

A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price

Part 8 (Continued)



Facsimile No.1, by the Figures

By Dr. Hugh Nibley

● *Dick*: Why are the figures in Facsimile No. 1 numbered backwards?

Mr. Jones: Some people have objected to the numbering and have even seen in it evidence of fraud. But if you will look very closely you will see that the numbers are not written in ancient Egyptian at all, but in modern American. They have been put in purely for convenience in identifying the various figures under discussion. And just as those figures can be discussed in any order, so there is no mystic or symbolic significance whatever intended in the numbering. The first eight figures are numbered in a perfectly consistent order beginning at the top and reading from right to left. The animated figures naturally come first, being the actors of the play rather than mere properties—that is why the crocodile, No. 9, has precedence over the purely symbolic lotus, No. 10; and the “gates of heaven,” being far more conspicuous and specific than the vague hatch-lines “signifying expanse” (Fig. 12), are given priority over them.

Dick: But why does the numbering of the four jars go from right to left?

Mr. Jones: The natural transition from Figure 4 is to the nearest jar, Figure 5. That, I think, is all there is to it. Actually, the canopic jars are numbered in the correct order of their importance, but that is probably a mere coincidence.

Dick: How about the next figure?

Mr. Jones: The jackal head, called here “the idolatrous god of Libnah.” That is the most easily recognized of all the names.

Jane: Why is it so easy?

Mr. Jones: Because the name has actually turned up in the Egyptian records, and been obligingly transposed into good Canaanite by Professor Burchardt as plain and simple Libnah, designating an unknown geographical region.^{119a} Also, however you look at it, it always means the same thing. Take the Semitic root *l-b-n*: what do Mount Lebanon (the snow-covered), *leban* (which is Arabic for milk), and *lebanah* (which is Hebrew for moon) have in common?

Dick: That’s easy. They are all white.¹²⁰

Mr. Jones: Shining white. And according to the Rabbis the name of Abraham’s relative Laban means white-faced or blond—another indication of blondness in Abraham’s family.¹²¹ And in the Indo-European family what do Alps, lamps, Olympus, and all limpid and lambent things have in common? They too are shining white. The ending *-ah* would normally be the feminine ending designating a land or region “as the mother of its inhabitants,” as the formula goes. Libnah would be the White Land, and there were places in Palestine in Abraham’s day called Libnah, “whiteness”;¹²² then too, Levi had a son Libni, whose name meant white.¹²³

Dick: So Joseph Smith could have got the name from the Bible and found out what it meant from a dictionary.

Mr. Jones: Indeed he could have, but does he ever make capital of the name? Does he ever connect it up with whiteness or anything else? Neither he

or any of his contemporaries knew that the Egyptians always identified the jackal-god of Figure 6 with the White Land.

Dick: Did they?

Mr. Jones: Most certainly and emphatically. Our friend Anubis of the jackal’s head at all times enjoyed two constantly recurring epithets.

Jane: What’s an epithet?

Mr. Jones: It is a descriptive tag put to the name of some famous person or thing, like “Long-haired Achaeans,” or “Honest Abe,” or “Mack the Knife.” An epithet is used so often and so automatically that it is practically part of the name—a sort of title. Well, from first to last Anubis always had two special epithets: he was “Lord of the White Land” and “Chief of the West-erners.” If you will look at the chart you will notice that the jackal-headed jar also represents the West.

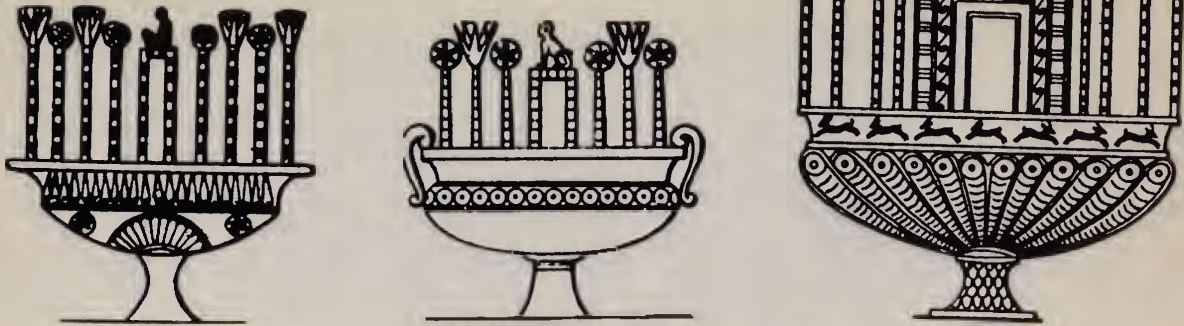
Jane: What is the White Land?

Mr. Jones: That is just what Professor Kees asked himself. He decided that “Lord of the White Land” (*nb ta djesr*) is derived from the idea of “Lord of the shining, sanctified [*prachtigen, geheiligten*] Land,” that being a euphemism for the necropolis.¹²⁴

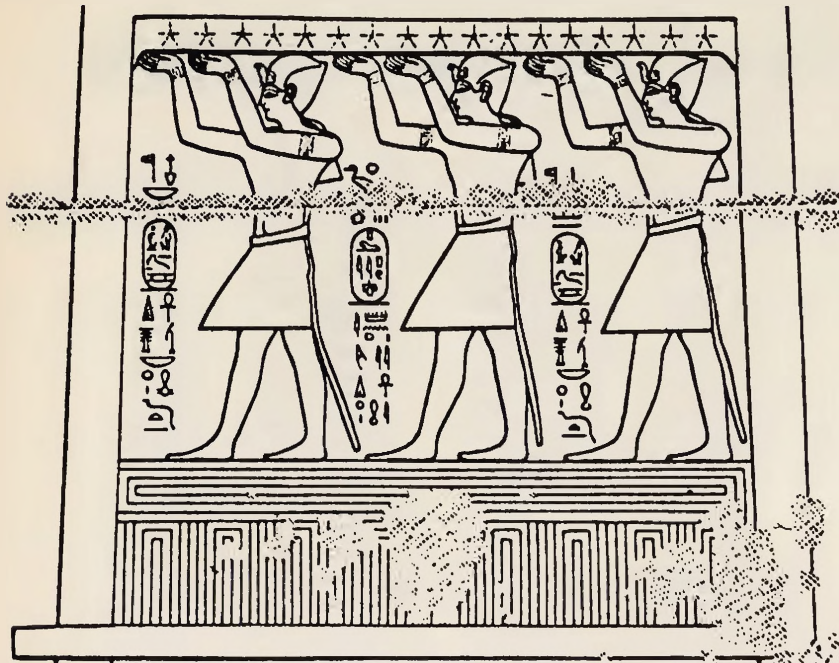
Dick: And everybody knows that the necropolis is in the West. That would make him Lord of the westerners!

Jane: But wasn’t Upper Egypt, the Southern Kingdom, the land of the white crown and the white palace and the white mace, and all that?

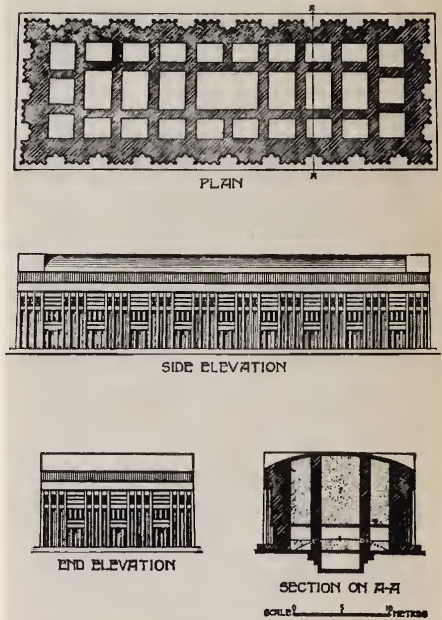
Mr. Jones: There was a strong temptation once to locate the “White Land” of Anubis in Abydos, but Kees showed



Fac. I, Fig. 10. Here the four lotuses frame the palace gate on which Pharaoh himself reposes as a lion. These vessels are of a type brought by foreign visitors to Egypt as gifts to Pharaoh. Here the lotus may well symbolize the exchange of courtesies between the court of Egypt and its guests.



Here a line of pylons exactly resembling those in Fig. 11 of Papyrus No. 1 (the facsimiles are unsatisfactory) supports three portraits of a Pharaoh who is very obviously holding up the sky. They are assisting him in this function as pillars of heaven.



Fac. I, Fig. 11. Most of the great early tombs are surrounded by 24 pylons, possibly signifying their nature as "pillars of heaven."

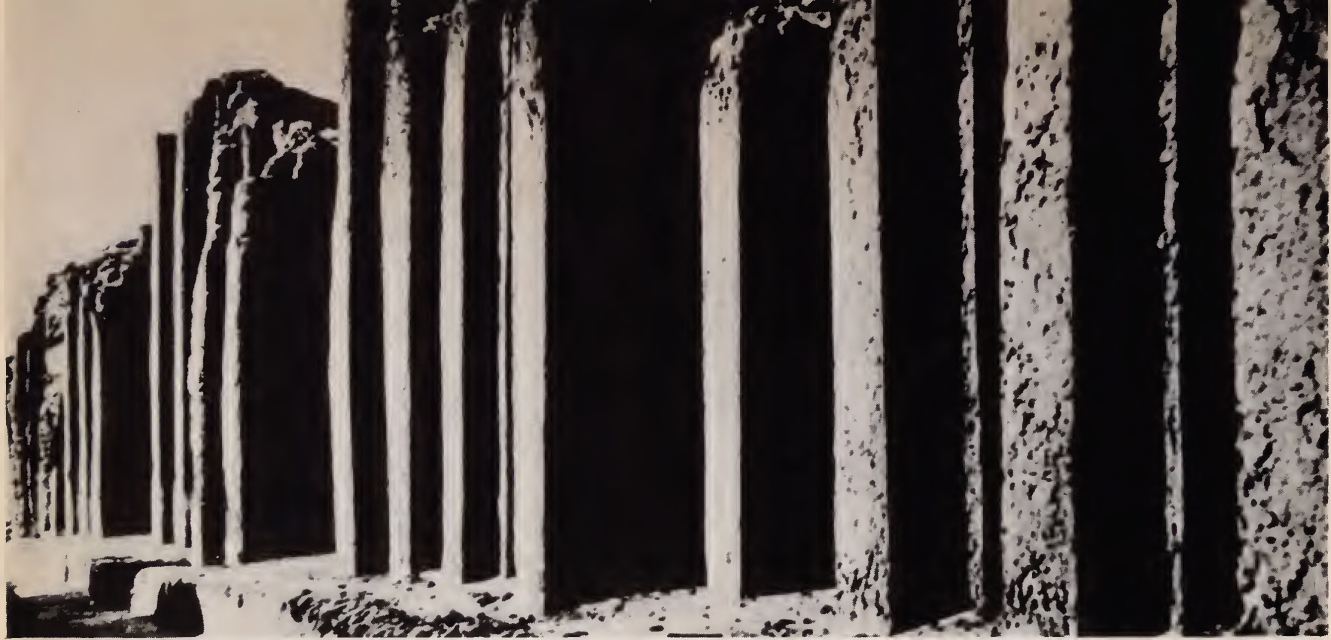
that White Land does not necessarily refer to Upper Egypt, though he admitted that the meaning of the term remained obscure.¹²⁴ But very early Brugsch noted that of the four canonical colors the official color of the West is, surprisingly, white—instead of a red sunset.¹²⁵ On the other hand, the Libyans to the west of Egypt, noted for their white skin and blue eyes,¹²⁶ were identified by Josephus with the Lehabim, from a root *lhb*, meaning "shining," "flashing," Arabic *lubhah*, "a clear, white colour, brightness of the complexion or colour of the skin," according to Lane.¹²⁷ But let's avoid too

much playing around with words and sounds, which is altogether too easy, and settle for a few fairly certain points: (1) Libnah *does* mean White Land; (2) "the idolatrous god of Libnah" *does* have the mask of Anubis; (3) the jackal-headed canopic figure *does* stand for the West; (4) Anubis is the Lord of the West; (5) he is also "Lord of the White Land"; (6) white is the ritual color of the West. That's enough, without bringing in the white Libyans, to give you something to play with. It doesn't prove anything, except, perhaps, that Libnah is a very appropriate name to use if you want

to divide up the world into four regions or races according to Egyptian practice.

Dick: But how about Mahmackrah? That's a beast of a different color.

Mr. Jones: But even more interesting because of its unusual name. Figure 7, "the idolatrous god of Mahmackrah," has an ape's head, though sometimes it is shown with the head of a bull or cow; the Egyptians placed it at the northern quarter of the horizon. What makes its name so intriguing is that it makes sense almost any way you divide it up. We must always bear in mind when confronted with the often exotic-looking foreign names that oc-



The bold and dramatic line panels and pillars are found only in sacred buildings in Mesopotamia and are characteristic of the earliest palace facades and tombs of Egypt, indicating the other-worldly nature of those structures. In Egypt the recessed panels represent gates to the other world, and the pillars flanking them the pillars of heaven.



The lion Nefertem guards Egypt's northeast frontier with his big knife and his lotus—the welcoming committee for those who came to Egypt from Abraham's Canaan. The lotus is the official symbol of the border control and of permission to enter the country.

cur in the writings of Joseph Smith that it is the sound and not the sight of the name that is being conveyed. Baurak Ale and Shaumahyeem are perfectly good Hebrew if you read them out loud; though they *look* absolutely outlandish, it would be hard to give a better rendering of the old sounds without the use of a phonetic alphabet. The names of our canopics are addressed to the ear and not the eye—that is why it is possible to fluctuate between Elkenah and Elkkener, Korash and Koash. Mamackrah suggests all sorts of things to the ear, and it would take us a long time to ring all the

possible combinations that Semitic and Indo-European dictionaries could give us on the syllables *mah*, *mack*, and *rah*, all of which are full of meaning in any language. What grabs me, for example, is the middle syllable, not plain “mack” but “mackr-” and of course the final *-rah*. What I hear is “Mah-mackr-rah.” That means a lot to me.

Jane: Why “mackr-,” of all things?

Mr. Jones: Because it reminds me of an element occurring in some important Canaanite names. *Mhr-Anat*, for example, means “champion or upholder of the goddess Anat”;¹²⁸ and Rameses II called himself *Mahr-B'l*, meaning

upholder of Baal, the Canaanite god.¹²⁹ *Mahr-Rah* would be the champion or upholder of Rah, the Egyptian equivalent of Baal.

Dick: But this “-mackr-” is spelled with a *-ck-* instead of an *-h-*.

Mr. Jones: The *-h-* in “mahr” belongs to the root, and must have a heavy sound in order not to be swallowed up by the following *-r*. You can see the shift between a *-k-* and a heavy *-h-* sound in our writing of Mi-cha-el, which the Jews wrote Mi-ka-el. Incidentally, the form of the name rather neatly parallels our Ma-mackr-rah. Mi-cha-el, like Mi-ca-iah (1 Kings 22),

“Our lion-couch papyrus is a political as well as religious document...”

means “Who is like God?” or “He who is like God.” *Ma-* (written *Mah-* to lengthen the vowel according to the invariable practice in Mormon scriptures) is the exact Egyptian equivalent of the Hebrew *Mi-*, so that *Ma-mackrah* would mean “Who is the upholder of *Rah*?” or the like—a very appropriate title for an idol whose worshipers were doing everything they could to equate and associate the gods of Canaan and Egypt. But here is another possibility. Among the “Old Canaanite Names” found in Egyptian is *ma’gar*, plus a vowel ending, transposed into Canaanite as *Maq’arah*, meaning “place of burning.”^{129a} Since Abraham was known anciently as “he who escaped the burning,” *Mah-mackrah* could be the local deity of the place of sacrifice. Though “no precise geographical location is provided” for some of Abraham’s most important experiences,^{129b} a good deal is being written today (as we shall see) about his many confrontations with local gods in Canaan. Here is the idolatrous god of Beth-shan who is called *Mkl-’a*, “the great god.”¹³⁰ The first element in his name, *Mkl-*, is Canaanite, but the second, *-a*, is Egyptian; the first refers to the Canaanite god *Mkl*, whose name, according to L. H. Vincent, means “he who is able,” “the Omnipotent,” while the second is the Egyptian word for great—practically the same thing; so that the combination gives us a very powerful figure indeed—*Mkl* the Mighty, “the god of power.”¹³¹ Incidentally, since Semitic *-l-* is regularly written as an *-r-* in the Egyptian renderings, the Egyptian form of this name would be *Mkr-’a*.¹³²

Dick: And since *ma-* is Egyptian too, *Mah-mackrah* would be the full name, I suppose. “Who is mighty like *Re*,” or “How mighty is *Rah*” or something like that.

Mr. Jones: We must be careful not to go overboard—it is all too easy. But I do think it is in order to point out that the well-documented name *Mkl-’a* (*Mkr-ah*) exactly parallels *El-kenah*: in each case the name of a Canaanite

god is followed by an Egyptian epithet meaning mighty. I can think of a better Egyptian name, though: Rank gives the name *Mai-m-hqa* as meaning “the Lion is ruler.”^{132a} On this pattern *Mai-m-akr-’ah* would mean “the Lion is *Akr* the great,” *Akr* being the earth-god as a lion. At any rate, we are free to guess as long as we don’t preach.

Jane: But what’s it got to do with an ape’s head?

Mr. Jones: Don’t you remember? The jar with the ape’s head signifies north for the Egyptians—that is the purpose of this particular symbol. For the Egyptians, Palestine and Syria were the lands of the north.¹³³ So now we have idols for the east, west, and north—

Dick: —so the only one left must belong to the south.

Mr. Jones: With a tip-off like that, we are naturally prejudiced, so we should proceed with care. Our last canopic, Figure 8, is the human-headed *Imset*, who in the Egyptian system stood for the south. All that remains to test in the Book of Abraham is his name, which is given as *Korash* or *Koash*.

Jane: Which is it?

Mr. Jones: The different spellings given to proper names in the Book of Abraham are plainly an effort to approximate their sounds. As might be expected, it is especially the *-r-* that causes trouble: *Elkenah* appears as *Elkener*, and *Korash* as *Koash*, also *Jershon* as *Jurshon* and *Potiphar* as *Potipher*—your *-r-* is a great troublemaker in ancient as well as in modern languages.¹³⁴ If you ask me which of the forms is correct, I unhesitatingly answer—they all are! Anybody who knows anything about Arabic also knows that you can’t insist dogmatically on one official pronunciation for any single word—and it has always been that way in the East. Here is an Egyptian-Canaanite deity whose name can be read as *Qesrt*, *Qeserti*, *Qsdt*, *Kousor*, and *Chrysor*—and that is typical.¹³⁵ But what does *Koash* remind you of—a Bible land far to the south of everything?

Jane: The Land of Cush?

Mr. Jones: Of course. The most succinct essay on Cush is in the *New Standard Jewish Encyclopedia* (1966), p. 515, which defines Cush as “Region S of Egypt” (Nubia, Ethiopia) in Hebrew and other ancient languages. It extended “S from Elephantine and Syene (Aswan).” It has also been identified with southern Arabia and even India. The names of the four brothers, *Mizraim*, *Punt*, *Canaan*, and *Cush* certainly remind us of the division of the world into four regions.

There is still no agreement as to where the lands of *Punt* and *Cush* really were; but the queen of *Punt*, who had dealings with Queen *Hatshpsut*, certainly lived in the South.

Jane: Wasn’t the Queen of *Sheba* the queen of the south, too?

Mr. Jones: These mysterious southern queens have caused considerable perplexity. *Saba* was on the other side of the Red Sea, the Arabian side, where some people put *Cush*.¹³⁶ But however *Sheba*, *Punt*, *Cush* and *Korash-Koash* may be related, the one thing they have in common is that they are all in the deep south.

Dick: Including *Korash*?

Mr. Jones: Consider. The natives of *Saba*, way down there at the south end of Arabia, worshiped a goddess *Iagouth*; and where do you think she came from? *Heliopolis*!

Dick: We might have known.

Mr. Jones: In fact, she was simply a local form of the Egyptian lady *Hathor*, “the regent of *Heliopolis*,” worshiped not only in *Saba* but also in *Punt*.¹³⁷ But the interesting thing is that her worshipers were known as “the people of *Koraish*” and also as the *Beni-Qanane* or *Sons of Canaan*. Back home at *Heliopolis* the lady went by the name of *Wadjit*, which was semiticized into *Ozza*, under which title she turns up as “one of the principal idols of the *Qoreish*” in *Mekkah*.¹³⁸

Dick: Which puts her in the south again. But weren’t the *Qoraish* the tribe of *Mohammed*, and didn’t they come much later?

Mr. Jones: Well, A. B. Kamal believed that even the religion of the classical *Qoreish* was strongly influenced by *Heliopolis*. He sees a connection in the tradition that an ancestor of *Mohammed* “converted the tribe of *Khoozaa* and the *Himyarites* [an early desert kingdom] to the worship of *Sirius*,” which they called *Sh’ri*, the middle sound being something between a deep guttural and a cough.¹³⁹ You may remember that *Shagre-el*, meaning “*Sirius* is god,” was worshiped by the people who tried to sacrifice *Abraham*.¹⁴⁰ As to the *Qoreish* coming later, the name is the diminutive of an older *Korash*; as you know, the Jews held the Persian *Koresh* (*Cyrus*) in great esteem,¹⁴¹ but there was another, *Kharush*, a legendary king of *Babylon*, who destroyed *Jerusalem*: his name is interesting because it is the reverse of *Koraish*, and means “big bad *Korash*.”¹⁴² Finally, a tradition preserved by the Arabic writers designates by the name of *Korash* the father or grandfather of the very king who tried to put *Abraham* to death.¹⁴³ The root *k-r-sh* can be tied to a great number of

meanings, but as a proper name it is peculiarly at home in the south and tied to the worship of the most important Egyptian goddess. Since the south is the only direction we have left, and the human-headed canopic jar does stand for the south, we may as well let it stand there for the present. Remember—we are not settling but raising questions, not shutting but opening doors. There are plenty of doors that need to be looked into.

Dick: But what about the next figure, number 9, “the idolatrous god of Pharaoh”? Doesn’t he sort of spoil the four brothers act?

Mr. Jones: On the contrary, he is indispensable to it. In the “quadrilateral” geographical patterns of the Egyptians, Maspero observed, “we find the four cardinal points who with the creator form the *Five*.” That is why the primal Ogdoad of Heliopolis, comprised of the four gods of the universe with their wives, ends up as an Ennead, an odd number—they have to have one president at their head, and he makes it nine.¹⁴⁴

Dick: Why do they have to have just one at their head?

Mr. Jones: Because he is the One in the Center, and the center, which is a perfect and invisible point and the pole of everything, can only be *one*. Professor Posener notes that to the four directions is added “the center of the earth, *hry-ib ta*,” so that we sometimes read of the “five parts” of the world instead of four.¹⁴⁵ Sethe has discussed the psychological reason for this: No matter where you are, there are always four main directions—from where? From you! You are the one in the middle, and the four directions exist only by virtue of your awareness.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, Friedrich Ratsel began his epoch-making geography with the statement, “Every man regards himself as the center-point of the universe around him.” The Egyptians were keenly aware of this. In the Salt Papyrus, for example, we see the four houses of the world, the four gates, and the four cardinal points all arranged around a fifth sign in the middle, the *ankh* sign of life, signifying the presence in the center of the Hidden-One, Great-One, Unknown-One, Unseen-One, Amon the Father of All Life.¹⁴⁷ In “the Ideal House of Life,” according to the Egyptians, the four houses surround “the hidden one who rests within . . . the Great God. . . . It shall be very hidden, very large. It shall not be known, nor shall it be seen.”¹⁴⁸

Dick: What’s it all about?

Mr. Jones: A basic reality of existence. The Four Sons of Horus, as you know, were the stars of the Big Dipper, point-

ing ever to the pole of the universe—the most important object in the cosmos. Yet there was nothing there!

Jane: Why not?

Mr. Jones: Because in the days when the Egyptians first took their bearings on the universe there was no North Star such as we know it today—there was just empty space, as far as mortal eye could see, and that just at the point where all things come together and around which all things move as around the throne of God. The idea of the complete absorption of the Four in the One is most often expressed by the symbol of the four-headed ram sitting in the middle of the cosmic circle (we will get to that when, if ever, we talk about Facsimile No. 2!); the “four heads on a single neck” show that the Four by uniting create a perfect unity, a single individual to whom in turn they owe their own identity; they are thus the four great gods uniting to create the universe (the ram-headed god is always the Creator), and also to re-create Osiris by giving him eternal life.¹⁴⁹ They bring completion and perfection to the *ba* of Osiris when they all meet together to pool their natures and their powers.¹⁵⁰ The idea is compellingly expressed in the pyramid and obelisk, which designate “dominion over the four quarters of the world and the zenith,” the zenith being the point on top at which four planes, lines, and solids all come to a single point.¹⁵¹ Now to the Egyptians, who on earth is the One in the Center, in whom the life of the race is concentrated and by whom it is sustained? I’ll give you a hint: The sarcophagus of King Tutankhamon shows that Egyptian kings were buried in four coffins, one within the other.¹⁵² Also, the Pharaoh sat on a fourfold throne, and the Pyramid Texts describe the Four Children of Geb having a feast while in their midst sits “the king on his throne, incorruptible, unspoiled, unassailable.”¹⁵³

Dick: What has this to do with the idolatrous god of Pharaoh?

Mr. Jones: As everyone knows, the Egyptians carried their cosmic imagery over into the affairs of earthly government—or vice versa. Whereas in Canaan, as Stadelmann has shown, there was “no fixed and established ‘Canaanite religion’” common to all the regions under Egypt, there was a single centralized Egyptian cult, centering in Pharaoh.¹⁵⁴ The gods of Syria and Palestine are extremely hard to study, he says, because their relations to each other are “constantly changing from time to time and from place to place,”¹⁵⁵ and though we know of their existence, we know almost nothing

about their cults.¹⁵⁶ The one thing that brings them together in a sort of order is “the dogmatic position of the Egyptian King as overlord of the Syro-Palestinian area.”¹⁵⁷ And that is the situation we find in the explanation to Facsimile No. 1, where everything eventually comes back to Pharaoh, and where “the idolatrous god of Pharaoh” (and we have seen that the crocodile was just that) takes his place among the Egyptianized gods of Canaan. This is a reminder that our lion-couch papyrus is a political as well as a religious document, and indeed the ancients never separated the two departments, least of all the Egyptians. This point is brought home with great force if we closely examine the next figure in the papyrus, which is

Figure 10. Abraham in Egypt:

Dick: If that’s Abraham, I’m Julius Caesar.

Mr. Jones: Hail Caesar! Haven’t you learned yet that the Egyptians have their own special ways of indicating things? Notice how this same design is identified in Figure 3 of Facsimile No. 3: “Signifies Abraham in Egypt.” It is not a portrait but a symbol, pure and simple. In all symbolism there are varying degrees of realistic representation, ranging from near portraits to pure abstraction. The Egyptian could give a reader a pretty good idea of a man on an altar; but how would he indicate a *particular* individual and no other on a *particular* altar in a *particular* country? For that he would either have to accompany his drawing by an explanatory text, as Abraham has done, or else show everything symbolically, which has been done in this case with considerable clarity and economy.

Dick: I don’t see it—Abraham in Egypt!

Mr. Jones: Of course you don’t. Even an Egyptian would not see it unless he had been initiated into the elements of the symbolism involved, but I think most Egyptians would get the point of the lotus. When the Egyptologists of 1912 explained that the odd things called “Abraham in Egypt” were merely “an offering table covered with lotus flowers,” they considered their job done—as if that explained everything.¹⁵⁸

Dick: As if Joseph Smith couldn’t recognize the flowers too.

Jane: He said it was a symbol, didn’t he?

Mr. Jones: The experts who brushed the thing aside so easily seem to have been completely unaware of the vast richness and variety of the lotus symbol in Egypt. No subject has been the

object of more study and publication since 1912 than the meaning of the lotus to the Egyptians, and the very latest study, that of Peter Munro, concludes with the declaration that the many identifications of the lotus with this and that "are still imperfectly and only tentatively understood," and that we do not yet know how or when or where the lotus came to be associated with so many different ideas and individuals in the Egyptian mind.¹⁵⁹ Our job is to find out, if we can, what the particular lotus design in Facsimiles 1 and 3 represents, and it is not going to be easy. Dr. Spalding's informants were also apparently unaware that Professor Jequier had at the time just made a special study of Egyptian lotus symbolism and declared of this particular lotus arrangement: "Nobody . . . has given a satisfactory explanation of this type of monument."¹⁶⁰ The work still remains to be done, but at least we can find out what possible interpretations of the symbol an Egyptian would find acceptable.

To begin with, in both Papyrus No. 1 and Facsimile No. 3 we see an open lotus with buds above and below it arching over a small stand with a fat little pitcher on it. In Papyrus No. 1 the stand is flanked by two thin jars which are missing in Facsimile No. 3, and since the two drawings are given the identical interpretation, our attention is drawn to what they have in common—the lotus and the buds. Now this lotus combination is common enough in coronation and court scenes, so it is quite at home in Facsimile No. 3, but so far as I know this is the *only* lion-couch scene adorned by the presence of a lotus-stand. That in itself should be enough to make Egyptologists sit up and ask whether there might not be something special to this picture after all. If you will step into our Opet shrine, you will notice that there are no lotuses in the lion-couch scene. But look around you at the other walls—what do you see?

Jane: Lotuses everywhere!

Mr. Jones: So conspicuous, in fact, that Professor Rochemonteix concluded that the lotus must somehow express the basic idea of the Osiris cult as celebrated at this place.¹⁶¹ He even goes so far as to declare that "the lotus and the papyrus are the emblems par excellence of Egyptian religion, exactly as the crescent is for the Moslems, and the cross for the Christians," the symbolism being by no means confined to funerary situations.¹⁶¹

Dick: Lotus and papyrus?

Mr. Jones: The exact identification of these flowers has been the subject of endless discussion. Some have main-

tained that the papyrus of Upper Egypt is a lotus and the lotus of Lower Egypt a papyrus, some that both flowers are lotuses, others that both are papyruses—and this confusion seems to go right back to the Egyptian artists themselves who "constantly and deliberately interchanged lotus and papyrus."¹⁶² But whatever their botanical classification may be, these two flowers enjoy a position of unique importance in Egypt, especially the lotus, which turns up everywhere in Egyptian art.

Jane: Then it's just a decoration.

Mr. Jones: Far from it! Though some scholars have insisted that "there is no serious religious or symbolic significance . . . no rebus or code in the use of the lotus in decoration," the same authorities admit that apparently decorative use of the lotus may often conceal a sort of hieroglyphic code.¹⁶³ "If we know the value of these symbols," wrote De Rochemonteix long ago, "these ideograms, we can discover the dogmatic sense pursued by the designer . . . his piling up of emblems which at first sight simply astonished us."¹⁶⁴ Thus the lotus-and-stand combination in the tomb of Seti I "has adapted itself completely to the pattern of written symbols," as if it was trying to tell us something,¹⁶⁵ and the same design in tombs of the Pyramid Age may "represent the titles of the dead written in a specialized way," according to I.E.S. Edwards.¹⁶⁶

Dick: So our lotus and stand may be trying to tell us something special after all.

Mr. Jones: It is the monopoly of a particular lotus that makes one suspicious. If all the Egyptians cared about was their decorative effect, what about all the other equally beautiful flowers they ignore? How is it that hieroglyphic flowers are almost exclusively lotuses?¹⁶⁷ That only the blue and white lotuses are represented, though the rosy lotus was more decorative and more popular?¹⁶⁸ That the lotuses, instead of being depicted in the free-and-easy manner of the Egyptian artists, are almost always drawn after "a very rigid pattern"?¹⁶⁹ That other plants never appear to compete with the lotus in heraldic contexts?¹⁷⁰

Jane: What are heraldic contexts?

Mr. Jones: When the lotus appears as somebody's coat of arms. "The lotus is the flower of Egypt par excellence," wrote A. Grenfell; "also it is the symbol of Lower Egypt. . . the lotus is the typical 'arms' of Egypt."¹⁷¹ On the other hand, in the earliest times it would seem that the lotus stood for Upper Egypt and the papyrus for Lower Egypt,¹⁷² though Maspero and A. Moret held that the plants were

both lotuses.¹⁷³

Dick: So the lotus can stand for both the land of Egypt and dead people.

Mr. Jones: That isn't even the beginning of it. We seem to have a whole language of the lotus. Recently Professors Morenz and Schubert wrote a book about it, and concluded that the various interpretations of the Egyptian lotus are in a state of hopeless confusion today.¹⁷⁴ And still more recently Professor Anthes has made a whole list of unanswered questions about the lotus.¹⁷⁵ It is easy and pleasant to speculate, and there can be no doubt that there is something very fundamental about the lotus. It is easy to see why, for example, the lotus and papyrus always stood for Egypt in the minds of the people, since "lotus and papyrus were essential constituents of this unchanging significant 'landscape of the first time,'" as H. Frankfort puts it.¹⁷⁶ And because the lotus growing wild "afforded ordinary food for the poor," it represents the prodigal life-giving abundance of the land.¹⁷⁷ Also, the first life that appeared from the primordial waters of chaos was the lotus, emerging pure and white at Heliopolis out of the primordial ooze of the "first land."¹⁷⁸ That is why at On the lotus went by the special name of Nefertem, the god "who represents the universe, who was before life existed and who will be when life has vanished. . . ." as Anthes puts it.¹⁷⁹ It is the lotus that holds the secret of life springing up spontaneously, apparently out of nothing; during the long ages of desolation when only the empty waters existed, the seed of life slept in the lotus, ready to come forth on the First Day: "Within the lotus was Re," the sun, waiting to be born as Khepri, according to a hymn from Edfu: "The Sleeper shall awake when the light comes forth from it. . . ." ¹⁸⁰ Hence the idea that all life finds earnest of the resurrection in the miracle of the lotus.¹⁸¹ The king is described in the Pyramid Texts as being "in the lotus" at the moment he awakes from the sleep of death.¹⁸² As Anthes puts it, "the lotus at Re's nose gives him life for his daily journey; this refers to the first day of the Primal Time, when the Primal Lotus gave the sun the power to live and create."¹⁸³ You can readily see why the lotus gets a big play in funerary scenes.

Jane: Like lilies today.

Mr. Jones: Botanically the Egyptian lotus was a real lily.¹⁸⁴ And since Re and the king and Osiris were restored by the power of the lotus, so it was believed that everybody might enjoy the same privilege.¹⁸⁵ But the funeral lotus is only part of the picture. In the

latest lotus study, Peter Munro shows how the lotus being identified with Re is also the highest god, Atum-Re at Heliopolis; and how as the Father of the living king he must also be Osiris; and how as a living king he must also be Horus; and how father and son and Re-Harachte "fuse in the composite form of Nefertem."¹⁸⁶ This Nefertem seems to be the key to the whole business; a lot of studies have been written about him, one emphasizing one aspect of his nature and another another. Nefertem is the king at Heliopolis, represented as a lotus and embodied as a lion.

Dick: Lotus and lion?

Mr. Jones: You will notice that the guardian lion with the big knife always has a huge lotus on his head or behind his back—we shall soon see why. As Nefertem, the king comes down from heaven to rule among men, bearing the lotus sceptre that gives him all power on earth and below earth.¹⁸⁷ But it is important to note that his lotus power is limited to his earthly kingdom alone—Nefertem is "the representative of purely earthly Kingship," as Anthes puts it.¹⁸⁸ The Pharaoh sits on a throne on which the intertwined lotus and papyrus shows his rule over the Two Lands,¹⁸⁹ their stems also binding Asiatic and African prisoners back to back, showing that foreign lands are also brought under the beneficent sway of Pharaoh.¹⁹⁰ On the same throne designs you will see the king himself depicted as a lion treading on his foreign enemies.¹⁹⁰ The lotus and lion are constantly found together in such contexts because they perform the same two functions, one protective, the other aggressive.

Jane: Lotuses attack people?

Mr. Jones: Yes, but first of all they protect them. The gift of a lotus is often accompanied by the hieroglyphic symbols for protection.¹⁹¹ In the broadest sense Nefertem, the lotus-lion, "protects the individual against anyone who might do him harm."¹⁹² That is why the lotus-sign was put by the Egyptians on everything they wanted to protect—on utensils, clothes, houses, "on their dresses, furniture, chairs, boats, fans," while in the tomb of the dead the lotus-sign was used "as a talisman assuring . . . an effective protection against its enemies."¹⁹³ The power of the lotus, though formidable, is ever benign and protective in nature, as might be expected from its life-giving power.¹⁹⁴

Dick: But you said it was aggressive.

Mr. Jones: Whenever you see a big lion with a knife, you can be almost sure of seeing a huge lotus on its head or back.¹⁹⁵ The connection is explained

by their common home in the marshes of the northeastern frontier of Egypt, where they both guarded the land against marauding Asiatics of the desert. The lion Nefertem and his companion, or double Myesis, both "worshipped in a lotus-flower," were at home on the extreme northeastern borderlands, the home of Sopdu, right up against Arabia.¹⁹⁶ You will recall that the great fortress there was called the Dwelling of the Lion, and stood amidst the shallow lotus-filled lakes that along with the crocodiles and the lions of the surrounding deserts effectively discouraged unauthorized entry and exit. Right down to the time of the Caesars it was one of the main duties of Pharaoh to protect this all-important gateway, and it was the custom to "venerate the protector of this frontier of the land."¹⁹⁷ At nearby Heliopolis the king himself was Nefertem, both lotus and lion, "the guardian"; "not only does the sight of him make the mountains [that is, the Asiatics] to flee," wrote Naville, "but he is the protector of the other divinities."¹⁹⁸ His speciality is terrifying would-be invaders from the East, in which capacity he is also identified with the other lion-god Myesis, who also wears the lotus.¹⁹⁹ An inscription tells how Horus himself turns into a lion to drive the enemies of Egypt out of Heliopolis and back to the lion-house on the border.²⁰⁰ Seth, the archetype of the wicked rebel and invader from the north and east, is stopped cold at the border by the lotus "Nefertem, who emerged from the primordial waters . . . who turned back Seth, who opposed the foreign countries when the heaven was overcast and the earth wrapped in mists."²⁰¹

Dick: I can understand why a lion would chase strangers, but why a lotus?

Mr. Jones: Professor Kees found that odd too, and suggested that it might be because a lotus stem will cut the fingers of anybody who tries to pull it up.²⁰² But whatever the reason for it, this hostility brings the lotus, according to him, into a "syncretistic relationship to the guardian deities of the eastern Delta [Sopdu], who make him too a frontier guard."²⁰³ It is obvious that the lotus is more "symbolic" than the fierce lion, but it plays an equally conspicuous role in the guarding of the northeast frontier. To the people in the hungry lands to the east, Egypt was something special: it was their last chance when they were starving, but while they were there they hated the place and yearned to get back to their old bang-up life in the desert.²⁰⁴ They were a dangerous lot, and the Egyptian records show that they were carefully

The lotus in
Facsimile No. 1 as a
symbol for Abraham
can be well
documented, claims
the author

checked at the border and that their every move was watched while they were in Egypt.²⁰⁵ E. A. Speiser has spoken of a "societal curtain that separated Egypt and Mesopotamia, call it the lotus curtain, if you will"—he too perceived the symbol of the lotus.²⁰⁶

Dick: But why did the Egyptians let the Asiatics in at all? Couldn't they keep them out?

Mr. Jones: They not only didn't keep them out—they actually offered them protection. Therein I think we can see the unique greatness of Egypt. Only recently Professor Montet pointed out that the Egyptians, contrary to what we have been taught to think, were really great travelers and, what is even more surprising, that the two main duties of Pharaoh were (1) to keep the movements of the Asiatics into and within Egypt under strict control, and (2) to protect Egyptian travelers, missionaries, merchants, and artisans abroad.²⁰⁷ Now the concern for the helpless in a strange place is the special concern of Nefertem: in funerary reliefs the dead, newly arrived in the Netherworld, are drawn without arms, to show their condition of utter helplessness in a strange and frightening world. While they are in that condition, Nefertem comes to their rescue, puts his arms around them, and finally gives them a new set of arms, saying, "There now, you have become whole and complete, now you have your arms!" meaning, as Professor Naville put it, that the dead person "is now a complete person who has been entirely reconstituted. He lacked arms, but the gods of the East have given him

theirs."²⁰⁸

Jane: Who are the gods of the East?

Mr. Jones: None other than the two lions Nefertem and Myesis, with their huge lotus-crowns. The concern for strangers is very significant, for in many scenes and inscriptions the lotus stands for both guest and host. The lotus-god Harsotmus is called "a guest in Denderah,"²⁰⁹ and if you were invited to a party in Egypt, especially at the royal palace, etiquette would require you to bring a lotus with you and present it to your host. There is a regular formula for "coming with a bouquet of Amon, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands in Karnak, after doing all that is commended," and a proper way to address one's host: "To thy Ka, happy king, Lord of the Two Lands, whom Re loves, a bouquet of thy father Amon. . . . Mayest thou remain on the throne of the living Horus like Re forever."²¹⁰ This is plainly a New Year's gift for the throne, which seems to have been the origin of the idea—remember that the lotus represents the birth of everything at the cosmic New Year. Another formula is, "Coming in peace with a bouquet of Amon with the compliments of his beloved son," this being followed not by the name of Horus, as you might expect, but by the name of the donor.²¹⁰ When the king appears in a reception on the throne, people bring him their Amon-bouquets with wishes for "a happy life-time in the royal dwelling."²¹¹ It was a birthday as well as a New Year's gift.

Dick: But why should anybody have to give lotuses to the king if they belonged to his father Amon in the first place?

Mr. Jones: No idea was more familiar to the ancients than the pious truism that the god who receives the gifts of the earth as offerings is after all the real source of those same offerings. An inscription has the king bring a lotus to Horus, "who himself arose from the lotus,"²¹² and Ramesside steles show people bringing lotuses to a queen who is already holding a lotus and stands completely decked and surrounded with lotuses!²¹²

Jane: But would you have to bring a lotus to the party—couldn't you bring something else?

Mr. Jones: No—it is always a lotus, and that shows clearly that it is a ritual and symbolic thing. Naturally the people who got invited to court, high nobility and officials for the most part, vied with each other in the splendor of their offerings and flatteries, until in the 18th Dynasty the Amon-bouquets finally got too big to handle.²¹³ But no matter how showy

and vulgar they got, the bouquets always had a lotus as the centerpiece. An inscription in the Tomb of Amenemhab says of a lotus-bearer, "He comes as one welcome, bringing the life [?] of Amon," to which his host replies, "To thy person the symbol of life [?] of Amon, who is pleased with thee, who loves thee and admits thee."²¹⁴ Here the word for "admit" is *s.wah-k*, meaning to make a place for a person, like the Arabic *Marhaban*—welcome to the party!

Dick: So the lotus is really a sort of ticket then.

Mr. Jones: Yes, like the *tesserae hospitales* of the Greeks and Romans. Every guest brings a token for his host and receives one in return—often the identical gift!²¹⁵ Thus the Egyptian brought a lotus to Pharaoh as "a sign of submission and love," which lotus he professed to have received from the king's father Amon, the giver of all blessings, including life itself.²¹⁶ All were expected to bring such a gift "coming in peace to that place where the king is."²¹⁷ With the expansion of empire, Amon became the god of all the lands under Egyptian sway, and the Egyptian lotus is as conspicuous in throne scenes from Palestine and Syria as it is in Egypt itself. Indeed, the object of Morenz's and Schubert's cooperative study is to trace the spreading of the royal lotus motif from Egypt all over the Old World. Among the Joseph Smith Papyrus is one very fine picture of the four Sons of Horus, the canopic figures, standing on an enormous lotus before the king on his throne.²¹⁸ Here the lotus represents all the regions of the earth brought under the sway of Egypt.²¹⁹

Dick: So Abraham would have known all about the lotus in Palestine.

Mr. Jones: And so would everybody else. On scarabs of the First Intermediate period (to which Abraham is commonly assigned) we see the non-Egyptian Hathor, the type of the lady Qudshu, the hierodule and hostess to all the world, bearing the lotus as her special insignium.²²⁰ Later she is represented standing on a lion with a bunch of lotuses in her hand;²²¹ she rides her lion when she visits Min (Amon) in Egypt too, and she wears the Hathor wig, but for all that, according to Stadelmann, she is still "a Near Eastern and *unegyptian*" figure.²²² But we also have the hospitable lotus-queen in Egypt: the cow-head of the lady Hathor is always seen emerging from a lotus stand of capital,²²³ and people who brought lotuses to the party would describe them as gathered by the queen's own hand in her own garden.²²⁴

Jane: Some nerve!

Mr. Jones: Not at all—just giving honor where honor was due. In the Temple of Seti I the king himself is greeted by a lady wearing a magnificent lotus crown who identifies herself as the hostess when she hails his majesty with "Welcome! Welcome!"²²⁵ In putting their arms around the armless and defenseless stranger, the two lotus-lions of the East were, according to Professor Naville, simply performing the office of the Lady, "the Protectress."²²⁶ I think it is significant that we find the same sort of lotus-hostess in archaic Greece as well as in Palestine: "It was said of the lotus-crowned goddess of the Corinthian mysteries. . . . Her service is perfect freedom, and, indeed, her habit [was] . . . always to grant or withhold her favors according as her guests . . . came to her with exactly the right gifts in their hands—gifts of their own choice, not of her dictation."²²⁷ Thus Robert Graves reports, and we can guess what gift would most please "the lotus-crowned goddess"! As a token of admission, the lotus is a sort of certificate, without which no one is admitted to "the region of truth."²²⁸

Dick: I suppose that everything you have said has some sort of reference to Abraham, but it would sure help if you would sort of pull things together for us.

Mr. Jones: I'll try, but we still have nothing to work with but a lot of loose ends, or rather "an inextricable tangle" (*ein verworrener Knäuel*), as Professor Morenz puts it.²²⁹ And Dr. Anthes has concluded that such fundamental questions as whether the Primal Lotus was a prehistoric idea, whether it originated with Nefertem, how it was related to the sun, in what form the sun originally emerged from the lotus, etc., are "insoluble."²³⁰ But still the very richness and variety of Egyptian lotus symbolism gives us hope—since we are not closing but opening doors. We must realize, as Morenz reminds us, that nothing expresses more completely than the lotus "the astonishingly extensive possibility of association of ideas which the Egyptian possessed."²³¹ So nothing could be more rash or foolish than to insist that a lotus in a particular picture cannot possibly be one thing because it happens to symbolize something else.

Now of one thing there is no doubt at all, and that is that the lotus is the symbol of the land of Egypt, in particular Lower Egypt, where Abraham was visiting. Also, the lotus is the embodiment of Pharaoh as the ruling power of Egypt, a beneficent and hospitable power. Characteristic of the

lotus is that it is most at home in situations of hospitality, where it represents both guest and host. In both capacities it can represent individuals, including foreigners in Egypt—a wall painting from an 18th Dynasty tomb shows a Syrian bringing a magnificent lotus offering to Pharaoh, just as any good Egyptian would.²³² According to Joseph Smith, the lotus in Figure 10 represents two entities and specifies their *relationship*: It is “Abraham in Egypt,” Abraham as guest, and Egypt as host. We can refine the image by bringing in a good deal of interesting and relevant data—the special function of the lotus in protecting strangers, the lotus as the stamp of official protection and safe conduct (a sort of visa, as it were), the lotus as the mark of the frontier control station through which Abraham would have to pass (that customs house is the scene of an important Abraham legend), the oddity of the lotus in this particular scene.

Dick: Odd is right. The welcome guest is being murdered.

Mr. Jones: All the more welcome for that. Remember, it was considered the highest honor to substitute for the Pharaoh in any operation. Incidentally, the little spouted jug on the tall stand is, according to S. Schott, an ointment jar for the use of honored guests.²³³ You must admit this is a strange place to find one, and I can’t think of a better explanation than the one given. But along with all the details, there is a broader symbolism to the lotus that I think would have been widely recognized almost anywhere in the ancient world; it is the subject of Morenz’s and Schubert’s fascinating little book—the wandering of the lotus. Those two scholars have combined their formidable specialties to show how the lotus symbol spread from Egypt throughout the Old World. In one important context the lotus marks the trail of the righteous man, the messenger of truth, bearing his light into dark and dangerous places; the lotus was identified with Hercules as the wandering benefactor of mankind, the perennial stranger and guest;²³⁴ it sprang up in the footsteps of the Bodhisattva when he went forth to bring light into a benighted world;²³⁵ the “God of Wisdom” held the lotus in his hand as he rode on his lion into China to take the shining truth to the ends of the earth.²³⁵

Jane: Lotus and lion again!

Mr. Jones: Which is certainly a broad hint as to the Egyptian origin of the business. But let me ask you, who is the archetype of the righteous man, the bearer of revelation and preacher of righteousness, the courageous stranger

in alien and hostile countries and courts? Who but Abraham the Wanderer? In the very early Judaeo-Christian *Hymns of Thomas* the righteous man in the world is compared with a king’s son spending a dangerous sojourn in “the Land of Egypt,” following the ancient and established prototype of “Abraham in Egypt.” Abraham is qualified if anyone is for that distinguished company of wandering inspired teachers whose symbol is the lotus, and so I don’t know just how surprised we should be to find a nineteenth-century prophet designating the lotus as the symbol of “Abraham in Egypt.”

Dick: Here are some more fancy abstractions—

Facsimile No. 1, Figure 11. Designed to represent the pillars of heaven, as understood by the Egyptians.

Mr. Jones: How could anyone possibly make it clearer that this is supposed to be not a picture but a representation, with a meaning ascribed arbitrarily and culturally? Long ago Deveria condemned Joseph Smith for giving any interpretation at all to the pillars, which he calls a “characteristic ornament in Egyptian art, having no known significance.”²³⁶

Dick: “Nothing at all; yet all that is I see.”

Jane: Hamlet.

Dick: No, Gertrude. When will they learn?

Mr. Jones: If we want to know whether Professor Deveria really saw everything, we’ve got to do a little seeing ourselves. Let’s find out how this particular ornament is used by the Egyptians.

Dick: What an ornament!

Mr. Jones: I’m afraid the successive engravers of Facsimile No. 1 have done us all a disservice by turning the “gates of heaven” into a meaningless and untidy jumble of verticle lines arbitrarily and irregularly connected by crude horizontal strokes. But the original papyrus is a different story: it shows us ten clearly drawn gates or a series of pylons. If we are looking for parallels, we don’t have to go far—Egyptian art is full of them. The characteristic of the earliest royal tombs is the decoration of their outer surfaces with what is called the “palace facade” style of recessed panelling—a long line of imitation doors flanked by square pillars. The structure is abundantly illustrated on the earliest seals, showing the elaborate palace-gate or “*serekh*” design.²³⁷

Jane: What’s a *serekh*?

Mr. Jones: The picture of the en-

The Prophet’s identification of Figure 11 as “pillars of heaven” is fortified by Dr. Nibley

trance to a tomb or palace—a rectangular door flanked by massive supports sometimes extended into towers on each side, usually with a big hawk perched right above the gate between the pillars. H. Balcz has collected over a dozen different types for comparison; to him the structure suggests a fortress—“*Wehrbau*.”²³⁸ But he has no doubt that the central panel is always a door.²³⁹ The label *sbht-tawi*, “Gate of the Two Lands,” shows that the door was identified with the palace gate, though high officials were sometimes allowed by special courtesy to employ the motif in their own tombs.²⁴⁰ The same design was employed in the tomb as in the palace, especially in the earliest dynasties, and Balcz maintains that the false door of an Old Kingdom tomb was really a niche “to which the significance of a passage for the dead was attributed.”²⁴¹ The earliest steles, which were certainly not houses, also have the same false door and panel design,²⁴² which is also repeated on the sides of wooden coffins, where we find the same vertical lines with empty spaces in between, designated by the experts as “pillars” with “false doors” between them.²⁴³ And the same motif is used to decorate the sides of boxes and chests designed to hold any precious objects.²⁴⁴

Dick: Is the idea always the same?

Mr. Jones: We cannot say until we know what the idea was. Professor Balcz reaches the sensible conclusion that the false door on funerary objects must represent “a passage for the dead.”²⁴⁵ But a much later study concludes that we still do not understand the undoubtedly religious significance of “such a curious architectural phenomenon.”²⁴⁶ While some maintained that the peculiar structure of the palace-facade style was the result of building in brick, others held that the design was imported into both Egypt and Mesopotamia from northern Syria, where they built in wood.²⁴⁷ And while some suggested that all the vertical rills were for drainage, others pointed out that there was no need for drainage in Upper Egypt, and that the pylons and

pillars must therefore have a special significance.²⁴⁸ This is indicated by the fact that in Mesopotamia this particular building style, which closely resembles the Egyptian structures of the Thinite and Predynastic periods, is employed *only* in temples.²⁴⁹ Surveying the phenomenon throughout the whole ancient East, Stuart Piggott writes: "An essential part of the temple decor was an elaborate system of niches and reveals which appears to have been a mark of religious as opposed to secular architecture."²⁵⁰ In Egypt whether the false door of the palace facade is "the gate of the house of the dead," as Balcz calls it, or the door of the divine residence, as Borchardt called it, it is always a passageway into another world, a sacred ceremonial gate of heaven or the underworld.²⁵¹

Dick: And what about the pillars?

Mr. Jones: They make the gates, of course. The Egyptians, like other people, talk of the *four* pillars of heaven;²⁵² but also of *one* world pillar, like the ancient German Irminsul,²⁵³ and of two, as in an inscription from the Temple of Hathor at Philae that says, ". . . even as the heaven is fixed upon its two pillars. . ."²⁵⁴ That is, there is no fixed number for the pillars of heaven—sometimes the four are increased to many more.²⁵⁵ Indeed, the ceiling of an Egyptian temple represents the sky, and the columns supporting it, no matter how many, stand for the pillars of heaven.²⁵⁶ Here the coffin of Prince Min-Khaf of the 4th Dynasty has pillars of heaven all around it; on each side there are "eight vertical columns on the panels that frame the seven false doors"; in this as in a coffin from a neighboring tomb, the number of gates seems to be determined by the space at the artist's disposal.²⁵⁷ If I were to choose a significant number for the gates, I think I would pick some multiple of five.

Dick: Why of five?

Mr. Jones: Well, in the coffin of Prince Min-Khaf there are 20 gates or niches; here in a lion-couch scene from Abydos there are five *serekh* gates under the couch;²⁵⁸ and again in our old familiar tomb of Seti I we see the god Shu holding five such gates between the arms of his Ka.²⁵⁹ In another lion-couch scene, from the tomb of Puyemre, are ten such gates, and also a chest on a lion-couch under which are nine or ten "gates."²⁶⁰ Here in a later scene are three *serekh* patterns supported by 15 such gates.²⁶¹ All multiples of five, you see.

Dick: That may be all right for the later period. But in the good old days when recessed paneling was in its glory, there was a distant preference for multiples of 12 gates—a cosmic

number that strongly supports the heavenly nature of the pylons.

Mr. Jones (miffed): What makes you say that?

Dick: I bought Professor Emery's paperback on Archaic Egypt at the entrance of the museum, and I too have been counting doors or windows. Of the 18 archaic tombs depicted in the book, nine have 24 niches each and one has 12,²⁶² and one and possibly

another has six.²⁶²

Mr. Jones: And what about the others?

Dick: Some of them are multiples of ten, I'll admit. One has ten doors, if you count the half-doors, and there are two with 30 panels and one with 40.²⁶³ Interestingly enough, of all the tombs there are only two that do not have pylons that are multiples of 10 or 12, and they have 38 and 22 doors.²⁶⁴

(To be continued)

FOOTNOTES

^{110a}M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanaeischen Fremdwörter u. Eigennamen un Aegyptischen* (Leipzig, 1909f), II, pp. 71, 73, 32; III, 209c.
¹²⁰Egyptian and Semitic names for Lebanon are discussed by S. Ronzevalle, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 17 (1917), pp. 261-64.
¹²¹B. Beer, *Leben Abraham's*, p. 81.
¹²²Num. 33:20f, Josh. 10:29-32, 39; 12:15; 21:13; 2 Kings 8:22; 23:31; Jer. 52:1, etc.
¹²³Exod. 6:17; 1 Chron. 6:20, etc.
¹²⁴H. Kees, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 71 (1935), p. 155.
¹²⁵H. Brugsch, *Geographie der Nachbarländer Aegyptens* (Leipzig, 1858), pp. 90-91.
¹²⁶Honigsmann, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopaedie*, 13:1:150f.
¹²⁷A. Epstein, in *Rev. Etudes Juives*, Vol. 24 (1892), p. 96; Gen. 10:13; 1 Chron. 1:11. Honigsmann, *loc. cit.*, and Lane's *Arabic Dictionary*.
¹²⁸B. Couroyer, in *Orientalia*, Vol. 33 (1964), pp. 443ff.
¹²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 448.
^{129a}Burchardt, *op. cit.*, Nos. 518, 925.
^{129b}R. Clements, *Abraham and David* (London: Sem Press, 1967), p. 24.
¹³⁰R. Stadelmann, *Syrische-Palaestinensische Gottheiten in Aegypten*, pp. 53, 62.
¹³¹*Ibid.*, p. 53; the whole problem is discussed, pp. 52-63.
¹³²*Ibid.*, p. 15.
^{132a}Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 444, Nos. 4, 5.
¹³³In the broadest sense, the "Asiatics" of the north began already in Lower Egypt and included the islands of the sea, S. Schott, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 95, pp. 58f.
¹³⁴Collating the texts in the original English, W. L. Whipple, *Textual Changes in the Book of Abraham* (BYU, M.A. Thesis, 1959), made the sensational discovery that we find both Elkener and Elkenah, Koash and Korash, Potipher and Potiphar, Abram and Abraham, Zepthah and Egyptus, Egyptes and Egyptus, Nahor and Nehor, Jurshon and Jerushon, Thummin and Thummin. There is no reason for doubting that all these forms were used anciently.
¹³⁵J. Leibovitch, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 48 (1948), pp. 435-44.
¹³⁶2 Chron. 21:16 has "the Arabians that were near the Ethiopians" invading Judea. The problem is treated in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, S. V. Cush.
¹³⁷A. B. Kamal, in *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 24 (1902), p. 23.
¹³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 24.
¹³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 20.
¹⁴⁰Abr. 1:9; see *Improvement Era*, March 1969, pp. 82-84.
¹⁴¹W. Bacher, in *Rev. Etudes Juives*, Vol. 55 (1908), pp. 251-63.
¹⁴²According to a saying attributed to Jesus, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, 19: 584f (No. 195 of the *Arabic Logia*).
¹⁴³H. Schützinger, *Ursprung der Abraham-Nimrod Legenden*, p. 139.
¹⁴⁴G. Maspero, in *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, Vol. 2, pp. 367, 369.
¹⁴⁵G. Posener, in *Goettinger Nachrichten*, 1965, No. 2, p. 74.
¹⁴⁶K. Sethe, *Gesch. der Eimbalsamierung* (Berlin Acad., Sitzber., 1934), p. 217.

¹⁴⁷E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the Br. Mus.* (1923), p. 20.
¹⁴⁸A. Gardiner, in *Jnl. Eg. Arch.*, Vol. 24 (1938), pp. 167-69.
¹⁴⁹C. De Wit, in *Chron. d'Egypte*, 32:31; E. A. W. Budge, *Papyrus of Ani*, I, 240. At night Re joins the 4 canopies to tow the sun-boat; by day the ram-headed god joins them for the same purpose, S. Hassam, *Solar Boats of Khafra* (Cairo: Govt. Press, 1946), p. 117, fig. 38b.
¹⁵⁰Since *ba* means "ram" as well as "soul," the ram was the normal expression of the idea, De Wit, *op. cit.*, p. 30. G. Thausing, in *Mitt. d. Dt. Inst. zu Kairo*, Vol. 8 (1939), pp. 54, 60, identifies the 4 Children of Horus with the 4 stars of the Dipper, the 4 glorious *Akhu* spirits, the 4 guardian apes of the Underworld, the 4 primal elements, and the 4 divine couples that make up the *nine*.
¹⁵¹R. Graves, *The White Goddess* (Vintage Books, 1958), p. 457.
¹⁵²A. Piankoff, *Shrines of Tutankhamon*, pp. 41, 21.
¹⁵³Pyramid Texts, No. 576: 1510, 1515. One came to Heliopolis "to be purified, resurrected, deified, to behold the god face to face," G. Maspero, in *Bibl. Egyptol.*, Vol. 1, p. 378; cf. 370, and Coffin Text No. 124, 125: "I have come as your fourth . . . to see Tnm, the fifth of the stars of Sahu (Orion)"; Pyr. Text No. 264: "Tenen has summoned them, and each of the four gods . . . brings those summoned, to come and tell their names to Re and Horus," cf. P.T. No. 139.
¹⁵⁴R. Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 26.
¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 146.
¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 140.
¹⁵⁸*New York Times*, Supplement, Dec. 29, 1912.
¹⁵⁹P. Munro, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 95 (1968), p. 40.
¹⁶⁰G. Jequier, in *Sphinx*, Vol. 13 (1910), p. 206.
¹⁶¹M. de Rochemonteix, in *Bibl. Egyptol.*, Vol. 3, pp. 177-78, and *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 3 (1881), p. 76.
¹⁶²W. Kroenig, in *Mitt. d. Dt. Inst. Kairo*, Vol. 5 (1934) p. 151. E. Drioton, in *Chron. d'Egypte*, Vol. 10 (1934), pp. 202f, notes that lotus and papyrus are also confused in hieroglyphic. K. Appelt, in *Mitt. d. Dt. Inst. Kairo*, Vol. 1 (1930), pp. 153-57, gives a classification of Egyptian lotuses. Botanical identification is also treated by G. Benedite, in *Acad. Inscr., Mon. et Mem.*, Vol. 25 (1921-2), pp. 1-28, and M. Jacquemin, in *Melanges Maspero* (Vol. 66 of *Bibl. Egyptol.*), I, ii, 799ff. On the various esoteric symbols of the lotus, E. Naville, in *Rev. de l'Egypte Ancien*, Vol. 1 (1925), pp. 31-44, and Vol. 2 (1929), pp. 210-253; R. Lepsius and K. Sethe, *Denkmäler*, Vol. 2 (1904), pp. 74ff, and W. D. Spanton, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, pp. 1-20, and 1929, pp. 65-73, who treats botanical types and decorative uses.
¹⁶³H. Senk, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 72 (1936), pp. 71-73, conceding that there may be hidden significance in various lotus designs. J. J. Clere, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 68 (1932), pp. 45f, and H. Schaefer, *Von aegyptischer Kunst*, pp. 21f

(from which we quote), both minimize the importance of symbolism, though the latter, p. 23, admits that the lotus is almost never used as "pure ornament." W. Kroenig, *op. cit.*, p. 154, suggests that since there is no decorative or logical explanation for the monopoly of lotus and papyrus, it must have a hidden meaning which escapes us.

¹⁶⁴M. de Rochemonteix, in *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 6 (1885), p. 24.

¹⁶⁵W. Kroenig, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

¹⁶⁶I. E. S. Edwards, in *Jnl. Eg. Arch.*, Vol. 52 (1966), p. 182.

¹⁶⁷L. Keimer, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 48 (1948), pp. 36f.

¹⁶⁸K. Appelt, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁶⁹L. Keimer, in *Rev. de l'Égypte Ancien*, Vol. 2 (1929), p. 248.

¹⁷⁰H. Kees, *Der Gotterglaube im alten Ägypten*, p. 85.

¹⁷¹A. Grenfell, in *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 32, p. 130.

¹⁷²So L. Keimer, in *Aegyptus*, Vol. 7 (1926), pp. 169f, 175f; K. Sethe, *Urgeschichte Aegyptens*, p. 165; J. Capart, in *Chron. d'Égypte*, Vol. 32 (1957), pp. 229-31, says the southern plant can be "a liliaceous plant, a palm, or sometimes a lotus."

¹⁷³G. Maspero, in *Bibl. Egyptol.*, Vol. 28 (1921), pp. 61f; A. Moret, *Mysteres Egyptiens*, p. 166.

¹⁷⁴S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae, 1954), p. 13.

¹⁷⁵R. Anthes, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 82 (1957), pp. 6, 1.

¹⁷⁶H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, p. 154; so also S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁷⁷W. D. Spanton, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, p. 8. The idea is depicted in endless friezes from the walls of temples, showing lotus-crowned goddesses with huge breasts and bellies moving among lotus and papyrus plants, e.g. *Mem. Miss. Fr.*, XI:1, Pl. xl.

¹⁷⁸E. Naville, in *Rev. de l'Égypte Ancien*, Vol. 1 (1925), p. 33; Morenz and Schubert, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 46, noting the peculiarly water-repellent nature of the lotus, which keeps it miraculously free of mire and filth, p. 109.

¹⁷⁹R. Anthes, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 80 (1955), p. 80.

¹⁸⁰Cited by E. A. E. Reymond, in *Chron. d'Égypte*, Vol. 40 (1965), p. 82. See especially A. Moret, in *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. XI, Vol. 9 (1917), p. 502.

¹⁸¹Moret, *loc. cit.*; Morenz and Schubert, *op. cit.*, p. 106, see in the lotus the basic idea of "self-containment," "self-creation."

¹⁸²Moret, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-8. It was said that the soul of Osiris hid in a lotus awaiting the resurrection, M. de Rochemonteix, *Bibl. Egyptol.*, Vol. 3, pp. 177f, and that Horus's two eyes were restored by becoming lotus-bulbs, A. Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Papyri in the British Museum*, Vol. 1 (Br. Mus., 1931), p. 21; cf. Senmut's Poem in *Kemi*, Vol. 12 (1952), p. 45. The oldest texts tell how Re by smelling the lotus is revived every morning, and so "the primeval beginning is reiterated," R. Anthes, in *Jnl. of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 18 (1959), p. 176. The King made a lotus offering to the sun every morning in the temple of Heliopolis, *Pyr. Texts*, 264a-266b, cited by Anthes, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 80, pp. 81f.

¹⁸³Anthes, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁸⁴J. Capart, in *Chron. d'Égypte*, Vol. 32, pp. 229-31; G. Maspero, in *Bibl. Egyptol.*, Vol. 28 (1912), pp. 61f, following the botanist Gooden.

¹⁸⁵A. Moret, *op. cit.* (in note 180 above), p. 606; E. Chassinat, in *Mém., Inst. Arch. Fr.*, 16, Pl. xlvi.

¹⁸⁶P. Munro, *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 95 (1968), p. 37.

¹⁸⁷*Pyr. Text* No. 213:130a-134. "The King NN is on the nose of Great Power . . . he appears as Nefertem, the lotus-flower at the nose of Re . . ." *Pyr. Text* No. 265/6, discussed by H. Kees, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 78 (1942), p. 44.

¹⁸⁸R. Anthes, *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 82, pp. 4-5.

¹⁸⁹L. Borchardt, *Grabmal des Königs Sa-hu-Re*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1913), Pl. 42, is a good example, though almost any throne picture will do, e.g. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, 136.

¹⁹⁰An extremely common motif, J. Capart, *Chron. d'Ég.*, Vol. 32 (1957), pp. 228f; for a bibliography, W. D. Spanton, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, p. 18. The tied lotuses on the throne of Thothmes III even without human figures "may be something in connection with this king's Syrian victories," A. Grenfell, in *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 32, p. 133; cf. Borchardt, *op. cit.*, p. 46, Abb. 30 and Pl. 16.

¹⁹¹With the lotus, Hathor bestows the symbol of protection, G. Gayet, *Temple de Luxour*, Pl. xx; xxiii, Fig. 79; lviii. At Edfu the lotus-staff is presented to the queen with the words, "Protection and life-giving," *Miss. Arch. Fr., Mem.*, Vol. 30 (1943), Edfu, Pl. 445; Vol. 29, Pl. 334, where the king says the same in presenting a lotus to a god.

¹⁹²E. Naville, in *Rev. de l'Ég. Anc.*, Vol. 1, p. 41.

¹⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁹⁴Some have maintained that the power of the lotus lay in its smell, which counteracted the smell of death and decay and therefore demonstrated the power to overcome death, S. Morenz, discussed in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 48 (1953), p. 348. Kees, Morenz, Anthes, and others suggest that Nefertem began as a god of perfume, R. Anthes, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 80, pp. 81, 87. But as P. Munro notes, *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 95, p. 37, Nefertem is far more than a Duftgott. Other Egyptian flowers have far stronger scent than the lotus, and the normal opposition to strong odors was not the delicate fragrance of the lotus but the powerful influence of burning incense.

¹⁹⁵A. Varille, in *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. 53 (1953), p. 94, Figs. 4, 5, 6; U. Schweitzer, *Loewe und Sphinx*, Taf. XV, Figs. 5, 6; R. T. R. Clark, *Myth and Symbol* (New York: Grove, 1960), pp. 66f, holds the lotus to be "the symbol for the final defeat of the powers of the Abyss."

¹⁹⁶H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, pp. 508-10; Naville, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 36; H. Kees, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 57 (1922), pp. 117f.

¹⁹⁷V. Chapot, in *Melanges Maspero*, Vol. 2 (1934), pp. 225-31.

¹⁹⁸Naville, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 39.

¹⁹⁹R. Anthes, *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 82, p. 7, on the King as Nefertem at Heliopolis; cf. A. Piankoff, in *Egyptian Religion*, Vol. 1 (1933), pp. 100-2. The Sphinx of San is a mixture of the Egyptian and the Asiatic lions, P. Montet, *Le Drame d'Avaris*, p. 64. Shu also is "the King's good companion" and "the living lion who keeps (enemies) away, who wards off . . ."

K. Sethe, *Zur Sage vom Sonnenaug* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 25. Nefertem "confronts alien nations that they retreat . . . guarding Sopdu, the Lord of the Eastern Land," according to a hymn in H. Kees, *Aegyptisches Lesebuch*, p. 13.

²⁰⁰V. Chapot, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 231. The lotus-crowned lion is often represented attacking Asiatics from the rear, U. Schweitzer, *Loewe und Sphinx*, and A. Piankoff, in *Eg. Relig.*, Vol. 1, p. 103-5.

²⁰¹H. Kees, *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 57, pp. 92f.

²⁰²H. Kees, *Goetterglaube*, p. 90.

²⁰³*Ibid.*, pp. 117f.

²⁰⁴S. Hermann, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 91 (1964), p. 74.

²⁰⁵I. Levy, in *Rev. des Etudes Juives*, Vol. 51 (1906), pp. 38ff, discussing the Papyrus Anas-tasi VI, vi, 14.

²⁰⁶E. A. Speiser, in *Centennial Review*, Vol. 4 (1960), p. 218.

²⁰⁷P. Montet, *Le Drame d'Avaris*, p. 19.

²⁰⁸E. Naville, *op. cit.*, I, 40. The helpless armless dead are shown in the *Tomb of Puy-mere*, Vol. 2, Pl. xlviii; and in the *Tomb of Rameses IX* someone is bringing two lotuses to an armless spirit who has just arrived in the Lower World by ship and stands waiting helplessly, *Miss. Arch. Fr., Mem.*, Vol. 15, Pl. lxvii.

²⁰⁹S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume*, pp. 36f.

²¹⁰S. Schott, *Das Schöne Fest im Wüstenenthal*, p. 116.

²¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 117.

²¹²C. Jequier, *La Pyramide d'Aba* (Cairo, 1935), Pl. 18; Pl. XXII, No. 16. There is a formula "for receiving bouquets that were raised in the Temple of Amon at Karnak," Schott, *op. cit.*, p. 119, and bouquets "for Amon and Hathor, the Lord of the Desert," *Ibid.*, p. 104.

²¹³Schott, *op. cit.*, pp. 56f, 62.

²¹⁴P. Virey, in *Miss. Arch. Fr., Mem.*, Vol. 2 (1891), p. 2. Such a flower was in fact called 'ankh and was a symbol of life, according to Schott, p. 55.

²¹⁵We have treated the concept at length in *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 40 (1945), pp. 515-43.

²¹⁶S. Schott, *op. cit.*, pp. 56f. In the temple of Seti I the royal lion is seen with a hawk on its head, while on the hawk's head is an enormous lotus—the king is a lotus too. *Ibid.*, pp. 20f.

²¹⁷Schott, p. 115.

²¹⁸*The Improvement Era*, Vol. 71 (February 1968), p. 40B.

²¹⁹J. Duemmichen, *Geographische Inschriften altaegyptischer Denkmäler*, III Abt., *Denderah* (Leipzig, 1885), Taf. 1, showing all the nomes

of Egypt, plus the 4 cardinal points, plus the symbols of the Two Lands, all mounted on a monster lotus. Cf. *Mem., Miss. Arch. Fr.*, Vol. 4 (1882-84), Pl. 38. The lotus-design is common in the East representing a geographical map of "the earth and its parts," Morenz and Schubert, *op. cit.*, p. 127, as well as a map of the whole cosmos, *ibid.*, p. 104.

²²⁰R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-Palaestinensische Gottheiten*, p. 15; on the lady as hostess, p. 150.

²²¹*Ibid.*, p. 110.

²²²*Ibid.*, pp. 118-19. The Canaanitish Rashap is also accompanied by a parasol or lotus, p. 64.

²²³Morenz and Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume*, p. 34; M. de Rochemonteix, in *Bibl. Egyptol.*, Vol. 3, p. 172.

²²⁴S. Schott, *Das Schöne Fest im Wüstenenthal*, p. 56.

²²⁵A. M. Calverly, *Temple of Sethos I*, Vol. 2, Pl. 29.

²²⁶E. Naville, in *Rev. de l'Ég. Anc.*, Vol. 1, p. 39.

²²⁷R. Grave, *The White Goddess*, p. 539.

²²⁸S. Schott, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

²²⁹Morenz and Schubert, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

²³⁰R. Anthes, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 82 (1957), p. 6.

²³¹Morenz and Schubert, p. 42.

²³²H. Schaefer, *Die Altaegyptischen Prunkgefässe* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 13, Abb. 26.

²³³S. Schott, *op. cit.*, pp. 67f.

²³⁴Morenz and Schubert, *op. cit.*, pp. 39f.

²³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 134f.

²³⁶T. Deveria, in *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, Vol. 4 (1896), p. 196.

²³⁷For lavish and easily available illustrations, see W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Pelican Books, 1967). Cf. A. Rusch, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 58 (1923), pp. 101-24. B. J. Kemp, in *Jnl. Eg. Arch.*, Vol. 52 (1966), pp. 13-22.

²³⁸H. Balcz, in *Mitt. d. Dt. Inst., Kairo*, Vol. 1 (1930), pp. 60-61; on fortresses, 65f.

²³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 69.

²⁴⁰L. Borchardt, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 36 (1898), p. 99; H. Grapow, in W. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, p. 136.

²⁴¹Balcz, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Egyptian variations on the recessed-panelling theme are illustrated by A. Rusch, *loc. cit.*

²⁴²P. D. Scott-Moncreiff, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae* (Br. Mus., 1911), Pt. I.

²⁴³W. B. Emery, *op. cit.*, Plates 24a-b, 25b; E. Zippert, in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Vol. 7 (1931), p. 299.

²⁴⁴W. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, 85b.

²⁴⁵Balcz, *op. cit.*, pp. 70ff.

²⁴⁶N. 243 *loc. cit.*

²⁴⁷Balcz, *loc. cit.*, and p. 86.

²⁴⁸M. Pillet, in *Revue d'Égyptologie*, Vol. 7 (1950), p. 139.

²⁴⁹Balcz, p. 86.

²⁵⁰S. Piggott, in *The Dawn of Civilization* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), p. 86.

²⁵¹Balcz, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Borchardt, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

²⁵²See the note in H. Grapow, *Das 17. Kapitel des aeg. Totenbuchs* (Berlin, 1912), p. 38, if you can find the work.

²⁵³Pharaoh is hailed as "the Atum of humanity . . . the pillar of heaven, the beam of earth," H. Kees in A. Bertholet, *Wörterbuch der Religionen*, X, 41. The central pillar is added to the four in the primitive sacred booth, R. Anthes, *Mitt. d. Dt. Or. Ges.*, Vol. 96 (1965), pp. 81, 84, cf. p. 11; H. Winlock, in A. C. Mace, *Tomb of Senebtitis* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1916), p. 37.

²⁵⁴F. Daumas, in *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. 95 (1968), p. 2.

²⁵⁵J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, Vol. 1 (1926), Pl. 57: Nos. 1, 6, 7; Pl. III, pp. 15, 66.

²⁵⁶M. de Rochemonteix, in *Bibl. Egyptol.*, Vol. 3, p. 187.

²⁵⁷W. Stevenson-Smith, in *Jnl. Eg. Arch.*, Vol. 19 (1933), pp. 150ff; Pl. xxi-xxiv.

²⁵⁸W. F. Petrie, *Abydos*, Pt. 1, Pl. lxxii.

²⁵⁹A. M. Calverly, *Tomb of Sethos I*, Vol. 2, Pl. 29.

²⁶⁰N. de G. Davis, *The Tomb of Puy-mere*, Vol. 2, Pl. xviii.

²⁶¹*Ibid.*, Pl. lx.

²⁶²W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt*; the 24-niche tombs are on pages 55, 64, 66, 83, 132, 136, Pl. 24b and p. 146; the tomb on p. 89 has one side un-niched; if the pattern were finished here it would give 24 niches. The 12-panel tomb is on p. 137; the 6-panel on p. 148, though one wall is not niched. The coffin in Plates 24a and 25b has six panels if one does not count the half-doors.

²⁶³Ten panels in Pl. 24a, 25b; 30 on pp. 72 and 141; 40 on p. 77.

²⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 48 and 146 respectively. ○