feverishly to restore the dead Osiris, they talk to him constantly, chiding him into action; with renewed hope comes a spirit of jollity and banter as they tell the man on the couch that he is quite able to move himself if he will only make an effort. “You have been placed on your back,” they tell him. “Now arise on your side! I am Isis, I am Nephthys! They commanded the Great Weary One to arise and defend himself.”¹⁴² He must put up a fight, make every effort to turn himself over and push himself up by his own power.¹⁴³ “Awake Osiris, awake O thou who hast become weary! Arise, stand up and have power over thy members!”¹⁴⁴ At every hour of the day and night in the local cults the challenge rings out: “Arise, awake, Osiris; thou art triumphant, thine enemies are overthrown!”¹⁴⁵ It is Anubis, the erstwhile mortician, who now cries out, “You live! Arise and live! You are not dead. . . . You live, receiving endowment in the temple!”¹⁴⁶ It is a painful operation: “. . . thy corpse lies on the ground. Then Geb opens thine eyes, stretches thy stiffened limbs, returns thy heart to thy body.”¹⁴⁷ But with divine assistance, especially of Anubis, “The Weary One awakes and arises. The god stands up and resumes his body. Horus stands there [assisting], he has clothed N. [the king] in a fabric of himself.”¹⁴⁸

Dick: So they’re right back where they started from.

Mr. Jones: Not quite. This is not just a return to the old order. Something has been gained by all this suffering and toil. The living king has been permitted to “suffer serious physical damage,” as Naville put it, “for the sake of the experience that it will give him”; having wilfully consorted with evil, he

has paid a terrible price, but in the end is the wiser for what he has been through.¹⁴⁹ His narrow escape is quickly followed by a magnificent coronation scene, “a great one falls on his side, but rises like a god and takes the crown when the Two Ladies order him to arise and mount the throne.”¹⁵⁰ By passing the tests he has shown himself “justified”—qualified to take the throne.¹⁵¹ “Our play proclaims that at the coronation . . . whatever harm he may have suffered is undone,” writes Frankfort; “. . . with his Eye, Horus has regained his full strength.”¹⁵² As Miss Thausing puts it, “the period of transition ends up on a new plane of existence,” with body and spirit on a higher level than before.¹⁵³

Jane: I’m getting tired. Why do we have to go through all this?

Mr. Jones: I’ll tell you why. Because we have to proceed from the known to the unknown.

Dick: What does that mean?

Mr. Jones: That it is foolish to rest a hypothesis—let alone a conclusion—on a premise which itself rests on dubious evidence. If we want to test a claim of Joseph Smith, we must first of all make sure that we know just what that claim is. Now, is there anything we can be sure of? There is: namely, that Joseph Smith published and widely circulated “the above cut” known as Facsimile 1 on the same page as his own explanation of that cut. He definitely claims that the interpretation goes with the picture—that is something we can test. But when you show me the sign for the single syllable, *Khons* (if it is a single syllable), and say that Joseph Smith “translated” that one monosyllable by a paragraph of 173 words, you raise an issue that fairly bristles with unanswered questions. The first proposition can be called a “known,” the second certainly cannot. So why not begin with the first proposition, about which all see eye to eye, and ask concerning it: Was Joseph Smith’s explanation of Facsimile 1 correct? Before we can answer that question, we must know what Facsimile 1 *really* represents. Until now, anyone who could recognize an Egyptian symbol or two has promptly come up with an answer, but that won’t do any more. One of these days this question is going to be answered by a computer, and before that answer can mean anything, the computer has got to be fed with a hundred times more information than any Egyptologist has brought to the problem so far. Meanwhile, after lunch, let us consider one of the truly important clues to the meaning of Facsimile 1—the lion-couch. What does Joseph Smith’s official explanation say the lion-couch was?

FOOTNOTES

- ¹⁰⁷The hiding motif is vividly depicted in *Coffin Text* No. 312 (De Buck, IV, 69-70), and *B.D.*, Chap. 78 (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, p. 164), and in Ps. Callisthenes, *Vit. Alex.*, I, 3 (in Hopfner, pp. 399f).
- ¹⁰⁸M. de Rochemonteix, in *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 3, p. 79.
- ¹⁰⁹*Coffin Texts*, No. 74 (De Buck, I, 306).
- ¹¹⁰Horus and Seth, 23 (Papyr. Louvre 3129, in S. Schott, *Urkunden Mythologischen Inhalts*, p. 119).
- ¹¹¹So *Coffin Texts*, I, 2, 25-27, 51ff.
- ¹¹²W. Cernak, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 76 (1940), p. 23.
- ¹¹³B. Bruyere, in *Chron. d'Egypte*, Vol. 28 (1952), pp. 31ff, 36; also in the tomb of Queen Thiti (in *Memoires de la Miss. Fr. Arch.*, V, 1894, Pl. V), where a prince (wearing the uraeus) faces a door to which a lion-headed man, holding a knife, is pointing; on the other side of the door a lion crouches on a tomb. The king had to undergo other physical risks, such as swimming in dangerous waters, Lucan, *Phars.* IX, 153-161 (Hopfner, p. 186). In the stories of Khamuas the Pharaoh passes through physical danger and humiliation during the rites, F. Lloyd Griffith, *Stories of the HPs of Memphis*, pp. 52ff, 62ff.
- ¹¹⁴*Coffin Texts*, I, 82-89. Cf. Book of Moses 1:20, in Pearl of Great Price.
- ¹¹⁵*Coffin Texts*, I, 217, 220.
- ¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, I, 11.
- ¹¹⁷Thausing, *Auferstehungsgedanke* (Leipzig, 1943), p. 42; A. Piankoff, *Shrines of Tut.*, p. 22, n. 48.
- ¹¹⁸S. Schott, above n. 107, p. 119.
- ¹¹⁹P. Derchain, in *Rev. Egyptol.*, Vol. 15, p. 22. The left eye is the moon.
- ¹²⁰A. Moret, *La Mise a Mort du dieu en Egypte* (Paris, 1927), p. 15. "Open thy door to Re . . . and he shall bring light into the hidden dwelling," M. M. Lefebure, in *Bibliothèque Egyptol.*, Vol. 34, p. 83, an inscription from the Tomb of Seti I.
- ¹²¹T. M. Davis, *Tomb of Iouiya*, 1907, p. 45; a photo is in Moret, *Kings and Gods*, Pl. XI, opp. p. 96.
- ¹²²*Coffin Texts*, I, 11.
- ¹²³Ps. Callisthenes, as of note 104 above. The close resemblance of this text to the Coffin Text in the preceding note vindicates its authentic Egyptian background.
- ¹²⁴Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, I, 13, and others in note 105 above.
- ¹²⁵"Stirb und werde!" is the theme, W. Cernak, in *Archiv fuer aegypt. Archaeol.*, I (1938), pp. 212f.
- ¹²⁶. . . nam perit, ut vivat, se tamen ipsa creat; ut possit nasci, appetit ante mori, Lactantius, *de Phoen.*, 77.
- ¹²⁷E. Drioton, in *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Egypte*, XXV (Cairo, 1943), pp. 11f. The text should be studied in detail.
- ¹²⁸*Coffin Texts*, I, 81.
- ¹²⁹*Ibid.*, I, 82ff, 85, 89.
- ¹³⁰*Ibid.*, I, 91.
- ¹³¹Above, note 105.
- ¹³²*Pyramid Texts*, No. 683; *Coffin Texts*, I, 292.
- ¹³³*Coffin Texts*, 74, I, 306-310.
- ¹³⁴*Coffin Texts*, I, 215f. See the lively depiction from the temple at Philae, G. Benedite, *Le Temple de Philae* (Paris, 1893), Pl. xl, and from the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, photo in Moret, *Kings and Gods*, p. 80, Pl. X.
- ¹³⁵*Coffin Texts*, I, 221, 233-37, cf. *B.D.*, Ch. 26.
- ¹³⁶W. Federn, in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 19 (1960), p. 251; *Coffin Texts*, No. 341, IV, 344f.; G. Thausing, *Auferstehungsgedanke*, p. 88.
- ¹³⁷*Pyramid Texts*, 690: 2092ff.
- ¹³⁸C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Relig. Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchnesneferibre* (Copenhagen, 1937), pp. 14-16.
- ¹³⁹*Pyramid Texts*, 690: 2092ff, also 1688 and 1975, cited by A. Piankoff, *Shrines of Tutankhamon*, p. 22.
- ¹⁴⁰The texts in G. Daressy, *Textes et Dessins Magiques* (Catal. Gen. du Caire, Nos. 9401-9449, Cairo, 1903), almost all deal with this theme. In Porphyry, *De abstin.*, II, 47 (Hopfner, *Fontes Hist. Relig. Aegyptiacae*, pp. 465f), and Heliod., *Aethiopica*, VI, 14f, it is almost frightening.
- ¹⁴¹G. Thausing, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-36, 35f; *Pyramid Texts*, No. 683-86. "It was necessary to have recourse to summary and potent rites, in order to bring about an instantaneous resurrection of the dismembered god," A. Moret, *Kings and Gods* (New York: Putnam, 1912), p. 85. "Arise! Stand up, rejoice, being washed with

the four pure pitchers with which Horus was washed, and clothed in the garment that protects you against all things. The vows are completed (or fully made) in the House. . . ." *Coffin Texts*, I, 287f.

¹⁴²*Coffin Texts*, I, 306-313, 215f.

¹⁴³A. Piankoff, in *Rev. Egyptol.*, Vol. 1 (1933), p. 173. "Lift thyself on thy right side . . . Osiris, stand up and come out." Piankoff, *Shrines*, p. 59.

¹⁴⁴Sander-Hansen, *loc. cit.*.

¹⁴⁵A. Moret, *Mysteres Egyptiens*, p. 23.

¹⁴⁶*Coffin Texts*, I, 233-37.

¹⁴⁷*Coffin Texts*, I, 56.

¹⁴⁸*Pyramid Texts*, 690: 2092ff. After much toil and effort, "under the hand of Anubis, the Ba finally returns to the body," Thausing, *Auferstehungsgedanke*, p. 88.

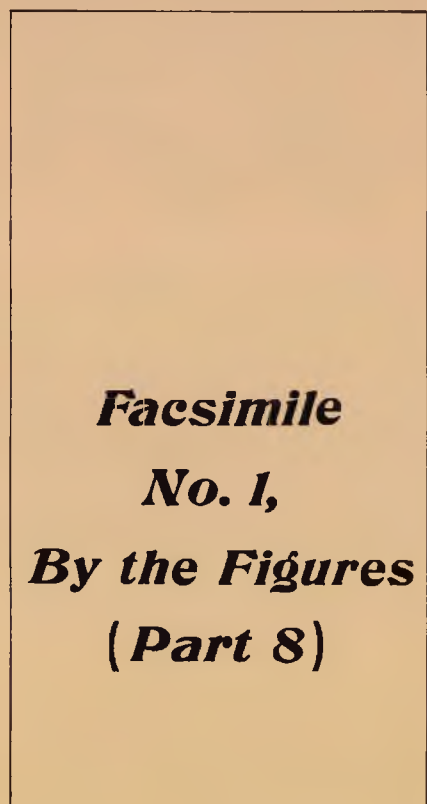
¹⁴⁹E. Naville, in *Revue de l'Egypte Ancienne*, Vol. 1 (1927), pp. 245-49.

¹⁵⁰*Coffin Texts*, I, 223ff, 292; *Pyramid Texts*, 676f: 2007ff, 611: 1734.

¹⁵¹*Coffin Texts*, I, 9-11, 99-102, 109f, ending with the usual acclamation, 112ff.

¹⁵²H. Frankfort, *Kingship*, p. 126.

¹⁵³G. Thausing, *Auferstehungsgedanke*, p. 19, citing *Pyramid Text* 632 (366).



**Facsimile
No. 1,
By the Figures
(Part 8)**

Facsimile No. 1, Figure 4: "The altar for sacrifice by the idolatrous priests, standing before the gods of Elkenah," etc. To Abraham's readers, for whom he must translate Egyptian terms and explain Egyptian gods, this altar needed a bit of explaining: ". . . and that you may have a knowledge of this altar, I will refer you to the representation at the commencement of this record." (Abr. 1:12.) It was the established practice of Egyptian nobles, when telling in their tomb inscriptions of such technical accomplishments as feats of transportation or building, to accompany their reports with illustrations, "mechanical drawings," as they have been called, which make some tombs

mines of valuable technical information. In this spirit of technical enlightenment we have "Abraham's" helpful sketch of a particular altar, with the fuller explanation that "it was made after the form of a bedstead, such as was had among the Chaldeans, and it stood before the gods of Elkenah, Libnah, Mahmackrah, Korash," etc. (Abr. 1:13.) The thing Abraham is emphatic about is that it looked like a bedstead, that is, an ordinary bed.

Jane: A Chaldean bed.

Mr. Jones: Another way of telling his readers that it was an ordinary bed, since Chaldean beds were the kind they knew about. But here the priest of Pharaoh is using it to perform a sacrifice "after the manner of the Egyptians." One Egyptian royal bed has survived, from a dynasty strongly under Chaldean or Asiatic influence, and it is a lion-couch.¹ If the lion-couch was not the normal everyday Egyptian bed, it was the usual bed of those who could afford it.² But a lion-couch in a tomb is something special; when you see one there, as Professor Piankoff warns us, you can be sure that some process is under way that is going to lead to resurrection.³ You see, all the great crises of life, those crucial events officially noted by what the folklore people call *rites de passage*, mark a passage from one phase of existence to another, and if you will think about it, nearly all these great crises take place in bed. Thus Professor Piankoff assures us that while "associated with resurrection," the lion-couch "appears in all representations of royal birth."⁴ That is, kings, like other people, are born in a bed, and as we see in the famous reliefs of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahri, the king's birthday bed was a ceremonial lion-couch.⁴

People also die in beds. The famous "Bed of Osiris" in Abydos is also called the "Tomb of Osiris"; the bed is a big stone sarcophagus, but its sides and ends are carefully cut to represent a lion-couch, and Osiris is lying on top of it, which is proper, since he is going to be resurrected on it, even as he was conceived on such a bed. Almost identical scenes from the Temple of Seti I and the Temple of Opet show birth, death, conception, and resurrection, the smitten helplessness and the healing of the king, all clearly depicted in a single scene, and the common element and central object of them all is the lion-couch.⁵ We have seen a number of cases in which a series of lion-couch scenes was shown. Here in the tomb of Tutankhamen we have three real life-sized couches, which represent, according to our guidebook, "three stages of the process of rebirth," the final stage being that of the lion-couch.⁶ Profes-

“We now know that Egyptian altars were
in the form of a bedstead’—
but nobody knew it in Joseph Smith’s day

sor Moret noted that in the mysteries “a dead person is reborn when he lays himself down, clothed in a skin or a shroud, on a bed.”⁷ The bed is important, but which bed—a bed of (re)birth, conception, suffering, healing, death, or resurrection?

Dick: That all depends.

Mr. Jones: Yes, the same bed changes roles, just as the people do, from one episode to the next. And there are some we haven’t considered yet. The bed in which the dead Egyptian lay in state awaiting his funeral preserved the same form right down into Roman times, and what form do you think it was?

Dick and Jane: A lion-couch!

Mr. Jones: How did you guess?⁸ Then there is another form of lion-couch with short legs, once thought to be an embalmer’s table. Do you see the sense of that? Look at this so-called “later dynastic embalmer’s table.” It went unrecognized for many years, it says here, because “at first glance the slab will be recognized as taking the form of a funerary couch, with lions’ heads and legs and elongated lions’ bodies merged into the cavetto cornice which make the frame. . . . I suggest that the object is an embalmer’s table.”⁹ That is, the embalmer’s table could not be distinguished from a normal bed. But later it turned out that the embalmer’s table was really an altar.

Dick: How come?

Mr. Jones: Not only was a real “embalmer’s table of the XXVI Dynasty” found, having the form of “a wooden lion-couch,”¹⁰ but another stone bed turned up of the very same type as the first one, only this time found *in situ* within a ceremonial complex, which left not the slightest doubt that it was an altar of sacrifice.¹¹ All the Egyptian altars are solid stone with lions’ legs, heads, and tails put in by the sculptor to make it clear that the altar is still a lion-couch. And here, at last, we have the explanation for the awkward legs of the priest and Abraham in Facsimile 1. You will notice that the priest in ordinary embalming scenes stands on the other side of the couch so that his legs can be clearly seen by looking under the bed. That would have been the habitual and easy way of drawing the scene, and it is apparent

that the artist of Joseph Smith Papyrus No. 1 started out in the usual manner. But then, at the risk of making nonsense of his composition, he put *everything* on *this* side of the bed; why, if it is just a bed? He could not omit the legs of the priest—convention demands them—but neither could he let us see under the bed, because it is a solid stone altar. We *now* know beyond a doubt that Egyptian altars looked just like that, faithfully cut to imitate “the form of a bedstead”—but nobody knew it in Joseph Smith’s day or for a long time after, and on the face of it it looks just too silly for words.

Dick: But why should an altar be a bed?

Mr. Jones: We saw that the “bed of Osiris” is also the tomb of Osiris, and Diodorus tells us (I, 45, 88) that “the kings of Egypt used to sacrifice men of the color of Typhon on the tomb of Osiris,” which made it also an altar. But there is more to it than that. In the oldest pictures of altars, they seem to be nothing but mere chopping blocks,¹² and it has been long debated whether sacrifice originated from the practical butchering of animals for meat (as Jequier believed), or as a way of punishment for rebels and enemies, or as something with a deeper meaning. Some have maintained that the original idea of an altar was to represent the seat of a divinity, “often designed like a chair or seat. In early Babylonia the altar actually is a comfortable seat for the god”; that is why the sides are raised.¹³ The seat-type of altar is also found in Egypt—small altars shaped like cushions on the top, with protruding bulges on either side, which are thought to represent the horizon—“symbols of the desert rim of the western horizon.”¹⁴ The person who sits on this altar was thus “on the threshold of a new life,” about to cross “the desert threshold of the western horizon” to the next world.¹⁵

Dick: The hot seat, eh?

Mr. Jones: Quite possibly. Remember yesterday when we told of the terror of the prince who has to sit on that seat, and also how he was being conducted over the threshold by a lion-headed man with a big knife and to a lion behind the door? As we enter

the shrine of Opet to view the most instructive of all lion-couch scenes, we pass by one of these altars, a square seat with raised sides, and right in front of it stands the big and forbidding statue of a lion-headed lady with a big knife. Professor Varille is not sure about the origin of the altar, but he is sure that the traces of fire and the runnels for blood indicate some sort of sacrifice.¹⁶ In the Babylonian altars, instead of lions we have semi-lion or griffin altars, which amount to the same thing.¹⁷ But we haven’t yet said anything about the meaning of this bed-altar equation that Abraham found so important.

As you well know by now, Horus, the living king, died of the deadly blows inflicted on him by his rival Seth.

Jane: Only he didn’t die.

Mr. Jones: He was “officially dead.” The Egyptians believed that one could die by degrees, each of six steps being a genuine death; this is something that is hard for us to understand.¹⁸ The point is, however, that the death of Osiris was a sacrificial death, preparing the way for his resurrection. And just as Osiris had to die in order to be resurrected, so the initiate in his mysteries “had to experience the fate of his god in his own person.”¹⁹ Accordingly, various drugs, lighting effects, hypnosis, etc., were used to make the mock death as real as possible. The initiate was rendered unconscious and laid in a coffin, or else he was shrouded, crowned, and led into a deep crypt, representing the world of the dead.²⁰

Jane: Just like the king.

Mr. Jones: So it would seem. He could become an Osiris only when he was dead and only if he had suffered the same violent sacrificial death as Osiris: “If thou slayest me,” says an incantation, “I am Osiris!”²¹ The dead person “is a kind of Osiris,” wrote Sethe, by virtue of “repeating the case of Osiris.”²² In the opening of the mouth rite the symbolic “smiting of the body of the god [Osiris]” was “also the smiting of the mummy of the deceased, whereby each was made a *divine victim*.”²³ For “the dead to become Osiris,” according to Jequier, means nothing less than “to pass through *all* the vicissitudes of the god,” which is what the king is doing on the lion-couch of Seti I.²⁴ But how could one fulfill the most conspicuous aspect of the Osiris experience, the *violent* sacrificial death, if one had died quite normally?

Dick: That’s no problem. You’d imitate it, of course.

Jane: Like Christians “taking up their cross.”

Mr. Jones: I think that is the answer. Here Diodorus (I, 91) is very helpful:

First, he says, a priest marks on the lower left side of the body the place where an incision is to be made. Then one called the "ripper" takes an Ethiopian stone knife, makes the ritual cut prescribed by law, and runs like mad.

Jane: Why?

Mr. Jones: Because everybody is chasing him and throwing stones at him and cursing him. Plainly he is a murderer, and the primitive flint knife he used (the same type, as we shall see, that was used in sacrificing living victims) is the murder-weapon of Seth. The dead, having undergone sacrificial violence, is a true Osiris. The dead person on the embalming-table is Osiris on the altar, and the embalming operation is a mimicking of the sacrificial death of Osiris. And just as the members of Osiris were scattered all over the world and had to be brought together again before his resurrection could be accomplished, so those four canopic jars before the couch, containing the viscera of the defunct, represent "the earth in its four quarters" exactly as Joseph Smith says they do (Facsimile 2, Figure 8), as well as the four elements taken from those four quarters to make up the body of man. They represent both the dissolution and scattering of the elements of the body and then the gathering in of those parts and elements for the resurrection. (See below.) But what makes the sacrificial nature of the couch and the scene plainest of all is the lion-motif.

All About Lions

Dick: Why should that be, if lions go with ordinary beds?

Mr. Jones: There is no conflict there, because lions have always had two main functions as far as Pharaohs are concerned, the one protective, the other aggressive.

Dick: Like protecting people in bed.

Mr. Jones: Or anywhere else. In the earliest representations the couch or settee of the sacrificial victim has bulls' feet;²⁵ but already in the Old Kingdom we find funeral couches with bulls' feet and lions' heads,²⁶ or lions' feet and bulls' heads.²⁷ In the great shrine on the Capital at Rome the Lady of Heaven sat between two lions, while her husband Jupiter sat between two bulls;²⁸ but away back in the Pyramid Texts the two animals meet in the royal throne "whose faces are those of Maht-lion, whose feet are those of the great bull."²⁹ Can you tell me what lions and bulls have in common?

Jane: They are both fierce . . . and dangerous.

Mr. Jones: Yes, both lion and bull fights seem to have been royal sport around the Mediterranean for a long

time.³⁰ Here on the Palette of Narmer, one of the oldest documents in the world, we see "a 'powerful bull' is goring a 'Libyan'; the bull is the king," Professor Gardiner explained, "since precisely that epithet is constantly applied to the reigning monarch."³¹ But from almost every picture of a royal throne it appears that the king also fancied himself as a lion. From the early domination of the bull the lion gradually takes over.

Dick: Why was that, I wonder?

Mr. Jones: Because power has two uses, as I said—aggressive and defensive. Bulls, like generals, are very good at aggression, but they are poor defenders.

Dick: Are lions much better?

Mr. Jones: The Egyptians certainly thought so. Plutarch says that Horus considered the lion to be the most efficient of all creatures not in attack but in defense.³² And Horapollo sees the point when he says that the lion under the throne of Horus is always on guard, its eyes never shutting.³³ It was the lion that guarded Egypt as the god Nefertem, and the main fortress facing Canaan was called "the Dwelling of the Lion."³⁴ The best-known guarding lions are those in front of public buildings. Plutarch says that the Egyptians "honor the lion and adorn the entrances to temples with open lions' mouths."³⁵ It was more than mere ornamentation, however; if we want to see the lions really on guard, the best place is right here at the entrance of the Temple of Opet, housing our prize lion-couch exhibit. The bolts of the great doors of the temple were crouching lions to whose mouths chains (for pulling out the bolts) were attached with human hearts as weights on the end of them—"It is surprising how perfect the symbolism is," Professor Varille remarked.³⁶ The guardian lions drink the blood and eat the livers of unauthorized persons attempting to enter the shrine.³⁷ Aelian says that real lions were kept and fed at the gates of the great shrine at Heliopolis, as guardians and champions of the sun, and that they took vengeance on all who broke the oaths taken at the mysteries.³⁸ In the courtyard of the Opet Temple, right at the entrance stood this frightful black granite statue of Sekhmet as guardian, the lion-headed lady-goddess with the knife, painted all red.³⁹

The lion-couch is matched by the lion-throne: "The adornment of the king's throne with lions' heads and legs was the custom in Egypt from the earliest times."⁴⁰ And here the symbolism is quite clear: not only is the throne mounted on lions' legs, as if a lion were carrying the king forward on

his conquests (a common idea in the ancient world), but beneath the armrest we usually see the king himself represented as a human-headed lion treading on his Asiatic foes: "In Egypt the human-headed lion is the embodiment of conscious supremacy."⁴¹ The king sits in state on his lion-throne,⁴² with the enemies of Egypt bound under the seat, while beneath the armrest the king himself is shown as a lion slaying the Asiatics.⁴³ Lions are first-class defenders, because anybody approaching them fears an attack. The Pharaohs kept pet lions, which would accompany them on the hunts or crouch like dogs beside the throne. Here is a contemporary picture of a pet lion crouching before the throne of Rameses II while the king himself personally dispatches the Libyan king with a ceremonial sword.⁴⁴ This is a reminder of the ritual function of the lion in slaughtering the king's enemies. Pharaoh himself is the "glaring lion with raging claws," who "licks up the might and blood (?) of him who attacks him."⁴⁵ As the king cuts the throats of his victims (represented by an oryx) in formal sacrifice, the Lady Hathor tells him: "I have given you the heart of a lion to repel your enemies."⁴⁶ Rebels and oath-breakers, i.e. any who defied the king, were fed, as in Rome, ritually "to the lions":⁴⁷ It is the lioness who puts all rebels to death by fire and knife. At the entrance to temples the guardian lion is seen crouching with such a super-knife as that held by the grim black-red lion lady at the entrance of the Temple of Opet; "the terrible lioness" means just one thing—sacrifice.⁴⁸ Here the lion's personality is intimately bound with the lion-couch. When the tail of the lion-couch is "long and curiously curved," one can be sure that the figure on the couch is showing signs of life, while the tail is straight and drooping when the person on the couch has and is given up.⁴⁹ Here in this series of scenes the completely embalmed mummy is lying supine and inert on a lion-couch, while in the next scene he has turned over on his face and is vigorously doing push-ups—and the lion's head of the couch has changed to a jackal's head.⁵⁰ Doesn't that suggest to you that the lion's head on the couch has a definite significance—that it is the harbinger of death? Remember how when the dead shows signs of life Anubis suddenly becomes the great healer? Here we see the same transition from lion to jackal. In the Coffin Texts the person who is told to arise from the lion-couch is "escaping the lion," while one about to be sacrificed is told "Akr seizes thee, Horus!"⁵¹

Jane: Who is Akr?

"I find it odd that the crocodile... always
and only turns up
when there is a sacrificing going on"

Mr. Jones: He is the double-headed lion, also called Ruti, who controls all goings and comings to and from the castle of Osiris—the other world.⁵² But mostly the lion has to do with the bed: Here is one who says as he arises from the lion-couch: "I have removed the lions from me . . . I have vivified the vivified. I have thrown off all my evil. My horror is blood. . . ." Plainly he has reversed the lion-power.^{52a} Apollonius of Tyana, a famous wandering wise man from the time of Christ, had a pet lion whom he claimed to be the reincarnation of Pharaoh Amasis; it was regarded as a miraculous beast because it refused to eat the blood of sacrifices, that being apparently the proper function of pet lions.⁵³ In some cases the lion-couch itself is shown as a rampant beast trampling its victims,⁵⁴ and a newly found fragment from Der el-Bahri shows the lion-couch as a sphinx,⁵⁵ a reminder that the king as a sphinx on the sides of the throne treads on his enemies, and also that sphinxes liked to sacrifice their guests.⁵⁵

Jane: What are all these lion-couches doing on sleds?

Mr. Jones: You will notice that quite often the lion-couch is taking the mummy for a ride. Here in the tomb of Montuhikhopshuf, in a sequence in which Maspero definitely detected human sacrifice, the dead person is brought to the tomb on his lion-couch, which is mounted on a sled; in the next two scenes it has been removed from the sled and put aside.⁵⁶ The same sequence is shown here in the tomb of Aba, where the lion-couch also rides on a ship;⁵⁷ in this Old Kingdom tomb the funeral ship itself has the lion head!⁵⁸ And here in the third of three lion-couch scenes, as soon as the man on the couch stirs to life and starts walking, the lion-couch itself starts walking too!⁵⁹ Thus the lion is a conveyor; thrones are often shown as borne on the backs of lions;⁶⁰ here at Edfu both Horus and the King are seen riding on platforms mounted on the backs of lions.⁶¹ The lion is the supernatural conveyor to the other-world; in the mysteries he is the psychomp.

Dick: What's a psychomp?

Mr. Jones: Somebody who conducts spirits from one place to another. The

lion-headed lady Sekhmet, or the priest with the lion mask, usually holds a big sacrificial knife in one hand while pointing the way imperiously with the other. In "Chaldaeia," the lion started out as the dangerous and evil enemy of the gods—an understandable role when lions were still a real danger—but in time "a symbol of submission to higher powers or their ally,"⁶² which is what it means in Egypt, where it represents the irresistible order that the victim cannot evade. The lion-headed Lady Sekhmet, the big black granite figure all painted red that stands at the door of the Opet Shrine, is, according to Varille, "a principle of fire which destroys in order to regenerate"—she destroys but with a purpose; it is necessary destruction.⁶³ That may sound paradoxical, but it is the whole idea behind the lion-couch, best represented by the dangerous but beneficent lion.

Dick: But why do there have to be so many lions on these beds?

Jane: And on the altars?

Mr. Jones: I am glad you noticed that. Here, for example, is a small altar that our guidebook says is "Mios quadrifrons with lion faces in granite,"⁶⁴ and here is a "lion throne" facing in the four directions.⁶⁵ This low limestone table with the lions' heads protruding in the four directions "is a representation of some kind of seat or throne."⁶⁶ And here we see King Seti I presenting a four-headed lion-couch seat in the temple.⁶⁷ And notice these stone altars with lions' heads facing in all four directions.⁶⁸

Jane: Why is that, do you think?

Mr. Jones: Well, there must have been an important reason, because it meant a lot of extra work and was a clumsy thing to handle. It goes back to the fourfold obsession of the Sed-festival. Professor Kees believed that the great moment of the Sed-festival, the climax of the whole business, was when the king "shot the victorious arrows in the four directions of heaven, to destroy all his enemies symbolically,"⁶⁹ and H. Bonnet thinks the great moment was when Horus and Seth handed the king the sceptre, bow, and arrows that showed him conqueror and ruler of the world.⁶⁹ On the same occasion the king not only shot the four

arrows but was enthroned four times, each time facing a different direction, "upon a curious throne base, ornamented with 12 lion-heads."⁷⁰

Remember, we said that at first the lion- and bull-thrones were interchangeable, and the king sitting on 12 lions certainly suggests the 12 oxen of Solomon. Now here is the most spectacular altar ever found in Egypt, or rather the base of it: the gigantic fourfold altar of Abusir; you will notice that everything about it is fourfold, emphasizing the four-directional orientation.⁷¹ Here is a recent comment about it: "Even cosmic symbolism is implied in the square altars (this is not the only one) accessible from four stairways rising from the four directions to four sides," and the symbolism includes that of the Primeval Hill.⁷²

Jane: Should the lion couch always face four directions like that?

Mr. Jones: I think so. That is, when it is thought of as an altar, it should.

Dick: Then why doesn't it in the Joseph Smith papyrus?

Mr. Jones: Oh, but it does—most vividly! It is not drawn fourfold, because that would be extremely difficult and clumsy, but they had a way of getting around that. Sir Alan Gardiner noted that the coronation and royal funeral rites were all "quadrilateral"—repeated four times, a basic requirement but exceedingly difficult to depict in art. Therefore, according to Professor Gardiner, the Egyptian artist restored to his typical and ingenious tricks. How, for example, would you show Pharaoh being baptized by four officiants each dousing water on him from a different side and all at once? Any way you arranged it, your picture would be a mess. So the Egyptian artist simply had two priests baptizing the king, one standing on either side, but they dressed up one of these figures as Thoth, who can and in this case does signify the gods of all of the four directions in this single person.⁷³ In lion-couch scenes the Egyptian artists had a special trick to show the four heads without hopelessly scrambling their drawings: in the birth and nursing scenes it was usual to show two lion couches, one standing directly on top of the other, and to adorn each bed with two lion-heads, one on each end. It was, as you can see, a perfectly fantastic arrangement, which can have had only one purpose—to show all four lion heads distinctly in a tidy design.^{73a} That trick is never used in funerary lion-couch scenes, where the four canopic jars are used instead: along with the many other things they could represent, those four, as we shall soon see, always stood in the eyes of the Egyptians before everything else as

representative of "this earth in its four quarters," exactly as Joseph Smith says.

Dick: But aren't they jars for holding the insides of the dead person?

Mr. Jones: Certainly, and those insides were thought of as composed of the four elements, brought together to form the body of man from the four quarters of the earth.

Jane: But they also represent idols.

Mr. Jones: Yes, idols of gods of the four quarters. We'll talk about them later. But first, since we are talking about lions, we might as well get rid of the crocodile, the savage companion of the lion, whose appearance in the Joseph Smith papyrus is quite significant, I think. It is designated as

Facsimile I, Figure 9. "The idolatrous god of Pharaoh": First of all, I find it odd that the crocodile never turns up in any of the nearly 200 other lion-couch scenes I have looked at, though he often turns up in an adjacent scene—but always and only when there is sacrificing going on. The prominence of the animal in the Joseph Smith Papyrus No. 1 therefore calls for some serious study. What do you think of first when you see a lion?

Jane: Get out of the way!

Mr. Jones: Yes. The first reaction to the sight of old Leo is that this is a dangerous and powerful beast. But that is not all you think of—as you get to know the animal and his habits better, he comes to mean all sorts of things to you, as we have just seen. Well, what is the first thing you think of when you see a monster crocodile?

Jane: Even more get out of the way!

Mr. Jones: That's true. A crocodile is even more alarming than a lion, and harder to get to know.

The Egyptians assigned the same primary functions to lions and crocodiles as you just did: their business is to chase people. If the lion-fortress guarded the northeast frontier of Egypt, the crocodiles that swarmed in the lakes and marshes there actually did keep unwelcome Arab and Libyan invaders from crossing over without authorization, or fugitives from Egypt from escaping.⁷⁴ In the Egyptian romances the hero's crossing to the other world is barred at the desert by lions and at the waters by crocodiles.⁷⁵ In the Temple of Seti I two crocodiles kneel under two lions holding huge sacrificial knives, with the sacred head of Osiris on a pole before them, and here is a funeral scene in which Nefertem the lion sacrifices the enemy of Egypt in rites at which Sobek the crocodile presides.⁷⁶ A terrible duo, but just as the Egyptians through long familiarity began to value certain traits of the lion, so they saw that the crocodile was not without its virtues.

Dick: What virtues, I would like to know.

Mr. Jones: Ferocity, fecundity, and above all rapacity were the conspicuous qualities of the beast,⁷⁷ and if those qualities in the crocodile, the lion, and the wolf in that order inspire a sort of awe,⁷⁸ they are not without their usefulness—the world needs scavengers, especially in exuberantly fertile subtropical regions such as Egypt. But still, Dick is right. The good done by marauding and predatory beasts is not very obvious. Philo, who lived all his life in Egypt, scratched his head in wonder and protested that it was reasonable enough to venerate useful and gentle animals if you must venerate animals at all, "But why crocodiles and lions? What could be more ridiculous?"⁷⁹ And Origen, a native Egyptian, says that he has never been able to find an explanation for such foolishness.⁸⁰ Because the Egyptians did worship the crocodile, you know, even though they hated it.

Jane: They hated it and still they worshiped it?

Mr. Jones: Yes, and visitors to Egypt just couldn't understand it. It was a prize paradox even for Egypt. From the earliest times the crocodile was worshiped in some parts of Egypt, and at all times his cult was one of the most important in the land.⁸¹ Priests would feed and groom the beasts lovingly at their shrines, where sometimes they became quite tame.⁸²

The Egyptians were quite aware of the more unlovely attributes of the crocodile: in some parts of the country it was considered the vilest of creatures and hunted down, and yet "others," wrote Strabo, "though aware of its dangerous and hateful nature, still worship it—and keep their distance!"⁸³ Those who hunted and even ate the crocodiles justified their action by saying that the beast was everything evil, creature of Typhon, the mortal enemy of Horus.⁸⁴ In some parts of Egypt people would swim along with the crocs, but not far away others would not even approach a shore where crocodiles might be found.⁸⁵ While at Crocodilopolis the animals were sacrosanct, a few miles away at Apollonopolis the populace waged systematic war against them.⁸⁶

Dick: The usual Egyptian confusion.

Mr. Jones: Plutarch says the explanation must be sought not in logical thinking but in some mantic power attributed to the animal, and that one Pharaoh died for scorning that particular power.⁸⁷ "Terrifying is the crocodile which the gods fear," says a Coffin Text,⁸⁸ and Drioton notes that the only reason the dead might want to change into a crocodile is to inspire

fear.⁸⁹ It stands for all the worst human attributes; Hopfner has collected Egyptian terror stories of the bloody crocodiles—which could be scarier than any ghost-stories, for the real crocodiles were not far away!⁹⁰ Naturally there were lots of charms against crocodiles, especially to render them harmless while one passed by the places where they lurked.⁹¹

But still the Egyptians revered the beast. It wasn't just that some Egyptians worshiped crocodiles and some hated them, but that the same people felt mixed emotions. Petrie insisted that the Egyptians all hated the crocs, but were so terribly afraid of them that they had to worship them to propitiate them. "The crocodile," he wrote, "was always feared and only worshipped in depreciation."⁹² This is borne out by this text from the famous Papyrus of Ani where "bowings and prostrations are made" to the "terrible crocodile, ravening and dangerous. . . ." ⁹³ As Strabo put it, "They worship the most hateful of all animals, the crocodile . . . and avoid it!"⁹⁴ The equivocal position of the poor Egyptians was like that of the people of India toward their expensive sacred cows: "The country simply swarms with crocodiles," Diodorus reported, because the people would not catch them, considering them to be sacred, and yet they very much appreciated the work of the little ichneumon in destroying and feeding on crocodile eggs.⁹⁵ When the son of the first governor of Alexandria was eaten by a crocodile, the priests paid an enormous fine to the governor to keep the animals from being hunted, "for they revered the crocodile and did not want it killed."⁹⁶ Mixed emotions, you see, though some made an issue and took sides for and against the crocs, as Herodotus and Anthanasius report.⁹⁷ Pliny and Ammainus say the same crocs would be well-behaved during certain ceremonial occasions but dangerous the rest of the time.⁹⁸

Dick: Like snakes at the Hopi snake dance, I suppose.

Mr. Jones: Sir Alan Gardiner wrote: "We find ourselves plunged into a world of imagery barely credible to the modern mind," when we consider the Egyptian attitude to the crocodile, and regard this as an instructive lesson in just how perverse ancient thought can be.⁹⁹ But it makes good sense if we consider a number of things. First of all, the crocodile was exactly what Joseph Smith calls him in Facsimile I, Figure 9: "the idolatrous god of Pharaoh." What most surprises Professor Gardiner, in fact, is that for all its "less attractive aspects" it was this "voracious creature whom an accident

The crocodile "is uniquely and exactly
what Joseph Smith called him,
'the idolatrous god of Pharaoh'"

of history had raised to the position of the chief divinity of Egypt."¹⁰⁰ He was not only the chief divinity—and that already in the Middle Kingdom—but peculiarly the special god of Pharaoh. It was not only the *most* unloved of creatures, it was also the *most* highly venerated!

Dick: More than any other animal?

Mr. Jones: Much more—in one special connection. It was exclusively and particularly the king's own totem. Or rather, since there has never been any agreement about totemism in Egypt—

Jane: —or anywhere else, for that matter.

Mr. Jones: Right—but don't interrupt. Let's see just how the crocodile was related to the Pharaoh; that won't be hard to find out, since our guidebook has a good deal to say about it. The crocodile exhibits in this hall are chronologically arranged; let us begin at the beginning. Crocodilopolis was always one of the top cult-places in Egypt,¹⁰¹ and the crocodile cult was always important throughout the entire land.¹⁰² The story was told at Crocodilopolis that Menes, the first king of a united Egypt, was once pursued by his own dogs while hunting and was rescued and carried to safety across the waters by a crocodile.¹⁰² Here is a Pyramid Text that actually says that the king is Sobek the croc,¹⁰³ even though we read in another Pyramid Text that this same Sobek is a vile and licentious beast.¹⁰³ Still other Pyramid Texts show that in those early times "the deified King appears in vital power in the water as a crocodile," which H. Kees calls a concept of prehistoric antiquity.¹⁰⁴

Jane: I thought the king was supposed to be a bull in those early times.

Mr. Jones: Here in the Pyramid of Unas, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty, he appears as a wild bull, "but along with that the King is also Sobek," which J. Spiegel thinks is a Lower Egyptian idea; at any rate, it was accepted everywhere.¹⁰⁵ Here in this Middle Kingdom mural from Medinet-Habu "the King is the bull of the Desert, but he wears the costume of Sobek, (the crocodile)."¹⁰⁶ By the V Dynasty the anthropomorphic or crocodile-headed Sobek appears wearing

various royal crowns, and by the XII Dynasty he is attached to and even identified with the Sun-god Re.¹⁰⁰ Here is a Middle Kingdom hymn to Sobek: "Sobek the Shedite appears gloriously, he has taken rulership of heaven and filled the Two Lands with his power"; it goes on to say that he wears the Wrrt-crown and is worshipped by "the sun-folk in Heliopolis," that he "seized the sceptre and the crown . . . ruler among the gods . . . who steals the Wrrt-crown."¹⁰⁷

Jane: But how could a dirty old crocodile ever be the sun?

Mr. Jones: In the hymns it calls him the "Duplicate of Re, great luminary that came forth from the flood . . . son of Neith in Abydos."^{107a} I think that explains it: Sobek is understandably the god of the shallow waters from which life emerged in the beginning; he appears out of the water even as the sun appears rising from the primordial waters on the first day "in splendor."¹⁰⁸ He is the only animal I know of that spends half his time basking in the tropical sun and the other half basking in the tropical water.

Jane: "How doeth the little crocodile. . ."

Mr. Jones: To be sure. Here is a Coffin Text that describes a monster crocodile, "the Lord of B'khw," holding out with the huge serpents of primordial times in sacred and dangerous haunts above the river—it is the sort of thing that could go way back.¹⁰⁹ In this text the first of all thrones, the throne of "the king of everything," is established "at the place of the four crocodiles," the king explaining to the crocs who occupy the four regions that he is going to create the Realm of Re anew on earth, and asking for their approval.¹¹⁰ It is as if the crocodiles as the original inhabitants of the land must grant permission to the king himself to settle and take over.¹¹⁰ At any rate, by the Middle Kingdom the Sobek element in the royal names "shows that the crocodile-god was still thought of as something connected with the monarchy," according to Gardiner.¹¹¹ This was a survival of older times, but it carried right over until the end—in fact, in the later dynasties the kings of Egypt were espe-

cially devoted to the crocodile. Professor Bonnet has given us a useful summary of the whole story. In the XII Dynasty, it says, Sobek "became a god of the Residence, and as such came to be very close to the royal house," and "the kings also of the 13th to 17th Dynasties [where most scholars put Abraham, incidentally] prefer names containing homage to the crocodile." Note that: "homage to the crocodile. . ."¹¹²

Jane: What's homage?

Mr. Jones: Submission. Here on a crocodile statue it says that Sobek is "the Horus who resides at Crocodilopolis" and that "the King is a unique friend of Sobek,"¹¹³ and here it says "May the King make offerings to Sobek of Crocodilopolis," who is described as a depository of all the attributes of power and authority.¹¹⁴ Gardiner is right—the croc has something very special to do with royal power; here is a papyrus from the Fayyum that describes the crocodile not as Pharaoh but as the god of Pharaoh.¹¹⁵ According to Bonnet, the submission of Pharaoh to the crocodile down to the latest times is attested "by the association of the crocodile with the royal image on monuments and in annals. Hence even the Ptolemies revered the crocodile as *their ancestor*."¹¹⁶ And so Professor Bonnet sums it up: "Sobek absorbs the god of the King into himself" ("Sobek *nimmt also den Königsgott in sich auf*"), so that "hymns of praise to the king and his crowns can be addressed directly to Sobek"; that is, the croc is the god of Pharaoh. Bonnet believes that it all goes back to the early "identity with the rising sun-god," which explains why the Egyptians "were fond of designating Sobek as nothing less than 'the living image' or even more popularly, the Ka (the power and essence) of Re, so that he finally ends up like Pharaoh as nothing less than the Universal God."¹¹⁶

Dick: Pretty good for an old croc. Don't any of the other animals rate the same sort of promotion?

Mr. Jones: No. Though other beasts are honored in different ways, only the crocodile gets to wear all the royal crowns. He is uniquely and exactly what Joseph Smith calls him, "the idolatrous gods of Pharaoh."

Dick: In that case, what's he doing snooping around the altar?

Mr. Jones: Well, for one thing he shows that it is an altar. You will never find a croc like that in an embalming scene—what good would he do there? But in sacrificial settings he is right at home.

Dick: Why?

Mr. Jones: In an embalming opera-

tion the whole idea is to *preserve* everything possible of the remains; but sacrifice aims at transmitting the life and substance of the victim to somebody else, and that requires transforming it. Your little old crocodile was just the party to take care of that operation. We talked about the idea of a transfusion in the lion-couch complex: who received the life-giving transfusion of the victim's blood?

Dick and Jane: The king did.

Mr. Jones: But how? It is easy enough to shed blood all over the place—the human race excels at that—but how can a king or anybody else absorb it?

Dick: By eating it. He used to be a cannibal—everybody knows that!

Mr. Jones: Back in 1912 the one professor who ventured a guess about the crocodile in Facsimile 1 said, "I see a crocodile, waiting to seize and devour the dead if he be not protected by ritual embalming against such a fate."¹¹⁷ That's a pretty good guess, wouldn't you say? The croc is there to devour something, because that is the one thing he is good at. It is not surprising that crocodiles infested places where sacrifices were going on, is it? They are scavengers. They share that activity with lions: Here the Nefertem lion *kills* an enemy *prisoner* at a rite at which *Sobek* presides;¹¹⁸ here two crocs kneel before two lions, all holding huge sacrificial knives, and all facing the severed and enshrined head of Osiris on a pole.¹¹⁹ We have seen that a royal sacrificial victim was necessarily an enemy, and Junker showed "that when a sacrificial victim represents an evil power it must be *eaten* by the God."¹²⁰ How could the king do that once he had given up cannibalism in the days of Osiris?

Dick: By substitution, of course, just as he avoided being sacrificed himself.

Mr. Jones: And who would his substitute be? Before you answer that impulsively, let me give you some hints. Plutarch says that long before his day the head of the Typhonian victim was thrown into the river;¹²¹ and long before him Herodotus reported that the Egyptians believed that the royal sacrifice had to be consumed by a beast.¹²² Here is a text from the Louvre addressing the sacrificed Seth: "Thy heart is given to Khentesktai, who hands it over to the crocodile," while intestines are fed to the cat Bast.¹²³ In the archaic rites of Kom Ombos, a hawk (Horus) was crucified and mourned as the victim of the crocodile.¹²⁴ At Heliopolis in the resurrection rites "the snatcher" was a sacred crocodile with a feather on his head.¹²⁵ The old croc is right in there at the great local cult centers, because he has an indispens-

able function to perform in the sacrifices. In prehistoric times he was especially important as Suchos, the lord of the famous shrine of Osiris at Busiris—and you know what that means.

Jane: What does it mean?

Mr. Jones: Human sacrifice. Busiris was at all times the legendary and historical headquarters of human sacrifice in Egypt, and who presides there? "Busiris is given to Suchos," says this Coffin Text; Suchos is "lord of Busiris," says another; and another calls him "the fatherly sovran."¹²⁶ And so we get more crocodile *paradoxes*: Here in the tomb of King Tutankhamon he sits enthroned as a king—but with two powerful wedges driven into his head so that he can't harm anybody!^{126a} In the IX Dynasty the wicked king Achthoes, "more cruel than all his predecessors . . . was smitten with madness and killed by a crocodile."¹²⁷ Here the crocodile turns the tables on a wicked king who practiced human sacrifice and so performs a worthy service, but in other cases it is the other way around, when a righteous Pharaoh overcomes the evil principle, embodied as a crocodile.¹²⁸ We have a dual personality here: a hymn of Kom Ombos that hails, "Sobek, Re, Lord of Ombos, who loveth to show *mercy* after his *anger*."¹²⁹ The most striking example of the double role of the crocodile is its function as *Horus*; Professor Kees wrote an article about it.¹³⁰ While one tradition makes the crocodile the Typhonian beast Seth that rent and scattered the members of Osiris all over the landscape, another makes it Horus, the gatherer and preserver of those very same scattered members.¹³¹ The crocodile, says Junker, "is both Horus who finds and assembled the members of Osiris, *and* the destroyer who, Isis fears, has eaten Osiris."¹³²

Dick: How could it be both?

Mr. Jones: Professor Kees considered this a prize example of Egyptian paradox. The crocodile "Sobek is the Sun, but *also* a divinity of darkness"; he is the Adversary Seth of Osiris, yet it is he who bears the body of Osiris reverently to Philae.¹³³ In the great festival of Khoiak, Horus "comes bringing on the water the members of Osiris in his form of crocodile. A *transformation* takes place in the Temple of Osiris in his name of Crocodile, Lord of Amu," and all this takes place as part of a lion-couch rite.¹³⁴ Here is an inscription from the Abaton of Philae: "Horus came and brought the limbs of Osiris out of the water in his (Horus's) form of a crocodile, to join them together in the House of Osiris." There you have it: the crocodile kills and scatters the members, which he then gathers to-

gether again as a special favor. Professor E. Otto finds that very strange.¹³⁵

Dick: So do I.

Mr. Jones: But it is quite logical if we understand the very useful function that the terrible crocodile must perform in sacrificial rites. How was Menes, the first king of Egypt, saved by a crocodile?

Jane: By being carried across the water.

Mr. Jones: Yes. The Greek version says he was being saved from his dogs—an idea familiar from Greek mythology—but the much older Egyptian version says Menes was actually killed by a hippopotamus (the kings used to indulge in dangerous ritual hippo hunts), but that a crocodile saved him from death.¹³⁶ Now this business of a dead person being carried over the waters is very familiar in Egyptian literature. Just as the crocodile bore the body of Osiris to Philae, a sacred island forbidden to mortals and cut off from the earth by surrounding waters, so it was taught, the crocodile would "bear the body . . . of every person through the heavenly waters" after death.¹³⁷ In the story of the Two Brothers, the elder brother weeps for the younger, who after his sacrificial death cannot be reached because of the crocodiles in the waters that separate them.¹³⁸ You see what this means: What is the service performed by the crocodile in these cases?

Dick: He carries people across to the other world.

Mr. Jones: Yes, he transports them; he provides the means of making the transition. As in the rites of Khoiak, he makes a "transformation" of the body of Osiris possible. Herodotus II, 90 says that when any Egyptian was carried away either by a crocodile or by the Nile, he was deemed so sacred that no one but a priest could touch him, and his city had to bury him with sacred rites. The Ombites considered it a great honor to be eaten by a crocodile, "and believed that people thus sacrificed were the darlings of the god."¹³⁹ Josephus says that the Egyptians of his day considered anyone carried away by crocs to be "most blessed and worthy of the god."¹⁴⁰ Aelian reported that the Egyptians rejoiced to have their children carried off by crocodiles, and that the mother of such a child was highly honored in her community;¹⁴¹ and Maximus of Tyre tells about an Egyptian woman who rejoiced when her son was eaten by a pet crocodile that she herself had raised up, deeming him "a fitting gift to the local god."¹⁴²

In all these cases the victims were considered as sacrifices and as happily transported across the waters to a better

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world; the crocodile, as Frankfort puts it, is really “a set of functions,” one of which is transportation and transformation, exemplified in the efficient way in which it removes its clients out of this world.¹⁴³ Down till late times the Ombites would throw the heads of all sacrificial victims to the sacred crocodiles, which would make short work of the remains; at the same time, according to our informant, the people of a neighboring city said that the crocodiles were the embodiment of Typhon, the destroyer.¹⁴⁴ Well, why not? Seth or Typhon dispatched Osiris and sent him out of the world—that was a necessary function if there was to be a resurrection, a valued and necessary service that needed to be done, and as such the Egyptians appreciated it and the crocodile. That is why “the crocodile appears to the Egyptians as a mighty symbol of the resurrected divine king. The Osiris myth was able to exploit the idea: Osiris became ‘Suchos, the Lord of the marsh.’”¹⁴⁵

Dick: So now the crocodile is not only Seth who killed Osiris, and Horus who saved him, but he is also Osiris himself. Isn't that a bit steep?

Mr. Jones: He doesn't have to be everything *at once*. In the feast of Osiris the *fekhti* priest says, “I am Horus, I have come to thee, mighty goddess, bringing the body of my father. . . . A model is then placed on a lion-couch in a special chamber.” It is explained that “Horus in the form of a crocodile brings his father's members, for on *this* day he is to be transformed.” The model is then placed on its back.

Dick: The good old lion-couch drama.

Mr. Jones: Yes, and a crocodile as Horus, the living king, is one of the actors. The Osiris figure is then removed from the bed and set upright on a golden stand, to be exposed to the sun and painted green—obviously Osiris coming to life again.¹⁴⁶ Here are a lot of later amulets showing Horus treading on the crocodiles while holding dangerous lions by the tail—it is a charm to protect people and houses against these beasts, and “represent the renewal of youth,” the overcoming of the most dangerous threats

to life by the reborn Horus.¹⁴⁷ As Seth seeks to destroy the newly born Horus, his mother is told to flee across the waters until she reaches “the house of the Crocodile” in the Delta, where she and her son will be safe.¹⁴⁸ If you want a shockingly literal concept of resurrection, Pliny says that though the crocodiles of Egypt are a terror to the wicked, they can even be ridden by the righteous, and can by the proper treatment be induced to regurgitate their victims for burial.¹⁴⁹

Jane: How nasty!

Mr. Jones: The Egyptians thought it was a salutary performance. Dick, would you say the crocodile's power was, on the whole, good or bad?

Dick: That depends on how it is used.

Mr. Jones: Exactly. Dr. Kees says that it was precisely because the crocodile was so dangerous that its power was coveted—to do what? For one thing, according to Kees, to do just what the lion did and play the part of “a dangerous guardian.” It specialized in guarding the severed head of Osiris, as in this impressive scene from the tomb of Seti I.¹⁵⁰ Since the heads and hearts of sacrificial victims were in early times thrown to the crocodiles, we can pretty well guess where this idea came from.

Dick: The croc would “take care” of those items, all right!

Mr. Jones: Yes, by properly disposing of them. There is a Middle Kingdom offering-tablet of which Kees makes a good deal, which declares that anyone who damages the offerings must come under the dread knife of the Horus-crocodile himself.^{150a} So it is clear that the dire talents of the crocodile were in special demand in sacrificial situations. In the Joseph Smith papyrus it makes little difference whether we think of the crocodile as Horus or Seth: in either case he provides an unmistakable clue to the *kind* of death the person on the couch must face. As “the idolatrous god of Pharaoh,” he is the form in which Pharaoh is able to consume the flesh and blood of his victims (an idea often expressed in the sacrificial liturgy), and be refreshed and renewed by them. Remember those early sacrificial texts we read in which the king was told that the enemy's

blood was being shed so that *he* could be revived and rejuvenated by it? It was not enough merely to shed blood—it had to be consumed in some way, and by whom more effectively than by the efficient scavengers to whom the hearts and heads of sacrificial victims were thrown, the terrifying embodiment of primordial kingship that swarmed in sacred immunity around the oldest sacrificial altars of the land? So it is anything but fantastic to designate the crocodile in Facsimile 1 as “the idolatrous God of Pharaoh” in his capacity of participating in a sacrificial scene.

But let us get back to the main stream of our story. The man on the altar being in mortal peril prays for deliverance, and God sends an angel and rescues him. Now before we get into the extensive literary treatments of that theme, there is a little item that it would be well to get out of the way, and that is what we should have started with, namely:

Facsimile No. 1, Figure 1: “The Angel of the Lord”: What we want to ask is, since when is a hawk an angel? Some have recently maintained not only that Figure 1 in the papyrus *should* have a human head, but that it actually *does* have one.

Dick: Wouldn't that make a better angel than one with a hawk's head?

Mr. Jones: By the conventions of Christian art it would. But there are serious objections to accepting a human head on the Egyptian bird.

Dick: Why? I've seen lots of Egyptian soul-birds with human heads.

Mr. Jones: Yes, but none as hard to recognize as this one, I'll wager. And if you go and dig up all those human-headed birds, you will find that every one of them has conspicuous legs and claws in which he is holding *ankh*-signs or *shw* feathers, and in many cases have arms been added to the legs—arms upraised in prayer. But this bird has no legs at all, let alone arms—he is another kind of bird. Joseph Smith was on very solid ground in identifying the hawk in Facsimile 1 (no matter who drew it!) as “the Angel of the Lord,” because according to Egyptian thinking the very best way to show an angel was by a hawk. The trouble with interpreting Egyptian birds is that there are so many of them and birds seem to be just naturally symbolical—mantic, if you will. If you look over a hundred or so lion-couch scenes, you will find that the birds perform in a great variety of roles—sometimes there are five, sometimes only one, but they are all there for a purpose, though not for the same purpose. That is what makes it so confusing. The experts back in 1912 disagreed about the bird in

Facsimile 1 more than anything else—one scholar said it was one thing and another said it was another, and this is one time when comparison with other lion-couch scenes only confuses the issue.

Dick: Why?

Mr. Jones: Because you will find among the others not one consistent bird pattern, but all kinds of birds doing all kinds of things. Just look at this lion-couch scene in the shrine of Opet: There is only one bird there, flying above the man on the couch—but what a bird! Professor Varille recognized it as a *ba*-bird.

Jane: What's a *ba*-bird?

Mr. Jones: That is the part of a person that enters his body when he is born and leaves it when he dies.

Dick: It must be his spirit, then.

Mr. Jones: That is what the *ba* is—a representation of the human spirit. Not because human spirits look like birds, but because the idea of a bird best represents the spirit's lightness and its ability to move freely and spurn the heavy gravity of the earth. As Professor Drioton wrote, "Nothing was ever farther from the Egyptian mentality than metempsychosis."¹⁵¹

Jane: What's metempsychosis?

Mr. Jones: That is when human beings actually take over other forms than human: this depicting of gods and men in animal form is never to be taken literally, according to Drioton.¹⁵¹

Jane: But if they always drew spirits like birds, wouldn't people come to think they were birds?

Mr. Jones: Professor Frankfort suggests that it was to avoid that very mistake that "in tomb designs the dead are depicted as birds with human heads—possibly a graphic device to distinguish them from real birds."¹⁵² Some people have insisted that the bird in Facsimile 1 should have a human head, or even that it does have one. But is that necessary? Look at all these other lion-couch scenes: how many birds do you see?

Dick: About a hundred, I guess.

Mr. Jones: And how many of them have human heads?

Dick: I can see only four.

Mr. Jones: You see, statistics are all in favor of giving our bird a hawk's head. But statistics aren't everything. Look—in our prize exhibit, the Opet scene, the bird does have a human head. It has been recognized, of course, as a *ba*-bird, but that is only the beginning of the story; notice that the bird has the body of the vulture *Mwt*, showing that it is Osiris's *mother*, but it has the claws of the inundation-bird *b'h*, showing that it is the beginning of life; at the same time it wears the beard and feather-crown of Amon, and

the inscription tells us that it is "Amon-Re, the sublime soul of Osiris, which alights on his corpse in his place of birth." That means, according to Professor Varille, that "the figure on the lion couch is the counter-part of the bird above. . . ." ¹⁵³ Now tell me how many people that one bird is!

Jane: First of all, if it is a *ba* it must be the soul of Osiris. Oh yes, it even says so: "The sublime *Ba* of Osiris. . . ."

Dick: It's only his counterpart.

Mr. Jones: It says here, "The august spirit (*Ba*) of Osiris is coming to unite itself with his body." For a bringing together of spirit and body, both father and mother are necessary. And who is the king when he is reborn?

Jane: Oh, I know. It's Horus. Is the bird Horus, too?

Dick: But Horus is always a hawk, don't you know? Say! Maybe that's why they don't draw a hawk's head on the bird—because if they did everybody would think it was only Horus and nothing else.

Jane: But then what do they do when they want to show that the bird is Horus too, along with all those other things?

Dick: Draw another bird, I suppose—a real hawk.

Jane: But that's too complicated.

Mr. Jones: Is it any more complicated than what we have here? That seems to be exactly the kind of complication we get in these lion-couch scenes. If you will just look in the south sanctuary at Opet, you will see a scene showing how "little Horus" takes hawk form during a gestation period in the marshes, "his temporal father being Osiris who revives in his son, but whose spiritual father is the life-giving Amon."¹⁵⁴ The hawk can be Osiris as well as his father, his mother, and his son! The whole amazing operation takes place on the lion couch, and to put over the whole message a variety of birds is necessary. It is as silly to think that a bird can have only one significance as to think the same of a lion-couch. Our guidebook says that the original soul-bird of Osiris was the *benu*-bird, nothing less than the Phoenix of Heliopolis, but that ordinary spirits were usually represented by the crested Ibis, the *akh*-bird, and that from the Middle Kingdom on soul-birds were shown without human heads as herons, storks, swallows, lapwings, geese, and falcons, that is, always by *migrating* birds.¹⁵⁵

Dick: Because spirits migrate, I suppose.

Mr. Jones: But here is a study that says that the spirits of the dead are represented by falcons only *after* the Middle Kingdom.¹⁵⁶ Before that the hawk and falcon were reserved for the royal

Horus alone:¹⁵⁷ there is certainly no shortage of evidence for that! Only in the latest period is "the falcon sometimes confused with the soul-bird."¹⁵⁷ Here Miss Klebs tells how the soul-bird can signify either that the soul is flying away—or can serve as a protector, or a guide, or brood upon the body as an egg, looking forward to future resurrection, or fan it with its wings to preserve or restore the breath of life, etc.¹⁵⁸ While the hawk on the ceiling of Tut's tomb may be the king's soul flying away to heaven,¹⁵⁹ he can just as well be flying "from heaven as a hawk . . .,"¹⁶⁰ if he can go one way he can go the other; that perhaps is why the hawk is the *only* symbol to appear in all the known predynastic Palettes and maces—because he alone represents the certain tie between heaven and earth.¹⁶¹

Dick: How come?

Mr. Jones: Because of his special qualifications. For the ancients, the hawk, which could soar out of sight in the sky, was the only bird that could fly between heaven and earth, that could go to the sun and return.¹⁶² If the king was going to heaven, it would have to be as a hawk, chosen to represent both the soul of the king and the sun to which he returned, "because it excelled all other birds known to the Egyptian in its ability to fly at a very great height."¹⁶³ That is why we find on the seals of the very earliest kings the majestic image of "the hawk . . . the great dweller in the heavens" sitting above the archaic *srkh*, the palace gate, as the one who communicates between the earthly and the heavenly dwelling of royalty.¹⁶⁴ From the beginning, "every king placed great importance on his identification with the Horus hawk," emphasizing that he had come from afar, from heaven itself.¹⁶⁵ The name Horus comes from *hry*, "to be far off," sometimes, "to betake oneself to a distance," and the first king of a united Egypt designated himself as "he who is in the distant heaven" to emphasize the heavenly and supernatural nature of his power as that of "Great God, Lord of the Heavens," which of course got him identified with the Sun-god Re in short order.¹⁶⁶ The idea behind the early seals seems to be expressed in this Coffin Text, 148: "See Horus, you gods! I am Horus, the Falcon who is on the battlements of the Mansion of Him whose name is hidden. My flight aloft has reached the horizon, I have overpassed the gods of the sky. . . . I go up in my flight, and there is no god who can do what I have done. . . . I am Horus, more distant of place than men or gods. . . ." ¹⁶⁷ Here is a still earlier one: "The King is no longer on earth but in heaven. He

sails to heaven like the flamingo and kisses the sky like a hawk.¹⁶⁸ Here is a brand-new study by the renowned Prof. S. Schott in which he tells us that the hawk offers the student a particularly useful insight into the relationship between speculation and image in Egyptian thinking.^{168a} He cites inscriptions telling how the hawk "flies up even to heaven," "opens [his] wings to the limits of the universe," and "speeds through the cosmos to the place of light."^{168a} In this capacity he bears the names of "Announcer" (*Ausspruch*, Hw) and "Knower" (*Erkenntnis*, Sja), showing him to be the messenger of messengers.^{168b} Now as the one being that can pass freely between the remotest reaches of the universe and the earth, the hawk is preeminently qualified—in fact, he is the only fully qualified candidate—for the job of heavenly messenger.

Jane: You mean like angels in the Bible?

Mr. Jones: If you will look up all the references to wings in the Bible, you will find that wings are never found on angels, but are often referred to in a purely symbolic sense. Just so the Egyptians, as Canon Drioton noted, did not for a moment believe that an angel would really take the form of a hawk, but thought that a hawk was a very expressive symbol of the way in which angels get around.¹⁶⁹ Professor Gardiner, who says that "the concept of 'messengers' who performed the behest of the gods is known from the Book of the Dead and elsewhere, e.g. P.T. 1252b,"¹⁷⁰ is also good enough to point out that the Greeks called such a messenger an "angelos," from which our own word angel is derived.¹⁷⁰ The

sign of such a messenger is and always was the hawk or falcon. "The hawk is the divine messenger who brought the book of Wisdom to Thebes," according to Diodorus; "though they understand this *symbolically*," he explains, "it is said at Thebes that a Hawk brought the divine Book from heaven to the priests"; for that reason "the priestly scribes [*hierogrammateis*] wear a red ramma and a hawk's feather on their heads."¹⁷¹ Either the god or his representative could be the messenger—indeed the messenger as an ambassador was necessarily an embodiment of him who sent him: "He comes for life as a messenger of Horus," says a Pyramid Text, in which messengers are sent "on the wing of Thoth."¹⁷² Aelian reports that "the Egyptians say that the living hawk is a blessed bird and that after death it can prophesy and send prophetic dreams, being pure spirit stripped of the flesh it can bring healing prescriptions to believers."¹⁷³ Diodorus I, 87 also reports that the Egyptian hawk is the great mantic and prophetic bird. Its most famous embodiment is the great magician Pharaoh Nectanabos, who, to apprise Philip of Macedon of the divine conception of Alexander, "flew and appeared to him as a hawk speaking to him in dreams," from Egypt; at the same time he visited the queen in the form of a hawk and so begot the divine Alexander—which, of course, is another Egyptian idea, conspicuous among our lion-couch episodes.¹⁷⁴ When Philip asked a seer about his dream, he was told, "Thy wife shall conceive for thee a son, who shall rule over the entire world."¹⁷⁴ Here the messenger hawk was the divine-king himself, but sometimes he could be

just an extension of the king, or of the powers of heaven.

Dick: What does that mean?

Mr. Jones: Well, here is a hawk-picture from the First Dynasty, the famous ivory comb of King Djjet: the spread-out wings represent, it is agreed, the protecting powers of heaven extended to those dwelling on earth.¹⁷⁵ This idea of the hawk as an earnest of heavenly protection carries right on into the tombs and coffins of later times when the outspread wings of the bird of heaven protect the dead from corruption or other harm or even extending healing influence.¹⁷⁶ Throughout the ancient world we meet with the bird who flies ahead of the king and reports to his lord and master all that is going on in it.

Jane: A watchbird, eh?

Mr. Jones: A very familiar concept. In the Ramesseum Papyrus, Horus says to Thoth: "Take possession of thy two Falcon-standards that go before thy face," these being "the two eyes," the king's spies.¹⁷⁷ Well, it should be apparent by now that according to Egyptian thinking the proper embodiment of a divine messenger or angel should be by all means a hawk. But we still don't know enough about the hawk in the Joseph Smith papyrus. I think it would be a good idea at this point to quit the museum for awhile and go over to the library. Museum people have a way of neglecting libraries, and vice versa, which is quite understandable. But we have some wonderful texts that can really help us out with our facsimiles. I will meet you again in the museum after I have dug around a bit in the papyrus. ○

(To be continued)

Footnotes

¹A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-ankh-amon* (Harper Torchbooks, 1962), Pl. 16. The ivory headrest that goes with the bed is supported by a figure of "Shu, the void, the god of air," who is flanked by two crouching lions, Pl. 59. This lion couch belongs to a series of three beds, including a bull-bed (Pl. 14), and a hippopotamus-bed (Pl. 15).

²L. Keimer, in *Bull. Inst. Fr. Cairo*, Vol. 37 (1954/5), p. 263; P. Montet, *Everyday Life in Egypt* (London, 1958), p. 29.

³Piankoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 36f: "These couches represent three stages of rebirth," culminating with "finally, the lion couch associated with resurrection," cf. *ibid.*, p. 51, Fig. 11, and G. Jequier, *Considerations sur les Religions Egyptiennes* (Neuchatel, 1946), pp. 217f.

⁴Piankoff and Jequier, *loc. cit.* In the symbolic royal conception, birth, and nursing scenes from Luxor, Denderah, Deir el-Babri, and Philae, the lion-couch dominates the scene; F. Weindler, *Geburts- und Wochenbettsdarstellungen auf alt-egyptischen Tempelreliefs* (Munich: Beck, 1915), Abb. 3, 7, 14, 18, 21, 27, 28.

⁵The close resemblance between the "Bed of Osiris" and the lion-couch scene in the temple of Seti I was noted by E. Amelineau, in *Revue Egyptologique*, Vol. 13 (1910), p. 181, with photo. The lion-couch scene in the temple of Opet is discussed by A. Varille, in *Annales du Service*, Vol. 53 (1955/6), pp. 79ff, with photo, Pl. XIX.

⁶Above, note 3. The most impressive series of lion-couch scenes is to be found in H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (Egyptian Exploration Society, 1933), II, Pl. 74 to 78.

⁷A. Moret, *Mysteres Egyptiens*, p. 61.

⁸W. Needler (1963), discussed in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 60 (1965), p. 246.

⁹H. E. Winlock, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 30 (1930), pp. 102ff, with photo.

¹⁰*ibid.*, p. 103.

¹¹U. Schweitzer, in *Aegyptologische Forschungen*, Heft 5, 1948, Pl. viii; M. el Amir, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 34 (1948), Pls. XV, XVI.

¹²G. Jequier, in *Sphinx*, Vol. 14 (1910/11), p. 179.

¹³D. Opitz, in *Archiv fuer Orientforschung*, Vol. 7 (1931-33), p. 88.

¹⁴W. Spiegelberg, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 65 (1930), p. 58; quote is from B. Bruyere, in *Chronique d'Egypte*, Vol. 28 (1952), p. 38.

¹⁵Bruyere, *op. cit.*, pp. 37f.

¹⁶A. Varille, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 53, pp. 107-9.

¹⁷Opitz, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁸Piankoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, n. 3 and 22, n. 48.

¹⁹T. Hopfner, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklop. d. Altertumswiss.*, Suppl. 16: 1331.

²⁰*ibid.*, Col. 1332.

²¹A. Shorter, in *Jnl. Egypt. Archaeol.*, Vol. 22 (1936), p. 163.

²²K. Sethe, *Uebers. u. Kommentar zu den*

altaeg. Pyramidentexten, I, 78f, 80.

²³E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Opening the Mouth* (London, 1909), I, 39.

²⁴G. Jequier, in *Receuil de Travaux*, Vol. 37, p. 122.

²⁵*Mission Archéologique Française, Mémoires*, Vol. 1 (1889), Pl. XXXI, Figs. 32 and 33.

²⁶W. F. Petrie, *Denderah* (Eg. Expl. Soc., 1898), Pl. iii.

²⁷G. Maspero, *Gen. Catal.*, Cairo, Vol. 102 (1939), Pl. XXV, 29318; cf. *Pyr. Text No. 509* (1125).

²⁸B. Vandenhoff, in *Oriens Christianus*, Vol. 5 (1915), pp. 244f.

²⁹*Pyr. Text No. 509* (1120).

³⁰Aelian, *Hist. animal.* XII, 7.

³¹A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 396.

³²Plutarch, *de Osir. et Iside*, 19.

³³Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, I, 19, in T. Hopfner, *Fontes hist. relig. aegypt.*, p. 593.

³⁴A. Gardiner, in *Jnl. Egypt. Archaeol.*, Vol. 6 (1920), p. 106.

³⁵Plut., *de Iside*, 38.

³⁶A. Varille, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 53, pp. 87-89, discussing the symbolism at length.

³⁷*ibid.*, p. 96.

³⁸Aelian, *Hist. animal.* XII, 7.

³⁹Varille, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁴⁰M. Pogracz, in *Mitt. des dt. Inst. Kairo*, Vol. 15 (1957), p. 213.

⁴¹C. Crowfoot and N. de G. Davies, in *Jnl. Egypt. Archaeol.*, Vol. 27 (1941), p. 128.

⁴²L. Borchardt, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 61 (1926), pp. 30-51.

⁴³W. Wesszinski, *Atlas*, I, i, 88f; Pt. ii, Taf. 203.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, II, ii, Taf. 164. For other royal pet lions, L. Keimer, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 30 (1930), pp. 45-52, Pl. iii.

⁴⁵A. Gardiner, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 82 (1956), p. 38.

⁴⁶P. Derchain, *Rites Egyptiens* (Brussels, 1962), I, 54.

⁴⁷Aelian, *Hist. animal.* XII, 7. See the many illustrations in U. Schweitzer, "Loewe u. Sphinx im alten Aegypten," in *Aegyptol. Forschungen*, Heft 15, 1948, Abb. 5. Taf. ix, 1, 2, 4; xii, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6; XV, 5, 6.

⁴⁸M. de Rochemontex, in *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, Vol. 3 (1894), p. 254; and the Tomb of Seti I, in *Miss. Arch. Fr., Mem.* 2, Pl. xliii. In *The Book of Victory over Seth* (ed. S. Schott, pp. 52f), VIII, 5f, Nut describes the whole-somely destructive office of Sechemet with her flame and sword. See below at fn. 63.

⁴⁹This is only a general impression, but the theme is discussed ingeniously by A. Varille, *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 53, pp. 93f, 110.

⁵⁰E. E. Edgar, *Greco-Egyptian Coffins, Catal. Gen. Cairo*, Vol. 28 (1905), Pl. xxxi, xxxii.

⁵¹*Coffin Texts* (De Buck), I, 280, Spell 66.

⁵²H. Brunner, in *Ztschr. der dt. Morgenl. Ges.*, Vol. 111 (1961), p. 442; this is treated below.

⁵³*Coffin Texts* (De Buck), I, 385-392.

⁵⁴Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, 5:42.

⁵⁵e.g. H. Kees, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 76 (1940), Taf. IV, opp. p. 44.

⁵⁶In *Jnl. Egypt. Archaeol.*, Vol. 51 (1965), Pl. XII, 5, opp. p. 25. For a Sphinx-throne, G. Roeder, *Bronzefiguren in Berlin* (1956), Taf. 87.

⁵⁷G. Mapeiro, in *Miss. Arch. Fr., Mem.*, Vol. 3, p. 446, Fig. 5. The sacrificial scenes are described on pp. 452-54, Fig. 7.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 3, Pl. 7, and Pl. 9.

⁵⁹E. Drioton, in *Chron. d'Egypte*, Vol. 10 (1934), pp. 202f.

⁶⁰J. Capart, in *Chron. d'Egypte*, Vol. 19 (1943), Figs. 28-30.

⁶¹P. Perdrizer, *Monuments et Memoires*, Vol. 25 (1921f), p. 262, Fig. 3.

⁶²*Miss. Arch. Fr., Mem.*, Vol. 31, Pl. clvi.

⁶³Crowfoot and Davies, *Jnl. Egypt. Archaeol.*, Vol. 27, p. 128.

⁶⁴A. Varille, *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 53, pp. 107-8. Italics added.

⁶⁵P. Perdrizer, *op. cit.*, p. 377, Fig. 11.

⁶⁶L. Borchardt, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 61 (1926), pp. 30ff.

⁶⁷C. M. Firth, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 26 (1926), p. 100, Fig. 2.

⁶⁸M. Calverly, *Temple of Sethos I*, Vol. 3, Pl. 12.

⁶⁹Fr. W. v. Bissing, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 69 (1933), p. 99, Abb. 3, 4.

⁷⁰H. Kees, *Goetterglaube*, pp. 103, 197; Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 159.

⁷¹H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 44.

⁷²H. Schaefer, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 37 (1899), p. 5, Abb. 2; M. Moret, *Mysteres Egyptiens*, pp. 308f, 313, Fig. 57.

⁷³A. Badawy, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 87 (1961), p. 95.

⁷⁴A. Gardiner, in *Jnl. Egypt. Archaeol.*, Vol. 36 (1950), pp. 11f.

⁷⁵F. Weindler, *Geburts- und Wochenbettsdarstellungen* . . . (1915), Abb. 27, 28, show this distinctly.

⁷⁶Diodorus, *Hist.*, I, 89; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VIII, 25, 92-93.

⁷⁷The Story of the Brothers, 6:6f.

⁷⁸Calverly, *Temple of Sethos I*, Vol. 3, Pl. 12; R. V. Lanzzone, *Dizionario*, Tav. xv, xvii.

⁷⁹Horapollon, *Hierogl.*, I, 67, in Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 589.

⁸⁰Alexander of Lycopolis, *On the Manichaeans*, 14, in Hopfner, pp. 461f.

⁸¹Philo, *De posteritate Caini*, Vol. 48 (1965), in Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 167.

⁸²Origen, *Against Celsus*, V, 39.

⁸³H. Brugsch, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 31 (1893), pp. 24f, 27f; C. Kuentz, *Bull. Inst. Franc. Arch. Or.*, Vol. 28 (1929), p. 196; L. Kakosy, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 90 (1963), p. 66. For mummified crocodiles, X. de Gorostazu, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 2 (1901), pp. 182-84.

⁸⁴Plutarch, *De sollicit. anim.*, 23, in Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 265. Strabo, *Geog.* XVII, 1, 809, describes a visit to one of the sacred preserves where tourists would feed the crocodiles.

⁸⁵Strabo, *Geog.*, XVII, 1, 814.

⁸⁶Plutarch, *De Iside*, 50.

⁸⁷Aelian, *Hist. animal.* X, 24.

⁸⁸Strabo, *Geog.*, XVIII, i, 817.

⁸⁹Plutarch, *De sollicit. anim.*, 23 (982C).

⁹⁰*Coffin Texts* (De Buck), II, 254.

⁹¹E. Drioton, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. 10 (1953), p. 167, citing numerous Coffin Texts.

⁹²T. Hopfner, *Thierkult der alten Aegypter* (Vienna, 1913), p. 107.

⁹³A. Moret, in *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 35 (1913), pp. 55-59; E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, (1910), pp. 23f, col. iii-iv. On late charms against the crocodiles, F. Chabas, in *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, Vol. 12 (1905), p. 12. There is a frightening picture of a lady drinking from a stream in the sacred preserve of Amon with a big crocodile watching her on the other side; the inscription reads, "If I go to the great pool of Amon to drink, may nothing resist me," C. Kuentz, *Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch.*, Vol. 28, p. 163; A. Piankoff, *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 49, Pl. V. A picture from the 5th Dynasty shows a terrifying crocodile watching a boat go by, W. Wesszinski, *Atlas*, I, 3, 401.

⁹⁴W. F. Petire, *Religious Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 85.

⁹⁵E. A. W. Budge, *Papyrus of Ani*, Pl. 27, Ch. 88.

⁹⁶Strabo, *Geog.*, XVII, 1 (184).

⁹⁷Diodorus, *Hist.*, I, 35 (41).

⁹⁸Aristotle, *Economics*, II, 33.

⁹⁹Herodotus, *Hist.*, II, 69; Athanasius, *Contra gentil.*, 23, says this was an excuse for feuding between the towns, though most Egyptians detested crocodiles.

¹⁰⁰Ammanius, *Res gestae*, XII, 15 (17), in Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 552; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XIII, 46, 186.

¹⁰¹A. Gardiner, in *Revue d'Egyptologie*, Vol. 11 (1957), pp. 55f.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁰³P. Bucher, in *Kemi*, Vol. 1 (1928), p. 41; Hopfner, *Tierkult.*, p. 125.

¹⁰⁴Stephanus Byzant., s.v. *Krokodeilon polis*, in Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 675.

¹⁰⁵Pyramid Text No. 317. Derogatory are Nos. 507-510. P. T. 489c and 510a call Sobek the Son of Neith, and she is sometimes shown nursing two crocodiles, S. Schott, in *Revue d'Egyptologie*, Vol. 19 (1967), p. 107; H. Kees, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 88 (1962), p. 30, making them fellow-infants with Pharaoh. In a poem called "the Works of Shu" Pharaoh himself in an exciting adventure becomes a crocodile, in *Kemi*, Vol. 6 (1936), p. 35.

¹⁰⁶Kees, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁷J. Spiegel, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 53 (1953), p. 434, this being part of the "resurrection-ritual of the Pyramid of Unas."

¹⁰⁸B. Bargaet, in *Revue d'Egyptologie*, Vol. 9 (1952), p. 7.

¹⁰⁹C. Kuentz, in *Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.*, Vol. 28 (1929), pp. 117, 119.

¹¹⁰A. Gardiner, in *Revue d'Egyptologie*, Vol. 11 (1957), pp. 52-54.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

¹¹²G. Botti, *La Glorificazione di Sobk* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1959), pp. 5-6.

¹¹³*Coffin Texts* (De Buck), II, 375ff.

¹¹⁴G. Goyon, in *Kemi*, Vol. 6 (1936), p. 37.

¹¹⁵A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 151.

¹¹⁶H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 756.

¹¹⁷R. P. Charles, in *Revue d'Egyptologie*, Vol. 12 (1960), p. 17.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

¹¹⁹P. E. Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri* (London, 1899), Fayum Pap. I-II.

¹²⁰Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 756. Italics added.

¹²¹Dr. Peters in F. Spalding, *Joseph Smith as Translator*, p. 28.

¹²²R. V. Lanzzone, *Dizionario*, Tav. xv-xviii.

¹²³Calverly, *Temple of Sethos I*, Vol. 3, Pl. 12.

¹²⁴P. Derchain, *Rites Egyptiens*, I, 25.

¹²⁵Plutarch, *de Iside*, 31.

¹²⁶Herodotus, *Hist.* III, 16, the beast being equivalent to fire in that capacity. In early Jewish and Christian apocrypha "the ravening lion" is the inexorable process by which all material things suffer oxidation and destruction.

¹²⁷*Victory of Horus over Seth* (ed. S. Schott, p. 83), 8:49ff.

¹²⁸Aelian, *Hist. animal.*, X, 24, noting that at Coptus "they reverence the hawk as the enemy of the crocodile."

¹²⁹Horapollon, *Hierogl.*, I, 67, in Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 589.

¹³⁰All in H. Kees, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 88 (1962), pp. 31f.

¹³¹A. Piankoff, *Shrines of Tut-ankh-amon*, Fig. 32 (Shrine No. 3).

¹³²A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 107.

¹³³P. Derchain, *Rites Egyptiens*, I, 8.

¹³⁴H. Junker, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 67 (1931), pp. 51-55. The crocodile is besought to "be

merciful to King Ammenemes, through whom thy face is happy on this day. . . ." A. Gardiner, in *Revue d'Egyptologie*, Vol. 11, p. 48.

¹³⁵H. Kees, in *Aeg. Ztschr.* Vol. 64 (1929), pp. 107-12, noting that nothing could be more repugnant "to our feelings" than to identify Horus with a crocodile (p. 107).

¹³⁶E. Otto, in *Orientalia*, Vol. 7 (1938), p. 75.

¹³⁷H. Junker, *Das Goetterdekret ueber das Abaton* (Vienna, 1913), p. 43.

¹³⁸F. Zimmermann, *Aegyptische Religion* (Paderborn, 1912), p. 107f.

¹³⁹V. Loret, in *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 4 (1883), p. 31; Vol. 5 (1884), pp. 90f.

¹⁴⁰E. Otto, *loc. cit.*, quoted by H. Junker, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹⁴¹Steph. Byz., above, note 102; E. Drioton & J. Vandier, *L'Egypte* (Paris, 1962), p. 136.

¹⁴²Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

¹⁴³The Two Brothers, 8:1.

¹⁴⁴Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

¹⁴⁵Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, II, 7, 86.

¹⁴⁶Aelian, *Hist. animal.* X, 21.

¹⁴⁷Maximus of Tyre, *Philosophy*, II, 5f/i, in Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 351.

¹⁴⁸H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁹Aelian, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁰H. Kees, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 88 (1962), p. 30. Italics added.

¹⁵¹V. Loret, *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 5, p. 90f.

¹⁵²F. Chabas, in *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, Vol. 12 (1905), pp. 12f.

¹⁵³Metternich Stele, Sp. VI, in C. E. Sander-Hansen, pp. 40-41.

¹⁵⁴Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VIII, 25, 92f.

¹⁵⁵H. Kees, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 64 (1929), p. 110. In the Tomb of Seti I a huge crocodile lies on a grave-mound facing a sacrificial head, directly under which is a lion couch, *Miss. Arch. Fr., Mem.* II, Pl. xlvi.

¹⁵⁶Kees, *op. cit.*, p. 108, identifying the god on p. 109. The text is in K. Sethe's *Aegyptische Lesestuecke* (Leipzig, 1924), p. 87.

¹⁵⁷E. Drioton, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. 10 (1953), p. 167.

¹⁵⁸H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, p. 97.

¹⁵⁹A. Varille, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 53, p. 111.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 111f.

¹⁶¹L. Klebs, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 61 (1926), pp. 105-7.

¹⁶²W. Spiegelberg, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 62 (1927), p. 27.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 29. Klebs, *op. cit.*, pp. 104f, found that human-headed soul-birds never appear in the Book of the Dead until the 18th Dynasty, when, though some of them are water-birds, most are falcon types.

¹⁶⁴Klebs, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

¹⁶⁵So A. Piankoff, *Shrines of Tut.*, p. 44.

¹⁶⁶So S. Morenz, *Aegyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 159.

¹⁶⁷W. Kaiser, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 84 (1959), pp. 122-24.

¹⁶⁸Aelian, *Hist. Animal.* X, 14; T. Hopfner, *Tierkult.*, p. 111.

¹⁶⁹E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids*, p. 23.

¹⁷⁰P. Kaplony, in *Orientalia*, Vol. 34 (1965), pp. 145f, 150.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 153.

¹⁷²H. Junker, *Giza* (Vienna, 1929), Vol. 2, pp. 51-52.

¹⁷³Coffin Text, Sp. 148, cit. R. O. Faulkner, in *Jnl. Egypt. Archaeol.*, Vol. 54 (1966), p. 41.

¹⁷⁴Pyramid Text No. 476 (890).

¹⁷⁵S. Schott, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 95 (1968), p. 55; the quotes are from pp. 54, 62, and 61 resp.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 54, 56.

¹⁷⁷The winged creatures in Daniel and Revelations and Ezekiel 1 and 10 do not function as messengers. Elsewhere "wings" is used in a frankly figurative sense.

¹⁷⁸A. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyrus I* (British Museum, 1931), p. 25, n. 3.

¹⁷⁹Diodorus, *Hist.*, I, 87.

¹⁸⁰Pyramid Text No. 531: here the messenger is both Horus and Thoth.

¹⁸¹Aelian, *Hist. Animal.*, XI, 39.

¹⁸²Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Vita Alexandri*, I, 708.

¹⁸³H. Junker, *Giza*, Vol. 2, p. 48; R. Anthes, in *Mitt. der dt. Orientgesellschaft*, Vol. 96 (1965), p. 12.

¹⁸⁴L. Klebs, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 61 (1926), p. 105. *Metternich-Stele*, Sp. XIV (Sander-Hansen, p. 73): "Horus, Horus! Thy nature gives thee protections . . . the poison is counteracted, the fever is destroyed."

¹⁸⁵K. Sethe, *Ramesseumpapyr.*, pp. 192, 182, 194.