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A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price: Part 8: Facsimile No. 1, by the Figures (Continued)

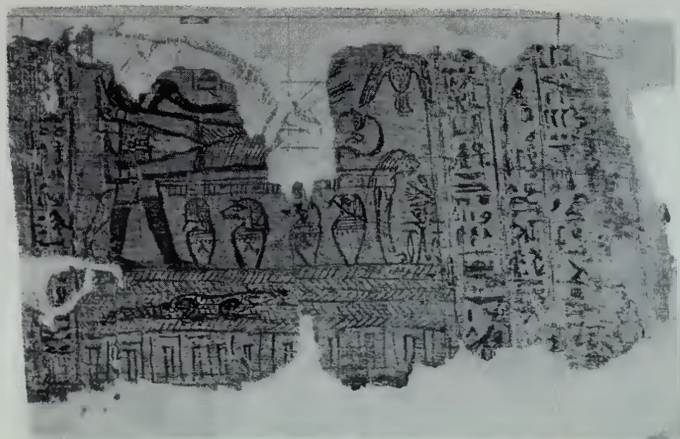
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A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price

Part 8 (Continued)



Facsimile No.1, by the Figures

By Dr. Hugh Nibley

● *A Hawk With a Message*

If we really want to know what Facsimile No. 1 is depicting, the hawk in the picture is our best clue yet. For recently the hawk has turned out to be the hero of a significant little drama that ties many things together. From here on the reader might as well know that this writer intends to show that the Book of the Dead fragments, the Breathing Papyrus, and the three facsimiles, that is, all the available Egyptian materials that were once in the possession of Joseph Smith, contain the elements of a single story, which happens to be the story of Abraham as told in the Book of Abraham and the early Jewish legends. Such a statement sounds wild enough at this point, but let us follow the bird as he leads us into a twilight zone of myth and ritual.

One of the longest and most important chapters of the Book of the Dead is No. 78, an "interesting and elusive spell," as Professor De Buck called it, having the title "Spell for assuming the form of a divine falcon."¹ E.A.W. Budge appended to his own edition and translation of the Ani manuscript "the text of the LXXVIIIth Chapter given by Naville . . . reproduced in full," because that document was in his opinion "so very important for the right understanding of this very interesting Chapter."² Dr. Budge's confidence in his right understanding of the document was, to say the least, premature if we take the later studies of the same chapter by De Buck (1949), Drioton (1953), and Brunner (1961) as a standard, for unless that trio are hopelessly at sea, Budge had no understand-

ing of the text whatever.

It was in 1949 that Professor De Buck, in the process of editing the Coffin Texts, called attention to his discovery that what he called "the earliest version of the Book of the Dead 78" was to be found in a much earlier Coffin Text, Spell 312.³ As everyone knows, the Book of the Dead is a relatively late production in Egypt, and the Joseph Smith Papyrus belongs to a late period. But Professor De Buck's find showed that what we have in these documents is not a late composition but only a late copy. The Coffin Text version of Chapter 78 can be traced clear back to the XII and even the IX Dynasties,⁴ and it is remarkably close to the much later Book of the Dead copy.⁵ Politely and cautiously, Professor De Buck pointed out that in view of the new understanding of Chapter 78 of the Book of the Dead as provided by the older Coffin Text version, "it is difficult to suppress the feeling of skepticism as to the intelligibility of the Book of the Dead version, not so much of its separate sentences, which as a rule are not difficult to translate, but above all things of the plot and story of the spell as a whole."⁶

Budge had had no trouble translating the separate sentences, but the sentences put together made no sense, or rather made the kind of sense habitually attributed to the Egyptians. Contrary to what one might suppose, to possess a real clue to what De Buck calls "the plot and story of the spell as a whole" is far more important than having a well-preserved text. Every student knows that if he is aware of what is

going on in a text, it is not too difficult to piece together the scattered fragments of it even when they are very small and few—Professor J. H. Wilson demonstrated this in his skillful reconstruction of the Book of the Dead fragments of the Joseph Smith collection.⁷ But if one is not aware of what is going on, even a complete text only befuddles and confuses—and this is clearly illustrated in the case of Dr. Budge, who had in his possession fully 90 percent of the story as it is told in Coffin Text 312, and yet was totally unaware of the plot and story, characters, dialogue, setting, and significance of the drama. He didn't even suspect that what lay before him in Book of the Dead Chapter 78 were the remains of a well-constructed drama; for him such a thing simply did not exist, but instead he saw only a disconnected jumble of primitive charms reflecting an infantile and half-savage mentality. Lacking the key that was later discovered, Professor Budge, a giant of scholarship if there ever was one, goes on solemnly and diligently adding sentence to sentence and note to note as he builds up his imposing edifice of laborious nonsense, nonsense that the world has been taught to think of as quintessentially Egyptian.

There is a fable for critics in this, but also a lesson for those who would criticize the critics. For Budge was, in fact, following his Egyptian scribes where they led him, and *they* had long since lost the trail—they too were quite unaware of the nature of the document they were perpetuating.⁸ Even Professor De Buck, when he went back to

what he called "the original version of the Book of the Dead 78," was quite aware that though the more ancient texts were "more correct" than any Book of the Dead version, they were still far from being the true original of the story. Granted "that the contents of the spells were already enigmatic and obscure to the writers and readers of the Book of the Dead,"⁹ the errors that led them astray and the attempts to correct those errors (attempts that only made things worse) were already of great age: "Already in the manuscripts of the Coffin Texts this process is in full swing."¹⁰

Professor Drioton, following up and reviewing De Buck's work, saw in Coffin Text 312 instead of an original composition the work of a compiler, whose object was to supply a bundle of magical-sounding writings (regardless of sense or meaning) for the funerary market, and who to do so busily rummaged among heaps of old religious books, the accumulated debris of the ages, and came up at random with this particular dramatic text.¹¹ In butchering the text to suit his purpose, the writer of Coffin Text 312, with characteristic sloppiness, spared "by inadvertence a few designations of persons and scenic indications," which are enough to supply modern scholars with the key to the story, but were of course overlooked by the later copyists of the Book of the Dead.¹² Professor Brunner in the latest study notes that "the literary character of the text has suffered frightfully in being taken over into the corpus of funerary literature," whether of the Coffin Texts or the Book of the Dead. Its dramatic form having been effectively obscured.¹³ "Actually," he observes, "our Coffin Text was originally no funerary text at all," being "clumsily" adapted as such.¹⁴

But now to our story. The leading character is the messenger-bird, who is dressed as a hawk in imitation of Horus. Professor Drioton prefaces his discussion of the play with a very informative lecture on what the Egyptians did and did not mean by a "transformation," the upshot of which is that the Egyptian never at any time conceived of the transformations into animal, bird, or other forms as being *literal*, "for nothing was ever farther from their mentality than ideas of metempsychosis."¹⁵ So in what follows we are to show the Egyptians the courtesy of never imagining our messenger-bird as a *real* hawk. Drioton would entitle the play "The Misadventures of a Messenger of Horus," which makes it a comedy.¹⁶ Dr. De Buck designated the leading character as "the Messenger or mediator," while Brunner prefers to call him "Der Lichtgeist" or Spirit of Light, as

the messenger calls himself.

The play opens with "Osiris, stunned by the blows of Seth, hiding out in Busiris." And so the scene is set in Busiris, the place of Osiris's sacrificial death and the center of human sacrifice in Egypt from the earliest to the latest times. There we find the god laid out for burial in his underground crypt ("enseveli sous terre"), lying helpless, dazed, beaten, exhausted, but not quite dead, for as the play opens he is praying desperately for deliverance: "O Horus, come I beseech thee to Busiris and rescue me!"¹⁷ He begs the god to behold him in his dire distress and to restore his power and dominion, "that the gates of hell might not prevail against me. . ." (69f). This last is as good a rendering as any of what is translated, "that the gates may beware of me" (De Buck), "defend me from the gates of Dat [the Underworld]" (Brunner), or "that the gates be vigilant in my behalf" (Drioton); all having the common idea that the gates of the underworld shall operate for and not against the hero. He then prays that his relentless enemy be not allowed to pursue him further or discover how helpless he really is in his hiding place (69g-70a-b). In one of the Coffin Text inscriptions (T1C) the ideogram for the helplessness of the god shows him on the lion-couch; that this is more than a meaningless convention is indicated in T. G. Allen's edition of the Book of the Dead, where Chapter 85 is headed by a vignette of a figure of a lion-couch under the *ba*-bird "with an uneraser falcon head" (I) and is entitled "Spell for assuming the form of a Soul and not entering the place of execution." "Dying is my abomination," says the figure on the lion-couch; "I enter not into the execution place of the Nether World."¹⁸ Here the lion-couch vignette matches the lion-couch scenes of the temples of Opet, Sethi I, Philae, etc., as well as the situation in the play: it is not an embalming but an attempted execution that concerns us.

To the prayer of the one on the couch, a chorus of gods (or in manuscript D1C of common people) adds a fervid "Amen!" (70c, *ir myy*, "let it be done accordingly"), and then a sort of Choregos appears and cries, "Be silent, O ye people [or gods] while a god speaks to a god!" (70e-71a). The dialogue that follows is as astonishingly like a piece of Greek drama as what has gone before, for Horus appears dressed as a hawk and begins with an aside expressing his hope that the suffering Osiris will heed the Truth. He advises Osiris to consider his condition most carefully and specially to make an effort to free himself (71c-72f), even

joking about his helplessness and shaming him into action (72g-73b). This reminds one very much of the "pep-talk" the two ladies give to Osiris as they help him revive on the lion-couch, and Drioton and Brunner both detect a distinct note of challenge and banter in the speech. But then comes the surprise. Having done the best he can to boost his father's morale, Horus announces that he is going back to heaven to "beg and request of the Lord of All" (73d) that he be endowed with the necessary authority to carry out the mission his father desires of him.

All our editors are surprised and puzzled by this: Horus comes as a hawk in answer to his father's prayer and apparently refuses to help him! Brunner, who gave the closest thought to the problem, concluded that Horus could not help his father until he had obtained a certain crown, representing plenary power in heaven and on earth, which he could only get by going to heaven and petitioning "the Lord of All"; this, Brunner avers, is the crux of the whole drama.¹⁹ Actually, Horus does not refuse his father's request, since in the end he faithfully carries it out, but first he explains that he must "go hence to the limits of the heavens to speak a word with Geb [the second of the godhead] and to request and beseech the Lord of All to grant me *hwi*" (73c-e), where *hwi* means, according to Brunner, "*Behlsgewalt*"—the authority to give orders.²⁰

In Brunner's analysis the real drama is enacted between Horus and Osiris, the true leading characters, who appear only twice, first at the beginning, when their dramatic dialogue provides a clear exposition of the play, and again at the end, when Horus returns to the scene and repeats word for word the prayer with which Osiris opened the drama—the prayer that he is now at last qualified to fulfill. "The text begins," he writes, "with the plaintive supplication of Osiris that Horus come to his aid. . . . It ends with a coronation hymn to Horus as heir to the throne."²¹ Such is the gist of the story: Osiris in his crypt cries out for deliverance, and a heavenly messenger, describing himself as a hawk, appears, whereupon the hero is rescued and triumphantly enthroned. It is our well-known Sed-festival and lion-couch theme.

But in between the prayer and its fulfillment there is a hitch, a real problem of such stuff as plays are made of. It is no small thing to raise the dead, and the question of Horus's power to do so as a junior member of the firm gives an opportunity for an interesting development of the theme.

It is a third party, "the Messenger of Horus," as Drioton calls him, who takes over and provides the real entertainment and fully two-thirds of the spoken lines of the play.²² This character is also dressed as a hawk and wants very badly to be taken for Horus. Who is he? Bearing in mind that in *all* known versions of the play and in all the translations there is a great shuffling and conflicting of personal pronouns, with no two copyists or translators agreeing as to exactly who is speaking or doing what or to whom most of the time, I believe that the second hawk can still be identified clearly by his words and actions.

As soon as the true Horus has left the crypt of the helpless Osiris to charge himself with new power in the courts on high, another hawk appears. He is called "the Messenger of Horus," "the Mediator," "the Spirit of Light," by our translators, but never is he designated, as he would like to be, as just plain Horus. He begins by announcing that he is "one who dwells in radiance" (74g), boasts that he has priority in age and honor over the real Horus (76b-c), vaunts his great magical powers (76d-e), claims to be no less than the "elect and appointed" one, *first* among "the beings who dwell in the Radiance" (76f), enjoying the highest glory in the preexistence among those begotten in the spiritual creation (76f-g), having received even at that time the full authority of Horus (76i-77a). "He is really too much of a braggart, this messenger of Horus," writes Professor Drioton; "that is no doubt the comic element in the play."²³

The Messenger swaggers up to the gate and demands access to Osiris, but is firmly checked and put in his place by Rwtý, the doorkeeper. Rwtý is the double-headed lion who guards the entrance (one head) and the exit (the other) to the other world—we have already noted the Egyptian conceit that holy and inapproachable places are guarded by lions. Rwtý points out to the Messenger that though he may *look* exactly like Horus, he can't get by because he lacks the *nemes*-crown, "the insignia of gods and men." (Drioton.) The *nemes*-crown, which Drioton characterizes as a "cache-perruque" and T. G. Allen calls a turban, seems to have been a sort of white cloth cap.²⁴ Brunner, as we have seen, considers it the main property of the play, since it represents the authority without which the mission of the Horus-messenger cannot be carried out—lacking this badge of authority the true Horus is helpless and the false one is a fraud.

Instead of producing the cap, however, or going to fetch it as the first Horus did, "the messenger backs down"

(Drioton), covering up his embarrassment with bluster, insisting that he is the authentic representative of Horus and is entrusted with awesome knowledge, having been made privy to the great secrets imparted by Osiris to his son "through the partition."²⁵ His foolish indiscretion is at once challenged by Rwtý: "Repeat to me then what Horus said as his father's word through the partition . . . and I will give you the *nemes*-crown," so said Rwtý" (78d-f). His bluff is called again; the Messenger is speechless, saved from his painful or comical predicament only when the real "Horus appears, he who is behind the injured eye" (79c-d), which Brunner interprets as "*hinter seiner geraubten Herrschaft*," indicating that someone, plainly the other hawk, has stolen his authority. By command of a voice from above, the true Horus is passed by the doorkeeper and goes on his way singing a lyric ode right out of Aristophanes's *Birds* on the exhilaration of travel through space—another indication that he is the true Horus-hawk.

It is odd that the scholars studying the text did not recognize the wild-blue-yonder motif: the joyful, untrammelled motion through the void (80a), mounting to the heights as a hawk (80b), endowed by Rwtý with wings (80d), sitting on a dizzy perch amidst the four mighty winds (80e), undismayed by fear of falling in empty space (80f), confident in one's power and beauty (80g), never losing one's way through the trackless skies (81a), buoyed and sustained by the very winds that terrify mortals (81b), undeterred and undaunted by the raging tempest (81c). It has all the makings of a lovely Euripidean ode.

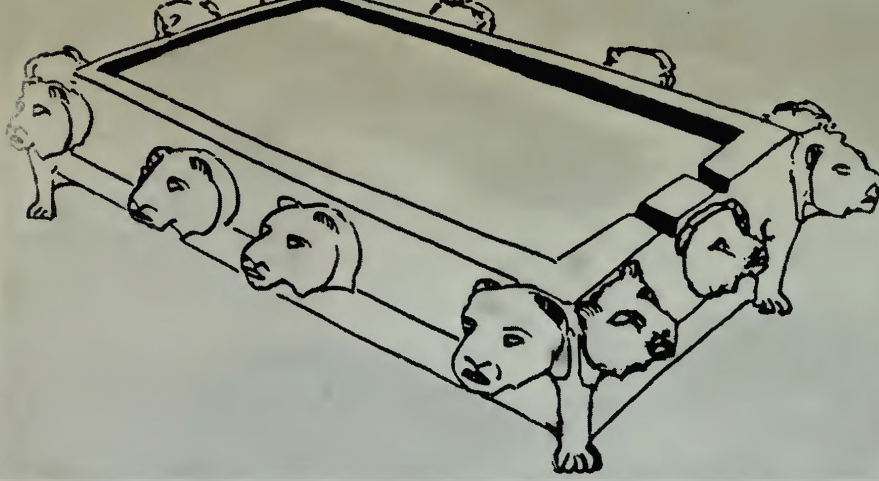
When the true Horus has departed, the rascal restores his self-confidence by remarking, probably to himself, that of course he could not tell the secret words, because if he did "the pillars of heaven would pursue me, after punishing my presumption" (82a). And so, as impudent as ever, he resumes his boasting: "I am the hawk who dwells in glory (82b), enjoying my own authority and my own princely crown!" (82c). "But," as Professor Drioton puts it, "this gets him nowhere"; he is checked again, this time by Akr, another gate-keeping lion (82e), but again the real Horus shows up and again is cleared by the imperious voice of "the Supreme Lord" speaking from heaven and demanding clearance for his ambassador: "Let no one oppose this spirit [my?] alter-ego, representative, member of the staff, the top-ranking Horus!" (82f). The voice continues to vouch for the true Horus in no uncertain terms (82g-k),

Here are the
Egyptians, telling us of
"Lucifer, the Son
of the Morning..."

stating that he is under orders to see Osiris in Busiris and is under no circumstances to be detained, since he comes on assignment from "the Great Palace" itself (821-p), and is to be denied no aid and assistance wherever he comes on pain of severe displeasure in heavenly places (83a-d).

The false messenger, in the manner of the clever slave in the New Comedy, gleefully arrogates all this authority to himself—after all, isn't he the very image of Horus?—and, more obnoxious than ever, begins to lord it over everybody in sight. That at least is one way of interpreting the speech that follows, beginning "Down on your faces!" and ending with a resounding "Horus has spoken!" (83i-l).²⁶ In the following speech he describes himself as a follower of Horus, the Lord of All (84l), a companion of Horus rather than Horus himself. Of course it is the real Horus who finally penetrates into the crypt, passing the guardians of the underworld castle of Osiris (84m-85f) and carrying out all instructions (85h). The rival, however, still seems to be at it, claiming that he too has the power to go below: "Horus has invested me with his *ba*, I have his authority!" (85i-j), and demanding that the mysteries and secret places of the lower worlds be opened to him, since he has a message from Horus to his father (85l-p). The keepers of the underworld announce the arrival of a visitor to Osiris (86c-g), whose reply is not preserved. From here we go directly to the final acclamation and coronation scene, as the proper wind-up to any ancient comedy or mummification.

Who is the comic character who tries to crash the gates of Rwtý, Aker, Isis, and Osiris in that order?²⁷ His "clumsy personal behavior," the "burlesque intermezzi" in which he struts "*in pathetische-karrierender Weise*," makes good theater, according to Brunner, and his presence introduces the dramatic elements of intrigue, dilemma, and pungency into the play, according to Drioton. But he is a clown and an incompetent; by what right does he usurp the honors of Horus in a re-

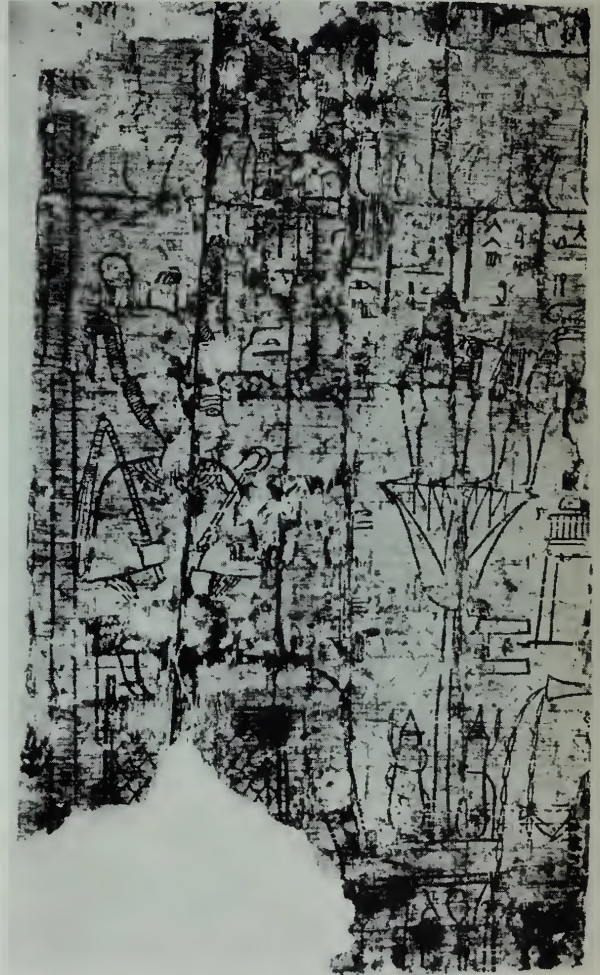


The four canopic jars, at left, are used, among other things, to show that the lion-altar should be facing in four directions, as this libation-table, altar, or embalming table shows.



Another type of lion-altar, above, facing the four directions.

At right, the Joseph Smith papyri contain this representation of the four canopic figures standing upon a symbolic lotus, signifying all the regions of the earth over which Pharaoh holds sway. In the Explanation to Facsimile No. 1, we are told that the canopic figures represent regional deities; in Facsimile No. 2 (Fig. 6) we also learn that the quartet "represents this earth in its four quarters."

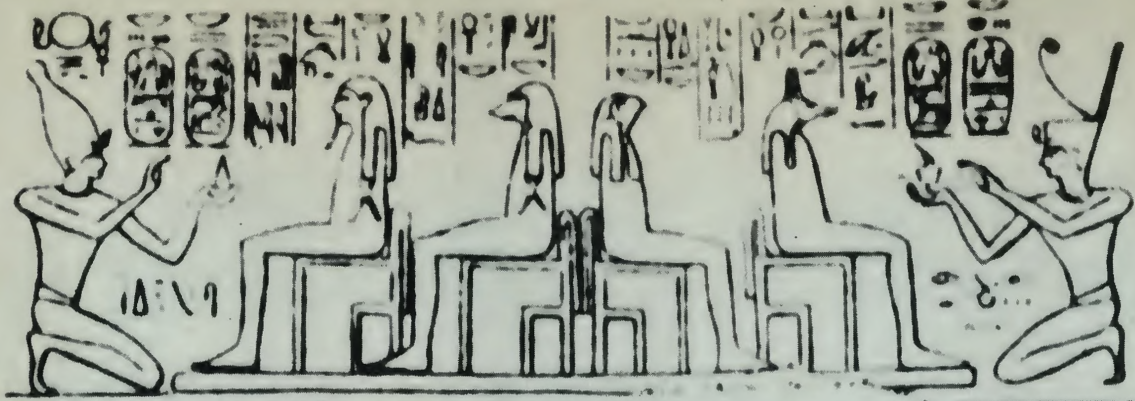


ligious drama? His epithets at first sight suggest his identity: Who is the Spirit of Light but Lucifer, the Son of the Morning, boasting of his pre-existent glory, first in the councils of heaven, claiming priority of age and honor over Horus himself, boasting of his knowledge and power, his kingdom and great glory, who would fain claim the crown but does not have it; who claims to know the answers but cannot deliver when they are required of him at a certain time and place? Who but the Adversary, the Deceiver, "Satan . . . transformed into an angel of light"? (2 Cor. 11:14.) As if to leave us in no

doubt, he describes himself as one of a serpent host who was on hand "before Isis came into being . . ." (76c). Strange that he should mention himself as a serpent stealing the march on Isis, the Egyptian Eve. He covets the honors of the son: "To be sure, you have the form of Horus," says Rwy to him (De Buck's translation), "but you do not possess the nemes-crown" (77d-e); he never gets it.

But how can the Messenger of Light be an impostor if, as we are expressly told (73f-74f), he was commissioned by the real Horus to take his place, assume his form, and exercise his au-

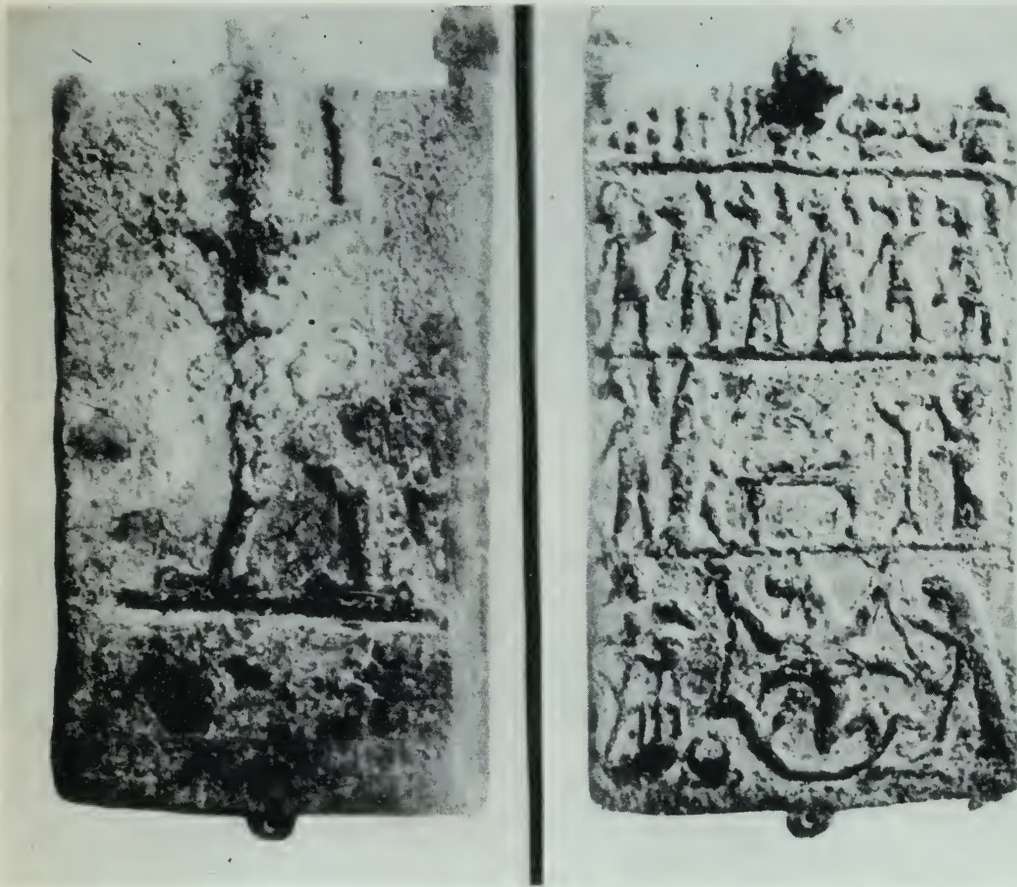
thority? The men who copied down our texts, being as far removed from the original version as we are, had to explain the close resemblance between the two hawks as best they could, and the readiest explanation was, of course, that hawk No. 2 had been duly authorized to double for hawk No. 1: indeed, how could the other hawk get away with his masquerade save by express permission of the real Horus? Actually, that is by no means the only possible explanation or even the best, since the messenger's masquerade was after all not successful, but constantly got him into awkward and comical predica-



Facsimile No. 1, Figures 5 through 8: "The idolatrous gods" of "Elkenah, Mahmackrah, Korash. . . ."

Above, Pharaoh worshipping the four canopic figures as deities—"idolatrous gods." This plainly shows that the four figures are more than mere funerary furniture, as Joseph Smith's critics have maintained.

An old Assyrian version of the lion-couch scene, at left, shows that the theme is to be found in the Chaldaean as well as the Egyptian spheres of influence.



ments. It was plainly his idea, not that of the real Horus, to pass himself off as the true son and heir: the clever, vicious imposture is a basic part of the ritual drama, in which Seth rivals Horus at every point. In this version of the story he struts and clowns as a Lord of Misrule while the king lies in the tomb, but he constantly stubs his toe, to the delight of the crowd, and is put in his place when the real heir appears and takes the throne.

All this is pertinent to the lion-couch story. In all the Jewish legends telling of the rescue of Abraham, the hero's prayer from the altar is answered

by the appearance of an angel, usually Gabriel, sometimes Michael, who asks whether he should save him from his fate. Invariably the Patriarch replies by declining the offer of assistance with the explanation that he expects God and God alone to save him. In some cases (to be treated below) he even tells the angel that he refuses to deal with one having inadequate authority. This, of course, is the final test for Abraham, who at this point has demonstrated that he trusts God all the way, and so at this moment he hears the voice of God speaking to him and at the same time is delivered from a sacrificial

death. In the Book of Abraham we meet with the same peculiar and therefore significant complication: "And as they lifted up their hands upon me, that they might offer me up and take away my life, behold, I lifted up my voice unto the Lord my God, and the Lord hearkened and heard . . . and the angel of his presence stood by me, and immediately unloosed my hands; And his voice was unto me: Abraham, Abraham, behold, my name is Jehovah, and I have heard thee, and have come down to deliver thee. . . ." (Abr. 1:15-16. Italics added.) Just what is the angel's role in this? Whenever the real hawk

Joseph Smith
Papyrus No. 1
is a sacrificial scene,
says the author

appears in the version of Coffin Text 312, the voice of Atum is heard from the heavens and the bird passes on without speaking.

But that is not the only complication. The legends all agree in telling of how at the last moment before the sacrifice, just before the angel appeared to Abraham, another party stood by the altar, Satan, no less, magnificently attired in black silk, and offered to deliver the Patriarch and bestow great power and dominion upon him if he would only recognize his authority and do obeisance to Nimrod, his protégé. He was, of course, denounced and dismissed by Abraham without argument, but could we not have here an echo of the two delivering angels, one true and one false? The plain designation of the false Messenger in Coffin Text 312 as "The Spirit of Light" and his failure to pass any of the tests of the true Messenger from God provide an impressively close parallel.

The drama of Coffin Text 312 closes with the usual acclamation and coronation; "O Osiris, thou are exalted upon thy throne; thy heart liveth! Thy members are rejuvenated, thy heart rejoiceth! (86h-j). Thou hast overcome Seth; Geb hath placed thee on the throne of succession (85k-l). Let there be a roll call of all the followers of the god and all their offerings (85m-n), while the Great President sits at the head of the Council of the Gods, having turned over all this authority [hwi, power to command] to Horus, the Son of Osiris (85r-s), who accordingly has taken over the government of Egypt; all are subject to him (85u). And now he feasts with the multitude—he gives life to millions, he alone through the Eye of the Mistress of the Universe." (86v-w.) All of this reads exactly like the liturgy of an early Roman year-rite,²⁸ and fits nicely into the Sed festival; and not the least important aspect of the winding-up scene is the application of the whole thing to the ruler of Egypt; it is for his benefit that the whole thing is staged.

The fragments that make up Coffin Text 312 are from, I believe, the third

part of a trilogy in which the first play or act was the famous Prologue in Heaven, the second the conflict with Seth from its beginning to its direful end, from which the hero emerges in his parlous plight at the beginning of the third act. The two earlier episodes are clearly alluded to in the text, in the vivid little flashbacks to the Messenger's role in the preexistence and in the passing reference to Seth as the enemy (the only time he is mentioned) in 85k. The first two acts or plays are well represented in Egyptian literature, e.g. in the Shabako text and the stories of Horus versus Seth, but the third one has been hidden behind the veil of the Osiris mysteries. A great deal of work remains to be done here. But now it is time to consider the next figure of the Joseph Smith Papyrus.*

Facsimile No. 1, Fig. 3. "The idolatrous priest of Elkenah, attempting to offer up Abraham as a sacrifice." The first thing to notice is that "the priest of Elkenah was also the priest of Pharaoh" (Abr. 1:7), since "at this time it was the custom [a peculiar custom, apparently, and one of limited duration] of the priest of Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, to offer up upon the altar which was built in the land of Chaldea . . ." (Abr. 1:8). A priest was taking the place of Pharaoh in this operation.

Question: Because Pharaoh was away in Egypt?

Answer: Not necessarily. Rather, because it was the custom for a priest to do so. The office was properly the king's but of course he needed assistance. A recent study explains that "pharaoh also acted as High Priest. Being a son of a god he could mediate between heaven and earth. Theoretically each offering was done by the pharaoh. . . ."³⁴

Q: The priest was only his helper?

A: Yes. As Drioton and Vandier put it, "only the king could offer sacrifices. . . . Actually the clergy carried on for him . . . but only as a substitute for the royal person."³⁵ We have seen that the picture of Pharaoh personally sacrificing the enemy chief "is found again and again in every period" of the Egyptian record, and the sacrificial liturgy makes it perfectly clear that the priest is merely taking the king's place.³⁶ Hence the showdown between Abraham and the man with the knife is really the encounter between the prophet and the monarch, no matter who holds the weapon. Likewise the priest could either wear a jackal mask³⁷ or simply be bald, as shown in the facsimile: the Salt Papyrus, in fact, specifies that the sacrificing priest be

bald (*fkty*).³⁸ No matter how you view him, he is a hostile figure.

Q: Why do you say that?

A: I am thinking of that striking passage from Diodorus (I, 91) which tells how the embalming priest who made the first incision in the body with a prehistoric flint sword was cursed, stoned, and driven out as a murderer. Whether the priest in the picture is an undertaker or not, he is still wielding the sacrificial knife. In Egypt all sacrifices were ritual murder.

Q: Even of grains or vegetables?

A: Even over grains and vegetables the priest would wave the king's ancient battle-mace as a reminder that whatever was being sacrificed was the Pharaoh's enemy and victim.³⁹

Q: Where is the knife in the Joseph Smith Papyrus?

A: That part of the document has been destroyed, but there is ample reason for believing that it was there when the facsimile was engraved.⁴⁰ If every embalming was a sacrifice, every sacrifice was also an execution, as we have just seen. The priest who sacrifices the oryx says to the king: "I make thine arm victorious over the rebels, I place thine enemy under thy knife."⁴¹ In the mysteries of Osiris the emphasis is on violence as the figure on the couch is surrounded by demons with drawn knives—a peaceful embalming operation is not the idea.⁴²

Q: I can see that a knife might be the most likely thing for the priest to be holding, but doesn't he hold other things instead in the other Anubis scenes?

A: Anubis standing by the bier usually holds a jar of ointment or a bandage in his upraised hand, but I think this figure was different.

Q: How different?

A: In all the scenes I have ever seen in which the Anubis priest holds those objects in his left hand, his right hand is equally conspicuous, stretched out lower than the other arm over the body, palm down, in a stock ritual gesture strictly prescribed by the canons of funerary art. But what have we in our papyrus? No right arm at all! It is hard, in view of the rigidly established standard forms, to avoid the impression that the artist is consciously avoiding that other arm. The priest is *not* an embalmer.

Q: But why does he hold the knife in his left hand?

A: He really doesn't. It is just shown that way. A number of studies have demonstrated that the Egyptian artist always drew people in the right profile whenever he could, "while the left profile is shown as a mirror-image."⁴³ So our priest is properly shown in right

*Footnotes 29-33 have been omitted.

profile. But at the same time "in a two-dimensional drawing the Egyptian artist was afraid of criss-crossing," so he simply put the knife in the other hand. Comparison of Egyptian drawings and statues reveals that when a figure is shown as left-handed in a drawing, the same figure in the same attitude is seen to be right-handed in his statue, which proved to Professor Mueller that the left-handedness of the drawn figures is merely a convention to avoid the crossing of arms.⁴⁴ In Papyrus No. I the left-handedness of the priest, like the awkward position of his legs, is an unavoidable consequence of telling a particular story: it comes from the necessity of having the two main figures oppose each other. The preference of Egyptian artists for the right profile is one of the canons of their art and belongs to the same order that requires hieroglyphic figures to face toward the beginning of a text, so that the procession seems to move backwards.

Q: Why is that?

A: Supposedly because the procession must start from a holy shrine or person, and since no one may turn his back on divinity gods and mortals must always face each other, i.e. they must face in opposite directions. Hence the rule that while mortals are drawn in right profile, gods must be shown in the left.⁴⁵ It has been increasingly clear in recent years that the direction in which figures face is something to be taken seriously in understanding Egyptian art, and it may furnish an important clue to the meaning of the Joseph Smith Papyrus.

Q: What do you mean, important clue?

A: Notice that the priest, the lion, and the crocodile all face in the same direction, showing their right profiles. What do they all have in common? They take life, they are sinister figures—literally *sinister*, "on the left"! In Egyptian common speech, "to see the face of the crocodile" was to die,^{45a} and priest, lion, knife, and crocodile all show the man on the couch to be in grave jeopardy. All the other figures, on the other hand, face in the opposite direction, the direction in which the immortals face, all of them being invested with divine power to save life: The hawk comes to rescue the hero; the four canopic figures have always the function of protecting the body from harm and assisting in its resurrection; the lotus (as we shall see) revives the dead and protects the living; finally the figure on the couch is brought face to face with his rival and would-be destroyer. The whole composition proclaims the conflict of two forces. This is emphasized deliberately

by the introduction of figures *not* found in other lion-couch scenes—the lotus and the crocodile, which to the Egyptian mind represent the ultimate extremes respectively of destruction and preservation. Having taken such special pains to give a particular interpretation to the scene, the artist cannot be denied the privilege of putting such an object as a knife in the priest's hand. Notice in the facsimile how that knife dominates the picture—it is exactly in the center of vision and exactly half-way between the eye of Abraham and the eye of the priest; it is the focal point of the whole scene, as it should be.

Q: You spoke of a sacrificial knife as a primitive flint sword. Is this that kind of knife?

A: The knife depicted in the first Hedlock engraving has very much the shape and size of some of the prehistoric ceremonial knives used by the Egyptians. In Chapter 71 of the Book of the Dead the sacrificial knife is described as representing the crescent moon, the officiant being Thoth, the moon-god.^{45b}

Q: You have said that the lion and the crocodile have a necessary and sacred function to perform in the lion-couch situation. Does that apply also to the knife?

A: Yes, and to the priest too, as we shall see. According to Kees, the deadly wounds inflicted by the knife are really the "victim's" introduction to great things—to hidden knowledge and to immortality—so that the knife is really an instrument of transfiguration.⁴⁶ This is shown, I think, in the late Egyptian story of the contest between Truth and Falsehood, who, of course, are brothers. Falsehood accuses Truth of stealing from him a knife that has miraculous powers, hails him into court, and has him blinded and banished for his supposed crime; but later on the knife itself turns the tables and inflicts the blows of death—this time real and final—on Falsehood, thereby vindicating Truth. So you see it is both a good knife and a bad knife.^{46a}

Q: What about the wicked priest—is he good too?

A: Good or bad, we couldn't do without him. Who, in the end, turns out to be the real victim of this ritual violence? It is not Abraham but the priest. And that is very significant, for according to the Egyptian stories collected by Wainwright it was the priests who were always urging Pharaoh to sacrifice himself or a substitute, and in the stories in which the intended victim escapes it is always the priest himself who ends up getting sacrificed. This is clearly expressed in the Book

of Abraham: when "the Lord broke down the altar" he also "smote the priest that he died" (Abr. 1:20), for he said, "I have come down . . . to destroy *him* who hath lifted up his hand against *thee* . . ." (Abr. 1:17. Italics added.) In the Jewish legends too it is always the priest who gets killed. Instead of going into sources here (that will come later), let us only consider the famous Busiris vase, a sixth-century hydria depicting with typical Greek irreverence and love of fun the climax of the favorite Greek Egyptian story—the story of King Busiris.⁴⁷

Q: Wasn't Busiris a place?

A: From prehistoric times down to the Middle Ages Busiris was the traditional center of human sacrificial rites in Egypt, and it is from that that the mythical King Busiris gets his name. For it was his custom to sacrifice strangers on his "cruel altars," especially Greeks. This practice began during a terrible drought when the people were starving and the king was, of course, held responsible. A wise man and priest coming from Cyprus told the king that if he would sacrifice a man every year, the land would prosper. That got the king off the hook, and his first victim was appropriately enough the very priest—blond, noble, and a stranger—who suggested the operation to him.⁴⁸

Q: And it served him right, too.

A: That was the very idea—the priests are asking for it. Well, Hercules heard about this and he didn't like it at all, so he went to Egypt, and being both foreign, blond, and of royal—even divine—lineage, he easily became a candidate for the sacrifice, allowing himself to be bound and put on the altar. But being a demigod with super strength, he burst his bonds at the last moment and turned the tables, and that is what we see in this clever parody on the Busiris Hydria: Hercules is making havoc among the panic-stricken priests while the terrified high priest, kneeling on the altar, is praying for his life. And lying bound and helpless on the step at the foot of the altar is none other than Pharaoh himself, identified readily by his uraeus headdress and his beard. Here, then, in an early Greek vase quite unknown to the world of Joseph Smith is another telling of the story of the noble captive miraculously escaping death on the altar of Pharaoh at the last moment, turning the tables and killing the priest. Most Greek versions of the story say that Hercules killed Pharaoh Busiris too, but some deny it.⁴⁹ It is the priest in the end who pays the price: Busiris got himself out of a jam by sacrificing the very priest who recommended such a welcome

substitute. There are cases in which the king deliberately "avenged the insult to himself" resulting from the escape of an intended victim "by having the priests put to death as sacrifices" instead.⁵⁰ Wainwright has explained how the Pharaoh who thus saves himself by sacrificing his priest (who is his proxy anyway!) fulfills the sacrificial requirements so that neither he nor any intended victim need suffer—with the death of the priest, the full price has been paid.⁵¹ This device is also essential to the Abraham story.

Q: How essential?

A: As soon as "the Lord . . . smote the priest that he died" (Abr. 1:20), the tension between Abraham and Pharaoh was released. As we have often pointed out, Abraham was taking Pharaoh's place on the altar as his enemy, his rival, and his "tanist." But suddenly another substitute for the king, his own high priest, "the priest of Pharaoh," and as such "nothing but a substitute for the royal person" (above, note 35), had died at the altar instead: Abraham's services were no longer needed, the King's honor had been satisfied, and no obstacle remained to his paying Abraham the respect that he now realized (and had long suspected) was due him. There is thus no contradiction in having Facsimile No. 1 followed by Facsimile No. 3. The whole Abraham story, strange as it is, is quite in keeping with ancient practice and tradition.

The Four Idolatrous Gods:

We return to our imaginary dialogue between a curator and two students:

Mr. Jones: These four figures, the canopic jars before the altar, tie everything together. First of all, what does the Book of Abraham say these four figures are?

Jane: "Idolatrous gods." They have funny names.

Mr. Jones: Are those the names of the gods? Look again.

Dick: It says here (Facsimile No. 1, Figure 5), "The idolatrous god of Elkenah." (Italics added.)

Mr. Jones: And what does it say in the preceding sentence?

Dick: ". . . the gods of Elkenah, Libnah, Mahmaekrah. . ."

Mr. Jones: Yes, these are the gods of such and such places or persons. Which do you think it was—places or persons? I'll give you a hint: in Facsimile 2, Figure 6, we get the same four critters. What are they there?

Jane: "Represents this earth in its four quarters."

Mr. Jones: So those fancy names probably belong to geographical re-

gions, wouldn't you say?

Dick: Unless the geographical regions are also people.

Mr. Jones: Thanks for that. As far as the Egyptians were concerned, the four quarters of the earth were people. If the Book of Abraham wants to think of the four canopic jars as representing idolatrous gods and the four regions at the same time, that is entirely in keeping with the way the Egyptians thought about it. Now right here in the Temple of Opet where we are so much at home "the genies of the four winds" enjoy a conspicuous display, and why are they there? The four winds, according to our handbook, head the list of more than fifty ritual appearances of the sacred four—it all began with the four winds and the four directions, represented as early as the Pyramid Texts by the four canopic vases.⁵²

Jane: What are canopic vases?

Mr. Jones: The four idols before the lion-couch in Facsimile 1 are the four canopic vases. As we have seen, they contained the insides of the person on the couch, precisely because they represent the four directions. Let us recall the famous legend of the Jews that Adam was made of the four elements, gathered together as dust from each of the four quarters of the earth; that when one dies the elements are scattered to the four directions, and when one is resurrected they are brought together again.⁵³ Well, the Egyptians had the same idea: man was made in the beginning by four gods who represented or rather, according to Brugsch, were the four elements.⁵⁴ Now here at the Opet shrine in what is called the Chamber of Spirits, the hero at his rebirth is being approached by good spirits bringing him good wishes and protection on his birthday, and at the head of the parade come the Gods of the Four Elements, sometimes eight of them, sometimes 14.⁵⁵

Jane: Just like the good fairies in the fairy stories.

Mr. Jones: Yes, the same tradition is behind both. Now the mixing up of the four canopic idols with the four regions of the universe is found in Egyptian funerary cult at all times, as Budge noted: "The four children of Horus played a very important part in the funerary work of the early dynasties; they originally represented the four supports of heaven, but very soon each was regarded as the god of one of the four quarters of the earth, and also of that quarter of the heavens which was above it."⁵⁶ Whether that is the right explanation or not, the thing to notice is that the four figures represent a number of concepts at once: they are personalities, "gods," points of the com-

pass, and also kings and divine patrons of geographical regions: at the same time they represent the four main stars of the Dipper, and the four primal elements of which man and the universe are made.⁵⁷ It is interesting that this very temple of Opet was built of four kinds of stone representing the four basic elements of which the universe was made.⁵⁸ The canopies must participate at the king's resurrection: "Crossing the waters to the place of rebirth" is explained by an Egyptian gloss as meaning that "it is Anubis who is behind the vessel containing the organs of Osiris. . . ."⁵⁹ Our canopic jars are both for preservation and resurrection. "All four gods of the Cardinal points officiate at the baptism of Pharaoh," which, as we have seen, was quadrilateral: "what was poured out over the King's head," according to Gardiner, was "divine power . . . the specific power of each of the gods of the cardinal points."⁶⁰ We have seen that the Sed-festival is a coronation, and that according to some the climax of the festival was the moment when the king released four birds "toward the four cardinal points, to announce the coronation of the king to the four corners of the earth," which four corners, according to this authority, are none other than the four sons of Horus, represented by the four canopic jars.⁶¹

Jane: They were surely crazy about four.

Dick: Just like the Hopis. With them the four worlds are everything.

Mr. Jones: The number four seems to have been a sort of obsession with some ancient people.⁶² If you look up the four figures represented in the canopic jars, the first thing you will learn is that they are supposed to be the four sons of Horus, and Moret says the four birds released at the coronation are also the four sons of Horus.⁶³ The four children of Horus began as stars in the northern sky;⁶⁴ their names *Imsty*, *Hpy*, *Dwamutef* and *Qbhsnwf* designated the four stars of the Dipper bowl and seem to go back to the earliest times,⁶⁵ when they are also identified with the major cosmic deities.⁶⁶

Let's go back to our shrine at Opet, our "lion-couch" temple. Here in the central chamber between the lion-couch room and the coronation room, above each of the four doors, is a picture with an inscription telling us what it is: Above the north door is a four-headed ram, and the inscription tells us that he is the North Wind in its capacity of giving the breath of eternal life to Osiris. Above the south door we see another ram, this time with four wings, and he is called the South Wind; above the East door a scarab with four wings—the East Wind, of

course—and above that west door a hawk with the head of a ram.

Dick: What happened to the four that time?

Mr. Jones: The ram takes care of that, but he belongs to Facsimile No. 2. A study of the four winds shows them taking all sorts of forms: sometimes the North Wind has two cows' or bulls' heads plus two human heads; sometimes it is a ram-headed man with two wings accompanied by a ram-headed hawk or else by a four-headed ram; sometimes it is a ram with four human heads; or else the South Wind is a four-winged lion—that is when it is a hot wind. Though most of the exotic variations belong to the later period, the four-winds idea itself goes back to early times and is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts.⁶⁷

Dick: You name it, we've got it! What's it all about?

Mr. Jones: It has been found that all these combinations have one thing in common—what Professor De Wit calls the “quaternary principle”; he suggests that the whole business originally goes back to the four winds and probably started at Heliopolis.

Dick: Naturally.

Mr. Jones: On good evidence. Even one of the Joseph Smith Papyri shows that.

Jane: Which one?

Mr. Jones: Fragment No. 8 in the *Era* listing [February 1968], corresponding to Chapter 57 of the Book of the Dead. Professor Allen has rendered it: “His nose is open in Busiris. He rests in Heliopolis. . . . If north winds come, he sits in the south; if south winds come, he sits in the north; if west winds come, he sits in the east; if east winds come, he sits in the west.”⁶⁸ Heliopolis is certainly the center of the system, though the god is revived in Busiris, the place where he was put to death. Both motifs, execution and rescue, are conspicuous in the Joseph Smith Papyrus No. 1—the lion-couch scene.

Dick: Do the four winds resurrect people?

Mr. Jones: Yes. Each wind is described in some inscriptions as bearing life both to the vegetable world and to Osiris—especially it brings rebirth.⁶⁹ And to achieve this rebirth, the four must unite into a single entity, bringing the four elements into one body.⁷⁰ Now with reference to our papyrus it is interesting that when the four thus come together, each one is designated as “the god of Such-and-such a district,” just as our four canopic jars are designated by the Prophet as “the idolatrous god of So-and-so. . . .”

Dick: Is So-and-so a person or a country or what?

Mr. Jones: Well, we know that as far as the Egyptians are concerned the canopic jars do stand for “the earth in its four quarters,” just as Joseph Smith said they did. We also know that for the Egyptians the cardinal points and the canopic figures as well definitely stood for four regions of the earth and the four races that inhabited them.

Dick: But here they are Egyptian gods. Were all the four races Egyptians?

Mr. Jones: Yes, when they knew their place—countless inscriptions explain that point of view. But we must understand how the Egyptians thought of it. In early times the basic division of Egypt was not as you might suppose.

Dick: I know, into north and south, lower and upper Egypt, the red and the white—

Mr. Jones: Yes. It was not divided that way but into the four regions. NSEW. The Egyptian ideogram for “city” is also a circle divided into four—each city having a “quarter” and so following the same plan as the universe itself.⁷¹ For that “quadrilateral” division of space does not, of course, stop with Egypt. The outer world was also divided up into four main parts. The concept was equally familiar to the Babylonians, who thought of the city and the land as being four-fold, but also thought of the four cardinal points of the compass as being identified with particular nations, races, and colors.⁷² Remember, we are dealing here with a Canaanite version, in which the “idolatrous god of Pharaoh” is only one of the party; the others do not have to be Egyptian.

Jane: But don't the animal heads make them Egyptian?

Mr. Jones: The animal heads seem to have been borrowed by the Egyptians in the first place. Originally the canopic vases didn't have the animal heads; they were just plain jars.⁷³ Scholars believe “that the theriomorphic vase in Egypt, as elsewhere, can be traced to an origin in northern Syria.”⁷⁴ Yet the four heads are already canonically prescribed in the Pyramid Texts, so that it is suggested that their appearance in Egypt in the XIX Dynasty was actually a return to the old idea.⁷⁵ The idea behind the canopic figures was certainly familiar to Canaan, where, according to the rabbi, the princes of the various nations were typified by animals, just as were the princes of Israel.⁷⁶

Dick: But only four of them?

Mr. Jones: That was just a concession to the system. Thus, though from time immemorial the Egyptians spoke of the other nations as the “Nine Bows,” they believed that at the judgment the *four* races of Mankind would

“...as far as the
Egyptians are
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stand in their proper positions.⁷⁷ Recently Professor Posener has shown that the Egyptians named the peoples and countries of the world after their *directions*, and hence conceived of the *four* great races as the inhabitants of the four cardinal directions; to each of the cardinal directions they also gave cardinal colors—red, white, blue, and green.⁷⁸ They knew that there were many countries, of course, but they insisted on fitting everything into the system—a sort of cosmic plan that seems to have hypnotized many ancient people.⁷⁹

Dick: So nobody had to borrow from anybody.

Mr. Jones: So the various ideas could easily meet and fuse—in Canaan, especially, the newly found Brooklyn Papyrus shows the people familiar with the same ideas: “The invoking of four Babylonian deities is certainly evidence of the presence of a Babylonian cult in this area.” The four gods in question happen to be Bel, Nabu, Shamash, and Nergal,⁸⁰ corresponding closely to the four great gods of the Egyptian four directions. Just as we find in the secret place of resurrection in Egyptian temples a special central room in which the four winds were depicted, so a newly discovered Assyrian text tells of a “high chamber” within a Ziggurat in which were found the images of the four winds, each being related to one of the four waters.⁸¹ A Hyksos tomb at Gaza, supplying a link between Egypt and Asia in these things, contains four chambers in each of the four directions, with each containing a human sacrifice.⁸² The Mandaeans supply another link, and they have the

“All we can do here is to show that the name El-kenah, far from being an absurdity, is a very promising candidate for research...”

same “quadrilateral” obsession as the Egyptians and Babylonians: their four rulers of the underworld, Krun, Shdum, 'Ur, and Gaf, represent the soft parts and effusions of the body, just as the canopic jars do.⁸³ Still another link is provided by a coffin from the Land of Goshen, depicting the four sons of Horus, entirely human, raising their arms in praise or support beneath a lion-couch on which the king lies prone, i.e. in the act of arising, while six royal crowns await him before the couch and behind the four figures are four times three arrows and the number 400. The location as well as the motifs are reminders of the four-and-twelve obsession of ancient Israel.⁸⁴ A literary link between Egypt and Canaan is Philo of Byblos, who says that the god Bethel-Baetyl was the second of four brothers, begotten by heaven and earth: El, Baetyl, Dagon, and Atlas.^{85a} A recent study of these concludes that three of them were actually Phoenician-Palestinian divinities, i.e., idolatrous gods of the Canaanites, while the fourth, Atlas, represents an Egyptian deity who “descends as a lion into his tomb.”^{85b}

Jane: But didn't Atlas hold up the world?

Mr. Jones: Exactly. And Baetyl means pillar—they were pillars of heaven. The Mesopotamian and Egyptian ideas met in Canaan: “The pharaohs also served Syrian gods,” writes S. Morenz, “who made their countries tributary to the Egyptian kings. Gods from Syria . . . were venerated in Egypt . . . also in settlements of immigrants.”⁸⁵

Dick: So it worked both ways.

Mr. Jones: Yes. The Egyptians, “very tolerant at all times toward strange gods . . . undertook to adopt those of Byblos,” while the Syrians called their solar god Re, just like the Egyptians, giving him special epithets to keep from confusing him with the Egyptian Re.⁸⁶ A text from Ras Shamra baffled everybody for a while until it was realized that it was composed in the manner of an Egyptian coronation ode in honor of “the Egyptian overlord of Ugarit.”⁸⁷ And while “Egyptian

officials and soldiers in the cities of Palestine and Syria” addressed the local gods “with the same confidence as they displayed towards their own home gods,” Asiatics living in Egypt worshiped their own Asiatic gods, especially the lady Astarte in the Hittite quarter of Memphis.⁸⁸ In fact, “it became the fashion among the Egyptians themselves to imitate Asiatic customs,” and in the worship of foreign gods “the Pharaohs themselves took the lead. . . .”⁸⁹ A Memphite papyrus lists the names of the Memphite gods and right along with them the Canaanitish gods with their outlandish names.⁹⁰ So we should not be too surprised by the strange un-Egyptian but patently Semitic names of our four idolatrous gods; Egyptian idols often received such Asiatic names, though interestingly enough the reverse is not true: “While the Egyptians so readily accepted Semitic deities into their midst,” wrote Cerny, “there is no sign that their subjects in Palestine and Syria showed the same attitude towards the Egyptian gods.”⁹¹ Consistent with this arrangement, “the idolatrous god of Pharaoh” appears among the other idolatrous gods as a sort of fifth wheel, tolerated because he must be—Pharaoh is calling the tune in Asia at the moment and must be shown due respect, but at best the Egyptians intrude on the local rites with “a god like unto the god of Pharaoh.” Fortunately, this complicated theme is the subject of a recent book, by R. Stadelmann, who assures us that the Egyptians believed, like everybody else, that throughout the Near East “the native gods were the mightiest, and that without their help and support Pharaoh could not rule these lands.”⁹² This would explain the persistence of “the idolatrous god” of this or that region along with the sovereign position of “the idolatrous god of Pharaoh” as depicted in the Book of Abraham.

Dick: Even if the Egyptians had conquered them?

Mr. Jones: That is just the point; it was a fundamental belief, and one consistently overlooked by scholars, ac-

ording to Stadelmann, that every god had an inalienable right to his own territory; hence, without the recognition and approval of the immemorial local divinity of a region “no power was legal”: Pharaoh himself rules everywhere in Canaan only by permission and with the aid of the local *Landsgott*, who is never destroyed or even suppressed, though often he becomes quickly Egyptianized.⁹³ Please note that the four idolatrous gods of Facsimile No. 1, though having Canaanite names, appear in conventional Egyptian dress—that, to judge by other examples, was quite a correct procedure.⁹⁴ Look now at this picture of the camp of Rameses II in Canaan: here before a shrine in the midst of the camp, a shrine that looks very much as the Ark of the Covenant must have looked when the Israelites brought it out of Egypt, we see men of five different races praying, and over here the king himself is seen bringing his captives before another shrine in which four gods are sitting.⁹⁵ Do those four gods look familiar? Look at their heads!

Jane: One has a hawk's head, and one is human.

Mr. Jones: Notice that it happens to be the head of Rameses himself.

Dick: But the others are a lion and an ape—at least it *could* be an ape.

Mr. Jones: Well, we have seen that the heads could change, though the significance of the four figures remains the same. Here Pharaoh's enemies in Palestine are duly submitting to them—and him. The Egyptian and Asiatic meet and mingle in Palestine and Syria from early times: at Byblos, for example, we find our familiar Egyptian lions and lotuses adorning royal coffins and thrones, but with a very strong Asiatic intermixture.⁹⁶ The idols of Canaan tend to become stereotyped, though retaining a great variety of names.⁹⁷

Dick: Do you mean that all they had to do to change the identity of an idol was to change its name?

Mr. Jones: The situation seems to have been remarkably fluid, to judge by Albrecht Alt's studies. According to him the strange gods were constantly coming and going, especially in the desert. A certain idol would pass for a time as “the god of So-and-so,” So-and-so being the name of the man who introduced the cult of that god into an area.⁹⁸ The Egyptian expressions “god of Rameses” and “such-and-such god of Rameses” have long puzzled scholars; Montet has suggested that “god of Rameses” has a geographical significance, and the expression definitely belongs to the overlapping areas of Egypt and Canaan.^{98a}

Dick: Why couldn't they just call the god by his own name?

Mr. Jones: Perhaps because his name was secret: according to a very widespread belief in the East, to know the name of a god or a demon gave one a measure of control over him. But whatever the reason, it is an interesting fact that when an idol is called "the god of So-and-so" in an inscription, he is never designated by a proper name of his own.⁹⁹

Dick: The idols in the camp of Rameses would certainly explain how the four eanopic figures got to be known in Palestine.

Mr. Jones: It shows that they were known, but not necessarily how. After all, it has been suggested, as we have seen, that the four eanopic figures were Syrian to begin with. The Jews had their own four figures, whether the evil spirits ruling the four winds and seasons—the four "Devil-Mothers,"¹⁰⁰ or the primordial Tohu, Bohu, Khoek, and Ruaeh, which correspond exactly to the Egyptian *Nw*, *Hehw*, *Kekw*, and *Shw*, indicating to Professor Jequier that the writer of Genesis had access to the very ancient Hermopolitan records.¹⁰¹

Jane: In seminary we learned about the four beasts in Daniel (7:2-8); they were winds too, and one was a winged lion.

Dick: And in Revelation 7:1 it says, "And after these things I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth. . . ." Isn't this just the same as the Egyptian eanopic idea?

Mr. Jones (impressed): A. Grenfell noted long ago that the imagery of the four angels in Revelation is the same as that of the Egyptian eanopic jars, so you needn't be so smart.¹⁰² And what about the strange heads?

Dick: Oh, they are there, too! ". . . and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes [looking] before and behind."

Jane: They were like a lion, a calf, an eagle, with one having the face of a man. (Rev. 4:6-7.)

Mr. Jones (bemused): And to think that in Israel today kids your age actually do talk like that. But only two of the heads are eanopies, please note—the man's and the eagle's.

Dick: Don't you remember that in some temples the ape's and the jackal's heads were replaced by those of an ox and a ram?

Jane: Or a beetle's, for that matter.

Dick: Only the human head and the bird's head remain unchanged all the time. Also, John is describing a throne scene, in which lions are a "must."

Mr. Jones: Yes, and the Egyptians

usually represented the South by a lion and the North by a head of a bull or a cow. So the four heads in John's vision are actually the standard Egyptian symbols of the four directions. So our four "idolatrous gods" which "represent the earth in its four quarters" aren't so far from the Bible after all!

Dick: But what about their fancy names? They aren't Egyptian and they aren't found in the Bible either.

Mr. Jones: Ah, but they are found elsewhere; that is the point. Let us take them in order. First, the hawk-headed eanopic, "the idolatrous god of Elkenah." We learn in Abraham 1:7 that "the priest of Elkenah was also the priest of Pharaoh"—one priest serving two masters: since one of the masters was a king, the other may also have been. Bearing in mind that in the common expression "god of So-and-so" the So-and-so is the name of the king or chieftain who established the idol's worship in a district, I would say that Elkenah was a man—but a man with a theophoric name.

Jane: What's that?

Mr. Jones: It's the name of a person made by combining the name of a god with some other element—like Uriah or Jezebel. In Palestine and Syria it is common to find such names combining Egyptian and west Semitic elements. Well, one of the favorite words of the Egyptians in building such names was *qen-* or *qeni* (usually written with a "k" with a dot under it), which means "mighty," "powerful," or "brave." This element is "often used in the first names of various kings," according to the *Berlin Dictionary* (V, 42), and is especially appropriate for the conquerors of foreign lands. A typical example is the name Amon-qen(i) or Qen(i)-Amon (V, 41), meaning "Amon is mighty." According to the dictionary (V, 45), it is not possible to distinguish the forms *qnt*, *qni*, *qnw* as to meaning, and the Egyptians often leave the final vowel or consonant unwritten. The "q" here represents a very hard "k" sound, which is impossible to express in English, and I find it most interesting that Joseph Smith sometimes spelled Elkenah with a double *kk*—a very odd and unusual spelling by all accounts, which justifies us in equating *ken* with *qen*. If we go back to the great camp scene of Rameses II, we find that among the four eanopic figures in the shrine the hawk is represented as saying to the king: "I give thee power (*qnt*) against the Southland, victory against the North. . . . I give thee the lands of the earth."¹⁰³ As a conqueror Rameses was, we might say, *qen*-conscious, and since *qen-i*, *-u*, *-t* was commonly used "as an

appendage of vague and general significance to names of gods, designations of kings, and the like" (V, 42), it is a natural for the name of an idol; and since it was common in Palestine and Syria to combine Egyptian and Canaanitish elements in the same names, nothing could be more in order than to call an idol El-kenah, meaning "the god El is mighty." Canaan in Abraham's day was full of what E. MacLaurin calls "synthesized titles," and he calls special attention to the name El-qanna.^{103a} The commonest element in such names was some word for "strong" or "mighty" coupled with the name of the god: Thus El Elyon or Baal Aleyan means that the god is "victorious," a "powerful hero."^{103b} Equally common is the Egyptian *kn* or *kny*, and the well-attested name *kny-ra* or *Ra-qni* is the exact equivalent of El-Kenah, the Egyptians being much interested in identifying their Ra with the Canaanite El.^{103c}

Dick: But what about the *ah* ending?

Mr. Jones: It is a characteristic of Canaanite proper names written in their Egyptian form. Thus the well-known name Horan is written in Egyptian *Hurwnana*, a personal name, and as a place name it is *Hrwn-ah*.¹⁰⁴ The name Ba'al itself is often written in Egyptian with final *-r* instead of *-l*, and sometimes the *-r* is omitted to give Ba'ah.¹⁰⁵ This shift between final *-r* and *-ah* is interesting because Joseph Smith himself hesitates between Elkenah and Elkener. We shall consider this *r-* trouble when we get to some other names. Meanwhile, here is a suggestive report by Bar Hebraeus that "in the days of Tarh"—that is, of Abraham's father, Terah—"the Egyptians learned Chaldaism."

Dick: Rather a neat point for the Book of Abraham, I would say—having the Egyptians go Chaldaean in the days of Abraham, or rather of his father.

Mr. Jones: True, but that is only incidental to the main point, which is that in adopting Chaldaism the Egyptians of Abraham's day "made an image of gold in honor of Kinos, the idol."¹⁰⁶ Bar Hebraeus has given the name its Greek form as found in his sources, but from this it would appear that in their "Chaldaean" sphere the Egyptians really did honor an idol named Kenah or something very like it. Whatever the name meant, it was there.

Dick: Could it designate a region—El-kenah, "the god of Kenah," or something like that?

Mr. Jones: That is a distinct possibility, in view of the latest study by Father R. de Vaux. According to him, the land of Canaan is designated in

the Amarna Letters as the land of Kinahni or Kinahhi.¹⁰⁷ The Amarna Letters, you may recall, were written in Babylonian cuneiform but discovered in the library of a famous Pharaoh.

Dick: What happened to the second "n" in Canaan?

Mr. Jones: Most of the time it is missing. At Ras Shamra, a Canaanite library contemporary with the Amarna Letters, the name is written Kinahi, and a Canaanite is called a *kinahaiu*.¹⁰⁷ A letter of Ramses II calls Canaan Kinahhi, though the Egyptians prefer Kn'n. But in the Amarna Letters the *ain* turns into rough "h" and the final "n" is dropped. The form Kinahi, found both at Ras Shamra and on Cyprus, was once wrongly thought to be Hurrian.¹⁰⁷ The point is that all over the Egyptian-Syro-Palestinian area Kinah was a common designation for Canaan, and the name El-kenah could certainly mean "God of Kenah" or Canaan. But this suggests a third possibility. It so happens that each of the four canopic jars represented not only one of the four winds or four directions of the compass, but also that particular part of the inhabited world which lay in that particular direction. It also happens that the hawk-headed canopic figure always stood for the lands to the east.

Jane: East of what?

Mr. Jones: Of Heliopolis, in all probability, since some scholars hold that the canopic idea originated there, and the Egyptians themselves always regarded it as the exact center of the world, the place of the beginning, from which life went forth in all directions to fill the world.¹⁰⁸ The four birds went forth from there to announce the king's coronation to "the Nomads of Nubia" in the south, the Libyans of the west, and the bedouins of Asia, but the fourth nation is Egypt.¹⁰⁹ The king claims the earth "South to the wind, North to the sea, East to the Lands of the Gods, and West to the limits of the sun's journey."¹¹⁰ There is some confusion here because since prehistoric times the Pharaohs claimed Sinai as part of Egypt, but beyond that everything to the east was Kenite country. The Kenites were those people "concerning whose territory a covenant was made with Abraham, and who have not yet been conquered," that is, of all the vast area described as Abraham's heritage in the Genesis Apocryphon.¹¹¹ The Rabbis identified Kenite country with the deserts stretching all the way from the southern tip of Arabia to Asia Minor.¹¹² In the prophecies of the last days the Kenites are identified with the Ishmaelites,¹¹³ and Nelson Glueck

equated them to the Rechabites, the ancient secretaries of the Arabian deserts.¹¹¹ Jethro was called "the Kenite," and his Midianite countrymen called themselves the Kenim.¹¹⁵ Some have seen in these latter the *beni Kain*, or sons of Cain, traveling smiths and metal casters, with their wandering habits and their blackened faces.¹¹⁶ According to H. Seebass, the Kenites provide the link "between the Patriarchal period and the desert period" of Israel, their original home being the Negev.¹¹⁷ Whatever else they are, the Kenites are from the Egyptian point of view the people to the east, and since the canopic hawk represents the East, its name El-kenah might well refer to the god of an eastern region or people.

Dick: So we have three choices. Doesn't that leave us up in the air?

Mr. Jones: No more than students of the Canaanites have always been. There is still no agreement on the meanings of the names Canaan, Kenite,

and how they are related. Remember, our business is not to provide final answers—we do not close doors, but open them. All we can do here is to show that the name El-kenah, far from being an absurdity, is a very promising candidate for research. Before we go any further, it would be well to make a chart to show these four canopic idols in their symbolic perspective. The possible variations on the chart will remind us how very fluid the interpretation of things still is, and how very little is really known about any of this business¹¹⁸ (see chart below). Notice that in Egyptian thinking these figures are gods, races, nations, directions of the compass, and parts of the body all at once; it is the same free-wheeling type of interpretation we find in the Pearl of Great Price. Of course when we think in cosmic terms the four canopics are stars—the four stars of the bowl of the Big Dipper, spirits that "carry Osiris in the procession" to heaven.¹¹⁹

Number	Figure	Egyptian Name	Parts of the Body	Direction	People	Pearl of Great Price Name
5	hawk	Duamutef	stomach	east	Desert People ('Amu)	Elkenah (Elkkener)
6	jackal	Kebhsenef	intestines	west	Libya (Temhiland)	Libnah
7	ape	Hapi	lungs	north	Palestine & Syria (Retjnu)	Mahmackrah
8	human	Imset	liver	south	Nubia (Nhsy)	Korash (Koash)

(To be continued)

FOOTNOTES

¹A. De Buck, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 35 (1949), p. 87. The title is that given by T. G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* (University of Chicago, 1960), p. 150. Budge calls it "The Chapter of Making Transformation into a Divine Falcon."
²E. A. W. Budge, *The Papyrus of Ani* (New York, 1913), Vol. 2, p. 535.
³De Buck, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-97; the text is in his *Coffin Texts*, IV, 68-86.
⁴E. Drioton, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. 10 (1953), p. 171; H. Brunner, in *Ztschr. der Dt. Morgenländ. Ges.*, Vol. 3 (1961), p. 445.
⁵If one underlines all passages in the Naville text of *Book of the Dead* 78 (*Das aegypt. Totenbuch* [Berlin, 1886], pp. 164ff) which are identical with those in *Coffin Text* 312, more than four-fifths of the material will be found to be the same in both texts.
⁶De Buck, *op. cit.*
⁷J. A. Wilson, in *Dialogue*, Vol. 3 (Summer 1968), pp. 67-88. Thus it is easier to assemble a jigsaw puzzle even when many pieces are missing if one has a completed sketch before one than it is to put together a complete set of pieces without a guide to follow.
⁸De Buck discusses the merits of D. Gunn's assertion that it is sufficient for the student to confine himself to the text at hand without reference to what form it may have had in the remote past—a pointed commentary on the willful myopia of scholarship. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
⁹De Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 89.
¹¹Drioton, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
¹²*Ibid.*, p. 171.
¹³Brunner, *op. cit.* (note 4 above), p. 442.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 445.
¹⁵Drioton, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 171.
¹⁷Line 68c, rendered "govern for me" (Drioton), "watch over me" (Brunner), and "clear my ways" (De Buck), the common idea being "relieve me from my helplessness!"
¹⁸T. G. Allen, *Eg. Book of the Dead*, pp. 160f, Pl. XXVI. Of course there is always the possibility that the vignette has nothing to do with the text it accompanies.
¹⁹Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 443.
²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 440. De Buck renders *hwi* as "Command," while Drioton, p. 169, paraphrases the passage: "He must go and ask for a decision from the supreme Lord."
²¹Brunner, pp. 442, 444.
²²*Ibid.*, p. 442.
²³Drioton, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 169; T. G. Allen, *B.D.*, p. 151. It reminds one very much of the all-important turban in the Mandaean initiations: "Sam-Haije sent me with the turban of radiance to be a garment for the King so that the Uthras might shine through him." *Mand. Johannesbuch* (Lidzbarski), p. 206; *Ginza*, pp. 191f, 194.
²⁵This expression has caused all the translators trouble; two of them take it as a mistake, while Drioton (p. 169) says it refers to some lost episode of the drama. That it is not a mistake in Ms. B2Bo, where it occurs twice (87c, e), should be apparent when one considers that Egyptian scribes in a hurry do not go out of their way to dig up forgotten archaic ideograms and words when modern alternatives are at their disposal. Here the expression is "through the partition" (*Wörterbuch* IV, 14.

4), and the ideogram represents the archaic door or screen made of rushes and rolled up from the bottom. One is also reminded of the "reed wall" through which God was said to have spoken to Utnapishtim, the Babylonian Noah, warning him of the Flood and giving him the instructions necessary for his escape from it.

- ²⁹So Drioton, p. 171.
³⁰Brunner, p. 442.
³¹Such as this writer discussed long ago in the *Classical Journal*, Vol. 40 (1945), pp. 515-43.
³²C. J. Bleeker, in *Numen*, Vol. 11 (1964), p. 80.
³³E. Drioton & J. Vandier, *L'Égypte*, p. 90.
³⁴P. Derchain, *Rites Égyptiens*, I, 40, 52.
³⁵He wears the mask both as executioner and healer, Apian, *Bell. civ.*, IV, 47, Artemidorus, *Onirocrit.*, V, 92, in Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 359; Apuleius, *Metam.* XI, 11.
³⁶H. Altenmueller, in *Chron. d'Égypte*, Vol. 42 (1967), p. 81.
³⁷Drioton & Vandier, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
³⁸H. Nibley, in *BYU Studies*, Autumn 1968, pp. 81-85.
³⁹Derchain, *op. cit.*, I, 52.
⁴⁰H. Junker, *Die Ständewachen in den Osirimysterien* (Vienna, 1910), p. 2; G. Jequier, in *Sphinx*, Vol. 14 (1911), p. 179.
⁴¹H. Mueller, in *Mitt. des dt. Inst. der Altertumskunde zu Kairo*, Vol. 7 (1937), p. 59.
⁴²*Ibid.*, pp. 59ff.
⁴³P. T. v. Recklinghausen, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 63 (1928), p. 15; M. de Rochemonteix, in *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, Vol. 3 (1894), pp. 183-85, 248; H. Schaefer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963), pp. 308-10.
⁴⁴*Lebensmüde*, 79-80, cit. A. Gardiner, *Eg. Gram.*, p. 317.
⁴⁵In Pyr. Text No. 674 (1999) "they who are before Thoth are slaughtered with the knife belonging to Seth." For the type of knife, E. Massoulard, *Préhistoire et Protohistoire d'Égypte* (Paris, 1949), Plates xliii, lix, lx.
⁴⁶H. Kees, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 78 (1942), p. 46f.
⁴⁷*The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood*, in A. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (Brussels, 1932), pp. 30-36. There is a remarkable parallel to this in the Norse Folk-tale of True and Untrue, No. 1 in G. W. Dasent's *Popular Tales from the Norse* (Edinburgh, 1888), pp. 1-7.
⁴⁸*Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 1 (Plates), p. 382f.
⁴⁹For a complete bibliography of the Classical sources, Th. Hopfner, *Fontes Hist. Relig. Aegypt.*, p. 821.
⁵⁰Hopfner, *loc. cit.*, lists 15 sources that have Hercules put Busiris to death and two that deny it. Three writers claim that the Busiris story is only a mythical presentation of the rough treatment afforded strangers in Egypt.
⁵¹G. A. Wainwright, *The Sky-Religion in Egypt*, p. 63.
⁵²*Ibid.*, pp. 60, 62; Herodot., II, 139.
⁵³C. De Wit, in *Chroniques d'Égypte*, Vol. 32 (1957), pp. 35-37.
⁵⁴L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, Vol. 1, p. 54; Vol. 5, pp. 71f, with sources; M. J. bin Gorion, *Die Sagen der Juden*, I, 101; also a popular early Christian concept, Simeon of Gesir, *Potter's Songs*, in *Oriens Christianus*, Vol. 3 (1913), p. 225.
⁵⁵M. Chassinat, in *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 38 (1916), pp. 39f.
⁵⁶M. de Rochemonteix, in *Bibl. Egyptol.*, Vol. 3, p. 249.
⁵⁷E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 90.
⁵⁸G. Thausing, in *Mitt. Dt. Inst. Arch. zu Kairo*, Vol. 8 (1939), pp. 54, 60. On a shrine from Medinet Habu four kings supporting the sky stand on pillars of heaven as depicted in Joseph Smith Papyri, No. 1, *Medinet Habu*, Vol. 4, Pl. 229, cf. 217. The idea of the four as stars survives in Cyprian's teaching, *de Sina et Sion* in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 4, Col. 994, that Adam's name is taken from the initials of four stars that God placed in each of the cardinal points.
⁵⁹A. Varille, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 53, p. 90.
⁶⁰J. Baillet, in *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 22 (1900), p. 193.
⁶¹A. Gardiner, in *Jul. Eg. Arch.*, Vol. 36 (1950), pp. 10-12.
⁶²De Wit, *op. cit.*, pp. 37f.
⁶³At the end of the Sed festival the order "Silence" was repeated 4 times, the 4 arrows were shot, the king sat on 4 thrones, one facing each direction, Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 88. When the King is ordered by

- Osiris to appear as the second Horus "the 4 spirits of Heliopolis" write his name (Pyr. Text No. 467), and when Osiris comes out of heaven "the 4 pure poles are set up for him" (Pyr. Text No. 303). Only two poles (the solstices) are set up for Re, but they are set up 4 times (Pyr. Text Nos. 263, 264). In the purification rite the *Smn* priest goes around the statue 4 times, called *shenen* (A. Moret, *Culte Pharaonique*, p. 202, B.D. 34:2). In a mimic human sacrifice 4 red animals were slain at a round hole representing the mouth of the underworld, like the "mundus" or "orocus mundi" in the center of Roma quadrata (G. Lefebure, in *Bibl. Egyptol.*, Vol. 36, p. 288). In taking possession at his coronation the Pharaoh would "pass through the land, touching the 4 sides. . . He ran across the ocean and the 4 sides of heaven. . ." (H. Kees, in *Aeg. Ztscher.*, Vol. 52, pp. 68ff, from an inscription in Eduf). Not only power but danger comes from the four directions, "the enemies that converge from the 4 cardinal regions of the world" (J. Monnet, in *Rev. d'Égyptologie*, Vol. 8 [1951], p. 152).
⁶⁴A. Moret, *Culte Pharaonique*, pp. 27f.
⁶⁵H. Grapow, *Totenbuch*, Kap. 17, p. 43.
⁶⁶G. Thausing, *op. cit.*, pp. 52f; Pyramid Text No. 573 (1483).
⁶⁷A very old tradition has Geb sitting on the throne of the universe "at the place of the 4 crocodiles, Sobak-Ra, Shu, Geb, Osiris-Ra," when they planned the creation of the world, G. Goyon, in *Kemi*, Vol. 6 (1936), pp. 37f.
⁶⁸De Wit, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 39. *The Improvement Era*, February 1968, p. 40g; translated by Prof. J. A. Wilson, in *Dialogues*, Summer 1968, p. 75.
⁷⁰De Wit, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 31, citing a hymn to Khum, in which the 4 gods must come together and unite into one to give eternal life to Osiris.
⁷²K. Sethe, *Übers. u. Kommentar z. d. Pyramidentexten*, I, 96.
⁷³F. Neugebauer, in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Vol. 7 (1931-2), p. 269-71.
⁷⁴K. Sethe, *Zur Gesch. der Einbalsamierung* (Preuss. Akad. Sitz. ber., 1934), p. 217.
⁷⁵S. R. K. Glanville, in *Jnl. Eg. Arch.*, Vol. 12 (1926), p. 57.
⁷⁶A. Rusch, *Die Entwicklung der Himmels-göttin Nut zu einer Gottheit* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 46.
⁷⁷L. Cohn, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 10 (1898), pp. 316f.
⁷⁸E. Lefebure, in *Proc. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol.*, Vol. 4 (1875), pp. 44-48.
⁷⁹C. Posener, in *Goettinger Nachrichten*, 1965, No. 2, pp. 76f. Pyr. Text No. 457ff invokes "the four gods of the four regions who make their vigilant rounds of the four parts of the earth," which Prof. Moret equates with the 4 *qibratu* of the Cuneiform texts. The Egyptian underworld is depicted as a pool of fire with a cynocephalus ape guarding each of the four sides. A. Moret, *Le Jugement du Roi Mort*. . . (Melun, 1922), pp. 22, 26; Book of the Dead, Ch. 125. Up above, the 4 sons of Horus open and close the 4 gates of heaven, *ibid.*, p. 13, and Pyr. Text No. 688 (2078).
⁸⁰A fairly recent bibliography of works relevant to this subject may be found in our footnotes in *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 19 (1966), pp. 602-7. See also W. Mueller, *Die heilige Stadt* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1961).
⁸¹E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (1953), p. 86; cf. C. De Wit, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
⁸²J. Nougayrol, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. 60 (1966), pp. 72-74.
⁸³Z. Mayani, *Les Hyksos et le Monde de la Bible* (Paris: Payot, 1956), p. 92, Fig. 17.
⁸⁴E. Drower, *The 1012 Questions* (Berlin, 1960), p. 240. The Mandaeans also had the idea that "the four winds. . . are four supports which hold up the skies," *ibid.*, p. 213. To the Egyptian mind "the intestines were necessary for digestion over which the four sons of Horus watched and whose four heads are on canopic jars," J. Zandee, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. 19 (1962), p. 39. The concept goes back to prehistoric times, according to Sethe, *Balsamierung*, p. 220, though Rusch, *Nut*, p. 45, holds that the original function of the four canopic figures was to guard against hunger.
⁸⁵E. Naville, *The Shrine of Saft el-Henneh & the Land of Goshen* (London, 1885), Pl. 6.
⁸⁶Kraeling, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
⁸⁷D. M. duBuisson, in *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, Vol. 169 (1966), pp. 36ff, 44, 48.
⁸⁸S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, pp. 247f.
⁸⁹P. Montet, *Le Drame d'Avaris* (Paris, 1941), p. 24.
⁹⁰T. H. Gaster, in *Egyptian Religion*, Vol. 3 (1934), pp. 95ff.

- ⁹¹J. Cerny, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, pp. 126-27.
⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 126.
⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 127, and W. F. Petrie, *Religious Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 58f.
⁹⁴Cerny, p. 138.
⁹⁵R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-Palaestinesische Gottheiten in Aegypten* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), p. 23.
⁹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
⁹⁷The classic example is the Lady of Byblos, who though appearing in completely Egyptian dress and insignia retains none-the-less her old non-Egyptian name and personality. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
⁹⁸W. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Pt. iii, Taf. 169, 170, 179f.
⁹⁹N. Aime-Giron, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 42 (1943), pp. 290, 294, with many illustrations.
¹⁰⁰E. Kraeling, in *Jnl. of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 6 (1947), pp. 201-8.
¹⁰¹A. Alt, *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 37-39.
¹⁰²B. Couroyer, in *Revue Biblique*, Vol. 61 (1954), pp. 108-9.
¹⁰³Alt, p. 34.
¹⁰⁴The four Sons of Horus are matched by the four evil murderers of Osiris, K. Sethe, *Gesch. der Einbalsamierung*, p. 214, corresponding to the four fevers matching the four humors in man, Hippocrates, *De Nat. Hom.*, 21: 359f, 369. These correspond to the four Devil-Mothers ruling or misruling the seasons, M. J. bin Gorion, *Sagen der Juden*, I, 337. Like the Egyptians, the Jews also taught that mankind was saved from destruction by the South-wind by a falcon which came and spread out its protecting wings. *Ibid.*, I, 54.
¹⁰⁵G. Jequier, *Considerations sur les Relig. Egs.*, pp. 155f.
¹⁰⁶A. Grenfell, in *The Monist*, Vol. 16 (1906), pp. 184-92.
¹⁰⁷Above, note 95.
¹⁰⁸E. MacLaurin, in *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 2, p. 286; though the expression El Qanna appears in the Old Testament, only the Canaanitish records show it to be the proper name of a local idol.
¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, p. 284.
¹¹⁰H. Ranke, *Ägyptisch Personen namen*, I, 220, No. 5; p. 335, No. 2, 7-10, 15, 18, 821.
¹¹¹Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
¹¹²*Ibid.*, p. 13.
¹¹³Bar Hebraeus, *Chronology*, I, 9. (Trsl. E. A. W. Budge, Oxford, 1932).
¹¹⁴R. de Vaux, in *Jnl. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. 88 (1968), pp. 23f.
¹¹⁵See above, note 68.
¹¹⁶S. Schott, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 95 (1968), pp. 58f.
¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 60.
¹¹⁸H. Klein, *The Code of Maimonides*, Bk. XI (Yale University Press, 1954), p. 219.
¹¹⁹*Midrash Rab.*, Gen. 44:23.
¹²⁰B. Lewis, in *Bull. of the Oriental and African School*, Vol. 13 (1949), pp. 312f.
¹²¹N. Glueck, in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1940, pp. 22-24.
¹²²Z. Mayani, *Les Hyksos et le Monde de la Bible*, p. 184; R. Eisler, *Die Kenitischen Weichenschriften der Hyksoszeit* (Freiburg, 1919), p. 86.
¹²³Eisler, p. 81. According to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. Kenites, the Midianites into whose people Moses married were Kenites, and "their eponymous ancestor was Cain." They later became completely absorbed into the tribe of Judah. See R. North, in *Jnl. Bibl. Lit.*, Vol. 83 (1964) pp. 373-89.
¹²⁴H. Seebass, *Erzähler Israels*, Zt. f. A.T. Wiss., Beiheft 98 (1966), p. 106.
¹²⁵The chart is based on E. Naville, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 15 (1877), pp. 29f. The parts of the body follow the later interpretation. A. Piankoff, *Shrines of Tutankhamon*, p. 19, n. 39. Another system has East: Hawk-headed disk, Re-Harakhte Lord of Heaven; West: Scarab headed Khepri coming out of the ocean; North: Ram-headed Mendes the life (Ka) of the King; South: Human-headed Atum of Heliopolis, J. De Wit, in *Chron. d'Égypte*, Vol. 32, pp. 31f. At the purification of the king, the East is the Hawk, the West is the Ibis, the North is the jackal-like Seth-animal, and the South is Horus the Hawk, E. Otto, in *Orientalia*, Vol. 7, pp. 69ff. The doubling of the hawk, which occurs in the story of the Messenger-Hawk (above), has recently been noted by P. Munro, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 95 (1968), p. 37. The fullest discussion of the system is the oldest, H. Brugsch, *Die Geographie des alten Aegyptens* (Leipzig, 1857), pp. 30-34.
¹²⁶K. Sethe, *Gesch. der Einbalsamierung*, pp. 218f. See above, note 84.