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The Neglected Facsimile: An Examination and Comparative Study of Facsimile No. 3 of

*The Book of Abraham*

Quinten Zehn Barney

A thesis submitted to the faculty of  
Brigham Young University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Kerry Muhlestein, Chair  
John Gee  
Michael D. Rhodes  
Kerry Hull

Religious Education  
Brigham Young University

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## ABSTRACT

### The Neglected Facsimile: An Examination and Comparative Study of Facsimile No. 3 of *The Book of Abraham*

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Facsimile No. 3 of the Book of Abraham contains parallels to other Egyptian throne scenes found elsewhere, which fact has led many to pass Facsimile No. 3 off as commonplace. However, the lack of a broad comparative study examining these types of scenes in their varying contexts has rendered most conclusions regarding Facsimile No. 3 superficial at best. Hugh Nibley was perhaps the first to notice this problem, arguing that “The great abundance of pictures of the Facsimile No. 3 variety calls for the widest possible comparative study. In a case like this the student’s first obligation is to compare, as widely and as carefully as possible.” This thesis takes a critical step in solving this problem by looking at both the textual and iconographic elements found in Facsimile No.3 and comparing them with the larger corpus of Egyptian texts, temples, tombs, and stelae. Significantly, this study compares Facsimile No. 3 with the throne scenes from every other publicly known copy of the Book of Breathing, the ancient Egyptian document on which Facsimile No. 3 was found.

In this thesis, I argue that Facsimile No. 3 is not as commonplace as some scholars have argued in the past. I begin this thesis with an introduction which presents some of the main issues surrounding Facsimile No. 3, including some of the likely reasons as to why it has remained the least studied of the three Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham. The first chapter contains a literature review of the published writings and theories that deal with Facsimile No. 3. Chapter Two gives a closer look at the hieroglyphs of Facsimile No. 3 and discusses some of the challenges relating to the translations that have been offered for them. The iconography of Facsimile No. 3 is discussed in the third chapter, where it is compared with the larger corpus of Book of Breathing vignettes. This discussion is especially important, as it is the first study to date which compares Facsimile No. 3 with the vignettes from all other extant copies of the Book of Breathing. In Chapter Four, this comparative study broadens, and parallels to Facsimile No. 3 are looked for in Ptolemaic copies of the Book of the Dead, Temples, Tombs, and funerary stelae.

Keywords: Facsimile No. 3, Book of Abraham, Book of Breathing, Vignettes, Facsimiles, Egyptian Throne Scenes, Book of Breathing Made by Isis, Joseph Smith, Abraham, Hor Book of Breathing, Rueben Hedlock

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I am quick to admit that the final version of this thesis could not have been possible without the help of each member of my thesis committee. I am extremely appreciative for the help of Kerry Muhlestein of Brigham Young University. His willingness to serve as my thesis chair and meet with me on a regular basis to provide feedback and encouragement was exceptionally valuable, and I am grateful for his knowledge and friendship. John Gee has also been extremely helpful, and it was as an undergraduate in Dr. Gee's Introduction to Middle Egyptian course that my interest in *The Book of Abraham* began to grow. His wisdom and years of expertise have proved invaluable. Michael Rhodes has also been a great help, and I have appreciated his prompt feedback and useful insights that he gave while reviewing rough drafts of each chapter of this thesis. The time he has spent researching and writing on the *Hor Book of*

*Breathings* has in turn saved me much time, and I am grateful for his scholarship. I would also like to express my gratitude for Kerry Hull. His keen eyes and attention to detail have been an enormous help to me as I've sought to refine the rough drafts of this thesis.

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Quinten Barney

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## INTRODUCTION

### THE NEED FOR FURTHER RESEARCH ON FACSIMILE NO. 3 OF THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM

In a special ceremony on November 27, 1967, the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art presented a collection of eleven Egyptian papyri fragments to President N. Eldon Tanner, 2<sup>nd</sup> counselor in the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.<sup>1</sup> It was only a year and a half earlier when Professor Aziz Atiya of the University of Utah happened upon the fragments while doing his own research and recognized them as fragments which had once belonged to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. These eleven fragments, as well as an additional fragment discovered in the Church archives, have come to be known as the Joseph Smith papyri, and are only a small part of the original collection of Egyptian records that the Prophet Joseph and others associated with the Book of Abraham.<sup>2</sup> Among the recovered fragments was the original vignette of Facsimile No. 1 of the Book of Abraham, though unfortunately the originals for Facsimile 2 and 3 are no longer extant.

The reacquisition of the papyri in 1967, coupled with over a hundred years of advancements in Egyptological research, sparked a renewed interest in Book of Abraham studies, which interest has continued even down to the present-day.<sup>3</sup> For some, the Book of

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<sup>1</sup> Glen Wade, "The Facsimile Found: The Recovery of Joseph Smith's Papyrus Manuscripts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2, no. 4 (Winter 1967): 53.

<sup>2</sup> The original collection was much larger, consisting of at least two large rolls of papyrus as well as several other additional fragments. See William W. Phelps Letter to Sally Phelps, 19–20 July 1835, in Leah Y. Phelps "Letters of Faith from Kirtland," *Improvement Era* 45, no. 8 (August 1942): 529; and Oliver Cowdery Letter to William Frye, "Egyptian Mummies—Ancient Records," *Messenger and Advocate* 2, no. 3 (December 1835): 236.

<sup>3</sup> A sharp spike in scholarly interest for the Book of Abraham occurred after the rediscovery of some of the Joseph Smith Papyri fragments at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City in the late 1960's. This spike can be seen in Tim Barker's bibliography of work done on the Book of Abraham, which shows a total of twenty articles or books published between 1936 and 1967 that deal with the Book of Abraham, whereas 1968 alone (the year after the fragments were returned to the Church) saw a total of 35. See Tim Barker, "Bibliography," online, <http://thebookofabraham.blogspot.com/p/bibliography.html> (accessed May 29, 2019).



Abraham stands as a sacred and edifying volume of scripture, and evidence of Joseph Smith's divine call as a prophet, seer, revelator, and translator (D&C 21:1). Others, however, have held it to be one of the clearest examples of Joseph Smith's fraud.<sup>4</sup>

If there is any one thing that past scholarly dialogue has demonstrated regarding the Book of Abraham, it is that it is a very complex and involved text. A serious study of the Book of Abraham's authenticity requires experience with multiple disciplines, time periods, and materials, to say nothing of staying on top of the current writings and conversations of those scholars who are engaging with the topic.<sup>5</sup> Among the most challenging topics in Book of Abraham studies are the three Facsimiles which accompanied the first printed text of the Book of Abraham in several issues of the *Times and Seasons* newspaper in the spring of 1842. These Facsimiles, along with the explanations that accompanied their publication, have been both widely discussed and challenged by individuals both in and out of the Church, and a correct understanding of what these drawings are meant to signify is still hotly debated by scholars.

Perhaps the most famous of these Facsimiles is Facsimile No. 1.<sup>6</sup> This scene features a man lying upon an Egyptian lion couch, while another man with a knife drawn stands over him. Beneath the lion couch are four canopic jars, and the figure of a crocodile lays nearby. What makes this Facsimile of particular interest is that it is the only one of the three Facsimiles of the

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<sup>4</sup> See for example Robert K. Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Papyri: A Complete Edition* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2013), 1–10.

<sup>5</sup> See Hugh Nibley, *Abraham in Egypt*, 2nd ed., The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley: Volume 14 (Salt Lake City; Provo, Utah: Deseret Book Co., and FARMS, 2000), 154–55. This is not to say that one must become familiar in each of these areas in order to meaningfully contribute to Book of Abraham studies, though doing so would be ideal. Rather, one cannot easily separate the various aspects relating to the text while trying to prove or disprove the Book of Abraham's historical authenticity.

<sup>6</sup> The popularity of this scene can be attributed in part to its being featured prominently on the cover of some of the better known books relating to Book of Abraham studies, such books as John Gee's *An Introduction to the Book of Abraham* (2018) and *A Guide to the Joseph Smith Papyri* (2000), Robert Ritner's *The Joseph Smith Papyri: A Complete Edition* (2013), and Charles Larson's *By His Own Hand Upon Papyrus* (1992).

Book of Abraham for which a known original still exists, having been found among the fragments discovered in 1967 by Professor Atiya. The fragment of papyrus itself is badly damaged, missing some of the upper portions of the scene, including the head of the standing figure as well as body and hands of the figure laying on the lion couch. This missing portion, along with the columns of hieroglyphic text found on either side of the vignette, have led to a longstanding debate over the original meaning of the vignette, and whether the Facsimile represents a proper reconstruction of it.<sup>7</sup>

Facsimile No. 2 has also received frequent attention, and serves as one of over 150 known examples of an ancient Egyptian hypocephalus.<sup>8</sup> Like Facsimile No. 1, the original to Facsimile No. 2 also appears to have been missing portions by the time they were ready for publication in the 1842 *Times and Seasons*.<sup>9</sup> The restoration of the *lacunae*, which was done by Reuben Hedlock under the direction of the Prophet Joseph Smith, has likewise caused no small stir among critics of the Book of Abraham.<sup>10</sup> The hieratic script used to fill the gaps where

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<sup>7</sup> For an overview of the various arguments regarding the reconstruction of Facsimile No. 1, see Edward Ashmant, "The Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham: A Reappraisal," *Sunstone* 4, no. 5-6 (December 1979): 33-48; John Gee, *A Guide to the Joseph Smith Papyri* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2000), 36-39.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Lyon noted in 1996 that Hungarian Egyptologist Edith Varga added Facsimile No. 2 to her collection of 150 hypocephali. See Michael P. Lyon, "Appreciating Hypocephali as Works of Art and Faith," *FARMS Book of Abraham Lecture Series*, March 24, 1999. Other examples of research focusing on Facsimile No. 2 include John Gee, "A Method for Studying the Facsimiles," *FARMS Review* 19, no. 1 (2007): 347-53; Michael D. Rhodes, "A Translation and Commentary of the Joseph Smith Hypocephalus," *BYU Studies* 17, no. 3 (Spring 1977): 259-274; Hugh Nibley and Michael D. Rhodes, *One Eternal Round* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and Provo, UT: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, Brigham Young University, 2010); Edward Ashmant, "A Reappraisal," 33-48.

<sup>9</sup> A document in an unknown handwriting dating to between circa July 1835 and circa March 1842 contains a drawing of the Facsimile with its missing portions. See Robin Scott Jensen and Brian M. Hauglid, eds. *Revelations and Translations, Volume 4: Book of Abraham and Related Manuscripts*. Facsimile edition. Vol. 4 of the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, edited by Ronald K. Esplin, Matthew J. Grow, Matthew C. Godfrey, and R. Eric Smith (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2018), 50-51.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Smith's journal indicates that he gave Hedlock "instruction concerning the arrangement of the writing on the Large cut. illustrating the principles of Astronomy." See Joseph Smith Journal, March 4, 1842, in *JSP*, J2:40.

hieroglyphs would have normally appeared has been interpreted in some instances as evidence of a lying or deceptive nature in the Prophet Joseph Smith.<sup>11</sup> Others have attempted to discredit the Prophet on the grounds that the explanations of the images in Facsimile No. 2 do not correspond with the way Egyptologists have interpreted them.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, Latter-day Saint scholars have been quick to remind critics of the Book of Abraham that the complexity of the text and its accompanying Facsimiles requires more than a hasty conclusion that is based upon how modern Egyptologists interpret these images.<sup>13</sup>

It is the third and final Facsimile of the Book of Abraham that becomes the primary subject of the present work. This Facsimile has been described as an Osiride scene, in which the deceased individual is found being led into the presence of Osiris, the Egyptian God, and ruler of the underworld.<sup>14</sup> Due to the parallels Facsimile No. 3 has with other Egyptian throne scenes found elsewhere, many have been led to pass Facsimile No. 3 off as commonplace. However, the lack of a broad comparative study examining these types of scenes in their varying contexts renders most conclusions regarding Facsimile No. 3 superficial at best. As part of this thesis, I intend to take an important step in solving this problem by conducting a broad study comparing the iconographic elements of Facsimile No. 3 with the larger corpus of Egyptian throne scenes found in temples, papyri, and stelae. The results of this study, coupled with additional research

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<sup>11</sup> For example, see Grant S. Heward and Jerald Tanner, “The Source of the Book of Abraham Identified,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1968): 92–98.

<sup>12</sup> See Robert K. Ritner, “‘Translation and Historicity of the Book of Abraham’ — A Response,” [https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/Research\\_Archives/Translation%20and%20Historicity%20of%20the%20Book%20of%20Abraham%20final-2.pdf](https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/Research_Archives/Translation%20and%20Historicity%20of%20the%20Book%20of%20Abraham%20final-2.pdf) (accessed March 16, 2019).

<sup>13</sup> John Gee, “A Method for Studying the Facsimiles,” a Review of *A Study Guide to the Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham (2006)*, by Allen J. Fletcher. *FARMS Review* 19, no. 1 (2007): 347–53.

<sup>14</sup> For a brief overview on the role of Osiris as ruler of the Underworld and judge of the dead, see George Hart, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 151–167.

on the Facsimile, will then be used to lay a more solid groundwork for future studies in the Book of Abraham, and especially Facsimile No. 3.

Latter-day Saint scholar Hugh Nibley was perhaps one of the first to identify the need for a broad catalogue of Egyptian throne scenes in order to properly assess Facsimile No. 3 of the Book of Abraham. He noted “The great abundance of pictures of the Facsimile No. 3 variety calls for the widest possible comparative study. In a case like this the student's first obligation is to compare, as widely and as carefully as possible.”<sup>15</sup> Twenty-five years later, in 2005, Egyptologist John Gee observed that “Facsimile 3 has always been the most neglected of the three facsimiles in the Book of Abraham...because the basic Egyptological work on Facsimile 3 has not been done, and much of the evidence lies neglected and unpublished in museums.”<sup>16</sup> In the past, visiting these museums and performing such a wide-scale study would have required extensive time and travel in order to gather Egyptian throne scenes from around the world. Recently, however, many catalogues and databases have become available online, making the comparative study called for by Nibley much more feasible now than ever before.<sup>17</sup> By sorting through and comparing the elements of Facsimile No. 3 with that of the larger corpus of Egyptian texts, temples, tombs, and stelae, we are then in a position not only to better classify the

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<sup>15</sup> Hugh W. Nibley, “The Three Facsimiles from the Book of Abraham,” (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1980), 77.

<sup>16</sup> John Gee, “Facsimile 3 and Book of the Dead 125” in *Astronomy, Papyrus, and Covenant*, John Gee and Brian M. Hauglid, eds. (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005), 95.

<sup>17</sup> For example, The University of Bonn in Germany has been working on gathering and cataloguing all known copies of the Book of the Dead from museums around the world. In 2012, their collection of hundreds of copies of the Book of the Dead was made available online to researchers worldwide. Additionally, the SERaT project, carried out in Wurzburg, has gathered over 10,000 temple scenes from Graeco-Roman temples. See <https://www.totenbuch-projekt.uni-bonn.de/totenbuch-datenbank> (accessed May 30, 2019) and <http://www.aegyptologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/en/wissenschaftsforschung/serat/> (accessed May 30, 2019).

Facsimile, but to further our current understanding of the relationship between these drawings and the text of the Book of Abraham.

## CHAPTER ONE

### A HISTORIOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF THE SCHOLARLY LITERATURE DEALING WITH FACSIMILE NO. 3 OF THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM

In the Introduction to this thesis, we established that the three Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham have often been found at the center of controversy in many discussions that have dealt with the issue of the book's ancient authenticity.<sup>1</sup> At the core of most of these debates has been the question as to whether the Facsimiles, along with their accompanying interpretations, support the reputation of Joseph Smith as a Prophet of God, or divulge him as a delusional or complete fraud. To recognize the gravity of the issue, one need not look further than the Church's recent decision to publish a new Gospel Topics essay dealing with the translation and historicity of the Book of Abraham.<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, the bulk of scholarly work done thus far has dealt primarily with Facsimiles No. 1 and 2, with comparatively little research being conducted on Facsimile No. 3. This trend was perhaps first noticed by Dr. Hugh Nibley nearly forty years ago, and more recently by LDS Egyptologists John Gee and Kerry Muhlestein.<sup>3</sup>

In this chapter, I will review the relevant published literature that deals specifically with Facsimile No. 3, including how the Facsimile has been interpreted by scholars both within and

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<sup>1</sup> A sharp spike in scholarly interest for the Book of Abraham occurred after the rediscovery of some of the Joseph Smith Papyri fragments at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City in the late 1960's. This spike can be seen in Tim Barker's bibliography of work done on the Book of Abraham, which shows a total of twenty articles or books published between 1936 and 1967 that deal with the Book of Abraham, whereas 1968 alone (the year after the fragments were returned to the Church) saw a total of 35. See Tim Barker, "Bibliography," <http://thebookofabraham.blogspot.com/p/bibliography.html> (accessed May 29, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> The article addresses many of the major concerns that people have had regarding the Book of Abraham, including treatment on several issues relating to the facsimiles. See "Translation and Historicity of the Book of Abraham," online, <https://www.lds.org/topics/translation-and-historicity-of-the-book-of-abraham?lang=eng> (accessed May 29, 2019).

<sup>3</sup> Hugh W. Nibley, "The Three Facsimiles from the Book of Abraham," (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1980), 77; John Gee, "Facsimile 3 and Book of the Dead 125" in *Astronomy, Papyrus, and Covenant*, John Gee and Brian M. Hauglid, eds. (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005), 95; Kerry Muhlestein, *Understanding the Book of Abraham* (American Fork: Covenant Communications, 2013), Audiobook.

without the Church. I will then synthesize the written literature to evaluate where we currently stand regarding research on Facsimile No. 3 and offer several suggestions for further establishing some essential groundwork for continual and solid research on Facsimile No. 3.

### **Scope and Methodology:**

First, a brief comment regarding the methodology of the present study. It is worth noting that literally hundreds of sources exist which contain both primary and secondary writing relating to the Book of Abraham and its Facsimiles. These writings range from journals, letters, newspaper articles, scholarly works, and more. For the purposes of this paper, I have chosen to limit my treatment of these writings to those that specifically relate to the interpretation of Facsimile No. 3 in the Book of Abraham. The authors of these documents range from several educated Egyptologists to those with no Egyptological training whatsoever. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding the various interpretations provided in these accounts, when taken together they provide a broad understanding of how Facsimile No. 3 has been interpreted from its initial acquisition by the Church in the mid 1830's until now.

While this study by no means claims to be free from human error, I have done my best to examine and include every relevant source in my review. These sources have been gathered and reviewed only after an extensive amount of reading and research, which included searching through dozens of books and commentaries on the Pearl of Great Price, as well as articles, newspapers, journal entries, and letters. Often a citation in one source led to another, and though I cannot say with certainty that every single relevant source was consulted, I am confident that at the very least a near-comprehensive review of the available writings that specifically deal with Facsimile No. 3 of the Book of Abraham was conducted. Though the nature of this paper does not allow for a discussion on all of these sources, I have done my best to include those most

relevant to the study at hand. For convenience sake, I have chosen to present the sources in as close to chronological order as possible, and further separate them into the following three groups: (1) Eyewitness Writings (meaning the writings from those who had actually seen the original vignette), (2) Writings Prior to the 1967 Reacquisition (meaning those writers who had not seen the original vignette, but also did not have access to the surviving fragments), and finally (3) Writings After the 1967 Reacquisition (including those who wrote and had access to the surviving fragments obtained from the Metropolitan Museum of Art). Some brief observations on these writings will be provided throughout, with a fuller analysis of the overall patterns and issues being provided later in the chapter.

### **Eyewitness Writings**

There are at least three different accounts of eyewitnesses to the original vignette describing their interpretation of the scene. The earliest of these accounts comes from the journal entry of a man named William I. Appleby, who recorded his description just over a year before the Facsimile was officially published. Appleby, an early convert to the Church, records visiting with the Prophet Joseph Smith on May 5, 1841, and explains in detail of the Prophet both showing and describing the papyri to him. Among other things, Appleby notes that the Prophet gave him the following interpretation of Facsimile No. 3:

Abraham also in the Court of Pharaoh sitting upon the King's throne reasoning upon Astronomy, with a crown upon his head, representing the Priesthood as emblematical of the grand Presidency in Heaven, with the scepter of Justice and Judgment in his hand. And King Pharaoh, standing behind him, together with a Prince a principal waiter, and a black slave of the King.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> William I. Appleby, "Biography and Journal," 5 May 1841, Ms. 1401 1, pp. 71–72. Salt Lake City, Utah. Church History Library.



While Appleby's account certainly ranks of high importance, there are several items worth considering before determining the degree to which we can rely upon it as an independent description of Facsimile No. 3. For example, Appleby's account is surprisingly like the interpretation of the Facsimile given in its original publication in the *Times and Seasons* just over a year later on May 16, 1842:

EXPLANATION OF CUT ON FIRST PAGE. 1. Abraham sitting upon Pharaoh's throne, by the politeness of the king; with a crown upon his head, representing the priesthood; as emblematical of the grand presidency in heaven; with the sceptre of justice, and judgement in his hand. 2. King Pharaoh; whose name is given in the characters above his head. 3. Signifies Abraham, in Egypt; referring to Abraham, as given in the 9<sup>th</sup> No. of the *Times & Seasons*. 4. Prince of Pharaoh, King of Egypt; as written above the hand. 5. Shulem; one of the kings principal waiters; as represented by the characters above his hand. 6. Olimlah; a slave belonging to the prince. Abraham is reasoning upon the principles of astronomy, in the kings Court.<sup>5</sup>

When looking at the above two accounts together, one cannot help but notice that Appleby's lengthy description of Abraham "with a crown upon his head, representing the Priesthood as emblematical of the grand Presidency in Heaven, with the scepter of Justice and Judgment in his hand" contains the exact phraseology that appeared in the official, published explanation just one year later. In fact, Appleby's journal entry goes on to include Abraham 1:5-9 almost exactly as it appeared in the printed version of the *Times and Seasons* in March 1842.

The striking similarities between the above accounts have caused one scholar to suggest the possibility that although Appleby's account is dated May 5, 1841, he likely added this text sometime after the publication of the Book of Abraham in 1842.<sup>6</sup> A careful look at Appleby's "Biography and Journal" indicate that such was probably the case, especially since the title page

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<sup>5</sup> "A Fac-simile from the Book of Abraham. No. 3," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 14 (May 16, 1842): 783-784.

<sup>6</sup> See Brian Hauglid, *A Textual History of the Book of Abraham: Manuscripts and Editions* (Provo, Utah: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, 2010), 201.

provides an elaborately decorated date of “July 6, 1848.”<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, Appleby explains in his Preface that he would include from memory a biography of his life up until when he joined the Church in 1840, and that “Since that time he has mostly kept a Journal which he intends compiling with the Biography.”<sup>8</sup> Taken together, this evidence strongly suggests that the record housed in the Church History Library is either a revised copy he made of his original journal entries, or new information added altogether based on a previous memory.

Despite Appleby’s “Biography and Journal” being a later, revised account, the May 5, 1841 journal entry leaves us no reason to doubt that he was in fact shown the papyri by the Prophet Joseph Smith, including the three Facsimiles. His description of the handwriting found on the papyri, along with mentioning the black and red inks used by the ancient writers, strongly suggests he saw what he said he saw. It’s worth noting, however, that Appleby’s description of Facsimile No. 3 differs in several ways from the printed version in the *Times and Seasons*. For one, Appleby does not provide the names Olimlah and Shulem in his account. Furthermore, Appleby recalls the “black slave” as belonging to the king, whereas the official printed interpretation states that the slave belonged to the prince. Thus, while he may have relied upon the *Times and Seasons* to give a verbatim description of the crown and scepter used by Abraham, he certainly was not relying solely upon it. Instead, it seems likely that Appleby used his original 1841 journal account as the basis for his description of the Facsimiles that were included in his 1848 “Biography and Journal.” If this were the case, it would make this the earliest known description of Facsimile No. 3.

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<sup>7</sup> Appleby, “Biography and Journal,” 3.

<sup>8</sup> Appleby, “Biography and Journal,” 6.

While newspapers and visitors ridiculed Joseph's views regarding the mummies and papyri early on, the first known account to compete with the Prophet's own description of Facsimile No. 3 comes from an Egyptologist by the name of Gustavus Seyfarth.<sup>9</sup> Dr. Seyfarth seems to have first encountered the papyri in September 1856, just a few months after Emma Smith and her second husband Lewis C. Bidamon sold the Egyptian collection to Abel Coombs.<sup>10</sup> Upon purchasing the collection, Coombs had promptly sold a portion of it to the proprietor of the St. Louis Museum, where Seyfarth examined them.<sup>11</sup> Upon examining the collection, Seyfarth remarked that visitors to the museum "will find also some large fragments of Egyptian papyrus scrolls, with hieratic [hieratic] (priestly) inscriptions, and drawings representing the judgment of the dead, many Egyptian gods and sacred animals, with certain chapters from the old Egyptian sacred books."<sup>12</sup> Several years later, Seyfarth was quoted in the museum catalogue challenging the Church's views on the papyri, stating that "the papyrus roll is not a record, but an invocation to the Deity Osirus, in which occurs the name of the person, (Horus,) and a picture of the attendant spirits, introducing the dead to the Judge, Osirus."<sup>13</sup>

There is some evidence suggesting that Seyfarth may have been specifically referring to Facsimile No. 3 in his description. For instance, his identification of at least two spirits

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<sup>9</sup> For examples of the public ridicule aimed at the Prophet, see "Another Humbug," *Cleveland Whig* 1, no. 49 (July 31, 1835); See also Truman Coe, "Mormonism," *Cincinnati Journal and Western Luminary* (August 25, 1836): 4.

<sup>10</sup> John Gee, *An Introduction to the Book of Abraham*, (Salt Lake City; Provo, Utah: Deseret Book Co. and Religious Studies Center, 2018), 6.

<sup>11</sup> "The Mormon Prophet's Mummies," *St. Louis Daily Missouri Democrat* (June 12, 1857).

<sup>12</sup> "The St. Louis Museum," *St. Louis Evening Pilot* 3, no. 34 (September 13, 1856).

<sup>13</sup> "Egyptian Mummies," in *Catalogue of the St. Louis Museum* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1859), 45. This same statement appeared in the 1856 catalogue as well, as noted by James R. Clark in *The Story of the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1955), 160.

“introducing the dead” before the throne of Osiris, is an interpretation similar to those held by many other Egyptologists, as will be shown later.<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, Seyfarth mentions that the vignette at this time was still part of a “papyrus roll,” perhaps among the “large fragments of Egyptian papyrus scrolls” he had previously mentioned. Though Seyfarth’s skills as an Egyptologist have been questioned, his account nevertheless provides what may be the earliest known challenge to the prophet’s 1842 explanation of Facsimile No. 3.

### **Pre-1967 Discovery Writings**

Aside from Smith and Appleby, Seyfarth’s account may be the only extant account describing Facsimile No. 3 to have been written by someone who had actually beheld the scene on the papyrus. Unfortunately, the Egyptian collection at the St. Louis museum was moved to Chicago, where the papyri presumably were destroyed in the famous fire which broke out in October, 1871.<sup>15</sup> Since then, and up until the resurfacing of some of papyri fragments in the late 1960’s, the only source available to work with was the Facsimile version of the vignette that had been printed in the *Times and Seasons*, and later in the *Pearl of Great Price*. This made it impossible for anyone to make any comparisons between the original vignette on the papyrus and the printed copies made by Reuben Hedlock.

As could be expected, this absence of the original vignette left observers to make a variety of assumptions regarding the Facsimile, and it was not long before criticism of the

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<sup>14</sup> At least two vignettes purchased by the Church in 1835 contained Egyptian throne scenes that, though unique in many regards, also contained enough similarities to make some of the earliest possible commentary on Facsimile No. 3 ambiguous and unascertainable. However, one of these scenes (known today as Papyrus Joseph Smith 3A and 3B) was never sold to the St. Louis Museum, and thus the scene described by Seyfarth must have been either Facsimile No. 3 or another non-extant scene which closely resembles it.

<sup>15</sup> “Chicago Museum and Fine Art Gallery,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 17, no. 34 (August 10, 1863): 2.

Facsimile and its accompanying interpretations began to appear.<sup>16</sup> In his 1860 work *Voyage au pays de Mormons*, Jules Remy published an interpretation of Facsimile No. 3 made by Egyptologist Théodule Devéria. While the actual vignette was likely still available for examination at the time, Devéria had nothing but the printed Facsimile to work with.<sup>17</sup> His main issue with Facsimile No. 3 related to figure 6, which Joseph Smith described as “Olimlah; a slave belonging to the prince.” Devéria, on the other hand, argued that figure 6 was an “unknown deity, probably Anubis, but his head has been changed, and should be that of a jackal.”<sup>18</sup> At the invitation of Episcopalian bishop Franklin Spaulding, many later Egyptologists and others likewise offered their interpretations of Facsimile No. 3, including James Henry Breasted, who, like Devéria, argued that “the head [of figure 6]...should be that of a wolf or a jackal, but is here badly drawn.”<sup>19</sup>

The assumption that parts of Facsimile No. 3 had been “changed” or “badly drawn” was held by the majority of individuals quoted in Spaulding’s work. Archibald Henry Sayce, for example, argued that “the hieroglyphics, again, have been transformed into unintelligible lines,” and “hardly one of them is copied correctly.”<sup>20</sup> William Flinders Petrie appeared to have trouble

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<sup>16</sup> For example, E. Wallis Budge argued that Facsimile No. 3 was “a falsified copy.” See E. Wallis Budge, as reported by Junius F. Wells, “Scholars Disagree,” *Improvement Era* 16, no. 4 (February 1913): 342.

<sup>17</sup> George Reynolds notes the following concerning how Devéria encountered the Facsimile: “In the year 1855, Messrs. Remy and Benchley, two French travelers, visited Utah. On their return to Paris they carried with them a copy of the Book of Abraham, which they placed in the hands of ‘a young savant of the Museum of the Louvre, M. Théodule Devéria,’ with the request that he would translate it.” See George Reynolds, *The Book of Abraham: It’s Authenticity Established* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Printing and Publishing Establishment, 1879), 44.

<sup>18</sup> Théodule Devéria, “Les Papyrus D’Abraham,” in *Voyage au pays de Mormons*, Jules Remy, ed. (Paris: E. Dentu, 1860), 467.

<sup>19</sup> James Henry Breasted, as quoted in Franklin S. Spaulding, *Joseph Smith as Translator* (Salt Lake City: The Arrow Press, 1912), 26.

<sup>20</sup> Spaulding, *Joseph Smith as Translator*, 23.

with both the text and the figures, stating that the figures were “badly drawn” and the text was “too badly copied.”<sup>21</sup> Another claimed that “Cuts 1 and 3 are inaccurate copies of well known scenes on funeral papyri.”<sup>22</sup> Yet, despite their claims of how poorly drawn or inaccurate the drawing was, each went on to provide their own interpretation of the Facsimile, several of which are worth looking at more closely.<sup>23</sup>

The first of the interpretations I wish to draw attention to is that given by Archibald Henry Sayce, of Oxford University. He notes that Facsimile No. 3 “is a representation of the Goddess Maat leading the Pharaoh before Osiris, behind whom stands the Goddess Isis. Smith has turned the Goddess into a king and Osiris into Abraham.” As familiar as Sayce appears to be with the individuals in the scene, it is clear that he could not get this interpretation from any of the written text, for he immediately followed by claiming the hieroglyphics had been “transformed into unintelligible lines.” He also appears to be alone in identifying the deceased as “the Pharaoh,” indicating the basis for his interpretation likely came from comparing it to other Egyptian artwork, such as the royal tombs and temples of Egypt, where the Pharaoh is often found approaching the throne of the gods.

The next interpretation comes from William Flinders Petrie, who seems to have followed quite a similar methodology in his own interpretation of the Facsimile:

Number 3 is the very common scene of the dead person before the judgment seat of Osiris, which occurs in most copies of the funeral papyri: 1. Is Osiris in the usual form. 2. Is Isis behind him. 3. Is the stand of offerings with lotus flowers. 4. Is the Goddess Nebhat or Maat (too badly drawn to know which). 5. Is the dead person. 6. Is the God

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<sup>21</sup> Spaulding, *Joseph Smith as Translator*, 24.

<sup>22</sup> Spaulding, *Joseph Smith as Translator*, 27.

<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that Dr. Hugh Nibley and many others have already written responses to Bishop Spaulding’s work and the Egyptologists he cites. See for example Hugh Nibley, *Abraham in Egypt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2000), 127–62; See also the February 1913 issue of the *Improvement Era*, which contains multiple responses to Spaulding, including responses from B.H. Roberts and Joseph F. Smith.

Anubis, the conductor of the souls of the dead. The inscriptions are far too badly copied to be able to read them.<sup>24</sup>

Like Sayce, Petrie felt that the hieroglyphic text was illegible, and appears to have found difficulty in reading it, for neither the text nor the image of figure 4 contained enough information to identify it as Nebhet or Ma'at, and he simply referred to figure 5 as "the dead person," rather than using the name "Horus" as Seyfarth had done previously. Nevertheless, it is understandable that Petrie would be quick to identify figure 6 as Anubis, seeing that he is using as his basis for comparison "most copies of the funeral papyri," in which Anubis is a frequent character, and a black humanoid male is not.

The renowned Egyptologist James Henry Breasted provided quite a lengthy interpretation of Facsimile No. 3 but was subject to the same limitations of Petrie and Sayce of being unable to translate the hieroglyphic text:

Fac-simile Number 3: This scene depicts the god Osiris enthroned at the left, with a goddess, probably Isis, behind him and before him three figures. The middle one, a man, led into the presence of Osiris by the goddess Truth. Who grasps his hand, accompanied by a figure represented in black, the head of which probably should be that of a wolf or a jackal, but which is here badly drawn. A lotus-crowned standard (numbered 3) bearing food, stands as usual before Osiris. This scene again is depicted innumerable times in the funeral papyri, coffins and tomb and temple walls of Egypt. No representation of it thus far found in Egypt, though we have thousands of them, dates earlier than 500 years after Abraham's age; and it may be stated as certain that the scene was unknown until about 500 years after Abraham's day.<sup>25</sup>

Like Sayce and Petrie, Breasted indicates that his understanding of the Facsimile is based upon similar scenes that he had previously familiarized himself with, specifically those contained on papyri and temple and tomb art. The fact that he is unable to translate the text is clear by the fact that he used the term "probably" to refer to Isis, indicating his uncertainty of the text above her

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<sup>24</sup> Spaulding, *Joseph Smith as Translator*, 24.

<sup>25</sup> Spaulding, *Joseph Smith as Translator*, 26.

hand. He also fails to identify figure 5 as Horus, instead simply referring to him as “a man.”<sup>26</sup> Finally, his argument that the head of figure 6 should “probably” be that of a wolf or jackal indicates his failure to find the name Anubis written in the hieroglyphic text above the figure, resorting instead to his familiarity with parallel scenes.

Some rebuttals to the arguments made in Spaulding’s pamphlet came in the February 1913 edition of the *Improvement Era*. Many logical fallacies in Spaulding’s methods were pointed out, as well as discrepancies and issues with each of the conclusions offered by the Egyptologists and others whom he had cited. Nevertheless, the fact that many of the individuals cited by Spaulding arrived at similar conclusions regarding the figures in the Facsimile was a fact that needed to be reckoned with. As it would turn out, little would be written in the immediate years following the publication of Spaulding’s pamphlet beyond what was included in the *Improvement Era*. This all changed, however, with the discovery of some surviving fragments of papyri made in the late 1960’s.

### **Post-1967 Discovery Writings**

While visiting the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, University of Utah professor Aziz Atiya became aware of the existence of several surviving papyri fragments originally belonging to the Prophet Joseph Smith.<sup>27</sup> After contacting the proper parties, arrangements were made and soon the papyri were returned to the Church in a public ceremony

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<sup>26</sup> The failure to recognize the name Horus cannot be attributed to any lack in skill had by Reuben Hedlock while copying the Facsimile from the papyrus, for Devéria had already identified the name “Horus” as early as 1860 without the use of the original vignette.

<sup>27</sup> See Jay M. Todd “Egyptian Papyri Rediscovered,” *Improvement Era* (January 1968): 12–16; See also Glen Wade, “The Facsimile Found: The Recovery of Joseph Smith’s Papyrus Manuscripts (A Conversation with Professor Atiya),” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2, no. 4 (Winter 1967): 50-55.



and published shortly thereafter by the Church in the *Improvement Era*.<sup>28</sup> It did not take long for scholars both within and without the Church to recognize that the reacquired fragments did not contain the text to the translated Book of Abraham, and conversation once again ensued between individuals attacking or defending the Book of Abraham and Joseph Smith's role as a Prophet, Seer, and Revelator.<sup>29</sup>

The rediscovery of some of the Egyptian papyri proved not only to incite once more scholarship of the Book of Abraham, but it also provided insight into Facsimile No. 3 that none of the previous scholars had been aware of. For example, up until this point, scholars rarely referred to the Facsimiles as belonging to anything beyond the generic category of "funerary papyri." The exception to this was Eduard Meyer, who incorrectly claimed in 1912 that each of the three Facsimiles were "parts of the well known 'Book of the Dead.'"<sup>30</sup> This same sentiment was held by some Egyptologists even up until a brief moment following the rediscovery of the papyri.<sup>31</sup> However, once images of the rediscovered papyri fragments began circulating among scholars, they soon began recognizing that Facsimile No. 3 was not part of the Egyptian Book of the Dead, but rather part of a later, abridged version known as the Book of Breathings, also known as a *Sensen* text or *Breathing Permit*. Take for example the following statement made by

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<sup>28</sup> Jay M. Todd, "New Light on Joseph Smith's Egyptian Papyri," *Improvement Era* (February 1968): 40–41. This was not the first time the fragments had been published however, as *Dialogue* had included images of the papyri fragments several months earlier. See Charles F. Graves, George D. Smith, Normal Tolk, and Lynn Travers, "The Facsimile Found: The Recovery of Joseph Smith's Papyrus Manuscripts (An Interview with Dr. Fischer)," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2, no. 4 (Winter 1967): 55–64.

<sup>29</sup> This is especially apparent in the Summer 1968 issue of *Dialogue*, which contained seven articles from scholars arguing on both sides of the issue of the Book of Abraham's historicity. The overall spike in interest continued for quite some time, as can be seen in Tim Barker's online Bibliography to the Book of Abraham.

<sup>30</sup> Spaulding, *Joseph Smith as Translator*, 29–30.

<sup>31</sup> Dr. Henry G. Fischer, Curator of the Egyptian Collection at the Metropolitan Museum, certainly felt the papyri recovered by the Church belonged to the Book of the Dead. See Graves, "The Facsimile Found," 58; See also John A. Wilson, "The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: Translations and Interpretations," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3, no. 2 (1968): 68.

Klaus Baer, an Egyptologist at the University of Chicago, who provided the first attempt at translating what became known as the *Hor Book of Breathings*:

Facsimile No. 3 shows a man, his hand raised in adoration and a cone of perfumed grease and a lotus flower on his head (ancient Egyptian festival attire), being introduced by Maat, the goddess of justice, and Anubis, the guide of the dead, into the presence of Osiris, enthroned as king of the Netherworld. Behind Osiris stands Isis, and in front of him is an offering-stand with a jug and some flowers on it. Over the whole scene is a canopy with stars painted on it to represent the sky. The scene comes from a mortuary papyrus and is similar to, but not identical with scenes showing the judgment of the deceased before Osiris such as P. JS III. It is a summary in one illustration of what the Breathing Permit promised: The deceased, after successfully undergoing judgment is welcomed into the presence of Osiris.<sup>32</sup>

There are several reasons why scholars began to identify Facsimile No. 3 as belonging to the *Hor Book of Breathings* at this time. First, with the rediscovery of Facsimile No. 1 came several vertical lines of text, from which Egyptologists were able to identify the name “Hor” (or “Horus” or “Horos,” depending on the Egyptologist), the same name believed to be found on the bottom of Facsimile No. 3. Another significant detail that was discovered at this time was that the Facsimile printed in the *Times and Seasons* was printed true to the size of the original rediscovered vignette. It has thus been assumed that Facsimile No. 3 was likely also printed true to the size of its original, making it roughly the same size as Facsimile No. 1, which Baer notes “is what would be expected if they came from the same scroll.”<sup>33</sup>

One of the most influential scholars who wrote after the 1967 discovery literature on the Book of Abraham was Dr. Hugh Nibley, a professor of ancient languages at Brigham Young University. In fact, it was Nibley who received the assignment from the Church to direct the

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<sup>32</sup> Klaus Baer, “The Breathing Permit of Hor: A Translation of the Apparent Source of the Book of Abraham,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1968): 126–27.

<sup>33</sup> Baer, “Breathing Permit,” 127.

research and study of the papyrus immediately following their reacquisition by the Church.<sup>34</sup>

While Nibley published volumes on the Book of Abraham, his most extensive work on Facsimile No. 3 can be found in his book *Abraham in Egypt*, where he devotes an entire chapter to the subject. His main argument concerning Facsimile No. 3 can be summed up nicely with just a few statements from the opening pages of the chapter:

There are literally hundreds of Egyptian pictures resembling this one. But after we have assembled the first hundred, it becomes apparent that none of them is exactly like any other. The same figures appear over and over again and in much the same attitudes, but that does not mean that they all tell the same story.<sup>35</sup>

Quoting Henri Frankfort, Nibley continued “The Egyptians ‘considered it a particular nicety that symbols should possess multiple significance...that one single interpretation should not be the only possible one.’”<sup>36</sup> Thus, Nibley’s writing sparked a turning point for how Latter-day Saint scholars would begin interpreting the Facsimiles. No longer did they need to spend their time and energy refuting the interpretations of previous scholars and Egyptologists—rather, they began to believe that if an Egyptian scene could have more than one meaning, perhaps they could hold to the interpretations which accompanied the Facsimile without having to reject the claims of Egyptologists that Osiris, Isis, or Ma‘at were featured in the Facsimile.<sup>37</sup>

This theory was adopted by Brigham Young University professor Donl Peterson, an ardent student of the Book of Abraham. In his commentary on the Pearl of Great Price, Peterson

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<sup>34</sup> DLG, "New Light on Joseph Smith's Egyptian Papyri," *Improvement Era* 71, no. 2 (Feb. 1968): 40.

<sup>35</sup> Nibley, "Abraham in Egypt," 382. See also Hugh Nibley, "The Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham: A Response," *Sunstone* 4, nos. 5-6 (December 1979): 49.

<sup>36</sup> Nibley, "Abraham in Egypt," 383.

<sup>37</sup> A similar, though unfounded idea, was held by George Reynolds, who was under the firm belief that “Egyptian hieroglyphics had at least two (but more probably three) meanings, the one understood by the masses – the other comprehended only by the initiated, the priesthood, and others, which latter conveyed the true though hidden intent of the writer.” See Reynolds, “Book of Abraham,” 44–45.

agreed with the consensus held by the Egyptologists cited by Spaulding, specifically that “there cannot be the slightest doubt that the original vignette portrayed the figures of Hathor/Isis...Osiris, the goddess Maat, the deceased Osiris Hor, and Anubus [sic].” However, he goes on to argue that the images from the papyri were used as a “springboard to revelation,” and that Joseph Smith was inspired to provide “a modification of that scene compatible with the life and times of Abraham,” though he fails to provide any evidence that the scene was modified from the original.<sup>38</sup>

Brigham Young University professor James R. Harris similarly agreed that Joseph had altered the original vignette, though, like Peterson, he failed to provide any evidence for such alterations. Like Nibley, Harris urged that “one must consider that Egyptians successfully illustrated a wide variety of themes from the same basic scene simply by adjusting basic props and players.” Harris concluded by arguing that “the overall assessment of [Joseph’s] modifications, restorations, and interpretations is witness that he was divinely guided.”<sup>39</sup>

A slightly different theory that relates to these images has been put forth by Kevin Barney. His theory, known as the Semitic Adaptation Theory, suggests that the Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham “may not have been drawn by Abraham’s hand but may have been Egyptian religious vignettes that were adopted or adapted by an Egyptian-Jewish redactor as illustrations of the Book of Abraham.” After presenting the evidence for his theory, Barney arrives at the following conclusion:

A substantial part of the debate over the facsimiles has revolved around whether the facsimiles were incorrectly restored. While I expect that these debates will continue,

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<sup>38</sup> Donl Peterson, *The Pearl of Great Price: A History and Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1987), 50–51;

<sup>39</sup> See James R. Harris, *The Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham: A Study of the Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri* (Payson, Utah: James R. Harris, 1990), 42–44.

ultimately the Semitic Adaptation theory moots the question. That is, for example, even if the priest standing to the left on Facsimile 1 were wearing the jackal mask of Anubis and did not hold a knife in his hand, it still would have been quite natural for [the Jewish redactor] to perceive the scene as showing the attempted sacrifice of Abraham. Therefore, under this theory the details of the reconstruction of the facsimiles become largely immaterial vis-à-vis the explanations of the figures.<sup>40</sup>

While many of the above theories aimed at defending the Book of Abraham Facsimiles began to come forth, the arguments of critics to the Book of Abraham remained relatively static.<sup>41</sup> Finally, in the year 2000, Egyptologist Robert K. Ritner published an updated and revised translation of the *Hor Book of Breathings*, based primarily upon the previous work of Klaus Baer.<sup>42</sup> Upon translating, Ritner ultimately concluded that Joseph Smith's interpretations of the hieroglyphic text in Facsimile No. 3 were "uninspired fantasies".<sup>43</sup> This effort was followed by a full

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<sup>40</sup> See Kevin Barney, "The Facsimiles and Semitic Adaptation of Existing Sources," in *Astronomy, Papyrus, and Covenant* (Provo, Utah: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, 2005), 108, 126–27; Barney further argues "If the facsimiles were 'adopted' for use as illustrations of the Book of Abraham, then they would be run-of-the-mill Egyptian documents. Any lion couch scene would have done for Facsimile 1, any hypocephalus would have done for Facsimile 2, and any throne scene would have done for Facsimile 3. If they were 'adapted' as illustrations of the Book of Abraham, then the artist would have made subtle changes in the typical vignette to represent better the Abrahamic scene being portrayed." See Barney, "Semitic Adaptation," 114, n. 25.

<sup>41</sup> Some of the better-known works from this period meant to challenge the authenticity of the Book of Abraham include Michael H. Marquardt, *The Book of Abraham Papyrus Found: An answer to Dr. Hugh Nibley's book "The message of the Joseph Smith papyri; an Egyptian endowment" as it relates to the source of the Book of Abraham* (Sandy, Utah: Marquardt, 1975); See also Charles Larson, *By His Own Hand Upon Papyrus: A New Look at the Joseph Smith Papyri* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Institute for Religious Research, 1992). Michael H. Marquardt heavily quotes Klaus Baer's 1968 article from *Dialogue*, bringing no new objections or insights regarding the Facsimile.

<sup>42</sup> Robert K. Ritner, "The Breathing Document of Hor: Thirty-Four Years Later" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 97–119; Like Baer and many other Egyptologists before him, he acknowledges that the characters are poorly rendered, leaving him to rely heavily upon other known copies of the Book of Breathings to fill in gaps. For a more detailed discussion on this topic, see Chapter 2 herein.

<sup>43</sup> Ritner's lengthy article was later revised and published as a book, and included several additional articles related to the Joseph Smith Papyri and the Book of Abraham from contributing authors Michael H. Marquardt, Marc Coenen, and Christopher Woods. See Robert K. Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: A Complete Edition* (Salt Lake City: The Smith Pettit Foundation, 2011). A second edition was published in paperback in 2013 by Signature Books in Salt Lake City.

translation and commentary on the Hor Book of Breathings by LDS Egyptologist Michael D. Rhodes in 2002.<sup>44</sup>

While helpful, the disagreements between these translations warrant a closer look, which will be the subject of the next chapter. Furthermore, even with the translations given by Ritner and Rhodes, contextualizing the Facsimile was no less needful. In 2005, LDS Egyptologist John Gee gave a direct response to some of the major theories and myths relating to Facsimile No. 3. In his article, Gee corrects misconceptions regarding the dating of the Facsimile, its relation to chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, and the commonly held belief that it is a judgment scene. Gee even goes so far as to say that the Facsimiles, though found on the same papyrus as the Hor Book of Breathings, likely did not originally belong to that text.<sup>45</sup> There are at least two reasons given by Gee for this argument. The first is that the judgment scene which so many often associate with chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, had originally accompanied the text of chapter 30B. This, argues Gee, demonstrates that “vignettes can be used with texts other than those with which they were originally associated.” Secondly, Gee points out that contemporary copies of the Book of Breathings contain an image of a cow instead of a scene similar to that of Facsimile No. 3. These and perhaps other reasons led Gee to ultimately conclude that “the facsimiles of the Book of Abraham do not belong to the Book of Breathings.”<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Michael D. Rhodes, *The Hor Book of Breathings: A Translation and Commentary* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 2002), 25. Unfortunately, Rhodes’s included translation of Facsimile No. 3 was accompanied with comparatively little commentary on its significance and meaning. For a review of his work on Facsimile No. 3, see Kerry Muhlestein, “The Book of Breathings in Its Place: A Review of “The Hor Book of Breathings: A Translation and Commentary” by Michael D. Rhodes,” *FARMS Review* 17, no. 2 (2005): 471–486.

<sup>45</sup> See John Gee, “Facsimile No. 3 and Book of the Dead 125” in *Astronomy, Papyrus, and Covenant: Studies in the Book of Abraham*, John Gee and Brian M. Hauglid, eds. (Provo, Utah: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, 2005), 95–101.

<sup>46</sup> John Gee, “Facsimile No. 3,” 99.

Another Latter-day Saint Egyptologist, Kerry Muhlestein, further argued that the Facsimiles need not necessarily belong to the Book of Breathings, despite their being found upon the scroll. Addressing the false assumptions held concerning the Book of Abraham, Muhlestein wrote:

During the time period in which the Joseph Smith Papyri were created, it was common not only for the text and its accompanying picture to be separated from each other, but also for the wrong vignette to be associated with a text, or for vignettes and texts to be completely misaligned on a long scroll. The content of a vignette and the content of the text frequently lack any apparent connection. This is particularly common in Books of Breathing, the type of text which is adjacent to Facsimile 1 [and, we would add, Facsimile 3] on the Joseph Smith Papyri.<sup>47</sup>

Unfortunately, length does not permit us to review every other pertinent writing on the present topic, though the above cited sources provide a general overview and history of how Facsimile No. 3 has been treated and interpreted since its publication in 1842.

### **Some Observations on the Current State of Affairs**

It may go without saying that there is yet much work to be done when it comes to understanding Facsimile No. 3. If the present review of literature has demonstrated anything, it is the fact that assessing the accuracy of Joseph Smith's interpretations of Facsimile No. 3 is more complicated than we would hope to assume. Far from settling the debate, most scholars to have joined in on the discussion over the past 170 years have only added to that complexity by offering alternative theories, evidence, and ways of interpreting the Facsimile. This is not to say that such discussion has not been helpful. On the contrary—when dealing with a problem that relies upon so many factors, one can expect things to get messy before eventually being able to

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<sup>47</sup> Kerry Muhlestein, "Egyptian Papyri and the Book of Abraham: A Faithful, Egyptological Point of View," in *No Weapon Shall Prosper: New Light on Sensitive Issues*, Robert L. Millet, ed. (Salt Lake City; Provo, Utah: Deseret Book Co., Religious Studies Center and Brigham Young University, 2011), 217–43.

arrive at any agreeable conclusion. Naturally, there remain at least a handful of important questions that have yet to be answered on the topic, let alone asked. But before we ask those questions, let us first review where we currently stand with Facsimile No. 3 research.

When Facsimile No. 3 was first published in the *Times and Seasons*, an accompanying explanation of the figures was included with it, identifying figures such as Pharaoh and Abraham, and even providing proper names such as Olimlah and Shulem. The explanation went a step further, however, noting in some instances that these individuals could be identified by “the characters above his head,” or “written above the hand.” As clearly seen in the discussion above, Egyptologists have largely disagreed with these interpretations, though sometimes disagreeing with each other as well, as seen in the Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1 Interpretations of the Figures in Facsimile No. 3

	Figure 1	Figure 2	Figure 3	Figure 4	Figure 5	Figure 6
Seyfarth	Osiris	X	X	“attendant spirit”	Horus	“attendant spirit”
Devéria	Osiris	Isis	Altar with present and lotus	Ma‘at	The deceased Horus	Probably Anubis
Sayce	Osiris	Isis	X	Ma‘at	Pharaoh	X
Petrie	Osiris	Isis	Offering Stand with Lotus	Nebhat or Ma‘at	Dead person	Anubis
Breasted	Osiris	Probably Isis	Lotus-crowned standard bearing food	Truth	A man	Anubis(?)
Meyer	Osiris	Isis	X	Goddess of Righteousness	deceased	X
Von Bissing	Osiris	Isis	Offering table	Ma‘at (Truth)	The dead	Shadow of the dead
Baer	Osiris	Isis	Offering-stand with jug and some flowers	Ma‘at	A man	Anubis
Rhodes	Osiris	Isis	Offering stand with offerings and lotus	Ma‘at	Deceased Hor	Anubis
Ritner	Osiris	Isis	X	Ma‘at	Hor	Anubis



Table 1 above makes it easy to see why the interpretations provided in the *Times and Seasons* were considered nonsense by some of the leading Egyptologists to have examined them. Yet the overall agreement of these Egyptologists regarding the identification of the figures is far from being the smoking gun the critics have been looking for. For one thing, none of these Egyptologists (except for Ritner and Rhodes) ever claimed to have arrived at their conclusions by translating the characters written above each figure. On the contrary, several of them intimated that the characters were illegible, leaving them to rely upon comparable scenes from other texts to provide their interpretations of the figures. However, even if it could be reasonably demonstrated that the characters above each figure do not match the names assigned to them in the *Times and Seasons*, the matter is still complicated by several of the theories of interpretation that have been put forth by individuals such as Hugh Nibley, Donl Peterson, Kevin Barney, and others.

Upon reviewing this current state of things as they relate to Facsimile No. 3, it may be tempting to believe that we are at a stalemate. For every argument there seems to be a countering argument or theory, and thus the debate seems to go on and on with no hint of it ending anytime soon. This problem was recognized in the Church's essay on the translation and historicity of the Book of Abraham, in which it acknowledged that "there is not unanimity, even among non-Mormon scholars, about the proper interpretation of the vignettes on these fragments."<sup>48</sup> With such a state of affairs, we are compelled to ask, where do we go from here? Is there really anything left to be done? To that we can answer with an emphatical yes! There are several important questions and issues that remain to be answered, including:

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<sup>48</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Translation and Historicity." Online.

1. To what degree can we rely upon the translations that have been given of the hieroglyphs in Facsimile No. 3?
2. What light can the iconographic elements shed on our understanding of the Facsimile?
3. Did the creator of the original vignette intend for the image to accompany the Book of Abraham, the Book of Breathings, or some other text?
4. Is there evidence, as some have suggested, that Joseph Smith asked Reuben Hedlock to alter the head of figure 6 from that of the jackal-headed god Anubis to that of a human?

Of course, the answers to these questions will undoubtedly give rise to new questions never thought of before. The above questions are simply a starting point.

## **Conclusion**

The challenge in answering many of these questions is that they call for the collecting of as many comparable scenes as possible, from both tomb and temple, papyri and stelae, which, as Nibley once put it, “for Facsimile 3 this is a large order indeed.”<sup>49</sup> John Gee has pointed out that the likely reason for Facsimile No. 3 being the most neglected of the three is that most of the comparable scenes have remained “neglected and unpublished in museums.”<sup>50</sup>

In the past, traveling to museums and collections around the world to gather such a large sample of throne scenes would have required extensive time and money. With recent technological advancements, however, many catalogues and databases have become available online, making the comparative study called for by Nibley much more feasible now than ever before. Consequently, I suggest the next important steps that have yet to be taken when it comes

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<sup>49</sup> Nibley, “Abraham in Egypt,” 382.

<sup>50</sup> Gee, “Facsimile No. 3,” 95. One need not look too hard to recognize that Facsimile No. 3 has received the least attention amongst scholars.

to furthering our understanding of Facsimile No. 3 include gathering as many of these scenes as possible and looking at and more carefully comparing both the textual captions and iconography. By sorting through and comparing these elements of Facsimile No. 3 with that of the larger corpus of Egyptian throne scenes, we are then in a better position to answer many of the questions above, as well as lay the essential groundwork for continual and solid research on Facsimile No. 3 and the Book of Abraham.

## CHAPTER TWO

### A CLOSER LOOK AT THE HIEROGLYPHS AND ACCOMPANYING EXPLANATIONS TO FACSIMILE NO. 3

Perhaps the most commonly accepted method for understanding how the iconography in an Egyptian vignette is to be interpreted is to refer to any accompanying captions provided within the vignette itself. In the case of Facsimile No. 3, this includes the ten columns of hieroglyphic text featured along the top of the scene, as well as the row of hieroglyphs running along the bottom length of the scene. Among the major criticisms that have been given of this Facsimile is the fact that the accompanying explanations for each figure do not match up with the interpretations that have been offered by modern Egyptologists. Adding to this issue is the fact that several of the Facsimile's accompanying explanations refer specifically to the hieroglyphic captions as the supporting evidence for how the figures beneath them are to be understood.

Unfortunately, the relationship between the hieroglyphs, figures, and published explanations belonging to Facsimile No. 3 is a complex issue requiring much more than an understanding of how the Facsimile's captions translate. As a result, a careful look at these captions is in order, and disagreements between the varying translations which have been given for them call for a closer examination of how the hieroglyphs engraved by Reuben Hedlock for the publication of Facsimile No. 3 compare with the transcriptions and translations offered by modern Egyptologists. Consequently, this chapter will begin with a brief overview of the several translations that have been given of Facsimile No. 3. We will then compare and discuss the transcriptions and translations with the characters in Hedlock's copy of the Facsimile. Finally, we will review several other important factors that must be considered when attempting to understand the relationship between the hieroglyphs, figures, and published explanations belonging to Facsimile No. 3.

### Translations of Facsimile No. 3

In chapter one, we noted that many scholars and Egyptologists have identified roughly the same figures in Facsimile No. 3, including (from left to right), Isis, Osiris, Ma'at, Hor, and Anubis. Though scholars as far back as Théodule Devéria have offered such explanations for these figures, it is worth noting that most of the explanations that have been given have been based primarily on the iconography of the scene, rather than an actual translation of the text. No real attempt of an actual translation of the text appeared in print until 1968, when Klaus Baer published a preliminary translation of the *Hor Book of Breathings*.<sup>1</sup> In his translation of Facsimile No. 3, Baer was quick to admit the uncertainty of his translations, giving such cautions as “the characters above and to the left of the man are probably to be read,” as well as specifying that the translation of the bottom line is given only “as far as it can be made out.”<sup>2</sup> In the end, Baer acknowledged that the only two portions that he felt could be read, albeit cautiously, were the columns identifying Hor and some portions of the bottom row of text beneath the main scene.

Despite Baer’s reservations with his own translation of portions of Facsimile No. 3, it proved useful for later scholars who would rely upon it as a foundation for their own translations of the text. One such scholar was Baer’s own student, Robert K. Ritner. In the year 2000, Ritner published his first translation of the *Hor Book of Breathings*, making and noting any important emendations of his former professor’s translation.<sup>3</sup> When he arrived at Facsimile No. 3, Ritner observed that “Baer conservatively chose to translate only the most obvious of these passages,

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<sup>1</sup> Klaus Baer, “The Breathing Permit of Hor: A Translation of the Apparent Source of the Book of Abraham,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1968): 109–134.

<sup>2</sup> Baer, “The Breathing Permit of Hor,” 127.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Ritner, “The ‘Breathing Permit of Hor’ Thirty-four Years Later,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33, no. 4 (Winter, 2000): 97–119.

but additional readings are possible.”<sup>4</sup> He then proceeded to offer, for the first time in print, a full translation of Facsimile No. 3, noting any of his uncertainties by the use of either parenthetical question marks within the translation itself, or in the footnotes to his translation.

Two years after Ritner’s translation was published, Michael Rhodes, of Brigham Young University, published a complete translation of the *Hor Book of Breathings*, including a translation of Facsimile No. 3, as part of the Neal A. Maxwell Institute’s *Studies in the Book of Abraham* series.<sup>5</sup> In addition to the translation itself, Rhodes included several useful appendices, with such content as high-quality color plates of the *Hor Book of Breathings* and their hieroglyphic transcriptions, as well as a translation and hieroglyphic transcription of another copy of the Book of Breathings (P. Louvre N 3284) for comparative purposes. Like Ritner, Rhodes notes his own uncertainties, as well as alternative readings, in the footnotes of his translation.

In 2011, over ten years after his initial publication, Robert Ritner published a slightly revised version of his earlier translation of the *Hor Book of Breathings*, this time in the form of a Book.<sup>6</sup> Among the new additions in this volume were updated footnotes, several chapters relating to the historical aspects of the Joseph Smith papyri, and the inclusion of both Baer and Rhodes’ translations for comparative purposes.<sup>7</sup> His overall translation of Facsimile No. 3 remained unchanged, with the exception of some added diacritics. In this edition, Ritner took the

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<sup>4</sup> Ritner attributes the possibility of additional readings to “Egyptological advancements of the past thirty-four years.” See Ritner, “Breathing Permit,” 113.

<sup>5</sup> Michael D. Rhodes, *The Hor Book of Breathings: A Translation and Commentary* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> Robert Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: A Complete Edition* (Salt Lake City: Smith Pettit Foundation, 2011). A paperback edition was printed by Signature Books in 2013.

<sup>7</sup> He also makes uses of several incomplete translations, including those given by Muhlestein, Gee, and Nibley.

opportunity to compare and assess the translations given in Rhodes' book, often criticizing him and other Latter-day Saint scholars on their translations and interpretations of the text. Despite the overall negative tone in his footnotes, Ritner does at times make some valid points that are at the very least worth consideration, and his inclusion of the translations made by Baer and Rhodes make this volume both helpful and convenient. Each of these scholars' translation of Facsimile No. 3 can be found in the Table 2.1 below.

**Table 2.1 Transliterations and English Translations of Facsimile No. 3**

	Baer (1968)	Ritner (2000)	Rhodes (2002)
Column 1		<i>As.t wr.(t) mw.t nTr</i> “Isis the great, the god’s mother.”	<i>Is.t wr.t, mw.t nTr.</i> “The great Isis, mother of the god.”
Columns 2-4		<i>Dd mdw i(n) Wsir, xnty Imnty.w nb(?) AbDw(?) pA n aA r D.t nHH(?)</i> “Recitation by Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos(?), the great god forever and ever(?)”	<i>Dd mdw in Wsir, xnty imnty.w mn=k, Wsir, 1r m ns.t aA.t=f.</i> “Words spoken by Osiris, the Foremost of the Westerners: May you, Osiris Hor, abide at the side of the throne of his greatness.”
Columns 5		<i>MAa.t Hnw.t nTr.w</i> “Maat, mistress of the gods.”	<i>MAa.t Hm.t imnt.t</i> Ma’at, Lady of the West
Columns 6-7	(no transliteration given) “Osiris Hôr, justified forever.”	<i>Wsir 1r mAaxrw r D.t</i> “The Osiris Hor, justified forever.”	<i>Wsir, 1r, pA mAaxrw r D.t.</i> “Osiris Hor, the justified forever.”
Columns 8-10		<i>Dd mdw i(n) Inpw ir xnty sH nTr(?) ...</i> “Recitation by Anubis, who makes protection, foremost of the embalming booth(?)”	<i>Dd mdw in Inp ir sA nb p.t, xnty imnt.t</i> “Words spoken by Anubis who makes protection Lord of heaven, Foremost of the Westerners.”
Bottom Text	(no transliteration given) “O gods of ..., gods of the Caverns, gods of the south, north, west, and east, grant well-being to Osiris Hôr, justified, ...”	<i>i n(A) nTr.w Xr-tTr nTr.w orr.wt nTr.w rsy mHt imnt.t iAb.t swDA Wsir 1r mAaxw ir.n tAxy-by.t</i> “O gods of the necropolis, gods of the caverns, gods of the south, north, west and east, grant salvation to the Osiris Hor, the justified, born by Taikhibit.”	<i>in nTr.w imn.t nTr.w orty.w nTr.w rsy, mHty, imn.t, iAb.t: swDA Wsir, 1r, mAa xrw, ir n tAxy-by(.t).</i> “The gods of the West, the gods of the cavern, the gods of the south; north, west, and east say: May Osiris Hor, justified, born of Taykhebyt, prosper.”

While there is certainly a general agreement between the translations of Ritner and Rhodes, the above side-by-side comparison also makes it much easier to see where these translations differ. For example, while Ritner identified the phrase “Lord of Abydos(?), the great



god forever(?)” in columns 2–4, Rhodes reads “May you, Osiris Hor, abide at the side of the throne of his greatness.” Ritner’s use of parenthetical question marks signifies his uncertainty with his own translation of these phrases, which were perhaps based on parallel texts or vignettes from the Book of Breathings.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, though Ritner appears to be uncertain of his own translation, he is also highly critical of the translation given by Rhodes here, including the absence of a determinative for the word “throne,” as well as inconsistencies between the text copy and translation itself.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Rhodes has indicated that these inconsistencies are simply the result of an error in the final editing process of his book, and the absence of notes in Rhodes’ work seems to suggest his confidence in his own translation of these columns.<sup>10</sup>

Other differences between the two translations above are also worth noting. For example, in column 5, Ritner reads “Ma‘at, mistress of the gods,” while Rhodes reads instead “Ma‘at, lady of the West.” And, while both scholars agree that the text in columns 8–10 contain the words “Anubis, who makes protection,” they appear to be much less confident on how to read the text that follows. Rhodes translates the remainder as “Lord of heaven, Foremost of the Westerners,” noting in his footnotes that this reading “is far from certain.”<sup>11</sup> Ritner alternatively translates these same characters as “foremost of the embalming booth(?)...”, likewise noting his uncertainties.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Ritner does in fact cite several other copies to justify some of his readings.

<sup>9</sup> Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri*, 176, n. 351.

<sup>10</sup> Personal correspondence with the author, March 7, 2019.

<sup>11</sup> Rhodes, *Hor Book of Breathings*, 25.

<sup>12</sup> Not only does Ritner use parenthetical question marks here, but he offers multiple variant readings in the footnotes. See Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri*, 174.

These and other differences between the two translations of Facsimile No. 3 are quite telling. Though Ritner has indeed claimed that “additional readings are possible,” it is apparent from his and Rhodes’ notes that such readings cannot be made without a fair amount of deducing and assuming. The several disagreements and uncertainties in the two translations further indicate, as Baer had earlier suggested, that at least some of the hieroglyphs in Facsimile No. 3 are ambiguous at best, or undecipherable at worst.

Of course, this is not to say that the translations given by Rhodes and Ritner above are necessarily wrong.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, when creating their translations, it was their task to render their best attempts at making sense of a very difficult nineteenth century reproduction of an ancient Egyptian text. This they did, using the Facsimile, parallels, deductions, and so forth, with the final result being an admirable translation of the text, and with their uncertainties often noted.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, it is not my intention here to suggest an alternative or better reading of the text. Rather, it is my overall purpose to seek a better understanding of the relationship between the glyphs, iconography, and explanations which accompanied Facsimile No. 3—a related, but separate purpose than that of those who published translations.

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<sup>13</sup> Indeed, captions and iconography from comparable scenes in other copies of the Book of Breathings tend to support much of their interpretations. Nevertheless, iconography can at times be deceptive, and its relationship with the captions is not always as straightforward as we would like them to be. For example, Rhodes cites Erik Hornung as saying, “from the New Kingdom on, Isis and Hathor can often be distinguished only by the captions giving their names, not by their iconography.” (Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, trans. John Baines [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982], 126. Quoted in Rhodes, *Hor Book of Breathings*, 23, n. 44.). Such examples include a text on the wall in the tomb of Ramses VI labels a bearded mummiform figure as “Corpse of Isis,” and a similar figure “Corpse of Anu(bis),” when we would normally expect Isis to be portrayed as a female, and Anubis as a jackal (See Joshua Aaron Roberson, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth* [Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2012], 176–178). The relief of a fully humanoid male is also given the caption “Anubis, Lord of the sacred land” at the temple of Ramses II in Abydos (Sameh Iskander, *The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos: Volume 1: Wall Scenes*, [Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2015], 399–400). In such instances, it can be difficult to determine whether the iconography or the caption is incorrect.

<sup>14</sup> Both Ritner and Rhodes note their use of other copies of the Book of Breathings in their translations, including P. Louvre N 3284 and Tübingen 2016, as well as other texts. Each of these contain throne scenes with captions that are much more legible than those found in Facsimile No. 3.

Having stated my purpose, it is therefore my obligation to elaborate on the difficulties and uncertainties of the readings that have been given, and to discuss how such issues affect our ability to understand or trust the relationship between the text and the drawings. It is important to note that my discussion below should not be viewed as a criticism of those translations provided by Rhodes and Ritner, but rather as a careful examination of the difficulties that lie behind their best attempts of providing translations of a very difficult to read Egyptian text. We will examine these challenges below by taking a closer look at the hieroglyphic text in Facsimile No. 3 and comparing them to the transcription offered by Michael Rhodes.<sup>15</sup> Before doing so, however, there are several limitations that are worth some discussion.

### **Limitations and the Accuracy of Reuben Hedlock**

The first and most obvious limitation for our study is that the original vignette of Facsimile No. 3 is no longer extant, leaving us no way of checking for certain how accurate Reuben Hedlock was in his copying of the hieroglyphic characters. Instead, all we are left with is the version of Facsimile No. 3 that was published in the *Times and Seasons*, as well as the metal plate used to print it.<sup>16</sup> Since the metal printing plate is the oldest known extant illustration of the Facsimile, it is worth considering the most likely process by which it was made, and how it may have affected the overall accuracy of Hedlock's work.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, Robert Ritner does not provide his own transcription of the text in either versions of his published translation.

<sup>16</sup> Thankfully, we do have a sample of the scribe's handwriting in the form of several columns of hieroglyphs on Joseph Smith Papyrus I. Damaged as it may be, there are still a small handful of hieroglyphs that are easily recognizable and will be considered in our comparison between the hieroglyphs of Facsimile No. 3 and Rhodes' transcription.

<sup>17</sup> Census records from England in 1851 and 1861 list Hedlock as a "carpenter" by profession, suggesting that he wasn't chosen to create the woodcuts by random, but because of his skill with woodworking. See "Reulien Hadlock," 1851 England Census, District 1, Christchurch, Marylebone, Middlesex Co., p. 43. Online: [http://search.ancestry.com/iexec?htx=view&r=5561&dbid=8860&iid=MDXHO107\\_1489\\_1490-0398&fn=Reulien&ln=Hadlock&st=r&ssrc=&pid=17934396](http://search.ancestry.com/iexec?htx=view&r=5561&dbid=8860&iid=MDXHO107_1489_1490-0398&fn=Reulien&ln=Hadlock&st=r&ssrc=&pid=17934396) (accessed 15 March 2019) and "Reuben Hedlock," 1861 England Census,

The most likely process used in creating the printing plates for the three Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham has been described in the newest volume of the Joseph Smith Papers. It notes that “the illustrations on the metal plates originated as woodcut carvings,” and “after Hedlock completed the woodcut for Facsimile I, an impression was likely taken of the woodcut to create a mold, and then the type metal was poured into the mold to create a plate that could be inked and used for printing.”<sup>18</sup> This process described in the Joseph Smith Papers, known as “stereotyping,” is supported by the common printing practices of the day.<sup>19</sup> Stereotyping included “making a mold of the original typesetting and engravings, from which a printing plate was cast and then mounted to a block to make it type-high.”<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, an 1829 work which describes this process in detail states that “a stereotype plate is, therefore, nothing more than a *fac-simile* of the page from which it was taken.”<sup>21</sup>

With a general idea of how this process worked, let us now look more closely as it relates to the Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham. Since we have the original vignette for Facsimile No. 1 in our possession, we can see that the metal printing plates were made to be mirror images of the original vignettes. This means that the original woodcuts would have to have been carved as

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District 21, Croydon, Surrey Co., p. 26, [http://search.ancestry.com/iexec?htx=view&r=5561&dbid=8767&iid=KENRG9\\_449\\_451-0481&fn=Reuben &ln=Hedlock&st=r&ssrc=&pid=6893691](http://search.ancestry.com/iexec?htx=view&r=5561&dbid=8767&iid=KENRG9_449_451-0481&fn=Reuben &ln=Hedlock&st=r&ssrc=&pid=6893691) (accessed 15 March 2019).

<sup>18</sup> See Robin Scott Jensen and Brian M. Hauglid, eds. *Revelations and Translations, Volume 4: Book of Abraham and Related Manuscripts*. Facsimile edition. Vol. 4 of the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, edited by Ronald K. Esplin, Matthew J. Grow, Matthew C. Godfrey, and R. Eric Smith (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2018), 295.

<sup>19</sup> This was especially advantageous for printing large quantities of something, as “a woodcut becomes somewhat worn when a large number of impressions have been taken from it; but by a series of stereotype casts from it, the power of printing from it becomes practically illimitable.” See George Dodd, *The Curiosities of Industry. Printing: Its Modern Varieties* (London: George Routledge and Co., 1853), 9.

<sup>20</sup> Susan Doyle, Jaleen Grove, and Whitney Sherman, eds. *History of Illustration* (New York: Fairchild Books, 2018), 202.

<sup>21</sup> Emphasis added. See John Wilkes, ed. *Encyclopaedia Londinensis; Or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, Volume 21 (London: R.G. Gunnell & Co., 1826), 413.

mirror images also, with the negative space being carved out to leave a raised printing relief. At the FARMS Book of Abraham lecture series in 1999, artist Michael Lyon gave a presentation on hypocephali, in which he describes the process that was commonly used to create woodcuts in Hedlock's day.<sup>22</sup> First, Hedlock would have placed a material with some degree of transparency over the original vignettes, upon which he would then carefully trace over the vignette until he was satisfied that he had the complete image. From there, the material would be flipped over and pasted onto the prepared wood block.<sup>23</sup> Once dry, Hedlock would begin carving away the negative space, leaving only the raised lines which represented the original artists brushstrokes.<sup>24</sup> This tracing process would have eliminated much of the confusion that would have normally resulted from trying to create a mirror image.<sup>25</sup>

Once the carving of the woodblock was complete, and excess paper removed, Hedlock could then proceed to create the mold.<sup>26</sup> While several materials are known to have been used for creating stereotype molds, the material being used in Hedlock's day would have been plaster. One scholar noted that "stereotypes produced with plaster of Paris were introduced sporadically

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<sup>22</sup> Michael Lyon, "Appreciating Hypocephali as Works of Art and Faith," Typescript from *FARMS Book of Abraham Lecture Series* (March 24, 1999), 4–6.

<sup>23</sup> A similar method of tracing on "glass paper" was known in London by at least 1833. See R. Roffe, "Wood Engraving," *Mechanics Magazine* 19 (1833), 400.

<sup>24</sup> Contemporary woodcut printings show that such a process could retain extremely intricate details, depending on the skill of the craftsman and the type of wood that was used. While carving small characters in wood would no doubt have been a difficult task, we must also remember that Hedlock was chosen for the task because of his skills as a carpenter (see note 17 above).

<sup>25</sup> The accuracy in measurement and scale between Facsimile No. 1 and its original vignette can be verified with the help of photo-editing software. Using such software, I was able to flip the original vignette horizontally (creating a mirror image), and then place a semi-transparent image of the printing plate over the top of it. The images lined up nearly perfectly, suggesting that Hedlock did in fact use some method of tracing for the Facsimiles.

<sup>26</sup> While Lyon describes the first part of the process, he assumed the woodcuts were used for the actual printing, rather than the metal plates which we now know were used. Transferring the woodcut to metal plates would have allowed for a higher volume of printings due to a more durable printing plate (see note 19 above).

by printing houses in the second and third quarters of the century...and paper flonges as molds came even later, closer to 1870 than to 1830.”<sup>27</sup> The use of plaster molds would have offered several benefits for Hedlock. First, plaster of Paris allowed for not only a hard and durable mold but could also preserve small details from the woodcut. Second, if there were any imperfections on the original woodcut, such as accidentally removing too much wood, they could be fixed at this stage by simply carving into the mold in those places where the removed wood was supposed to have left an impression.<sup>28</sup> Such corrections could not have been made so easily had Hedlock carved directly onto a metal plate.

While we shouldn’t assume complete accuracy in the finished printing plates, an understanding of the stereotype process used to create them helps us see that while Hedlock was certainly subject to making mistakes, he was also given opportunities to correct some of them. This allows us to place more confidence in Hedlock’s accuracy than we could if he were carving directly onto metal.

In the end, Hedlock’s version is all we have to work with, and we mustn’t be too quick to assign him the blame for any discrepancies between the hieroglyphs and their suggested transcriptions, especially when we consider that he had seen the original vignette, and we have not.<sup>29</sup> We therefore must be cautious to not allow too much liberty to be taken in the classification of Hedlock’s glyphs, lest we begin reading what we believe or want the characters

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<sup>27</sup> Peter Shillingsburg, *From Gutenberg to Google: Electronic Representations of Literary Texts*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 136.

<sup>28</sup> Carving into the plaster mold would allow for a raised relief in the final metal printing plate. If such corrections were not made, this would result in negative space that would not show up on the final print.

<sup>29</sup> John Gee has also noted “Comparison of the remaining portions of Joseph Smith Papyrus I with the original publication of Facsimile 1 shows that Hedlock produced a careful, faithful—though not entirely photographically accurate—copy of the papyrus that, in the first publication, preserved the exact size of the originals.” See John Gee, *An Introduction to the Book of Abraham*, 146–147.



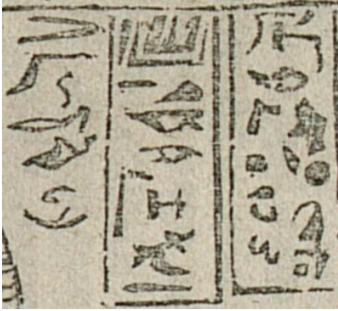



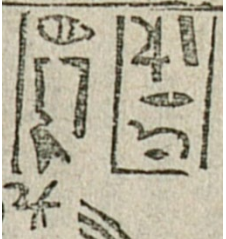





to say, rather than what they actually do say. This is not to say that logical reasoning and informed guesswork is not useful, but rather that such guesswork should be acknowledged. Blurry as it may be, we need to acknowledge that there is a line separating the recognizable from the unrecognizable hieroglyphs.<sup>30</sup> As will be seen in following chapters, Facsimile No. 3 does not fit comfortably in an expected way with any of its parallels. Thus, we must exercise caution when looking to parallels for its accompanying text. Because the drawing does not necessarily follow parallels, it is not safe to assume that the text does. As a result, we will here point out what the Hedlock's glyphs seem to say or not say, regardless of parallels.

Our expectations on how Facsimile No. 3 would have compared with the original vignette is not the only thing that we must consider. We must also recognize the inherent challenges of comparing handwritten characters with a printed transcription. Currently, Michael Rhodes is the only scholar to have provided a transcription of the text, and the printed hieroglyphic font he used is of course much neater and more detailed than the characters found in Facsimile No. 3. These comparisons are found in Table 2.2 below.

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

































<sup>30</sup>The exact point at which an individual declares a character as unreadable will naturally vary according to that individual's skill and expertise in reading Egyptian hieroglyphs. Thus, rather than saying whether the transcription is "right" or "wrong," I am simply making observations of my own and offering a side-by-side comparison chart to allow readers to do the same.

**Table 2.2 Comparison of Facsimile No. 3 Captions with Rhodes' Transcription**

Columns	Hedlock	Rhodes
Column 1		
Columns 2-4		
Column 5		
Columns 6-7		
Columns 8-10		
Bottom Row		



## Column 1

With the side-by-side comparison shown above, we are now able to make several observations regarding the transcriptions and the accompanying translations that have been given for Facsimile No. 3. Let us examine each set of columns in turn, beginning with the first column that is found above the raised hand of Figure 2. Rhodes translates this column to read “The great Isis, mother of the God,” and Robert Ritner gives a very similar reading of the text.<sup>31</sup> The transcription Rhodes gives uses the common spelling of the name Isis,                , which, significantly, can be easily recognized in the captions above the goddess in at least fifteen other vignettes from the Book of Breathings.<sup>32</sup> Likewise, the common epithet for Isis,                  , “god’s mother,” can be seen in at least nine of these instances, giving support to Rhodes’ and Ritner’s reading of the text.<sup>33</sup>





















Yet, as likely a reading as this may be, it is important to acknowledge one glaring challenge with the hieroglyphs in this column: The first set of glyphs, which we would expect to spell the name “Isis,” bear little to no resemblance to the characters used in any known spelling of the name Isis.<sup>34</sup> Instead, we see an odd character with a long horizontal line sloping downward

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<sup>31</sup> Ritner reads “god’s mother” rather than “mother of the god,” though the two readings are functionally equivalent in English and read *mw.t ntr*. Though the direction of the text places the *ntr* glyph before the vulture, this is simply a case of honorific transposition.

<sup>32</sup> These three glyphs used to spell the name Isis can be clearly identified in at least fifteen of the thirty-three extant copies of the Book of Breathings Made by Isis, including P. Berlin 3135, P. Berlin 3154, P. BM EA 9995, P. Bodleian Library Ms. Egypt a.4 Section D, P. Bibliothèque nationale 181, P. Denon, P. Lafayette College, P. Louvre E 8079 + 11080, P. Louvre E 11079, P. Louvre N 3126, P. Louvre N 3167 + N 3222, P. Louvre N 3284, P. Tübingen 2016, and P. Chester Beatty XXa.

<sup>33</sup> Including P. Lafayette College, P. Louvre N 3126, P. Louvre N. 3284, P. Louvre E 8079 + 11080, P. Berlin 3135, P. Denon, P. BM EA 9995, P. Louvre N .3167 + 3222, and P. Tübingen 2016.

<sup>34</sup> The LGG notes twenty different spellings of the name Isis. See Christian Leitz, ed., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 3:261–62; Sylvie Cauville also provides seventeen spellings of the name, with the majority containing the spelling                    , followed by varying determinatives. See Sylvie Cauville, *Dendara: Les chapelles osiriennes: Part 3: Index*, BdE 119 (Cairo: IFAO, 1997), 12.

to the left before turning upwards at a 90-degree angle. A second vertical line crosses through this character in the middle, and a third and fourth line rise upward on the right-hand side to form a type of crude triangle.

There are at least several possible ways of explaining these odd characters which appear at the beginning of the first column. The first possibility is that perhaps this part of the column on the original papyrus was damaged, resulting in Hedlock restoring the text, albeit incorrectly, to try and fill in a lacuna. It is also possible that Rueben Hedlock simply made a mistake in the way he copied what were legible characters from the original vignette, though other examples of his ability to pay great attention to detail make this unlikely.<sup>35</sup> A third possibility is that Hedlock was careful and copied the characters exactly as he saw them. If such were the case, then our challenge in reading the glyphs can be attributed to the poor handwriting of the original scribe, and though we would expect the glyphs to say *something*, the handwriting is such that it is extremely difficult to determine exactly what. Unfortunately, the original vignette is no longer extant, making it impossible to tell for certain which, if any of these possibilities, is correct.

A case could be made that the epithets “the great” and “the god’s mother” compare quite well with the nine other instances where this epithet is associated with Isis in the vignettes of the Book of Breathings, and thus settles the question as to the identity of Figure 2. While these parallels do indeed support the identification of this figure being Isis, we must nevertheless use caution, as both epithets are also associated with many other Egyptian deities.<sup>36</sup> One scholar has

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<sup>35</sup> See note 29 above.

<sup>36</sup> For example, the LGG lists many goddesses associated with the epithet *Mwt-ntr* during the Graeco-Roman period, including Isis, Anukis, Wadjet, Menhit, Neith, Nekhbet, Repit, Hathor, Hesat, Heqet, and Sachmet. The epithet *wrt* is similarly used to describe Isis, Wadjet, Bastet, Maat, Mehit, Nut, Nephthys, Hathor, and Sachmet. See Christian Leitz, ed., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, (Leuven: Peeters, 2002) 2:478–79; 3:261–62.

even noted instances in which the epithet “god’s mother” has been used to designate Egyptian queens:

The title ‘god’s mother’ is first recorded from the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, thus the king’s mother received the same status as her son. During the New Kingdom, Mutemwia, mother of Amenhotep III, Tya, mother of Amenhotep IV, and Satre, mother of Seti, none being of royal blood – are all called god’s mother and compared with the goddesses Mut, Hathor, Sakhmet, Maat, and Isis.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, while comparisons with other copies of the Book of Breathings would cause us to expect Figure 2 of Facsimile No. 3 to be Isis, the lack of any clear reading of her name, as well as the various associations of the epithet “the god’s mother” prevent us from saying so with certainty.<sup>38</sup> This case serves as a good example in demonstrating our purposes in this chapter. Were I trying to produce my own translation of the text, I would likely reconstruct this column to read the same way Rhodes or Ritner read it, and include in my notes that my translation is somewhat speculative and relies upon parallel texts. Thus, while I would expect it to say Isis here, as far as I can determine with certainty, it does not.

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<sup>37</sup> Erika Feucht, *Women in Antiquity: Real Women Across the Ancient World*, Stephanie Lynn Budin and Jean Macintosh Turfa, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2016), 211; The epithet *mwt ntr* is also associated with the goddess Neith (see Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003] 368–369.), as well as at least four queens in the genealogy of Pasenhor (See Robert K. Ritner, trans. “Serapeum Stela of Pasenhor” in *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period*, edited by Edward Wente [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009], 19); Aidan Dodson has likewise noted “A further area for query concerns the title ‘God’s Mother’ (*mwt-nTr*), which is found primarily during the New Kingdom. Since the king was a god, it might appear likely that ‘God’s Mother’ and ‘King’s Mother’ could be equivalent. However, a number of God’s Mothers did not have a king amongst their offspring, and indeed died before their royal husbands. The significance of the *mwt-nTr* title thus remains obscure.” See Aidan Dodson, “Tuthmosis III: Family Man.” *Ostrakon* 15, no. 2 (2004): 3–7.

<sup>38</sup> Yet, even if the hieroglyphic captions above Figure 2 were to have originally read “Isis the great, the god’s mother,” such a reading would not necessarily conflict with the interpretation given in the *Times and Seasons* that Figure 2 represents “King Pharaoh,” as one of the epithets associated with the goddess is “the Pharaoh of the whole land.” John Gee, “Isis as Pharaoh,” (forthcoming). Copy in possession of the author.

## Columns 2-4

Columns 2–4 contain many more characters than the first column of Facsimile No. 3, and as a result appear to be much more complex. Ritner and Rhodes read these columns from right to left beginning with column 4, and though both arrive at a very similar reading of this column, they disagree completely thereafter. Ritner acknowledges his uncertainty in the translation of the final two columns by using several parenthetical question marks, and a close comparison between his translation and the glyphs in these columns certainly justify the presence of those question marks.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, Ritner has a difficult time seeing the hieroglyphs that have been suggested by Rhodes.<sup>40</sup> While one can see good reasons for Rhodes' translation, including the use of parallel texts, for our purposes we must also examine the uncertainties. For instance, the falcon glyph given by Rhodes contains a perpendicular stroke through its spine that is uncharacteristic of the falcon glyph, and the character transcribed as an arm in the third column bears no resemblance to that glyph.<sup>41</sup> These issues combine to suggest that the translations given for these columns are far from certain, and, while Rhodes offers a very reasonable translation, alternate translations may be possible.

Despite disagreeing on the last two columns of this set, Rhodes and Ritner do concur for the most part on how the first column is to be read, translating it as “Words spoken by Osiris, the



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<sup>39</sup> For example, none of the characters in the second column resemble any spelling of the place name “Abydos,” which name appears in the captions for Osiris in at least six other instances in the Book of Breathings.

<sup>40</sup> See Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri*, 175–176, ns. 350, 351.

<sup>41</sup> The stroke which crosses perpendicular to what seems to be the spine of the bird seems deliberate and is different from those types of errors where Hedlock would have accidentally removed too much wood. Furthermore, this glyph does not compare well to the other instances where the falcon glyph is presumably read in the Facsimile in column 6 and bottom row of text.

Foremost of the Westerners,” and “Recitation by Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners” respectively. Let us evaluate these readings more closely.

The phrase *dd-mdw i(n)*, “recitation by,” is in fact quite common in Egyptian texts, and appears nearly two-dozen times in the vignettes of the Book of Breathings to indicate the beginning of a quotation of individuals such as Osiris, Isis, Thoth, or others.<sup>42</sup> Rhodes transcribes these characters as the common , which is noted by Alan Gardiner as an abbreviated spelling that can be found “at the beginning of all divine speeches on temple and tomb walls.”<sup>43</sup> Interestingly, however, this particular spelling of *dd-mdw i(n)* is not found in the captions of any other copies of the Book of Breathings vignettes. In the nearly two-dozen instances where *dd-mdw i(n)* does appear, the spelling instead incorporates the use of the *dšrt* crown and is written .





With the exception of the first glyph, neither of these spellings of *dd-mdw i(n)* compares very well with the characters at the top of the fourth column in Facsimile No. 3. The *dšrt* crown is clearly absent, and the alternative reading of , which features the *md* and *i* glyphs as parallel to each other with the *n* glyph underneath, is also missing. Though this problem could simply be the result of an error on Hedlock’s part, it is nonetheless worth our consideration.

The poorly executed characters in the remainder of this column likewise make it difficult to decipher. Rhodes and Ritner translate them as saying “Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners.”

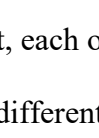
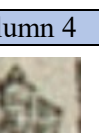
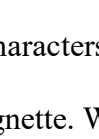
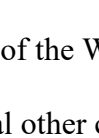
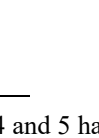
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<sup>42</sup> For a discussion on the phrase *dd-mdw i(n)*, see Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd Edition (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1999), 230. The specific phrase *dd-mdw i(n) wsir*, “recitation by Osiris,” appears a combined total of at least nine times in the Book of Breathings vignettes. These instances include P. Berlin 3135 (twice), P. Berlin 3154 (once), P. BM EA 9995 (at least once), P. Lafayette College (twice), P. Louvre N 3126 (once), P. Louvre N 3167 + N 3222 (once), P. Tübingen 2016 (once).

<sup>43</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 230.


While the first and last glyphs in the name Osiris bear some resemblance to the  and  glyphs, it can be seen that the middle glyph does not resemble the  glyph that is normally used in the spelling of the name. In fact, each of the five characters that have been transcribed as  in Facsimile No. 3 look quite different from one another, as seen in the Table 2.3 below.<sup>44</sup>

**Table 2.3 Suggested Instances of the  Symbol**

Column 1	Column 4	Column 5*	Column 6	Bottom Row
				

\* Ritner does not read the *st* glyph in column 5.

Admittedly, these characters are merely nineteenth century copies of characters that appeared on the original vignette. Were there only two or three instances to compare, we would have little cause for concern. However, having five presumed instances of this glyph with such variety between them warrants our attention, and may indicate that at least some of them could have been identified incorrectly.


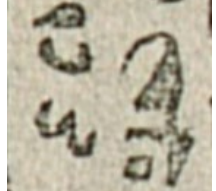

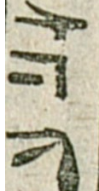

The title “Foremost of the Westerners,” usually written , is an epithet that follows the name of Osiris in several other copies of the Book of Breathings.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, several of the individual characters in Hedlock’s copy appear to be ambiguous enough to prevent us from classifying them with certainty. Much weight is placed on the bottom two glyphs in this column,

<sup>44</sup> The images in boxes 4 and 5 have been flipped horizontally so that each glyph would presumably be read from right to left. Ritner agrees with the reading found in boxes 1, 2, 4, and 5.

<sup>45</sup> Examples of this epithet from the Book of Breathings vignettes include P. Louvre N 3167 + N 3222, P. BM EA 9995, and P. Berlin 3135.





which appear to be more detailed and less ambiguous than the others. Rhodes transcribes these characters as 𐎗, a symbol used to indicate “the west,” and 𐎎, a determinative often used to signify land. The complete spelling of the word, 𐎗𐎎, is given in three other instances in Rhodes’ transcription of Facsimile No. 3, as well as in an additional instance on P. Joseph Smith I. A fifth instance also appears at the bottom of Facsimile No. 3, but with an alternate spelling of 𐎗𐎎. Each of these instances can be seen side-by-side in the Table 2.4 below.




**Table 2.4 Hieroglyphs Translated as “of the West” in the *Hor Book of Breathings***

P. Joseph Smith I	Facsimile No. 3 Column 4	Facsimile No. 3 Column 5	Facsimile No. 3 Column 10	Facsimile No. 3 Bottom Row
				


Some interesting observations can be made when comparing each of the instances that have been translated as “of the West.” To begin, what is assumed to be Hedlock’s version of the 𐎗 glyph in Column 4 closely parallels the glyph that is found in the Facsimile’s bottom row of text. Most noticeable among these parallels include the single vertical line which hooks to the left at the top, as well as the triangular shape that sticks out on the left side of the vertical line near the middle. Interestingly, the glyph in P. Joseph Smith I also contains a vertical line which hooks to the left, though the triangular shape appears on both the left as well as the right side of the glyph. The similarities in how these characters have been drawn suggest that they may have


been intended to represent the same hieroglyphic character, and further suggests the accuracy and skill of Reuben Hedlock.<sup>46</sup>

Interpreting each of these three characters as the  glyph, however, creates some problems, including the fact it would appear to have been drawn backwards in the bottom row of Facsimile No. 3. This may be why Rhodes suggested an alternative reading of  . Nevertheless, while such a reading would resolve the problem of the scribe having drawn a backwards glyph, the similarity between these three characters make it difficult to see an alternate reading here. Another problem is that the characters transcribed as  in Columns 5 and 10 bears no resemblance to the way the characters are drawn in the other three examples given above, though these columns will be discussed further below.<sup>47</sup>

Several additional issues can be seen as we compare the characters in Column 4 with other supposed spellings of the term “of the West.” The placement of the  glyph, for instance, is at odds with the way it is shown in P. Joseph Smith I and Column 5 and is even drawn differently. What is assumed to be the final of the two  characters is also drawn differently, resembling a shape more like the letter “u” than a . These issues combine to suggest that the translation of the characters may not be as straightforward as has been previously assumed.

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<sup>46</sup> This sign is also depicted many times in Hor’s copy of the Book of the Dead, P. Louvre 3207, 3208, and 3209, suggesting it is in fact meant to depict the  glyph.

<sup>47</sup> Another instance where Rhodes identifies the  glyph can be found in the middle of the bottom row of text in the Facsimile. However, the character here is also drawn differently than the other instances where Rhodes and Ritner identify this glyph.



## Column 5

If we were to follow the general rule that hieroglyphs “normally face in the same direction as the image they refer to,” then the fifth column of Facsimile No. 3, like columns 1–4 before it, is to be read from right to left. Reading in this direction, Ritner and Rhodes identify the name of Ma‘at in the first set of glyphs, transcribed by Rhodes as  $\beta\text{D}$ .<sup>48</sup> While the transcription appears to match Hedlock’s characters rather well, problems begin to arise as we continue reading down the column.


Ritner faults Rhodes in mistranslating *hm.t* as “Lady” instead of “woman/wife,” though Ritner himself fails to read it this way, translating it instead as “mistress.”<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, in the end, Rhodes’ transcription of the word,  $\text{𓆎}\text{𓆑}$ , matches Ritner’s reading of *hm.t*. The problem is that the  $\text{𓆑}$  determinative in the word *hm.t* shows no resemblance to the character in the corresponding spot on Hedlock’s version of Facsimile No. 3. The top of the glyph is far too wide, and the bottom far too narrow. Further, though the other two glyphs in this set appear somewhat ambiguous, the character supposed to represent the *hm* glyph shows a curved left side, with a straighter bottom side, as if the glyph had been turned to the right 90 degrees.

Further problems arise continuing down the column. As noted in our discussion of Column 4 above, the last set of glyphs in Column 5 are transcribed by Rhodes as  $\text{𓆑}\text{𓆑}$ , “of the West.” Notably, Hedlock’s characters here do not look at all like the glyphs at the bottom of column 4. This may be why Ritner translated these glyphs to instead read “of the gods,” which



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<sup>48</sup> The Ma‘at feather can sometimes appear facing the other way, without changing the direction in which the text is to be read. See, for example, P. Louvre 8079 + 11080. Instances of the Ma‘at feather in Hor’s copy of the Book of Breathings also vary and show it facing both directions.

<sup>49</sup> It is difficult to determine which reading Ritner prefers. His own transliteration gives *hnmw.t*, which he correctly translates as mistress, but the wording in his footnote suggests he also reads *hm.t*. Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri*, 173, 176; n 352.

he would likely transcribe as e.<sup>50</sup> Unfortunately, each of these translations faces a major problem, in that they require this last set of glyphs to be read from left to right, instead of being read from right to left like the rest of the column. If these signs are in fact to be read from left to right, then suddenly we are forced to switch directions in our reading of the text. A change in direction mid-text, though perhaps possible, would be anomalous. This is especially the case with a set of glyphs, as opposed to a single character. Since tracing was more than likely used in the stereotype process for creating the printing plates, it is unlikely that Hedlock simply got confused while attempting to carve a mirror image. Rather, it is more likely that this is either a mistake of the original scribe, or else the characters have been incorrectly identified.

### **Columns 6-7**

Columns 6–7 are the first columns in the Facsimile that are to be read from left to right, with the characters facing to the left.<sup>51</sup> As mentioned earlier, these are also the only two columns in the Facsimile that Klaus Baer felt comfortable enough to give a translation for, noting they were “probably to be read ‘Osiris Hor, justified forever.’” Ritner and Rhodes largely agree with Baer’s translation. For the most part, Rhodes’ transcription matches rather well with the characters drawn by Hedlock, though noted earlier, there are challenges in the instances where the  glyph is read. The tall, vertical line may in fact resemble part of the  glyph, though the way in which the line angles out to the right at the top is odd, and almost makes it appear like a

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<sup>50</sup> This appears to be the only possible reading of the word “gods” that resembles in any way the glyphs given by Hedlock. Such a reading, however, completely ignores the final glyph in the column, which Ritner likely misinterpreted as a horizontal line marking the end of the column.

<sup>51</sup> As noted by James P. Allen, “When hieroglyphs accompany images, they normally face in the same direction as the image they refer to.” See James P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 4.

backwards 𐌒. The angled lines that we would expect to appear on the right side of this glyph are also absent.

The character beneath this first set of glyphs may be one of the most oft-cited characters in the entire Facsimile. Along with a character in the bottom row of text, it has frequently been identified as the falcon glyph, 𐌒, used in the spelling of the name “Hor.” This glyph has also been identified by Rhodes in a column of text on P. Joseph Smith I. For the convenience of comparison, each of these instances are given in the Table 2.5 below.

**Table 2.5 Identifications of the Name “Hor” in P. Joseph Smith I and Facsimile No. 3**


P. Joseph Smith I	Column 6	Bottom Row
		


There is certainly some resemblance between each of these characters, though there are important differences as well. The figure in Column 6, for instance, does not have two distinct legs, nor does it stand upon a horizontal line as in the other instances. The angle of its head is also unique, pointing upwards and to the left.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, the character in the bottom row of text appears much more like the falcon we would expect to see in the name of Hor (with the exception of the horizontal strokes protruding from its belly). It even has the vertical stroke above and to the right of it, paralleling the spelling of the name of Hor given in his copy of the

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<sup>52</sup> The line which we would expect to be the head could in fact be part of the glyph above it, though this would create additional problems with the way these glyphs have been interpreted.

Book of the Dead. The presence of this stroke here, and the absence of this stroke in Column 6, may suggest that Hor's name is to be found in the bottom row of text, but perhaps not in Column 6.<sup>53</sup>

The Ma'at feather at the top of Column 7 is once again drawn backwards like the other two instances in the Facsimile, though this phenomenon is not Unique to the *Hor Book of Breathings*.<sup>54</sup> The glyph beside it is a simple vertical line, and though Rhodes and Ritner have good reason for reading it as the  glyph in the spelling of "justified," it remains ambiguous.

Rhodes translates the final glyphs in this column as . One question that must be answered is whether or not the last glyph is in fact meant to be a hieroglyphic character, or if it is meant to be a horizontal line indicating the end of the column, similar to what we see in Columns 3, 4, and 8 of this Facsimile, as well as in other copies of the Book of Breathings.<sup>55</sup> The way in which this line extends to the left vertical column marker to form a right angle suggests it could be interpreted either way, and thus it has the potential to alter the reading of the text. While it is true that Hedlock's drawing is not completely accurate in all aspects, it is all we have, and if we are free to disagree with the drawing of someone who actually saw the original text on the papyri, then there is nothing to prevent us from making it read how we want it to read.



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


<sup>53</sup> As pointed out by Rhodes in his footnotes, it is also curious that what appears to be the *p3* glyph, , would be following the name *Hr* here.



<sup>54</sup> See note 48 above.

<sup>55</sup> For example, P. Louvre E 8079 + 11080 and P. Tübingen 2016 feature some columns of hieroglyphic text ending with a horizontal line, and some without.




## Columns 8-10



We turn now to the final columns of hieroglyphic text, found above Figure 6 in Facsimile No. 3. These columns are read from left to right, beginning at the top of column 8. The identification of the first set of glyphs in this column parallel the first set of glyphs Rhodes and Ritner see at the beginning of Column 4. Rhodes transcribes these as , *dd mdw in*. As with the earlier reading of *dd mdw in*, the *ḏšrt* crown found in every other instance of this word in the Book of Breathings vignettes is missing, and the alternate spelling of  is adopted by Rhodes. While this is certainly a possible reading, and perhaps even likely, it is not without its problems. The tail of the *dd* glyph, for instance, is cut off short, and instead angles upward to the right. Furthermore, although two vertical glyphs could be interpreted as the *mdw* and *i* glyphs, the *n* glyph is absent.

Both Egyptologists translate the next set of glyphs to read “Anubis,” with Rhodes offering  as the transcription. Let us examine these glyphs one at a time. Hedlock’s copy does in fact contain two characters that arguably resemble the  and the  glyphs. The  glyph, however, is missing.<sup>56</sup> The missing  glyph could simply be the result of a lacuna in the papyrus, and therefore there is good reason for the translations given by Rhodes and Ritner. Since the  glyph is clearly absent, however, such reconstructions must be acknowledged as such.

Finally, Rhodes concludes this spelling of the name Anubis with two determinatives, the  and the  glyphs. Though Ritner provides no transcription of the text, his translation suggests he sees these same determinatives. These determinatives are interesting for at least two reasons.

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<sup>56</sup> Though the *p* glyph, , does not appear in every known spelling of the name Anubis, nearly all of the twenty-two spellings given in the LGG include it in the instances where the *i* and *n* are used in the spelling. The only exception is the spelling of the name where the  glyph is replaced by a .

The first is that no other spelling of the name Anubis in the Book of Breathings vignettes contains either of these determinatives. Rather, in the eight other instances where the name does occur, it is spelled simply as . The second notable thing regarding these determinatives has to do with what appears to be the two arms sticking out of the first of these glyphs in Hedlock's copy. These arms are not typical of the jackal glyph, and I have yet to discover any parallels to it. Thus, the arms, the presence of determinatives, and absence of the  glyph suggest that this column does not read "Anubis" so easily.

### **Bottom Row**

One of the many aspects that makes Facsimile No. 3 unique among the Book of Breathings is that it is one of only two vignettes that features hieroglyphic text below the scene.<sup>57</sup> The Facsimile's accompanying explanations make no reference to this line of text, yet the choice to include it in the Facsimile, rather than cropping it out like the columns of hieroglyphs which can be found flanking the original vignette on P. Joseph Smith I may be significant.



Klaus Baer was the first to publish a translation of these characters, albeit his translation was only a partial one. Reading the line of text from left to right, Baer read "O gods of ..., gods of the Caverns, gods of the south, north, west, and east, grant well-being to Osiris Hor, justified, ..." Though unable to read them, Baer suggested that the final characters in this line "may have indicated the parentage but are too vaguely reproduced to permit a reading without some idea of what the text ought to say..."<sup>58</sup> Taking this cue and building upon Baer's translation, Ritner suggested the complete line of text should read "O gods of the necropolis, gods of the caverns,

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<sup>57</sup> The other example is found in the vignette depicting what appears to be the funerary procession of the deceased in P. BM EA 9995.

<sup>58</sup> Baer, "The Breathing Permit of Hor," 127, n. 110.

gods of the south, north, west and east, grant salvation to the Osiris Hor, the justified, born by Taikhibit,” while Rhodes offers a similar reading.

While many characters in the bottom row of text are too poorly rendered to identify with certainty, enough of the characters seem recognizable enough to see how Baer, Ritner, and Rhodes have arrived at their reading of the text. For instance, the interjection, , can be easily recognized at the beginning of the text, along with several instances of “gods,” or .<sup>59</sup> The spelling of “Hor, justified” resembles the spelling given on multiple occasions in his copy of the Book of the Dead.

One challenge I have in the readings that have been provided is in the identification of the name Taikhibit at the end of the row of text. Ritner gives an in-depth discussion on the name in his book, and the name does in fact appear several times in Hor’s Book of the Dead, with various spellings. However, none of the variant spellings of the name in either the *Hor Book of Breathings* or his Book of the Dead seem to resemble the characters Hedlock gives at the end of this line of text, making it difficult for me to see how Rhodes and Ritner could have been able to arrive at this conclusion based on the hieroglyphs alone. This is not to say that the translation is wrong—just that the translation seems to have been arrived at by comparing it with what we would expect it to say, rather than what is actually depicted in the Facsimile.

### **Other Important Considerations**

The primary focus of this chapter thus far has been to inform the reader of some of the potential challenges associated with hieroglyphs characters depicted in Facsimile No. 3. As mentioned earlier, these challenges are not intended to disprove any previous translations that

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<sup>59</sup> Rhodes omits the opening interjection in his transcription.

have been given of the text, but rather to urge caution when deciding how much weight can be placed on these translations as accurately identifying the figures in the vignette. As far as the translations go, it is not too difficult to see how Rhodes and Ritner read the hieroglyphs the way that they do, and it may very well be that their translations prove to be correct in the end. If so, this creates a challenge. The first is that their translations, when taken at face-value, don't match up with the explanations given in the Pearl of Great Price. Resolving this challenge is of critical importance, for although there are indeed several instances in which the glyphs don't appear to read the way Egyptologists have translated them, they also do not match so easily the official explanations given in the Pearl of Great Price. There are possible reasons for this, some of which I will now address.

The first point that must be taken into consideration is the lack of sufficient evidence to confirm the extent of Joseph's involvement in the explanations for Facsimile No. 3 as originally published in the May 16, 1842 issue of the *Times and Seasons*.<sup>60</sup> Unlike Facsimiles No. 1 and 2, no extant nineteenth-century manuscript with the explanations for Facsimile No. 3 exists, making it impossible to assess exactly when these explanations were originally given.<sup>61</sup> Further, Bruce Van Orden has recently made a convincing argument that while Joseph Smith was in fact the nominal editor of the *Times and Seasons* at the time this Facsimile was published, he rarely set

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<sup>60</sup> The actual publication dates for the *Times and Seasons* has been debated. By its own account, the *Times and Seasons* states that it was "printed and published about the first and fifteenth of every month" (For example, see *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 12 [April 15, 1842], 766), and the publication dates printed on each issue from January through April of 1842 were in fact given as the 1<sup>st</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>. Interestingly, this pattern changes in May of that year, with the first issue having the date of May 2, and the second issue (containing Facsimile No. 3) as May 16. The break in the usual pattern suggests that although the publication of each issue could run behind schedule, the date given at the top of each issue may have still been the actual date of publication, correctly indicating that it was a day behind schedule.

<sup>61</sup> See Robin Scott Jensen and Brian M. Hauglid, eds. *Revelations and Translations, Volume 4: Book of Abraham and Related Manuscripts*. Facsimile edition. Vol. 4 of the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, edited by Ronald K. Esplin, Matthew J. Grow, Matthew C. Godfrey, and R. Eric Smith (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2018), 295.



foot inside the printing office, and left W.W. Phelps to serve as the “de facto” editor, alongside John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and others.<sup>62</sup> Joseph Smith’s journal indicates that he only visited the printing office once during the two weeks that typesetting for the issue containing Facsimile No. 3 would have occurred, and unfortunately mentions no specifics of the business he engaged in there.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, on the day Facsimile No. 3 was supposedly published, his journal indicates that he never visited the printing office until late in the evening, and even then, only to discuss certain matters with Brigham Young and several other brethren.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, Wilford Woodruff, who had the privilege of assisting in the publication of previous portions of the Book of Abraham, seems to have been present in the printing office the entire day.<sup>65</sup> The involvement of others besides Joseph Smith in the final publication of the Facsimile, then, seems likely.

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<sup>62</sup> Among other things, Van Orden argues that W.W. Phelps played a major role in the publication and editing of the Book of Abraham. This argument is based upon a variety of evidence, including the elimination of other potential editors, such as Joseph Smith, who Van Orden argues rarely visited the printing office during this time. Furthermore, Van Orden notes, “Undoubtedly, W.W. Phelps had a hand in preparing the Book of Abraham text for publication. First, Phelps was the acting editor of the *Times and Seasons* and had the printing and editing experience to take the lead with production. Second, Phelps had been one of three main scribes to Joseph when the prophet ‘translated’ the Book of Abraham.” See Bruce Van Orden, *We’ll Sing and We’ll Shout: The Life and Times of W.W. Phelps* (Salt Lake City; Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, Religious Studies Center and Deseret Book, 2018), 192–194, 325–332.

<sup>63</sup> Because of the labor-intensiveness of setting type, it is assumed that this work would have taken place sometime between the publication dates given on both May issues of the *Times and Seasons*. The only account we have of Joseph visiting the printing office during this time is in his 10 May journal entry, which simply states “[illegible] Tuesday [illegible] 10 Transacted a variety of business at the Store. printing office &c.” See Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, eds. *Journals, Volume 2: December 1841–April 1843*. Vol. 2 of the Journals series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, edited by Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2011), 55.

<sup>64</sup> Joseph’s journal states “Monday 16 Transacting business at the store until 10. A.M.— Then at home & in the P.M. at the printing office withe Bro. [Brigham] young [Heber C.] Kimball [Willard] Richards &c in council.” See *JSP*, J2:57.

<sup>65</sup> Woodruff recorded in his journal, “May 16, 17 18, & 19 I spent the day in the printing office as usual”. See Wilford Woodruff Journal, May 16, 1842, MS 1352. Salt Lake City, Utah. Church History Library.

The argument above finds support in the final portion of text following the explanation for Facsimile No. 2, which reads “the above translation is given as far as we have any right to give at the present time.” This phrase is significant for at least two reasons. First, it uses the collective pronoun “we,” implying that the editors of the *Times and Seasons* were at liberty to interject their own explanatory notes as relating to the interpretation of the Facsimile. The other item of interest is that although the term “translation” is used here, no actual translations of any of the text in Facsimile No. 2 is ever claimed in the explanations. In fact, the explanations for the portions of text in Facsimile No. 2 (Figures 8–21) tend to avoid offering any translations, and specifically state that the writings either “cannot be revealed” or “will be given in the own due time of the Lord.” Thus, there is no evidence of Joseph ever “pretending” to know how these characters translated. When combined, this evidence suggests that phrases such as “as written above the hand,” or “whose name is given in the characters above his head” in Facsimile No. 3 may simply have been editorial glosses based on the assumptions of what the *Times and Seasons* editors believed the characters to say, rather than Joseph claiming the ability to translate them.<sup>66</sup>

That being said, we cannot dismiss the possibility that the explanations given in the *Times and Seasons* were Joseph’s, and that he was purely speculating.<sup>67</sup> Many ancient traditions do contain accounts of Abraham “reasoning upon the principles of Astronomy, in the king’s

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<sup>66</sup> No record exists of Joseph ever attempting to correct these explanations, suggesting they may have had his tacit approval. However, this is an argument from silence, and the absence of any known corrections does not necessarily mean that the explanations had his full approval. At the time the Facsimile was published, Joseph was also engaged in many other business affairs, (See Van Orden, *We’ll Sing and We’ll Shout*, 326–27), and it may simply be that Joseph felt it unnecessary to make any public corrections of these explanations, so long as the identification of the individuals was correct. This would especially be the case if he himself couldn’t read Egyptian well enough to disprove those portions of the explanations which reference the hieroglyphs.

<sup>67</sup> Kerry Muhlestein has previously suggested this possibility. See Kerry Muhlestein, “Assessing the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Introduction to the Historiography of their Acquisitions, Translations, and Interpretations,” *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 22 (2016): 46.

court,” and such is even foreshadowed in Abraham 3:1-15.<sup>68</sup> Perhaps, in the portions of the Book of Abraham that were translated and not published, Joseph read such an account, which introduced him to individuals such as Shulem, Olimlah, and others.<sup>69</sup> Then, upon examining the original vignette of Facsimile No. 3, Joseph may have assumed the scene to have been a depiction of this account and speculated on the meaning of the hieroglyphic text. Such speculation of course does not imply any intent to deceive, but rather to aid readers understanding of the text of the Book of Abraham.

## Conclusion

Having examined the translations that have been given for Facsimile No. 3 and compared them and their transcriptions with Rueben Hedlock’s characters, we can now make some general statements regarding the hieroglyphic captions. Although the translations given by Baer, Rhodes, and Ritner have much in common, and generally align with what we would expect the characters in the Facsimile to say, these translations are not without their challenges. This is due primarily to the difficulty in identifying with certainty many of the characters given by Rueben Hedlock as he prepared the Facsimile for publication in the *Times and Seasons*.

In summary, there appear to be at least some challenges (big or small) in each of the ten columns of hieroglyphic text. A review of some of the main challenges are as follows:

1. The first set of hieroglyphs above Figure 2 do not resemble any known spelling of the name Isis.

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<sup>68</sup> Accounts of Abraham teaching astronomy in Egypt have been given by such ancient authors as Artapanus, Eupolemus, George Syncellus, Ioannes Zonaras, and Josephus. These and other traditions have been conveniently compiled by John A. Tvedtnes, Brian M Hauglid, and John Gee, eds., *Traditions About the Early Life of Abraham* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2001), 7–10, 49, 225, and 261.

<sup>69</sup> For evidence of unpublished portions of the Book of Abraham, see John Taylor, et. al., “Notice,” *Times and Seasons* 4 (February 1, 1843): 95.

2. Ritner and Rhodes disagree on many of the characters in columns 2–3.
3. What has been read as the *st* glyph in column 4 looks remarkably different from the other four presumed instances where *st* glyph appears, making the name Osiris difficult to ascertain.
4. The glyph said to be the woman determinative in column 5 bears little resemblance to that glyph, and the bottom set of glyphs in the same column are drawn backwards.
5. The *p3* glyph appears to be present at the bottom of column 6, which is highly unusual, and the glyph that is believed to spell the name Hor above it is difficult to read.
6. The *p* glyph is missing in column 8 in the spelling of the name Anubis, and what is thought to be the jackal determinative has two distinct arms.
7. Ritner and Rhodes disagree on the characters found in columns 9–10.
8. The characters found at the end of the bottom line of text do not resemble the characters used in other various hieroglyphic spellings of the name Taikhibit from the *Hor Book of Breathings* or in his copy of the Book of the Dead.

While many of the challenges summarized above deal directly with the epithets, several challenges with the actual names themselves can also be seen. This includes challenges in reading with certainty the names of Isis, Osiris, Hor, and Anubis. While it is true that both Ritner and Rhodes have done the work necessary to help give us the *likely* readings for these texts, these challenges ultimately prevent us from being able to say with one-hundred percent certainty that the translations are correct. Indeed, the relationship between the captions, figures, and explanations which accompany Facsimile No. 3 is highly complex, and requires more than a

mere knowledge of how the hieroglyphic characters translate into English. One step that must be taken if we are to better understand the Facsimile is to consider its iconography and see how well it compares with similar throne scenes found in the Book of Breathings. Such is the focus of the two following chapters.

## CHAPTER THREE

### FACSIMILE NO. 3 AND THE BOOK OF BREATHINGS MADE BY ISIS

As previously mentioned in an earlier chapter, Joseph Smith and several other members of the LDS Church pooled their money together in the summer of 1835 to purchase four Egyptian mummies and several rolls of papyri from a man by the name of Michael Chandler.<sup>1</sup> Facsimile No. 3 was found on these papyri in a copy of an ancient Egyptian document known to Egyptologists as “The Book of Breathings Made by Isis,” or “Book of Breathings” for short. The purpose of this document, which was intended to be buried with its owner, was to provide them with the “knowledge, power, and transformation necessary to achieve a desired station in the afterlife.”<sup>2</sup> Several of the surviving papyri fragments owned by the Church have been identified as belonging to this document, including P. Joseph Smith I, X, and XI, as well as four other fragments that have been glued on to P. Joseph Smith IV.<sup>3</sup> In addition to these fragments, many scholars have suggested that the original vignette of Facsimile No. 3 would have also appeared on this same scroll.<sup>4</sup> Together, these fragments belong to one of only thirty-three currently

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<sup>1</sup> See John Gee, *An Introduction to the Book of Abraham* (Salt Lake City; Provo, Utah: Deseret Book Co., Brigham Young University, Religious Studies Center, 2017), 1–9. For a detailed account of the acquisition of the papyri, see Donl Peterson *The Story of the Book of Abraham: Mummies, Manuscripts, and Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1994), 1–8.

<sup>2</sup> Kerry Muhlestein, “The Book of Breathings in Its Place: A Review of ‘The Hor Book of Breathings: A Translation and Commentary’ by Michael D. Rhodes,” *FARMS Review* 17, no. 2 (2005): 472.

<sup>3</sup> Marc Coenen, “The Dating of the Papyri Joseph Smith I, X, and XI and Min Who Massacres His Enemies,” in *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years, Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, ed. Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors and Harco Willems (Louvain: Peeters, 1998), 2:1103.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Gee, *An Introduction to the Book of Abraham*, 148; Klaus Baer, “The Breathing Permit of Hor: A Translation of the Apparent Source of the Book of Abraham,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1968): 127; Robert K. Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: A Complete Edition* (Salt Lake City: Smith Pettit Foundation, 2011), 137; Stephen E. Thompson, “Egyptology and the Book of Abraham,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28, no. 1 (1995): 145–146; Richard D. Draper, S. Kent Brown, and Michael D. Rhodes, *The Pearl of Great Price: A Verse-by-Verse Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 2005), 296.

identified copies of the Book of Breathings Made by Isis, making them part of a rare document indeed.<sup>5</sup>

The exact relationship between the Book of Breathings, the Joseph Smith Papyri, and the Book of Abraham is a matter that is still hotly debated amongst scholars today. Even in believing Latter-day Saints circles there are many competing theories seeking to explain the relationship between these documents, making it clear that there is much research remaining before we can hope to reach any consensus on the matter. In the previous chapter, I suggested that one such area of research that has yet to be conducted is a comparative analysis of the iconography of Facsimile No. 3 with those similar scenes from the extant copies of the Book of Breathings. To date, no such broad comparative study that has been performed and made publicly available.<sup>6</sup> This is likely the result of many of these documents remaining unpublished and scattered in museums and universities across the world. However, many of these institutions have been extremely helpful and generous in furnishing me with copies of these documents, making a comparative study of all their vignettes possible.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Currently, the most up to date list of the known extant copies of the Book of Breathings can be found in Marc Coenen, “Owners of the Document of Breathings Made by Isis,” *Chronique D’Egypte* 79, nos. 157/158 (2004): 59–72. Undoubtedly, this list will continue to grow as additional copies of the Book of Breathings are identified. At the present, Egyptologists are far behind in translating all the texts that have been unearthed from the centuries of excavations that have taken place in Egypt. For an example of this issue, see Igor Uranić, “‘Book of the Dead’ Papyrus Zagreb 601,” in *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 33, no. 1 (2005): 357.

<sup>6</sup> This is not to say that Facsimile No. 3 has never been compared with other throne scenes from the Book of Breathings. Rather, the concern here is that most of the comparisons that scholars have made have consisted of nothing more than a passing mention of a few documents that have similar scenes to that of Facsimile No. 3, with little to no effort made in discussing the actual parallels. See, for example, Robert K. Ritner (who lists P. Denon and P. Tübingen 2016 as parallel scenes) and Michael Rhodes (who adds P. British Museum EA 9995 and P. Louvre 3284 to those cited by Ritner); Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri*, 138; and Rhodes, *The Hor Book of Breathings*, 17.

<sup>7</sup> I am deeply grateful for those curators and other individuals that have been instrumental in furnishing me copies of several of these documents, including Audrey Viger at the Louvre, Michaela Huettner at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Lara Weiss of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, Philip Roe of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, and Petra Lujckx at the Museum Meermann.

Admittedly, the significance of such a comparative study rests almost entirely upon whether or not Facsimile No. 3 accompanied the same Book of Breathings as P. Joseph Smith I, X, and XI. This chapter will assume that such is the case, and will begin by presenting the evidence that has been used to link Facsimile No. 3 with these fragments, including a discussion on how often the throne scene motif features in other copies of the Book of Breathings. This will be followed by a detailed discussion in which the iconographic elements of the various throne scenes in the Book of Breathings will be used further classify these types of scenes. Finally, the iconography of Facsimile No. 3 will be discussed, along with some of the significant anomalies that prevent us from classifying it as a typical funerary scene from the Book of Breathings.

### **Facsimile No. 3 as Part of the Book of Breathings Made by Isis**

As previously mentioned, most Egyptologists who have taken the time to study the Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham agree that Facsimile No. 3 would have served as the concluding vignette of the same copy of the Book of Breathings as found on P. Joseph Smith I, X, and XI.<sup>8</sup> Though the Facsimile has been available to researchers since its initial publication in 1842, it was not until the rediscovery of the Joseph Smith Papyri in 1967 that scholars began making this connection. For the first time, scholars were able to see and translate four vertical lines of hieroglyphic text adjacent to the vignette on P. Joseph Smith I, which revealed the “name, titles, and parentage” of the owner of the papyrus, identifying it as a copy of the Book of Breathings belonging to one *Hor* or *Horos*, the son of *Taykhebyt*.<sup>9</sup> As Egyptologists returned their attention to Facsimile No. 3, they began to recognize the name of *Hor* in the hieroglyphic

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<sup>8</sup> See note 4 above.

<sup>9</sup> Michael D. Rhodes, *The Hor Book of Breathings: A Translation and Commentary* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 2002), 4, 22–24.



text at the bottom of the Facsimile.<sup>10</sup> Others later were able to read the name *Taykhebyt* in the same line of text, suggesting a clear connection between Facsimile No. 3 and the *Hor Book of Breathings*.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the names found on the surviving papyri fragments, the resurfacing of the Joseph Smith Papyri provided yet another clue that Facsimile No. 3 was included in the *Hor Book of Breathings*. Egyptologist Klaus Baer observed that the vignette on P. Joseph Smith I was nearly identical in size to the printing of it in the *Times and Seasons*. Baer suggested that the similarity in size showed that Reuben Hedlock, the man responsible for engraving the Facsimile's onto lead printing plates for the *Times and Seasons*, created the Facsimiles true to their original size.<sup>12</sup> If so, the original vignette for Facsimile No. 3 would have been roughly the same height as the vignette on P. Joseph Smith I, or roughly 13 cm.<sup>13</sup> Since vignettes from the Book of Breathings “almost always occupy the complete height of the manuscript,” — which is certainly the case for the vignette on P. Joseph Smith I — this similarity may very well serve as evidence that the two illustrations belonged to the same scroll.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Klaus Baer translated this line of text to read “O gods of . . . , gods of the Caverns, gods of the south, north, west, and east, grant well-being to Osiris Hor, justified . . . .” See Klaus Baer, “The Breathing Permit of Hor,” 127. Interestingly, well-known Egyptologists such as James Henry Breasted, Flinders Petrie, and others, had all previously failed to identify the name of the deceased *Hor* anywhere in the hieroglyphic text of Facsimile No. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Ritner seems to be the first to identify the name *Taykhebyt*. See Robert K. Ritner, “The Breathing Permit of Hor, Thirty-Four Years Later,” in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33, no. 4 (Winter, 2000): 115, n. 124; See also Rhodes, *The Hor Book of Breathings*, 23.

<sup>12</sup> Baer, “The Breathing Permit of Hor,” 127.

<sup>13</sup> For the approximate dimensions of the scroll which contained the *Hor Book of Breathings*, see John Gee, *A Guide to the Joseph Smith Papyri* (Provo, Utah: The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2000), 10–11. Gee describes the surviving fragments from the scroll as 13 cm in height, while Michael Rhodes estimates the height of the scroll to have been approximately 11 cm. See Rhodes, *The Hor Book of Breathings*, 4.

<sup>14</sup> Coenen, “An Introduction,” 39.

The above evidence is only strengthened when we begin comparing the *Hor Book of Breathings* and Facsimile No. 3 with the thirty-two other known copies of the Book of Breathings.<sup>15</sup> Egyptologist Mark Coenen rightfully noted that when it comes to the Book of Breathings, “the repertoire of scenes represented in the vignettes is very limited and the vignettes are also extremely standardized.”<sup>16</sup> As can be seen from the chart below, the most common type of scene found in the Book of Breathings is the throne scene, in which the deceased can be found approaching the enthroned Osiris. Variations of this scene account for twenty-seven (62.8%) of the total scenes found in the vignettes and registers of the extant copies of the Book of Breathings.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> For comparative purposes, thirty-three copies of the Book of Breathings Made by Isis may seem like an insignificant amount. Nevertheless, this number represents all known and extant copies of this text. This fact, combined with the rarity of this type of document among the thousands of known funerary documents, can allow us to make some general observations regarding patterns and iconographic frequencies in the Book of Breathings.

<sup>16</sup> Coenen, “An Introduction,” 40.

<sup>17</sup> Due to the nature of this paper in comparing the scenes from the Book of Breathings, I will refer to each register of a vignette as its own, separate vignette.

**Table 3.1 Vignettes of the Book of Breathing**

#	Document Name	Throne Scenes	Cow Scenes	Other Scenes	Total Vignettes/ Registers
1	P. Joseph Smith I, X, and XI, and Facsimile No. 3	1	0	1	2
2	P. Berlin 3135	2	0	0	2
3	P. Berlin 3154	1	0	0	1
4	Bodleian Library, Ms. Egypt.c.2	2	0	0	2
5	P. British Museum EA 9995	2	0	2	4
6	P. British Museum EA 10048	-	-	-	0
7	P. British Museum EA 10260 and Bodleian Library, Ms. Egypt.a.4. Section D	1	0	0	1
8	P. Bibliothèque nationale 178-181	1	1	0	2
9	P. Chester Beatty XXa	1	1	0	2
10	P. Denon (den Haag, MMW Inv. Nr. 42.88)	1	1	0	2
11	P. Florence 3665+3666 and Vienna 3850	2	1	0	3
12	P. Lausanne 3391	-	-	-	0
13	P. Lafayette College	2	0	0	2
14	P. Leiden T 24	3	0	0	3
15	P. Leiden T 36	-	-	-	0
16	P. Leiden T 38	-	-	-	0
17	P. Louvre E 8079 + E 11080	1	1	0	2
18	P. Louvre E 11079	1	1	0	2
19	P. Louvre N 3083 + N 3194a	0	1	2	3
20	P. Louvre N 3121	1	0	0	1
21	P. Louvre N 3126	1	0	0	1
22	P. Louvre N 3154	-	-	-	0
23	P. Louvre N 3158	-	-	-	0
24	P. Louvre N 3166	-	-	-	0
25	P. Louvre N 3167 + N 3222	1	0	1	2
26	P. Louvre N 3204 b and c and N 3285	-	-	-	0
27	P. Louvre N 3284	2	1	0	3
28	P. Louvre N 3291	-	-	-	0
29	P. Munich 805	-	-	-	0
30	P. Tübingen 2016	1	1	1	3
31	P. Vienna 3863	-	-	-	0
32	P. Vienna 3931	-	-	-	0
33	P. Vienna 10158	-	-	-	0
<b>Totals</b>		27	9	7	43

It can be seen in the chart above that of the twenty copies of the Book of Breathings that contain vignettes, sixteen of them contain two or more vignettes or registers, with only one of them failing to include some sort of a throne scene at all. Thus, the chances that the *Hor Book of Breathings* would also have included a throne scene are quite high. Furthermore, Coenen observed that in the Book of Breathings, “the text columns are frequently enclosed by vignettes,” and “regularly the papyrus is decorated with a vignette at the beginning and at the end.”<sup>18</sup> With this in mind, we can easily visualize Facsimile No. 1 and 3 functioning as a pair of “bookends” to the Book of Breathings on the Joseph Smith Papyri.

Finally, while the iconography of Facsimile No. 3 will be discussed in greater detail below, it does contain one last piece of evidence connecting Facsimile No. 3 with the *Hor Book of Breathings*. A close look at Figure 5 in the Facsimile will show that the individual often identified as *Hor* is wearing what appear to be anklets above each of his feet. While anklets, bracelets, and jewelry are not altogether uncommon in Egyptian art, it is significant that anklets appear only one other time in the extant copies of the Book of Breathings —on Figure 2 in Facsimile No. 1. When combined with all the other evidence cited above, this rare iconographic detail may provide further evidence that the original vignette for Facsimile No. 3 had accompanied the *Hor Book of Breathings*.

When considering the evidence above, it is important to remember that any inclusion of Facsimile No. 3 on the *Hor Book of Breathings* does not preclude the possibility of it belonging to the Book of Abraham. As one non-LDS scholar pointed out, “The relation between the

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<sup>18</sup> Coenen, “An Introduction to the Book of Breathings,” 39. Coenen cites the Joseph Smith Papyri as belonging to this category of Book of Breathings which contain a vignette at both the beginning and the end of the text. Other copies include P. Berlin 3135, P. Bibliothèque nationale 179-181, P. Bodleian Library Ms. Egypt.c.2, P. Denon, P. Florence 3665 + 3666 and P. Vienna 3850, P. Lafayette College, P. Louvre E 8079 + 11080, P. Louvre E 11079, and P. Chester Beatty XXa.

vignettes and the text is not straightforward. The Hathor-cow, for example, plays an important role in the end vignette typical of this composition, though this goddess is nowhere mentioned in the text of this *Document of Breathing*.”<sup>19</sup> Thus, a vignette accompanying the text of the Book of Breathings may not necessarily serve as an illustration for that text. While the relationship between Facsimile No. 3 and the Book of Abraham will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter, this caution is certainly worth keeping in mind when thinking on Facsimile No. 3’s ties to the Book of Breathings.

### **Categorizing the Throne Scenes in the Book of Breathings**

After reviewing the evidence that Facsimile No. 3 had accompanied the text of the *Hor Book of Breathings*, our next step is to identify those scenes from the remainder of the Book of Breathings corpus which compare most closely to the Facsimile. To do this, we will first examine the twenty-six remaining throne scenes from the Book of Breathings and discuss the iconographic patterns that can be used to further classify them into more specific subcategories. After identifying these subcategories, we will then look in greater detail at the iconography of Facsimile No. 3 to determine which, if any, of these subcategories of throne scenes it belongs.

In a study on Hypocephali, John Gee once noted that “one impediment to understanding hypocephali is the lack of a comprehensive collection of the examples published in usable form. As a result, some of the statements made about hypocephali based on only a few examples cannot possibly be correct when considered in the light of the larger corpus.”<sup>20</sup> This state of

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<sup>19</sup> Marc Coenen, “An Introduction to the Document of Breathing Made by Isis,” *Revue D’egyptologie* 49 (1998): 41.

<sup>20</sup> John Gee, “Towards an Interpretation of Hypocephali,” in *Le Lotus qui Sort du terre: Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga*, ed. Hedvig Györy. (Budapest: *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts Supplément*, 2001), 325.

affairs as described by Gee, as well as the resulting problems, can likewise be seen in studies relating to the Book of Breathings.

Unfortunately, many scholars who have sought to compare Facsimile No. 3 have lacked a complete corpus to compare it with, due to most of the known copies of the Book of Breathings remaining unpublished at the time of their writing.<sup>21</sup> As a result, these scholars have been content to explain the context of Facsimile No. 3 by merely citing a few other examples of throne scenes that appear in other copies of the Book of Breathings, while making little to no effort to demonstrate the exact iconographic parallels. For example, Robert Ritner only cited two other copies, P. Denon and P. Tübingen 2016, as containing “comparable scenes” to that of Facsimile No. 3. Michael Rhodes added a third, P. Louvre 3284, to Ritner’s list as a scene that showed “the deceased being introduced into the presence of Osiris, quite similar to the second vignette of the Hor Book of Breathings.”<sup>22</sup> Though these scenes obviously contain some similarities, a close comparison shows that there are few iconographic parallels beyond the fact that each scene depicts the deceased before the throne of Osiris. P. Denon, for example, features the deceased standing alone, rather than accompanied by anyone as in Facsimile No. 3. Osiris is also standing, not sitting. Behind Osiris stands not only Isis, but also Horus and Nephthys, and between Osiris and the deceased are three altars with various forms of offerings.

P. Tübingen 2016 features the deceased being led from the front by Anubis, not Ma‘at, and nobody following from behind. It likewise includes Ammut on a stand, Thoth, and the four sons of Horus between the deceased and the throne of Osiris. An elaborate altar with various offerings is also before the throne. P. Louvre 3284 also shows Thoth, Ammut, and the four sons

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<sup>21</sup> Coenen, “Owners of Documents of Breathing Made by Isis,” 59–60.

<sup>22</sup> Rhodes, *Hor Book of Breathings*, 17.

of Horus, but shows a miniature version of the deceased placing his heart in the balance, as opposed to being led by anyone into the presence of Osiris. Thus, while there are certainly some iconographic elements shared between these scenes and Facsimile No. 3, the differences between them call for a closer examination and comparison of the iconographic details of these types of scenes.<sup>23</sup>

One of the advantages of being able to look at and compare all the vignettes from the known surviving copies of the Book of Breathings is that some patterns begin to be recognizable that would otherwise not be when comparing only a select few. While virtually no two vignettes are identical, these patterns nevertheless appear to be standardized enough to allow us to identify at least four different categories of Book of Breathing throne scenes, which I will refer to as the (1) Invocation scene, (2) the Weighing of the Heart scene, (3) the Presentation scene, (4) or a hybrid of these scenes.<sup>24</sup> Each of these scenes, along with the iconography used to identify them, will be discussed in order below.

The first category of throne scenes, the Invocation scene, accounts for at least nine (33%) of the twenty-seven total throne scenes from the Book of Breathings, making it the most

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<sup>23</sup> There is no shortcut when it comes to carefully comparing the iconography of vignettes with those similar scenes. The lack of a careful evaluation can lead to false claims and assumptions. For example, Robert K. Ritner cited P. Florence 3666 + P. Vienna 3850 as conclusive evidence linking Facsimile No. 3 to the judgment scene, since in it “Maat and Anubis escort the deceased to the scales, enthroned Osiris and Isis” in a similar way to what is found in Facsimile No. 3 (Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri*, 138). However, if one were to examine the scene cited by Ritner, they would find that the deceased is not being escorted by Maat and Anubis, but Maat alone. Anubis, rather than escorting the deceased, is standing by the scales next to Horus, and Nephthys stands with Isis behind Osiris. Thus, a closer look at the scene demonstrates that the parallels are not as strong as Ritner has suggested.

<sup>24</sup> What I classify as the “Invocation Scene” is also commonly known as the “Adoration of Osiris” in Egyptological writing. These names are given for convenience in classifying the types of throne scenes, and are based upon the iconography of the scene, as opposed to any textual description provided in the document, though in many instances the text may agree.

commonly occurring type of scene.<sup>25</sup> When this scene is included in the Book of Breathings, it is always inserted at the beginning of the text as the opening vignette.<sup>26</sup> Aside from its placement, there are also several iconographic indicators that set this scene apart from the other two categories of throne scenes. The first of these is that the individual approaching Osiris is always found approaching alone, with no one else at his or her side to guide or introduce them to Osiris. Another element each of these scenes has in common is that both hands of the individual approaching the throne are always raised, with the palms extended outwards toward Osiris in a manner of praise. In two of these scenes, Osiris is featured standing, rather than sitting.<sup>27</sup> Occasionally, the invocation scene can feature other notable elements, such as other deities standing behind Osiris (found in five scenes), or sandals on the feet of the deceased (found in four scenes), but these features by no means seem to be a requirement for these types of scenes.

The Weighing of the Heart, or “judgment” scene, appears a total of five times in the Book of Breathings, accounting for 18.5% of the throne scenes. As would be expected, this scene is most easily identifiable from the set of scales, which are found in each of these five scenes, and used to weight the heart of the deceased against a depiction of truth, or *Ma‘at*.<sup>28</sup> Unlike the Invocation scene, the Weighing of the Heart scene can show up in either the end, beginning, or middle of the text, depending on which other vignettes are included in the document. In addition

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<sup>25</sup> A possible ninth instance appears in the upper right-hand corner on P. Florence 3665. All that survives of this scene is the seated Osiris. Since Osiris rarely, if ever, appears alone in these scenes, we can only assume that someone is approaching the throne.

<sup>26</sup> One exception to this pattern may be P. Leiden T 24, which has this scene 3 times – at the beginning, middle, and end. However, this papyrus also contains spells from the Book of the Dead, and some of these vignettes may very well be included as part of it, rather than the Book of Breathings. In either case, the scene is still found at the beginning of the text.

<sup>27</sup> P. Denon and P. Louvre E 11079.

<sup>28</sup> In some instances, *Ma‘at* is represented by a single feather. In others she is represented by the hieroglyphic determinative of the goddess.



to the scales, the Weighing of the Heart can be easily identified by a combination of multiple iconographic elements typical of this scene. Thoth, for example, can be found in each of these scenes with a writing instrument in his hand. Ammut is also always to be found somewhere nearby, waiting to devour the deceased should the scales tip unfavorably. Isis is always standing behind Osiris in these scenes, though the position of her left hand may vary from being at her side, extended toward the elbow of Osiris, or uplifted with her palm facing outward. Occasionally, Nephthys and Horus can be found standing beside her.<sup>29</sup> The four sons of Horus are also found in this scene, standing upon a lotus flower near the throne of Osiris.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, these scenes never feature the deceased individual at full-scale. Four of the scenes depict them at roughly half-scale, while the fifth depicts the deceased as an extremely small figure standing next to the scales, an element unique in the Book of Breathings to this type of throne scene.<sup>31</sup>

The third category of throne scenes found among the Book of Breathings is that of the Presentation Scene. This scene, which has also been labeled a “introduction” or “initiation” scene, accounts for four of the total throne scenes in these documents.<sup>32</sup> Like the invocation scene, these scenes are always found at the beginning of the Book of Breathings, and no single copy contains both scenes. Several clear differences exist between the Invocation and Presentation scenes. For example, the Invocation scene always depicts an unaccompanied

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<sup>29</sup> P. Berlin 3154, P. Florence 3665 and 3666 + P. Vienna 3850,

<sup>30</sup> P. Berlin 3135, Bodleian Library Ms. Egypt C.2, P. Lafayette College, P. Louvre N 3126, P. Louvre N 3284, and P. Tübingen 2016.

<sup>31</sup> P. Berlin 3135, Bodleian Library Ms. Egypt c.2, P. Lafayette College, and P. Louvre N 3126.

<sup>32</sup> P. British Museum EA 10260 and Bodleian Library Ms. Egypt a.4 section D, P. Bibliothèque nationale 178-181, P. Louvre N 3121, and P. Chester Beatty XXa.

individual approaching the throne, while the Presentation scene always features the deceased being led, or “presented,” before the throne of Osiris by the Egyptian God Anubis, with Hathor or Ma‘at occasionally following from behind.<sup>33</sup> Anubis’s right hand is always raised with his palm extended toward Osiris, while his left hand is always holding the right hand of the deceased. In each of these scenes Isis, Horus, and Nephthys can be found behind the throne of Osiris – usually in that order.<sup>34</sup>

Unlike the judgment scene, the Presentation scene always features Isis with her left hand upraised, and her right hand is always shown to be straight down at her side. Also unlike the Invocation or Judgment scene, where the deceased occasionally appears wearing sandals, the deceased is always shown to be barefooted in the Presentation scene.

The fourth category, accounting for seven of the throne scenes in the Book of Breathings, consists of a hybrid of the Weighing of the Heart and the Presentation scenes.<sup>35</sup> These scenes, like the judgment scene, can appear anywhere in the text, and as hybrids, they contain common iconographic elements from each of their parent scenes. Exactly which iconographic elements were included varies, however, and it appears that the artist was at liberty to choose what to include and what to leave out. For example, although most of these scenes contain Thoth, Ammut, the four sons of Horus, and scales, none of them contain all four of these features. Isis, who is found in each of these scenes, can be found with varying hand positions, just as she is

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<sup>33</sup> Ma‘at can be seen standing behind the deceased in P. Bibliothèque nationale 179-181, and Hathor can be seen in P. British Museum EA 9995.

<sup>34</sup> An exception can be found on P. British Museum EA 10260 + P. Bodleian Library Ms. Egypt a.4 Section D, where Horus and Isis have switched positions.

<sup>35</sup> P. Berlin 3154, P. British Museum EA 9995 a and b, P. Florence 3666, P. Louvre N 3167 + N 3222, and Tübingen 2016.

found in judgment scene. However, unlike the judgment scene, the deceased individual is always drawn at full scale.

On the right end of four of these scenes, the deceased can be found being introduced to the judgment seat of Osiris by the Egyptian God Anubis, just as is found in each of the Presentation scenes. The only exception appears to be P. Florence 3666, which contains Ma‘at leading the deceased, instead of Anubis. However, this anomaly is likely due to Anubis already featuring in the scene, standing beneath the left side of the judgment scales.

Perhaps there are other unique iconographic details that set each of these scenes apart from one another. However, the details already mentioned are enough to allow us to sort each of the throne scenes from the Book of Breathings into one of four categories of throne scenes, as seen in the table below:

**Table 3.2 Categories of Throne Scenes in the Book of Breathings**

Invocation Scene	Weighing of the Heart Scene	Presentation Scene	Hybrid Scene
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• P. Berlin 3135</li> <li>• Bodleian Library, Ms. Egypt c.2</li> <li>• P. Denon (den Haag, MMW Inv. Nr. 42.88)</li> <li>• P. Lafayette College</li> <li>• P. Leiden T 24 (3 times)</li> <li>• P. Louvre N 3284</li> <li>• P. Louvre E 11079</li> <li>• P. Florence 3665 + 3666 and P. Vienna 3850 (?)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• P. Berlin 3135</li> <li>• Bodleian Library, Ms. Egypt c.2</li> <li>• P. Lafayette College</li> <li>• P. Louvre N 3126</li> <li>• P. Louvre N 3284</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• P. British Museum EA 10260 and Bodleian Library, Ms. Egypt a.4 Section D</li> <li>• P. Bibliothèque nationale 178-181</li> <li>• P. Louvre N 3121</li> <li>• P. Chester Beatty XXa</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• P. Berlin 3154</li> <li>• P. BM EA 9995a</li> <li>• P. BM EA 9995b</li> <li>• P. Florence 3665 + 3666 and P. Vienna 3850</li> <li>• P. Louvre N 3167 + N 3222</li> <li>• P. Louvre E 8079 + E 11080</li> <li>• P. Tübingen 2016</li> </ul>

### The Iconography of Facsimile No. 3

Recognizing the key iconographic differences between each of the Book of Breathing's three categories of throne scenes, we can now look at the iconography of Facsimile No. 3 and attempt to classify it and compare it with those scenes that are most closely related to it. As we review the iconography, each of the key figures will be discussed in the numerical order assigned to them when they first appeared in the 1842 *Times and Seasons*, beginning with Figure 1.<sup>36</sup>

Figure 1 depicts an individual sitting upon a throne, facing to the right. The throne is detailed with a scale-like texture on its side, and contains a square on the bottom, often referred to as the “builders square.” The throne is not elevated and is drawn on the same plane as the individuals in the facsimile. The individual sitting upon the throne is adorned with an *atef* crown and is holding a crook and flail in its hands. In the hooked portion of the crook, however, there is a straight line drawn through at a vertical slant, almost giving it the appearance of a *was* scepter. The right arm of the individual is absent, though there is a crude shape drawn next to the base of the flail handle which may be the right hand.

The seated individual is also curiously adorned from mid-chest to ankle in a long robe textured with dots, while a type of shawl covers the individual's chest and shoulders. The shawl hangs over the right shoulder and contains fringes on its bottom edge. The shawl seems as though it may be covering the right arm of the individual. Part of the fringed shawl can also be seen hanging behind the left elbow and continuing diagonally down to the individual's waist. This portion of the shawl is shaded darkly, unlike the rest of it.

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<sup>36</sup> This study will use the earliest printed version of Facsimile No. 3, published in the May 16, 1842 *Times and Seasons* newspaper. Subsequent copies of the facsimile in scripture and elsewhere have left out some details, moving it further from its original source. See John Gee, *An Introduction to the Book of Abraham* (Salt Lake City; Provo, Utah: Deseret Book Co., Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2017), 147.

The facial features of the individual are difficult to recognize. There is no pronounced chin, though there appears to be a jaw line ending in a postiche, or false beard. Two curved lines appear on the face, with the top one appearing to form the bottom of the *atef* crown. No eyes or nose are visible. This figure was identified in the accompanying explanation to the Facsimile as Abraham sitting upon Pharaoh's throne, while most Egyptologists would argue that the iconography and hieroglyphic captions identify the figure as Osiris.

Figure number two stands behind the seated figure and is also facing the same direction to the right. The left hand is raised with the palm facing outward, while the right arm is dropped straight at the side. The raised hand has two bracelet type bands on it, one on the wrist, and another on the forearm. In the right-hand hangs what might be an *ankh*, but rather than being a loop there is an additional line drawn through it, making it appear like a star. The individual's robe is over the left shoulder, but as it extends to the legs, it appears to form separate leggings, rather than a robe.<sup>37</sup> Long hair flows down the individual's back, just below the shoulder, and adorned on the top of the head is a crown of cow horns surrounding a sun disk. A prominent chin is formed by a right angle, and a nose is perceptible. Two horizontal lines with a small circle drawn between them represent the eye. The Facsimile's explanations identify this figure as Pharaoh, while others have identified it as either the goddess Isis or Hathor.

In front of the seated figure is a simple, Egyptian styled altar, labeled as Figure Three. Its thin base opens up to a small table, upon which is a circular-type vessel with a spout coming out on the left side of it. Above the vessel is a single flower, likely a lotus, which curves up over the vessel and faces the throne.

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<sup>37</sup> An alternative explanation might be that the robe is translucent, and thus the figure's legs are visible through the robe.

To the right of the altar is figure number four, with the right arm raised and palm facing outward, and left arm downwards and holding the hand of figure five. Figure four has on a long robe, with the same texture on it as the robe of the sitting figure. From the hip down, the robe splits and is only textured on the right side. Above the individual's waist is a sash, and above the sash a strap rises up over the individuals' left shoulder. Each of the ankles contain anklets, and the feet are standing close together. The individual has hair or a wig similar to that of figure two, though with less texturing. Upon the head is the *ma'at* feather, contained within a large circle. The eye is drawn in like fashion as figure two, with two horizontal lines and a small circle between. Figure four of the Facsimile was identified as the Prince of Pharaoh in the accompanying explanations, but scholars have argued that the hieroglyphic captions above the figure signify that it is the Egyptian deity Ma'at.

Figure five stands behind figure four and is facing the throne. The right arm is down, with the hand clasping the left hand of figure four. The left arm is raised, with the palm facing outward, toward the throne. Fingers can be identified on the raised hand. The left arm also appears to have armbands upon the elbow and upper arm, but the one on the elbow may simply be the lines used to draw the right arm. The individual is wearing a long skirt which extends from the upper waist down to just above the ankles. On the front of the skirt is an apron, with fringes around its side and bottom. The apron is textured with curving vertical lines, leading up to the sash that ties the tip of the skirt. Anklets appear on the individual, and the feet are more spread out than figures two and four. The individual's head contains short, textured hair, a prominent chin and nose, and a small oval for the eye. A headband appears horizontally over the hair, and atop the head is a shape depicting a cone with a lotus flower through it. This figure was

identified by Joseph Smith as Shulem, one of the principle waiters of the king. Others have identified this figure as *Hor*, or *Horos*, from the hieroglyphic text above the figure.

Figure six is the last numbered figure, and stands furthest from the throne, behind figure five. The figure has on a skirt and apron nearly identical in length and design as that of figure five. The legs contain no anklets, and the feet are spread out like those of figure five. Both hands of the individual are extended straight out in front and appear to be on the waist of figure five. The head of figure six is small and round, with a pronounced chin and nose. A large circle with another smaller circle and dot within it forms the eye, and atop the head is a small cone shaped item. Aside from the clothing, the entire figure is shaded black, including the cone atop its head. The Facsimile's explanations identify this figure as the prince's slave Olimlah, while others, for various reasons, have identified it as Anubis.

The entire scene is enclosed within a booth of sorts, with a long cornice stretching across for the ceiling. Beneath the cornice is row of 23 stars. The oval shape near the top of vertical lines marking the left border of the scene suggests it is a lotus column, though the right border of the scene contains no such shape. A total of ten vertical columns of hieroglyphic text appear at the top of the scene beneath the row of stars. Beneath the scene is a horizontal row of hieroglyphic text, which, along with the ceiling, run a little bit past the column representing the right-side border of the scene.

### **Comparing and Classifying Facsimile No. 3**

Unfortunately, the frequency of the throne scene motif in Egyptian art and literature has prompted many scholars to gloss over the iconographic details of Facsimile No. 3, passing it off

as commonplace, and as a standard scene belonging to many late Egyptian funerary texts.<sup>38</sup>

Admittedly, Facsimile No. 3 does have much in common with those various throne scenes found in these texts, including those scenes from the Book of Breathings. Nevertheless, several challenges present themselves as we begin to try classifying the Facsimile into one of the four categories of throne scenes presented above. For example, the position of the deceased's arms, as well as the presence of several others accompanying him, indicate that Facsimile No. 3 is probably not intended to represent an Invocation Scene. Yet, the absence of Thoth, Ammut, the sons of Horus, and the judgment scales indicate that Facsimile No. 3 is not a judgment scene, nor a hybrid of it.<sup>39</sup>

Of the four types of throne scenes from the Book of Breathings, the type of scene with which Facsimile No. 3 compares best is that of the Presentation scene, which features the deceased being introduced into the presence of Osiris by one or more other Egyptian deities. However, there are several challenges with placing Facsimile No. 3 into this category. The first of these has to do with the placement of the vignette in the Book of Breathings text. As discussed above, Facsimile No. 3 would likely have been the concluding vignette of the *Hor Book of Breathings*. When comparing the extant Book of Breathings, it becomes clear that rules existed which governed the placement of each vignette. The worshiping of the cow, for example, was generally placed at the end of the text, while the Invocation scene was always placed at the beginning. Each of the four Presentation scenes tell us that the existing rule was to place them at the beginning of the text as well, as opposed to the end. While there is evidence that exceptions

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<sup>38</sup> See, for example, Charles Larson, *By His Own Hand Upon Papyrus: A New Look at the Joseph Smith Papyri* (Grand Rapids: Institute for Religious Research, 1992), 110.

<sup>39</sup> For a further discussion on the issues with classifying Facsimile No. 3 as a Weighing of the Heart scene, see John Gee, "Facsimile No. 3 and Book of the Dead 125," in *Astronomy, Papyrus, and Covenant*, ed. John Gee and Brian M. Hauglid (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2005), 100–101.



could be made regarding the standard placement of the vignettes, such exceptions are extremely rare in the Book of Breathings.<sup>40</sup>

Another challenge in classifying Facsimile No. 3 as a typical Presentation scene from the Book of Breathings relates to the two figures standing on either side of the deceased. In each of the Presentation scenes in the Book of Breathings, Anubis can be found holding the hand of and leading the deceased from the front. However, where we would expect to find Anubis in Facsimile No. 3, we instead find Ma'at leading the deceased by the hand. While it is true that Ma'at also accompanies the deceased in four of the Hybrid scenes, in each of these instances she is found behind, not in front of, the deceased. Though it could be argued that this too could be considered an exception to the rule, similar to the placement of the vignette, we can only allow so many exceptions before we are forced to acknowledge that Facsimile No. 3 is not a standard vignette from the Book of Breathings.

Some might argue that Facsimile No. 3 is no more unique than other vignettes from the Book of Breathings, and that they each contain their own distinctive features. While there are other examples of scenes from the Book of Breathings that are in fact unique, it nevertheless remains that they fit nicely within the four categories of throne scenes presented here in this chapter (except for Facsimile No. 3). While one could certainly choose to classify these throne scenes differently, they could only do so by changing which iconographic features I considered significant in this study are actually insignificant – including the gods and goddesses appearing in the scenes, the attire of each figure, the hand gestures, the position of the scene in the body of

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<sup>40</sup> The only exception that can be identified is in P. Florence 3665 + 3666 and P. Vienna 3850, which features the worshipping of the cow scene at the beginning of the text, rather than at the end.

the text, and so forth. I would argue, however, that these elements make up the most significant iconographic features of any throne scene in the Book of Breathings.

### **The Challenge with Anubis**

Though Anubis is not found leading the deceased from in front, some have argued that he is nevertheless present in Facsimile No. 3. These individuals suggest the head of the individual standing behind the deceased (Figure 6) has been either badly drawn or otherwise significantly altered and should have originally been the head of a jackal, representing the Egyptian god Anubis.<sup>41</sup> The reasons cited for this argument have included the ear-like shape atop the head of Figure 6, his black skin, and the hieroglyphic text written above him. However, each of these points of reasoning have major issues surrounding them that are worth careful consideration.

The first issue has to do with the claim that the cone-shaped item atop the head of Figure 6 was originally meant to represent a jackal ear.<sup>42</sup> One critic has even gone so far as to claim that the original lead printing plate for Facsimile No. 3 contained a jackal snout to accompany the apparent ear, but that Joseph Smith instructed Reuben Hedlock to remove it.<sup>43</sup> However, a close look at the lead plate suggests nothing more than the expected carving and chiseling necessary to create the plate to begin with, and any argument otherwise is entirely speculative.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore,

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<sup>41</sup> Théodule Devéria, "Les Papyrus D'Abraham," in *Voyage au pays de Mormons*, Jules Remy, ed. (Paris: E. Dentu, 1860), 467. See also James Henry Breasted, as quoted in Franklin S. Spaulding, *Joseph Smith as Translator* (Salt Lake City: The Arrow Press, 1912), 26.

<sup>42</sup> See for example Stephen E. Thompson, "Egyptology and the Book of Abraham," 145–146.

<sup>43</sup> See Paul Osborne, "The Book of Abraham Facsimile No. 3." Online. <https://book-of-abraham-facsimile-no-3.my-free.website/> (accessed May 29, 2019).

<sup>44</sup> A high definition image of the lead plate used for printing the Facsimile can be examined on the Joseph Smith Papers Website. See "Facsimile Printing Plates, circa 23 February–16 May 1842," Online. <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/facsimile-printing-plates-circa-23-february-16-may-1842/3> (accessed May 30, 2019).

in the Book of Breathings, Anubis is always drawn with two tall, distinct ears, rather than a single ear. The hieroglyphic writing above Figure 6 is so low that no such ears would have been able to fit without interfering with the text above them. Furthermore, we are then left to wonder, if Smith were attempting to change a jackal into a human slave, why be satisfied with the removal of only one ear, rather than both?

In addition to the cone-shape on the head of Figure 6, some have argued that the black skin is proof that the figure is supposed to depict Anubis. There are two problems with this claim. The first is that Anubis was not the only one to be depicted with black skin in ancient Egyptian art. For example, some copies of the Book of the Dead show the enthroned Osiris with black skin.<sup>45</sup> It was also common for Egyptians to depict Nubians with black or extremely dark skin in their artwork, such as in the Book of the Dead of Maiherpra.<sup>46</sup> The Egyptians depiction of the *sheut*, or Shadow, is also often drawn as a completely black figure.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the black skin on Figure 6 does not necessarily mean that the figure was meant to represent Anubis.

A second problem with using the black skin as evidence of Anubis is that a comparison of the extant Book of Breathings shows that Anubis is never colored black unless the entire vignette is colored in as well.<sup>48</sup> The original vignette of Facsimile No. 1, which is found on P.

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<sup>45</sup> See for example the Book of the Dead of Tentosorkon (P. British Museum 9919) or Amenhotep (P. Kairo CG 40002); As ruler of the Underworld, Osiris carried the epithet “the black one” by the Middle Kingdom. For example, in the Nebseni papyrus of the Book of the Dead, Osiris claims “I flood the land with water and Great Black One is my name.” See James Hastings, John Alexander Selbie, and Louis Herbert Gray, eds., *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 5 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1922), 712; See also J.H. Taylor, “Patterns of Colouring on Ancient Egyptian Coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: An Overview,” in *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, W. Davis, ed. (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 164–181.

<sup>46</sup> P. Kairo CG 24095

<sup>47</sup> For example, the shadow of Irinufer is depicted in the colorful wall paintings in his tomb at Deir el-Medina (TT290).

<sup>48</sup> This practice can be seen in all thirteen depictions of Anubis in the Book of Breathings.

Joseph Smith I, indicates that the vignettes on this copy of the Book of Breathing were not colored, but were simple black line drawings.<sup>49</sup> Thus, if Figure 6 is supposed to depict Anubis, we must ask ourselves why the artist would have chosen to color in the skin of Anubis, when doing so was clearly not the common practice for un-colored Book of Breathing documents at the time.<sup>50</sup>

There are several other iconographic details relating to the attire of Figure 6 that suggest that he was not meant to depict the jackal-headed god Anubis. For example, every depiction of Anubis in the Book of Breathing shows him to be wearing a type of headdress flowing over his shoulder, with its cloth tassels hanging down over his upper chest. Removing such a headdress from the original vignette would have required extensive revisions on the part of Reuben Hedlock. Yet, comparing his work on Facsimile No. 1 with the original vignette on P. Joseph Smith I shows that Hedlock was surprisingly accurate, though not perfect, in creating the lead printing plates. The notion that the head of Figure 6 represents a “false restoration” made by Hedlock also seems unlikely. To begin, the position of the vignette on the scroll would have offered it better preservation than those fragments that have only survived under glass slides. The absence of the vignette among these preserved slides suggests it did not require the same amount of preservation and was likely not as damaged as those portions from the outer end of the scroll.

In addition to the headdress, Anubis’ attire almost always consists of either a short kilt or a combination of a short and a long kilt, while the deceased individual wears either a longer kilt or a dress, depending on their gender. The fact that Figures 5 and 6 in Facsimile No. 3 are

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<sup>49</sup> The only exceptions to this are Figure 3 in Facsimile No. 1, and Figure 6 in Facsimile No. 3.

<sup>50</sup> This calls into question the argument that Figure 3 in Facsimile No. 1 is also supposed to be Anubis. The *Hor Book of Breathing* is the only Book of Breathing document to color in figures black when the rest of the vignette is not colored.

wearing identical apparel, including a sash, kilt, and fringed apron, suggests that the last figure is not Anubis, let alone a deity.<sup>51</sup> When taken together, the clothing, coloring, position, and single cone shape atop the head of Figure 6 strongly suggest that this figure was not intended to be a depiction of Anubis.

Finally, several Egyptologists have cited the hieroglyphs above the head of Figure 6 as conclusive evidence for that Figure 6 represents Anubis. As noted in the previous chapter, Robert K. Ritner has translated these three columns of writing as “Recitation by Anubis, who makes protection, foremost of the embalming booth.”<sup>52</sup> If correct, this translation of these hieroglyphs would not only be at odds with the figure beneath them, but, as many critics of the Book of Abraham have pointed out, it would also be at odds with the original explanation printed with the Facsimile that the figure is actually “Olimlah, a slave belonging to the prince.”

While this is indeed a complex issue, we must remember that the relation between the hieroglyphic captions and the pictures which we assume they describe is not always as straightforward as we would like it to be. For example, Papyrus Rhind 1 and 2 (Edinburgh 908 + 540, and 909) contain several vignettes in which a jackal-headed figure, that we would assume to be Anubis, is sometimes labeled as Thoth, Horus, and even Osiris.<sup>53</sup> A text on the wall in the

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<sup>51</sup> The closest comparison between the robing of Anubis and the deceased can be found in P. British Museum 9995. However, there are several differences. Both kilts are colored differently, and the kilt on Anubis is tied at his waist, while the deceased has his kilt tied midway up his chest. The sashes are also clearly different from one another.

<sup>52</sup> Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Papyri*, 140. Michael Rhodes likewise recognizes the name Anubis in the text, and offers the following translation, though he admits that the reading is far from certain: “Words spoken by Anubis who makes protection, Lord of heaven, Foremost of the Westerners.” See Rhodes, *Hor Book of Breathings*, 25.

<sup>53</sup> See Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 333, 348. In Papyrus Rhind 1, two identical figures of Anubis are shown purifying the deceased Menthesouphis with water. However, the figure on the left of the deceased is labeled as “Thoth” and the figure on the right as “Horus.” The text accompanying the scene also describes the scene as a “Spell for the purification of Horus and Thoth.” Papyrus Rhind 2 features a depiction of Anubis and Thoth holding hands, though the caption gives the name “Osiris” to the jackal-headed figure, and the accompanying text in the column below the

tomb of Ramses VI labels a bearded mummiform figure as “Corpse of Isis,” and a similar figure as “Corpse of Anu(bis),” when we would normally expect Isis to be portrayed as a female, and Anubis as a jackal.<sup>54</sup> At the temple of Ramses II at Abydos, the relief of a fully humanoid male is also given the caption “Anubis, Lord of the sacred land.”<sup>55</sup> If such a phenomenon could happen on these Theban documents, there is certainly a possibility that the figures in Facsimile No. 3 can be interpreted independent from their hieroglyphic captions as well.

While Figure 6 is undoubtedly the most significant iconographic aberration in Facsimile No. 3, there are of course other unique features not found elsewhere in the Book of Breathings that may prove helpful in furthering our understanding of the scene. For example, the twenty-three stars in the precipice have no parallels with any other vignette belonging to the Book of Breathings made by Isis. The large circle encompassing the Ma‘at feather atop figure 4 is also unique to this Facsimile. Facsimile No. 3 also clearly has Osiris’s robe being cut off just above the ankles, whereas every other depiction of Osiris makes no such distinction.<sup>56</sup> Though these features may prove to be of little consequence in the end, they nevertheless urge us to give Facsimile No. 3 far greater attention than what it has hitherto received.

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vignette mentions nothing at all of Thoth. These and other examples ultimately lead Smith to observe that “there is not always a complete correspondence between illustration and text” (Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 317).

<sup>54</sup> Joshua Aaron Roberson, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth* (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2012), 176–178

<sup>55</sup> Sameh Iskander, *The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos: Volume I: Wall Scenes* (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2015), 399–400.

<sup>56</sup> The dots texturing the robe of Osiris are not found anywhere at all on his feet. There are, however, several lines on the figure’s feet, which may be indications that the individual could have been wearing sandals, another iconographic feature rarely, if ever, found on Osiris.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, it has been my purpose to compare Facsimile No. 3 of the Book of Abraham with other Book of Breathings vignettes. This comparison has demonstrated that although Facsimile No. 3 was attached to the *Hor Book of Breathings*, it is anything but a common funerary scene from that collection of texts. In fact, its iconographic anomalies and odd placement, coupled with the strangely unique scene found on P. Joseph Smith I, make it difficult to determine the exact relationship between the vignette and the Book of Breathings. It may be that Facsimile No. 3 did not belong to the Book of Breathings at all, or at least had an additional association with some other text besides the Book of Breathings. In either instance, our interest in better understanding Facsimile No. 3 and its relation to the Book of Abraham would require us to look for parallels elsewhere. In the next chapter, we will examine possible parallels Facsimile No. 3 has with other Egyptian texts, including the Book of the Dead, tomb and temple art, and funerary stelae.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### BEYOND THE BOOK OF BREATHINGS: COMPARING FACSIMILE NO. 3 WITH PTOLEMAIC ART FROM TEXTS, TOMBS, TEMPLES, AND STELAE

In the previous chapter we compared Facsimile No. 3 of the Book of Abraham with vignettes from each of the extant copies of the Book of Breathings Made by Isis. Several significant iconographic details found in Facsimile No. 3 were not attested in the surviving copies of the Book of Breathings, leading us to classify Facsimile No. 3 as an anomalous vignette in the Book of Breathings corpus.<sup>1</sup> This is not, however, to say that no parallels exist for Facsimile No. 3 whatsoever. On the contrary, the ancient Egyptians were well known for their borrowing and repurposing of artwork for use in other settings, and it was common to find similar artwork depicted in various settings and mediums.<sup>2</sup> Because of the frequency in which this type of borrowing took place, our quest for a better understanding of Facsimile No. 3 requires that we look for parallels beyond the collection of Book of Breathings documents. Specifically, this chapter will focus on other sources rich with Egyptian art as we search for

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion on these iconographic anomalies, see chapter 3 herein.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the frequently attested scenes showing an individual worshipping before a bull or cow standing upon a naos, such as some of those which are found at the end of several copies of the Book of Breathings, have also been found on the walls of temples and tombs (For examples, see Marjorie Susan Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, [New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016], 73, 170–171; and Richard H Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* [New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000], 190). Foy Scalf noted that the weighing of the heart scene, which can be found in both the Book of Breathings as well as the Book of the Dead, also “appeared ubiquitously both in tombs as well as in temples” (Foy Scalf, *Book of the Dead: Becoming a God in Ancient Egypt* [Chicago: Oriental Institute Museum Publications, 2017], 142). Some examples of these include Theban Tombs 1, 9, 14, 19, 23, 25, 31, 33, 36, 41, as well as the southern chapel in the Temple of Hathor and Ma‘at at Dier El-Medina (See Bertha Porter and Rosalind L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. 1: The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs*. 2nd Edition. [Oxford: Griffith Institute and Oxford University Press, 1960] and Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 190).



potential parallels to Facsimile No. 3, including the Egyptian Book of the Dead, the temple, the tomb, and funerary stelae.<sup>3</sup>

Unlike the Book of Breathings collection, where all extant copies date to roughly the same time period and geographical region, the four categories mentioned above contain a much larger number of scenes and mediums spanning thousands of years from all over Egypt. This, of course, makes an iconographic study much more difficult, because, as Maya Müller put it, “The challenge of such studies is to identify ancient patterns of choosing and arranging motifs and scenes, or rules governing the almost unlimited number of variants.”<sup>4</sup> Thus, in order to focus our time and research on the most relevant material, this chapter will focus on those sources that are nearest to the *Hor Book of Breathings* in both time and geographic location. In this case, that means those vignettes, engravings, paintings, and other forms of artwork originating from the Ptolemaic period near Thebes.<sup>5</sup> While examining every known artistic example from this period would require a nearly impossible amount of time and resources, the results of this chapter will provide at the very least a general idea as to how common (or uncommon) parallel scenes to Facsimile No. 3 may have been outside of the Book of Breathings in Ptolemaic Thebes.

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<sup>3</sup> These four categories provide some of the largest samples of artwork available for examination, increasing the likelihood of being able to identify any parallels or an original context for Facsimile No. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Maya Müller, “Iconography and Symbolism,” in *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, Melinda K. Hartwig, ed. (Sussex: John Wiley and Sons Ltd.), 85.

<sup>5</sup> The Joseph Smith Papyri have been convincingly dated to the first half of the Ptolemaic period in Thebes. See Marc Coenen, “The Dating of the Papyri Joseph Smith I, X, and XI and Min Who Massacres His Enemies,” in *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years, Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, ed. Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors and Harco Willems (Louvain: Peeters, 1998), 2:1110–1111.

## The Book of the Dead

Looking beyond the Book of Breathings, we will begin our search for potential parallels by looking at a closely related collection of texts known as the Book of the Dead, or more properly, “the spells of coming forth in the daytime.”<sup>6</sup> Like the Book of Breathings, the Book of the Dead is often referred to as a funerary text, and was usually written down on papyrus or linen and buried alongside its owner to serve them upon their arrival in the afterlife.<sup>7</sup> As far as content goes, each of these compositions were usually very similar to one another, and it has been argued that many of the most popular sections of the Book of Breathings “were derived directly from Book of the Dead spells,” with a large majority of them being based “directly on the text of BD 125.”<sup>8</sup> As far as artwork is concerned, a cursory examination of the vignettes from both the Book of Breathings and the Book of the Dead supports this conclusion, as one can easily identify judgment and invocation scenes on copies of both texts. These and other parallels led Marc Coenen to suggest the possibility that “the artist-craftsman in the Greco-Roman Period, when illustrating a Document of Breathing, drew heavily upon the set of vignettes used in the Book of the Dead.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> For a discussion on the ancient and modern names applied to the Book of the Dead, see Stephen O. Smoot and Quinten Barney, “The Book of the Dead as a Temple Text and the Implications for the Book of Abraham,” in *The Temple: Ancient and Restored*, Stephen D. Ricks and Donald W. Parry, eds. (Salt Lake City; Orem, Utah: Eborn Books, The Interpreter Foundation, 2016), 176.

<sup>7</sup> Some sections of the Book of the Dead could also occasionally be found on the walls of tombs, on coffins, and even mummy bandages, though a wrapped scroll of papyrus seemed to be most common. For a more detailed discussion on the function and history of these funerary texts, see Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 11–22.

<sup>8</sup> Foy Scalf, *Book of the Dead: Becoming a God in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: Oriental Institute Museum Publications, 2017), 142–43.

<sup>9</sup> Marc Coenen, “An Introduction to the Document of Breathing Made by Isis,” *Revue D’egyptologie* 49 (1998): 41.

Unlike the Book of Breathings Made by Isis, for which we have just over thirty extant copies, the collection of Books of the Dead that have survived consists of literally thousands of copies. Just a few decades ago, any attempt to sort through and examine the vignettes from these surviving copies would have been nearly impossible, requiring extensive amounts of time, travel, and money in order to visit the museums and libraries around the world which were housing these documents. Fortunately, sorting through copies of the Book of the Dead has become easier today than ever before. This is in large measure due to the work of researchers at the University of Bonn in Germany, who have spent over twenty years thus far in gathering what has become the largest online database for surviving copies of the Book of the Dead. Their database, which contains nearly 3,000 items relating to the Book of the Dead, has only recently been made available online and open for research to the general public.<sup>10</sup> What is more is that the database allows for narrowed searches by categories such as time period, origin, medium, and language, making it much easier to identify those copies of the Book of the Dead that lie closest to the time and place in which the Joseph Smith Papyri were created.

As useful a resource as this database is, it is not without its limitations. For example, for the present study I conducted a search for Ptolemaic era copies of the Book of the Dead from Thebes, which produced a total of 227 results.<sup>11</sup> However, these 227 results do not include those copies of the Book of the Dead that have been catalogued with an unknown origin or date, making it possible that some copies may have been left out. Nevertheless, there is no need to be overly concerned with this limitation, for while vignettes associated with any given chapter of

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<sup>10</sup> An overview of this project can be found online at <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/projekt/das-project> (accessed May 29, 2019).

<sup>11</sup> These 227 Theban copies of the Book of the Dead from the Ptolemaic period make up roughly 15% of the 1,471 Ptolemaic copies found throughout all Egypt.

the Book of the Dead could often vary in earlier periods, the vignettes from Late Period copies are largely standardized. Regarding copies of the Book of the Dead in this era, Malcolm Mosher observed that “one can find little variation in the vignettes, and the standardization was so complete that, in abbreviated documents, a number of spells could be represented solely by their vignettes.”<sup>12</sup> Thus, we can expect that any copies of the Book of the Dead that are missing from the search results would more than likely have contained a combination of those vignettes that do show up on the other 227 copies.

There is, however, one copy of the Book of the Dead that did not show up in the search results that is worth some specific discussion. It is the copy that belonged to Hor, the very same as the owner of the *Hor Book of Breathings* from the Joseph Smith Papyri. The reason this copy does not show up in the search results for Ptolemaic Theban copies of the Book of the Dead is simply because its origin is currently listed as “unknown” in the Bonn database. However, there has been sufficient research relating to the names, titles, and genealogy found in this document to show that it had belonged to the same individual from Thebes who owned the *Hor Book of Breathings*.<sup>13</sup> As mentioned earlier, artists likely “drew heavily upon the Book of the Dead” when creating the Book of Breathings, and thus it is worth comparing the vignettes from the *Hor Book of Breathings* with those found in his copy of the Book of the Dead.

So far as we know, there were only two vignettes that appeared in the Hor Book of Breathings – the lion couch scene, which became the basis for Facsimile No. 1, and the Presentation scene preserved in Facsimile No. 3. In contrast, the surviving fragments from Hor’s

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<sup>12</sup> Malcolm Mosher Jr., “Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29 (1992): 144.

<sup>13</sup> This makes Hor one of only four individuals currently known to have owned a copy of both the Book of the Dead and the Book of Breathings. See Marc Coenen, “On the Demise of the Book of the Dead in Ptolemaic Thebes,” *Revue D’egyptologie* 52 (2001): 79–84.

Book of the Dead are much more richly illustrated, containing nearly two dozen registers or vignettes to accompany spells 15, 16, 17, 30, 83, and 89, among others. Interestingly, Hor's Book of the Dead also contains both a lion couch scene and a scene in which he is found approaching what appears to be Osiris. However, these scenes differ markedly from the vignettes in the Hor Book of Breathings. For example, the lion couch scene in Hor's Book of the Dead contains a mummiform figure lying atop the lion couch with tall, narrow canopic jars underneath, while the scene in the Hor Book of Breathings contains short, fat jars, with an individual on top of the lion couch that has a leg raised and is clearly not mummified.<sup>14</sup> In the scene where Hor approaches Osiris, the god is standing, rather than sitting, and nobody is leading the deceased Hor into his presence. These and other variances in artistic style, such as clothing and coloring, suggest that Hor likely commissioned a different artist for each document.<sup>15</sup>

Let us now turn our attention back to those remaining copies of the Book of the Dead from Ptolemaic Thebes. As mentioned earlier, 227 copies of the Book of the Dead appeared in the search results in Bonn's database. Only twenty of these did not contain images available for online viewing, while the overwhelming majority of the remaining copies were found to be richly illustrated with vignettes. Unsurprisingly, one of the most popular vignettes found in these copies was the weighing of the heart scene, which appeared a total of 85 times, to say nothing of

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<sup>14</sup> Other significant differences that set Facsimile No. 1 apart from the lion couch scene in Hor's Book of the Dead include the presence of the crocodile god Sobek, and the position of the bird figure hovering above the lion couch. The absence of the left-hand portion of the scene from the Book of the Dead makes it impossible to say whether Anubis or any other individual stood nearby at the end of the table.

<sup>15</sup> For example, Hor's copy of the Book of the Dead is colored with black and red vignettes, whereas no trace of red can be found in the original vignette for Facsimile No. 1, nor in the other surviving fragments of his copy of the Book of Breathings. Hor's attire is also different in each of these documents.

the additional fragments which contained evidence of several more examples.<sup>16</sup> Since Facsimile No. 3 has often been associated with the judgment scene from chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, these scenes are worth a closer look.<sup>17</sup>

True to Mosher's observations, upon examining each of these scenes I found them to be highly standardized.<sup>18</sup> With few exceptions, each of them contained the enthroned Osiris, Ammut, Thoth, judgment scales with Horus and Anubis standing nearby, and finally the deceased, who was almost always flanked by one or two female figures of Ma'at, with a feather upon their heads. While some copies would occasionally leave one or two of these elements out, a general consistency is nevertheless present, and the parallels between these vignettes and some of the scenes in the Book of Breathings are unmistakably clear. There are two, however, that seem to parallel the Book of Breathings vignettes more closely than the rest. The first comes from P. Louvre 3125, which contains only a single vignette, followed by three columns of hieratic text containing spells from the Book of the Dead, and a final, smaller portion with some additional text.<sup>19</sup> What makes this judgement scene unique is that rather than showing the

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<sup>16</sup> Some copies were so fragmented that only small pieces of the weighing of the heart scene could be identified with varying degrees of certainty, including P. Mailand E. 1023 + P. Vatikan 38572/3 and P. Oxford 1878.237a.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: A Complete Edition* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2013), 172; Charles Larson, *By His Own Hand Upon Papyrus: A New Look at the Joseph Smith Papyri* (Grand Rapids: Institute for Religious Research, 1992), 108.

<sup>18</sup> Regarding this standardization, John Gee, quoting an A.D. 63 copy of the Book of the Dead, noted what the Egyptians held to be the essential features of this scene: "The forty-two gods [in front of] the deceased above the hall of the truths; a figure of Hathor, [lady] of the underworld carrying a *was*-scepter, protecting the man, while the two arms of the scale are straight and Thoth is on its left, to the right of its [. . .] while Horus speaks, and Anubis grasps it on the side on which are the two truths (Maats) while he is opposite on the other side of the scale. Thoth reads the writings since a scroll is in his hand [. . .Ammut] in whose hand is a knife and before whom are a sword and a scepter, Anubis holding his hand. A lotus with two supports on which are the four sons of Horus. A chapel in which Osiris sits on his throne there being an offering table with a lotus before him. Isis is behind him praising, and Nephthys is behind him praising." See John Gee, "Facsimile No. 3 and the Book of the Dead 125," in *Astronomy, Papyrus, and Covenant*, John Gee and Brian Hauglid, eds. (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2005), 100–101.

deceased being led into the presence of Osiris by two female representations of Ma‘at, it shows Anubis leading the deceased from behind, and Ma‘at is nowhere to be found.

In some ways, this scene resembles that of Facsimile No. 3 – A figure resembling Isis stands behind an enthroned Osiris, whose throne is textured with scales; an altar separates the deceased from Osiris; the deceased is accompanied by two individuals as he approaches the throne, and the whole scene is found in an enclosed booth beneath a row of stars. Yet, there remain enough differences in this scene, such as the presence of Thoth, Ammut, and Anubis, to challenge any assumption that it is meant to carry the same meaning as Facsimile No. 3.<sup>20</sup> If we were to attempt to classify the vignette from P. Louvre 3125, we might describe it as a hybrid of the presentation and judgment scenes, such as those found in some copies of the Book of Breathings. Interestingly, the small portion of additional text which follows the Book of the Dead spells on this papyrus closely resembles the language found in copies of the Book of Breathings, which may explain why a vignette such as this is found alongside a copy of the Book of the Dead.<sup>21</sup>

The second scene that most closely parallels those in the Book of Breathings is found in P. Louvre 3278. This copy of the Book of the Dead belonged to a man named Hor (a different

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<sup>19</sup> For a description and discussion on this papyrus, see Barbara Lejeune, “A Study of pLouvre N. 3125 and the End of the Book of the Dead Tradition,” in *Totenbuch-Forschungen: gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums, Bonn, 25. Bis 29. September 2005*, B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stöhr, eds. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 197.

<sup>20</sup> Other differences, such as clothing, hand positions of the deceased, and the various offerings before the throne also differ widely from Facsimile No. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Barbara Lejeune translated this final portion as follows: “May your ba-soul live forever and may you breath[e] forever. Osoroeris, justified, son of Spotous, may he be healthy, born from Senchonsis <may she be healthy>. May those who are in the netherworld receive you with cheers, for you are one of the excellent ba souls in the West of Thebes. May you receive the cool water from both arms of Amenope at the beginning of each tenth day. You will not be destroyed for ever and eternity. West, open up to him. Isis says: ‘Welcome him’” There are no sins(?) of the father or crimes of the mother. Act for him.” See Lejeune, “pLouvre N 3125,” 199.

individual than the owner of the Joseph Smith Papyri) and is the same owner of the Book of Breathings found in P. Munich 805. Like P. Louvre N 3125, the opening vignette in this copy of the Book of the Dead shows Anubis leading the deceased by the hand into the presence of Osiris, much like the hybrid scenes found in several copies of the Book of Breathings. Unlike P. Louvre N 3125, however, P. Louvre 3278 does not contain any added text from the Book of Breathings, making it difficult to say exactly why a scene more commonly associated with the Book of Breathings would have been included in this copy of the Book of the Dead. Whatever the reason, neither the standardized judgment scene from these copies of the Book of the Dead, nor these two exceptions, appear to be close parallels to Facsimile No. 3. Too many elements of the standardized judgment scene are missing from the Facsimile, and the Facsimile contains additional significant elements that are not found in the judgment scenes. Rather, the exceptions merely stand as evidence for the close relationship between the Book of the Dead and the Book of Breathings.

Finally, we turn back to the remaining vignettes from those copies of the Book of the Dead that appeared in the search results. As mentioned earlier, these copies were often illustrated with a variety of vignettes and required hours of sorting through in order to identify whether they contained any parallels to Facsimile No. 3. Aside from the standardized judgment scenes, there were in fact many scenes which portrayed the deceased approaching Osiris. However, each of these remaining scenes lacked the essential iconography needed in order to classify it as a parallel to Facsimile No. 3, including the absence of any figure resembling Figure 6 of Facsimile No. 3.<sup>22</sup> As a result, we can reasonably conclude that Facsimile No. 3 was likely not borrowed

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<sup>22</sup> Even the presence of Anubis standing behind the deceased in P. Louvre N 3125, while unique, is not enough evidence to suggest a parallel to Facsimile No. 3, as his attire differs from the identical attire worn by Figures 5 and 6 in Facsimile No. 3.



from any contemporary copy of a Theban Book of the Dead, and we are left to continue looking elsewhere if we are to have any hope in identifying an original source for Facsimile No. 3.

### **The Egyptian Temple**

With the Book of the Dead failing to provide any close parallels to Facsimile No. 3, we turn our attention now to other sources of contemporary Egyptian art from Ptolemaic Thebes, including temples, tombs, and funerary stelae. Temples specifically shared more in common with the Book of Breathings and the Book of the Dead than just their artwork. What really connects these texts to the temple is that it was likely somewhere within the confines of the temple complex itself that these documents were created. In his recent publication on the Book of the Dead, Foy Scalf argued that in regard to the Book of the Dead and the Book of Breathings, both “their composition and compilation must have taken place in the temple scriptorium, called the ‘House of Life’ in Egyptian, by priestly scribes studying and copying the manuscripts.”<sup>23</sup> This House of Life, “*pr ‘nh*,” in Egyptian, was a room that was “often attached to temples or palaces,” where priestly scribes “produced and reproduced texts that were needed in funerary and ritual use, as well as other sorts of knowledge including medical manuscripts.”<sup>24</sup>

It is worth remembering that Hor, the ancient owner of the *Hor Book of Breathings*, served full-time as a prophet in several temples in Karnak.<sup>25</sup> As a prophet serving in the largest temple complex in Egypt, Hor would have been “among the most literate and educated people of Ptolemaic Egypt,” having access to the *pr ‘nh* and “the great Theban temple libraries,

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<sup>23</sup> Scalf, *Book of the Dead*, 143.

<sup>24</sup> Niv Allon and Hana Navratilova, *Ancient Egyptian Scribes: A Cultural Exploration* (London: Bloomsbury Publications, 2017), 116.

<sup>25</sup> John Gee, *An Introduction to the Book of Abraham* (Salt Lake City; Provo, Utah: Deseret Book Co., Religious Studies Center, 2018), 58–59.

containing...scrolls on religion, ritual, and history.”<sup>26</sup> Without a doubt, this level of access to the temple literature would have had a profound influence on the selection of funerary documents owned by Hor, and it is not too difficult to imagine him commissioning a copy of the Book of Breathings to be made for himself in one of the *pr 'nh*'s attached to one of the temples he had served in.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, it is interesting to note that each of the known copies of the Book of Breathings belonged to “temple personnel serving in various Theban cults,” suggesting the temples may have been the only place to obtain such a document.<sup>28</sup> If such funerary texts as the Book of Breathings were indeed being created within the compounds of the temple, then it remains as one of our main tasks to determine to what extent, if any, the draughtsman’s artwork in the *Hor Book of Breathings* was influenced by the temple reliefs that surrounded him.

Unlike the many copies of the Book of the Dead, which have been catalogued and made available by the University of Bonn, no such comprehensive database exists for the wide collection of temple artwork found throughout Egypt.<sup>29</sup> However, because the opening lines of the *Hor Book of Breathings* inform us as to which temples Hor served in at Karnak, we are able to narrow our search significantly. The opening lines refer to Hor as being a “prophet of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, prophet of Min who slaughters his enemies,” and “prophet of Khonsu, the

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<sup>26</sup> John Gee, *An Introduction to the Book of Abraham*, 59–61.

<sup>27</sup> Evidence for a *pr 'nh* in the Great Temple of Amun in Karnak can be found as far back as the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of one Amenwahsu, who held among other titles, “scribe of the sacred books in the house of Amun” and “scribe who wrote the annals of the gods and goddesses in the House of Life.” See Alan Gardner, “The House of Life,” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24, no. 2 (December 1938): 161.

<sup>28</sup> Marc Coenen, “Documents of Breathing Made by Isis,” 61.

<sup>29</sup> The SERaT database, which may be the closest there is to a searchable collection of temple scenes from the Graeco-Roman world, is quite difficult to navigate and is lacking when it comes to providing images for comparison purposes. The database can be found at <http://www.serat.aegyptologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/> (accessed May 29, 2019).

[one who exercises] authority in Thebes.”<sup>30</sup> These titles help us identify three specific temples in which Hor would have served. As a prophet of Amon-Re, king of the gods, or “Amonrasonter,” Hor would have served somewhere within the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak.<sup>31</sup> Being a “prophet of Min, who slaughters his enemies” also associates him with the temple of Montu, which lies just north of the Amun complex.

The final temple with which Hor was associated deserves special attention. As stated earlier, Hor has been identified as a “prophet of Khonsu the one [who exercises authority] in Thebes.” It might be tempting to believe then that Hor would have served in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. However, John Gee has noted that the Demotic and Greek transcriptions of this specific form of Khonsu tells us that the hieroglyphic *hnsw-p<sup>3</sup>-ir-shr-m-w<sup>3</sup>st* refers to the lesser-known Egyptian deity Chespsichis.<sup>32</sup> Significantly, a small temple of Chespsichis also stood in Karnak, just southwest of the main temple of Amun-Re, and was fully operational during the Ptolemaic period. The existence of both a temple of Khonsu and one of Chespsichis led Gee to conclude that “Deities with separate temples within two kilometers of each other were clearly not confused by the Egyptians and should not be confused by us either.”<sup>33</sup> It would therefore be reasonable to conclude that the final temple which we can associate with Hor was the small temple of Chespsichis as opposed to the currently standing temple of Khonsu, though

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<sup>30</sup> This translation is from Robert Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: A Complete Edition* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2013), 122.

<sup>31</sup> On the title “King of the Gods,” see Margaret Murray, *Egyptian Temples*, 65–66. This temple covers nearly 300,000 square meters and is considered the largest temple not only in Egypt, but in the entire world. Alberto Siliotti, *Luxor, Karnak, and the Theban Temples*, (Cairo: Elias Modern Publishing House, 2005), 18; See also *The Temple of Karnak*, Shafik Farid, ed. (Salt Lake City: Simpkins Splendor of Egypt, 1982), 2.

<sup>32</sup> Gee, “The Cult of Chespsichis,” in *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE. Proceedings of an International Conference. Prague: September 1–4, 2009* (Prague: Charles University, 2010), 129–30.

<sup>33</sup> Gee, “The Cult of Chespsichis,” 130.

there were certainly some connections between the two cults at Karnak during the Ptolemaic period.<sup>34</sup>

As the largest temple complex in the world, Karnak contains literally thousands of surviving stone reliefs within the halls, walls, pillars and pylons of its temples, dating from the reign of Sesostris I all the way down to the Ptolemaic period. Much of the surviving artwork throughout the temple complex has been published by the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago in a series of epigraphic surveys, including multiple volumes with scenes from the Temple of Ramses III, the Bubastite Portal, the Great Hypostyle Hall, and much of the temple of Khonsu.<sup>35</sup> The temple of Montu is unfortunately very poorly preserved, but one of its great gates known as the Bab el ‘Abd, which contains a reference to the cult of Min who Slaughters His Enemies, still stands with remarkable preservation.<sup>36</sup> The remains of a small temple of Chespsichis have also been almost completely destroyed, though a few bricks and a stele have survived.<sup>37</sup>

An examination of the hundreds of plates published by the Oriental Institute and elsewhere showed that the majority of surviving temple reliefs from Karnak depicted the pharaoh making some form of an offering to the gods, especially Amun-Re and Khonsu. These offering

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<sup>34</sup> Though Chespsichis had his own temple at Karnak, he is depicted as the baboon next to Khonsu on some of the reliefs in the Khonsu temple, linking these two cults together. See John Gee, “The Cult of Chespsichis,” 142.

<sup>35</sup> James Henry Breasted and Thomas George Allen, eds., *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, 4 vols. (Chicago: The Oriental Institute and University of Chicago Press, 1936).

<sup>36</sup> John Gee, “Excretion Rituals in Various Temples,” in *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: interconnections between temples. Warschau, 22-25. September 2008* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 67; See also Richard A. Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 163. And S.H. Aufrere, *Le propylône d’Amon-Rê Montou à Karnak-Nord*, MIFAO 117 (Le Caire, 2000). John Gee, “History of a Theban Priesthood,” in *Proceedings of “Et maintenant ne sont plus que des villages...” Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistique, romaine et Byzantine*, Alain Delattre and Paul Heilporn, eds. (Brussels: Association Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 2008), 59–71.

<sup>37</sup> Gee, “The Cult of Chespsichis,” 131–32, 137–38.

scenes normally showed the pharaoh kneeling or standing before the God with an offering held in his hand. A variety of other scenes, including battle scenes, purification scenes, and crowning scenes were also present. However, scenes with comparable iconography to that of Facsimile No. 3 were noticeably absent. The closest parallels that could be found were several scenes in which the pharaoh could be found holding the hands of other deities (usually Montu and Atum) as they lead him into the presence of another deity.<sup>38</sup> Yet, the deities, clothing, hand gestures, and other significant iconography from these scenes varied far too greatly to what is found in Facsimile No. 3. While there is of course the possibility that a closer parallel scene may have existed upon a wall that no longer stands, or in a part of the temple that was not included in the Oriental Institute's survey, the available evidence suggests the unlikelihood that Facsimile No. 3 would have found its origins upon the temple walls of Karnak, where both Hor and likely the draughtsman of the *Hor Book of Breathings* served.

### **Tombs and Funerary Stelae**

Last of all, we will now discuss those scenes from the tombs found in the Theban necropolis, along with the many funerary stelae often found therein. These tombs, it has been argued, often doubled as a type of library, where the living would go to view new funerary texts that could be found upon the walls. Niv Allon and Hana Navratilova argued that "It is highly likely that some of the visitors to the tomb chapels were motivated by a curiosity to look at new arrangements of these texts."<sup>39</sup> This argument, combined with the fact that both tomb and stelae were often decorated with scenes comparable to those found in the Book of the Dead and the Book of

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<sup>38</sup> For examples, see *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak 1, part 1: The Wall Reliefs*, Oriental Institute Publications 106 (Chicago: Oriental Institute Press, 1981), plates 50, 78, 137, 149, and 199.

<sup>39</sup> Allon and Navratilova, *Ancient Egyptian Scribes*, 116.

Breathings, makes the tombs and stelae appropriate sources to turn to as we look for parallels to Facsimile No. 3.

In 1927, the Griffith Institute of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford published a topographical bibliography containing a list of known tombs from the Theban necropolis. This bibliography was updated in 1960, and reissued in 1970, to contain brief descriptions of the scenes found upon the walls, lintels, doorjambs, and stelae found within the tombs, making it an invaluable source for the purposes of our present study. Unfortunately, of the 409 private Theban tombs catalogued in Griffith Institutes bibliography, only one tomb, known as TT 380, was dated to Ptolemaic times, and contains nothing to suggest any connections to Facsimile No. 3. Rather, this tomb, which became the resting place of one Ankhefenrahorakhty, a Chief in Thebes, contained surviving murals of a “Nile-god and small priest with *hes*-vase before table of offerings.”<sup>40</sup>

While TT 380 was certainly not the only Theban tomb from the Ptolemaic era, the fact that it was the only one of the 409 tombs catalogued as such in the Griffith Institutes publication demonstrates the rarity of such tombs.<sup>41</sup> In fact, a published chart containing over 160 principal cemeteries located throughout Egypt showed that only two sites from western Thebes, Deir el-Bahari and Deir el-Medina, were popular during the Graeco-Roman period.<sup>42</sup> This dearth of tombs from Ptolemaic Thebes noted by the Griffith Institute can be explained at least partly by

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<sup>40</sup> See Bertha Porter and Rosalind L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. 1: The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute and Oxford University Press, 1960), 435.

<sup>41</sup> Other tombs from Ptolemaic Thebes have been noted at Dier El-Medina. See Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt: Royal and Private Sepulchres from the Early Dynastic Period to the Romans* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2008), 294; See also Dominic Montserrat and Lynn Meskell, “Mortuary Archaeology and Religious Landscape at Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina,” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 83 (1997): 179–197.

<sup>42</sup> Dodson and Ikram, *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt*, 320–323.

the fact that many Theban tombs from earlier periods were reused during the Graeco-Roman period.<sup>43</sup> The frequent reuse of earlier tombs requires that we examine the descriptions of scenes found on the walls of the other Theban tombs from earlier time periods, as these may very likely have been accessible to those visitors of the Ptolemaic era.<sup>44</sup>

When looking at the scenes from the four hundred and nine numbered Theban tombs, it became instantly clear that Osiris was the major character in these scenes. Literally hundreds of attestations of Osiris were described as on the walls and stelae of the Theban tombs. Ma'at, Isis, Anubis, and Thoth were also frequently found in these scenes. Dozens of these scenes were the weighing of the heart scene found in chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead. Other times, the exact iconographic details of the scenes varied widely, and would include any combination of deities and individuals approaching Osiris. Sometimes Anubis was described as leading the deceased to the throne of Osiris, and other times Anubis was besides the throne of Osiris receiving the praises of the deceased. Only one scene described Ma'at leading the deceased, though the description of this scene is clearly different from the one found in Facsimile No. 3.<sup>45</sup>

Like the walls of the tomb, the funerary stelae found therein also frequently depicted an Osiride scene, in which the dead can be found approaching the god Osiris. While images of these stelae are not available in the Griffith Institute's publication, their descriptions matched very closely the 100+ images published by Aly Abdalla of Graeco-Roman funerary stelae from Upper

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<sup>43</sup> Dodson and Ikram, *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt*, 296–97; See also Christina Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 177.

<sup>44</sup> Indeed, some paintings and graffiti dating to the Ptolemaic era were found on the walls of other Theban tombs that dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. See Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, 23, 25.

<sup>45</sup> Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, 51–53. The description of this scene mentions Ma'at and Anubis leading the deceased (though nothing is mentioned as to where the deceased is being led), followed by an Apis bull in a mountain. No mention of Osiris is given.

Egypt.<sup>46</sup> The majority of the stelae published by Abdalla come from nearby Abydos, and nearly every single one of them contains a depiction of the deceased approaching Osiris, who could be found either sitting upon his throne or standing in mummiform dress. Beyond this, the iconography seems to be quite fluid. Anubis was usually present, and sometimes other gods and goddesses such as Isis, Ma'at, or Hathor could be found somewhere in the scene. There are also many times where the deceased is accompanied by another man or woman as they approached Osiris. The order in which these individuals all appeared varied greatly, suggesting the scene was not completely standardized. While no exact parallels to the scene found in Facsimile No. 3 could be found in the descriptions and images of the funerary stelae, it nevertheless appears that they contained a higher concentration of iconographic similarities to Facsimile No. 3 than many of the other sources we have looked at thus far.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has shown that Egyptian presentation scenes are not limited to the Book of Breathings, but can be found in other mediums as well, including religious texts, temple and tomb art, and funerary stelae. Examining the large number of scenes from the Book of the Dead, temples, tombs, and funerary stelae allow us to distinguish between those iconographic elements of the scene which the Egyptians considered to be loose and alterable, versus the iconography which was meant to be left untouched. While many of the scenes that have been examined contained varying degrees of similarity with that of Facsimile No. 3, the exact combination of iconographic elements that make Facsimile No. 3 unique do not appear in any of the other examined scenes from these genres. This makes Facsimile No. 3 not only anomalous among the

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<sup>46</sup> Aly Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992).



Book of Breathings, but also among the general collection and varying mediums of contemporaneous Egyptian art from Thebes. As a result, the likelihood that Facsimile No. 3 was not borrowed from another source increases, and it does not appear to have been a standard stock image meant for insertion into a wide variety of contexts. While this does not rule out the possibility that Facsimile No. 3 may have been an adaptation of a similar scene from those sources we have just looked at, it does suggest that Facsimile No. 3 was a custom-made scene intended solely for the scroll on which it was found –*The Hor Book of Breathings*.

## CONCLUSION

As we approach the end of this study, it is worth reviewing in conclusion some of the primary goals and intended contributions that have been the guiding focus of this thesis. As noted in the introduction, one of my overarching goals has been to present some of the inherent complexities surrounding Facsimile No. 3 of the Book of Abraham, including the challenging issues relating to the text, iconography, and placement of the Facsimile on the papyrus scroll to which it belonged. One of the greatest challenge's scholars have faced in studying Facsimile No. 3 has been the difficulty of accessing images of comparable scenes in all other publicly known copies of the Book of Breathings. Thanks to the gracious help and permission given by various museums, libraries, and universities throughout the world, each of the relevant vignettes from these documents can be found in the appendices of this thesis, making it not only possible to check some of the observations put forth in this study, but to also make further comparisons and research on the Facsimile much more feasible.

Having examined the historiography of Facsimile No. 3, as well as all publicly known copies of the Book of Breathings, along with many other Egyptian works, we can now summarize some of the main observations and contributions of this thesis, including the following:

- 1) The wide variety of interpretations, theories, and unanswered questions relative to Facsimile No. 3 stands as evidence of the need for further research and more careful attention to be given to the Facsimile.
- 2) The translations that have been offered of the hieroglyphic text of Facsimile No. 3, though useful, contain uncertainties and challenges that must be considered when

determining how much weight one can reasonably place on them for a proper understanding of the Facsimile.

- 3) While there are certainly many minor or otherwise insignificant iconographic anomalies in Facsimile No. 3, there are also several great ones, including the issues that have been noted relating to Figure 6, who has traditionally been identified as Anubis by most Egyptologists. These anomalies call into question such interpretations.
- 4) No exact parallels to Facsimile No. 3 could be found among any other copy of the Book of Breathings, nor in the various other mediums of Egyptian art from Ptolemaic Thebes. This may suggest that there is no identical scene currently extant.

These observations, as well as all others that have been made within the present study, combine to suggest that the relationship between Facsimile No. 3 and the Book of Breathings is not as straightforward as would be hoped for. It's relationship with the Book of Abraham is perhaps even more complex, and the subject unquestionably deserves more than a casual treatment if it is to be of any considerable use. It may be, for example, that the vignettes included in the *Hor Book of Breathings* are intentionally unique because they were originally meant to serve as illustrations for multiple texts on the scroll.<sup>1</sup> Other possibilities also exist that may explain the relationship between the Facsimile and these other documents, and there is obviously still much more work to be done relating to this question. It is my hope that the observations and

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<sup>1</sup> For example, the vignettes may have been meant by the original creator to serve as illustrations for both the Book of Breathings as well as the Book of Abraham, if it were in fact on the same scroll of papyrus as the *Hor Book of Breathings*. Multiple texts on a scroll is well attested, and at least ten of the thirty-three known copies of the Book of Breathings Made by Isis contained other texts besides the Book of Breathings (including P. Tubingen 2016, P. Bodleian Library Ms. Egypt.c.2, P. Bodleian Library Ms. Egypt.a.4, P. Louvre E 11079, P. Leiden T 24, P. BM EA 10260, P. Louvre N 3083 + N 3194a, P. Louvre N 3121, P. Louvre N 3166, and P. Louvre N 3284). Determining the likelihood of a vignette serving as an illustration for more than one text on the scroll would require us to look for other examples of such phenomena. However, such a study is beyond the scope of this paper, and is one the author intends to pursue elsewhere.

claims offered in this study might serve as a reference and aid to other scholars as they continue their own research on the subject. Of no doubt, new discoveries and scholarship will shed further light on the topic, and perhaps challenge some of the claims set forth in this study. Such contributions and corrections are most welcome, as they can only further our understanding of such a fascinating and complex subject as the Book of Abraham.

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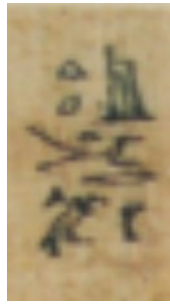
## Appendix A

### Isis Captions in the Book of Breathings Vignettes

Isis Captions in the Book of Breathings Vignettes



Facsimile No. 3



P. Berlin 3135



P. Berlin 3154a



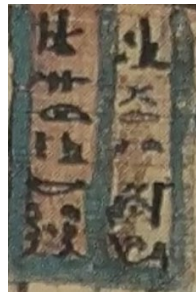
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9995



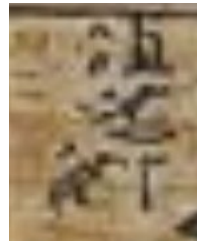
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Library Ms.  
Egypt a.4 Section  
D



P. Bibliothèque  
nationale 181



P. Denon



P. Lafayette  
College



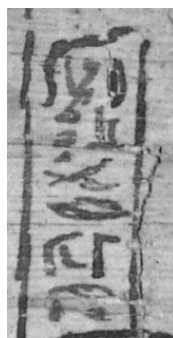
P. Louvre E  
8079 + 11080



P. Louvre E  
11079



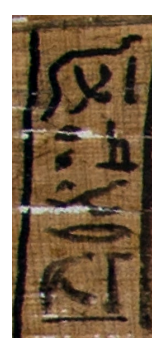
P. Louvre N 3126



P. Louvre N  
3167 + N 3222



P. Louvre N. 3284



P. Tubingen  
2016



P. Chester Beatty  
XXa

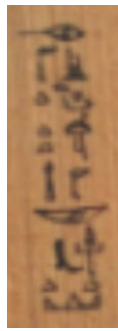
## Appendix B

### Osiris Captions in the Book of Breathings Vignettes

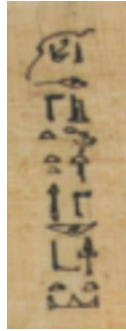
Osiris Captions in the Book of Breathings Vignettes



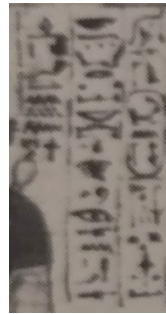
Facsimile No. 3



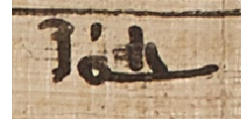
P. Berlin 3135  
(a)



P. Berlin  
3135 (b)



P. Berlin 3154



P. Bodleian  
Library Ms.  
Egypt C.2.



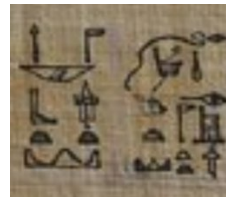
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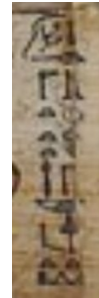
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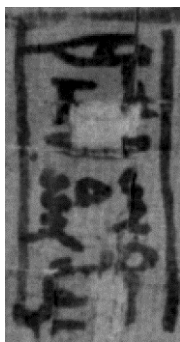
P. Denon



P. Lafayette (a)



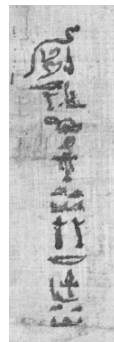
P. Lafayette (b)



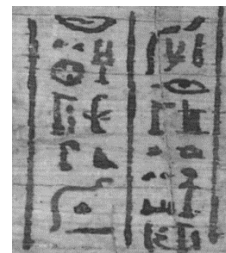
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11080



P. Louvre E  
11079



P. Louvre  
N. 3126



P. Louvre N  
3167 + N 3222

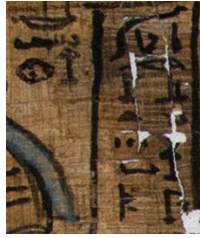


P. Louvre N 3284  
(a)





P. Louvre N  
3284 (b)



P. Tubingen  
2016



P. Chester Beatty XXa

## Appendix C

### Copies of the Book of Breathings Made by Isis

### Author's Note

The research required by the present work would not have been possible were it not for the many museums, libraries, universities, and other institutions who so generously furnished me copies of Book of Breathings documents housed in their collections. In some instances, there were no digital images available, and a request for new photography was necessarily made, and I am grateful for all the individuals that assisted in this process as well.

I am pleased that I have received permission to include images of 32 of the 33 copies of the Book of Breathings in my thesis. Publishable images of the missing document, P. Louvre N 3166, were unfortunately unable to be taken and sent without delaying the publication of this thesis. However, images of this papyrus have been published, and I was able to confirm that the papyrus includes three columns of text with no vignettes (See François René Herbin, “Trois manuscrits originaux du Louvre porteurs de Livre des Respirations fait par Isis (P. Louvre N 3121, N 3083 et N 3166),” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 50 [1999], pl XXII). Thus, while it would have been ideal to have been able to include images of this papyrus in the following appendix, it carries little weight when it comes to main purpose of this thesis in comparing iconography.

With the exception of the missing P. Louvre N 3166, the following images in this appendix constitute all of the publicly known copies of the Book of Breathings Made by Isis.

P. Joseph Smith I, X, XI, and Facsimile No. 3

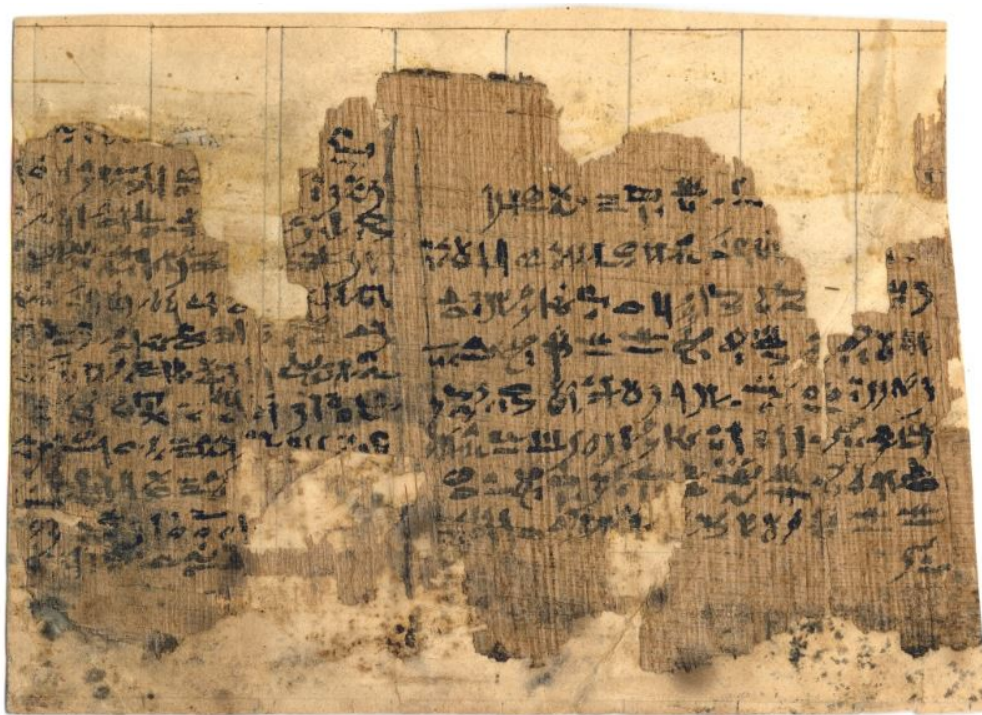


P. Joseph Smith I, X, and XI © By Intellectual Reserve, Inc.



P. Joseph Smith X © By Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

P. Joseph Smith I, X, XI, and Facsimile No. 3



P. Joseph Smith XI © By Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

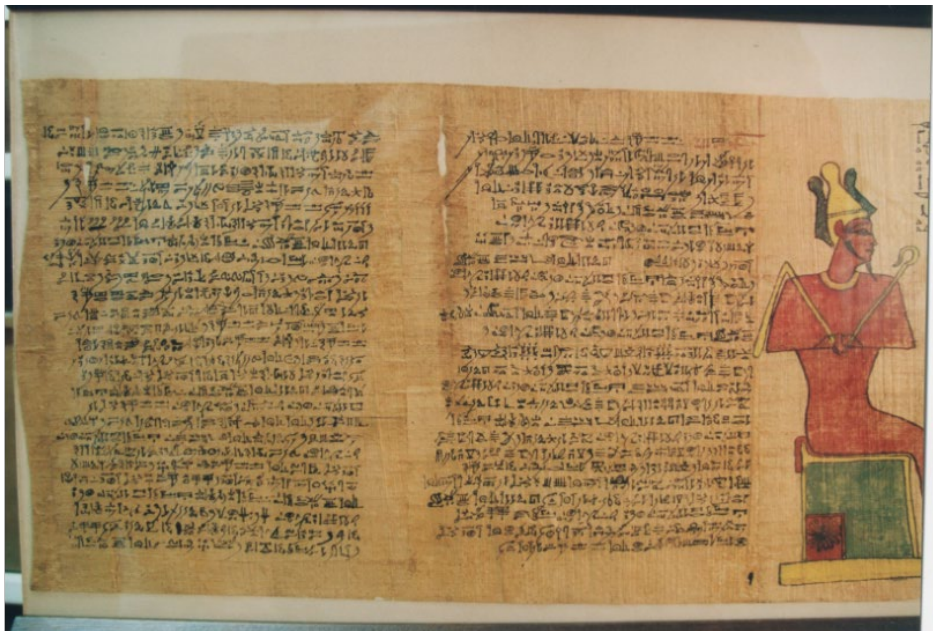


“A Fac-simile from the Book of Abraham. No. 3,” *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 14 (May 16, 1842): 783.

P. Berlin 3135

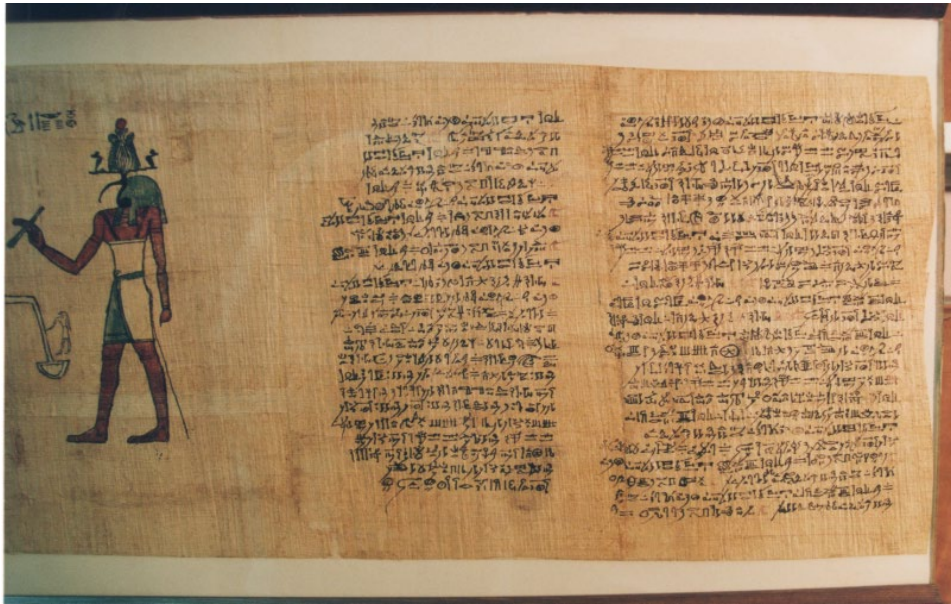


P. Berlin 3135 © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inv. Nr. 3135, Photo: S. Steiß.



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P. Berlin 3135



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P. Berlin 3154



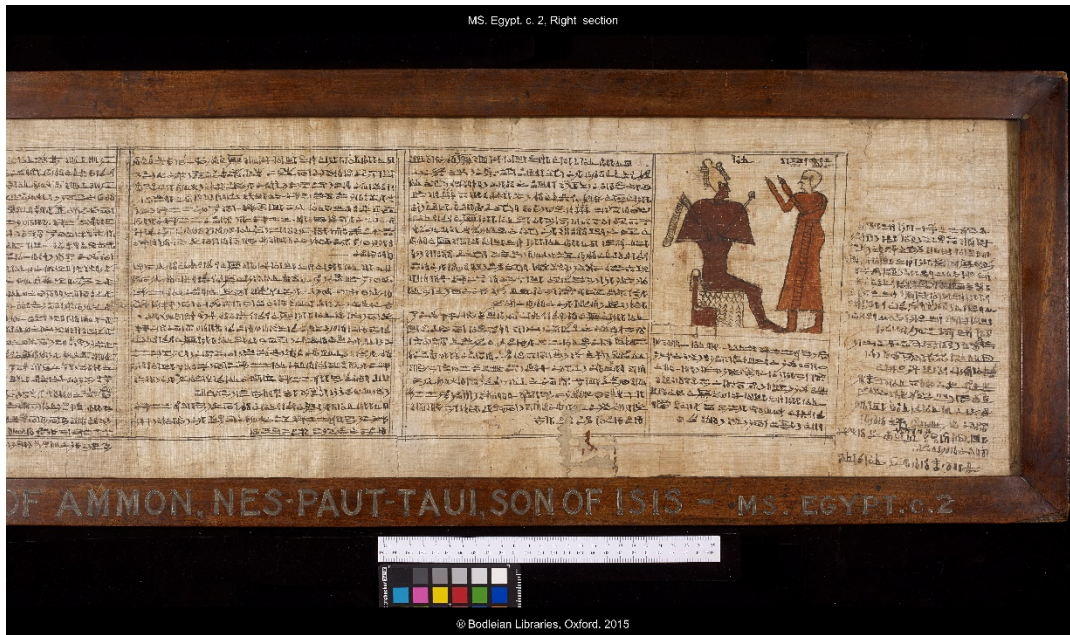
P. Berlin 3154 © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inv. Nr. 3154, Photo: S. SteiB.



P. Berlin 3154 © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inv. Nr. 3154, Photo: S. SteiB.



Bodleian Library, Ms. Egypt.c.2



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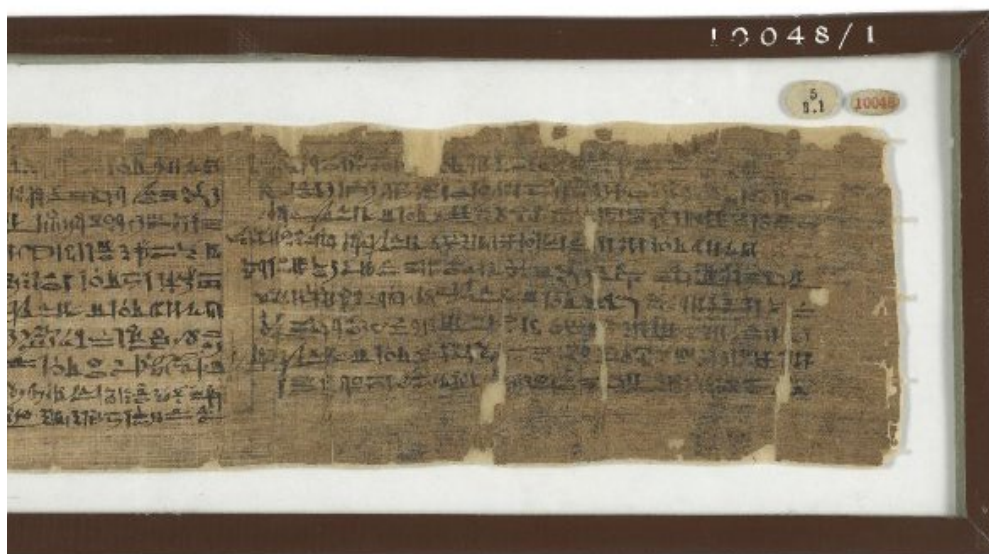


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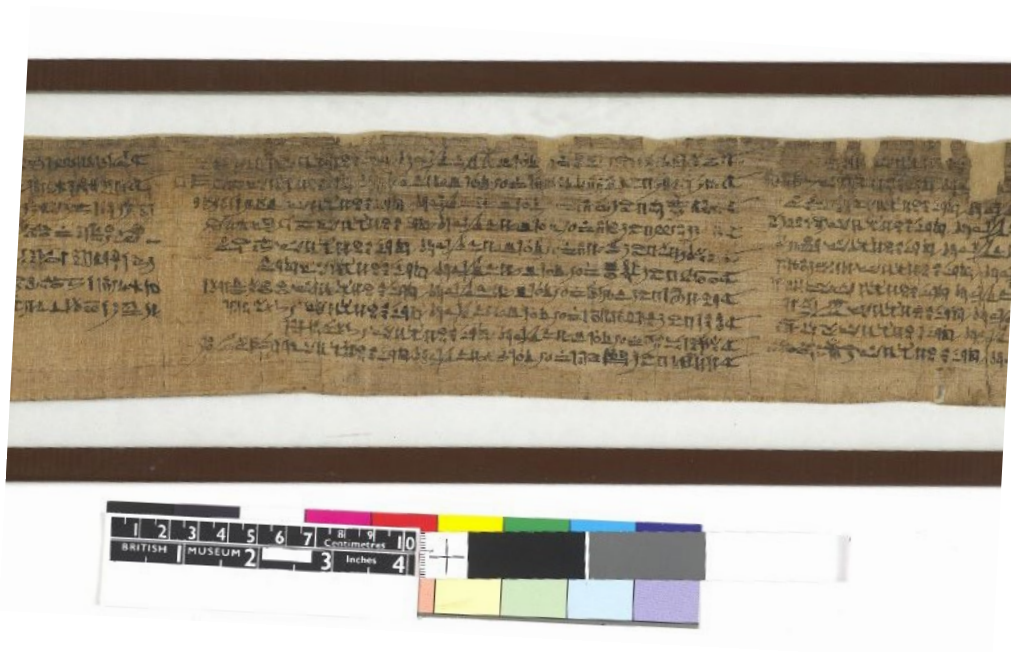


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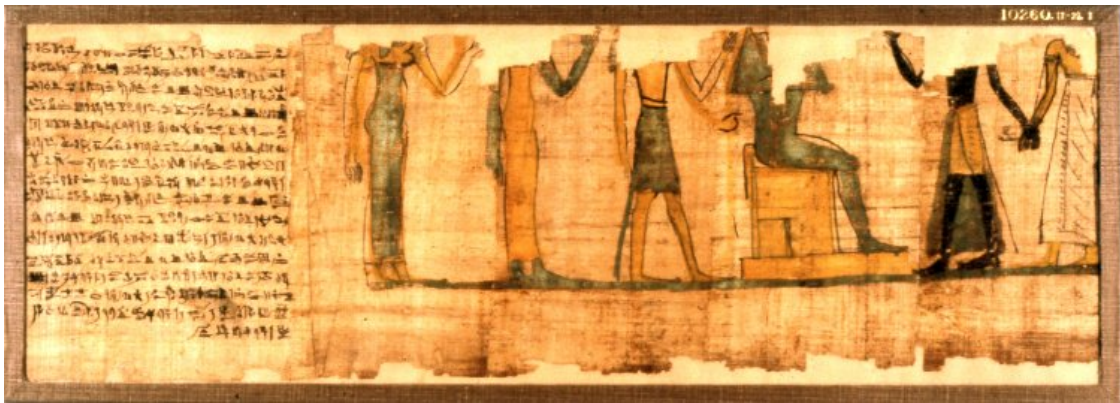
P. British Museum EA 10048



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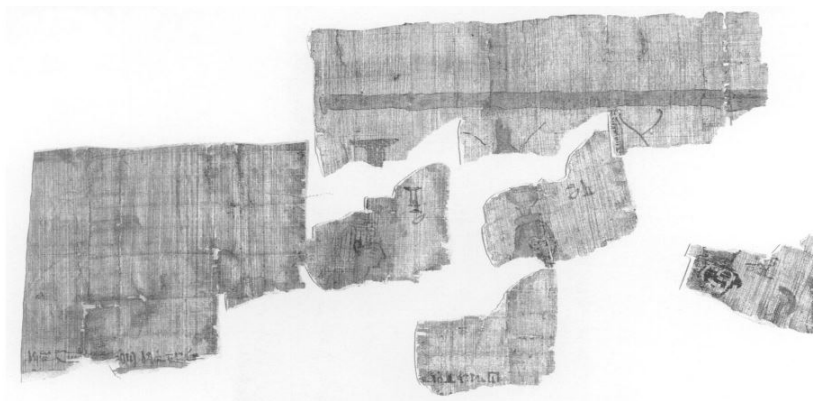
P. British Museum EA 10260 + Bodleian Library, Ms. Egypt.a.4. Section D



P. British Museum EA 10260 © 2019 Trustees of the British Museum, London.



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Bodleian Library, Ms. Egypt.a.4 Section D © Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

P. Bibliothèque nationale 178-181



P. Bibliothèque nationale 181 © Bibliothèque nationale de France.



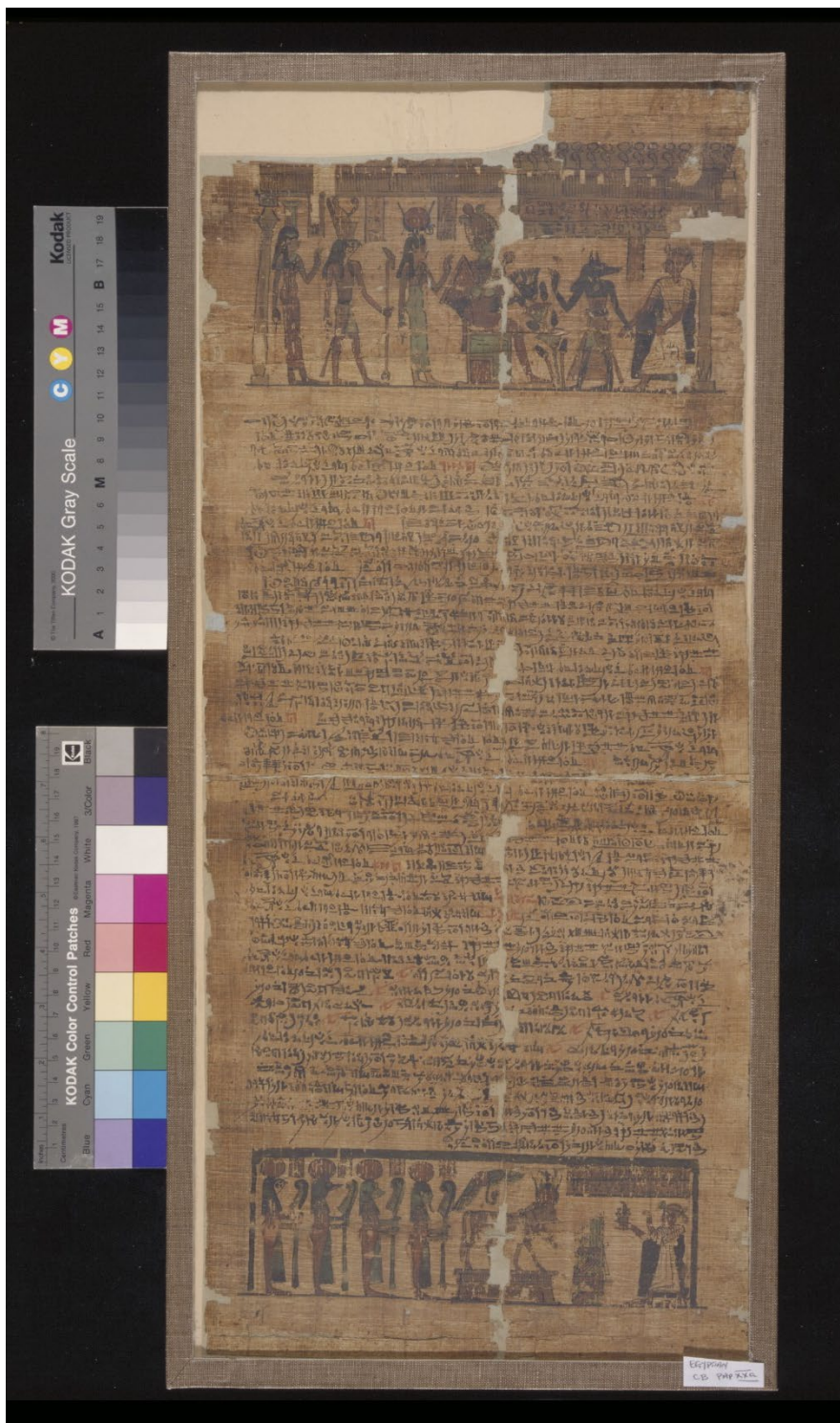
P. Bibliothèque nationale 180 © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

P. Bibliothèque nationale 178-181



P. Bibliothèque nationale 179 © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

P. Chester Beatty XXa



P. Chester Beatty XXa © Chester Beatty Library.



Den Haag, MMW Inv. Nr. 42.88 © The Hague, Museum Meermanno | House of the Book.



Den Haag, MMW Inv. Nr. 42.88 © The Hague, Museum Meermanno | House of the Book.



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Den Haag, MMW Inv. Nr. 42.88 © The Hague, Museum Meermanno | House of the Book.

P. Florence 3665+3666 and Vienna 3850



P. Florence 3665 © Museo Egizio in Florence



Vienna 3863 © Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Egyptian - Oriental Collection.

P. Florence 3665+3666 and Vienna 3850



P. Florence 3666 © Museo Egizio in Florence



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P. Lausanne 3391



P. Lausanne 3391 © Musée cantonal d'archéologie et d'histoire, Lausanne. Photo Fibbi-Aeppli



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P. Leiden T 24



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P. Leiden T 24 © National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

P. Leiden T 24



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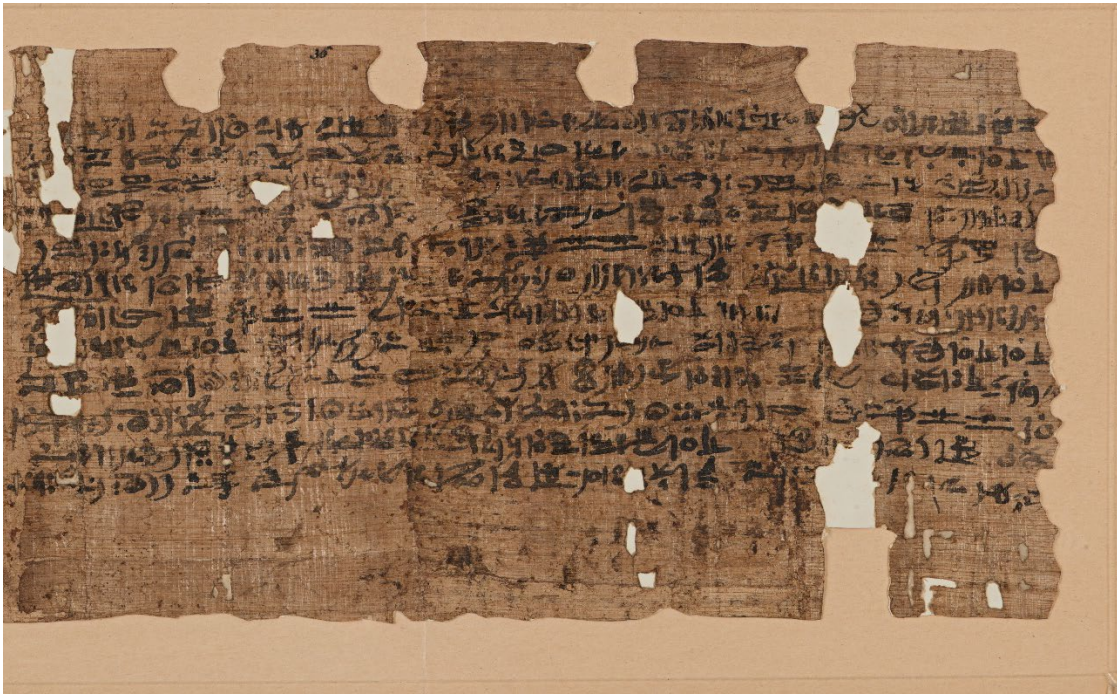
P. Leiden T 24 © National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

P. Leiden T 24

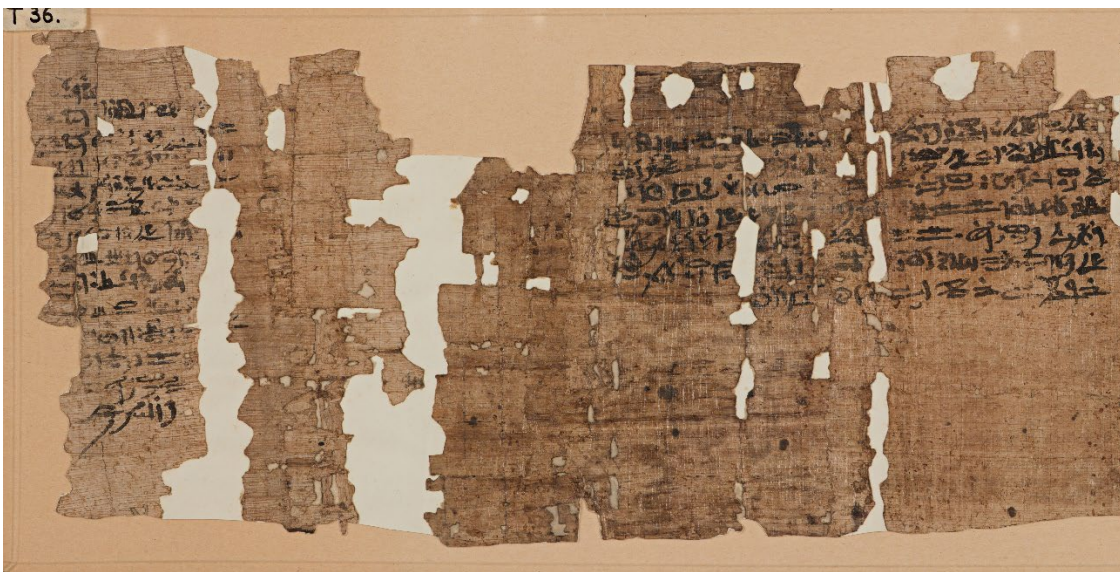


P. Leiden T 24 © National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

P. Leiden T 36

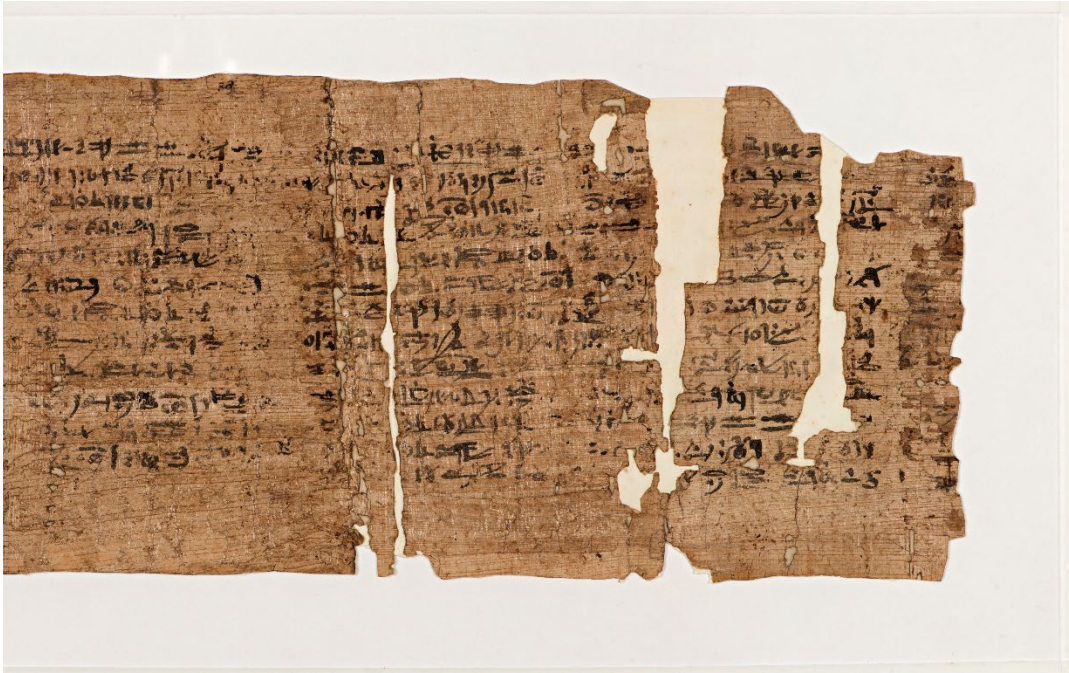


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P. Leiden T 38



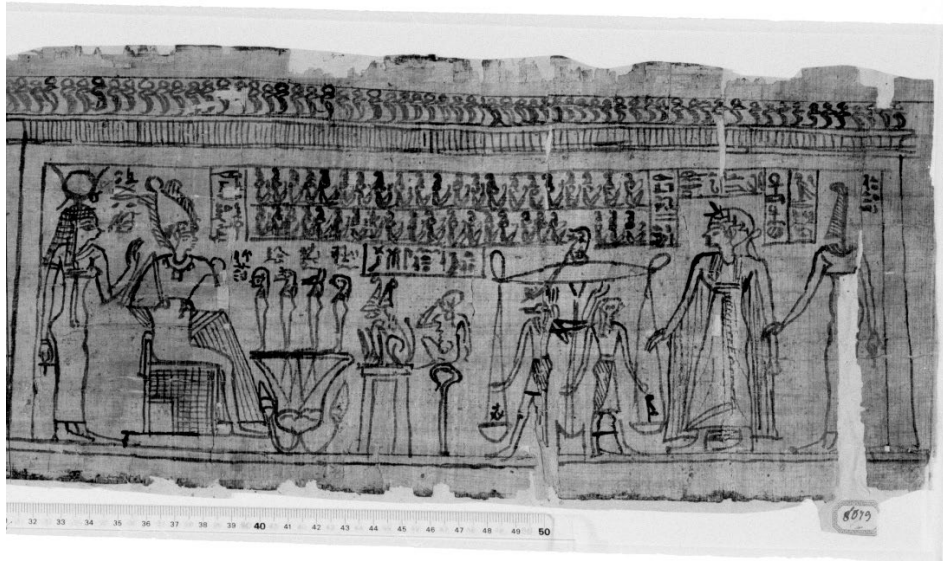
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P. Louvre E 8079 + E 11080

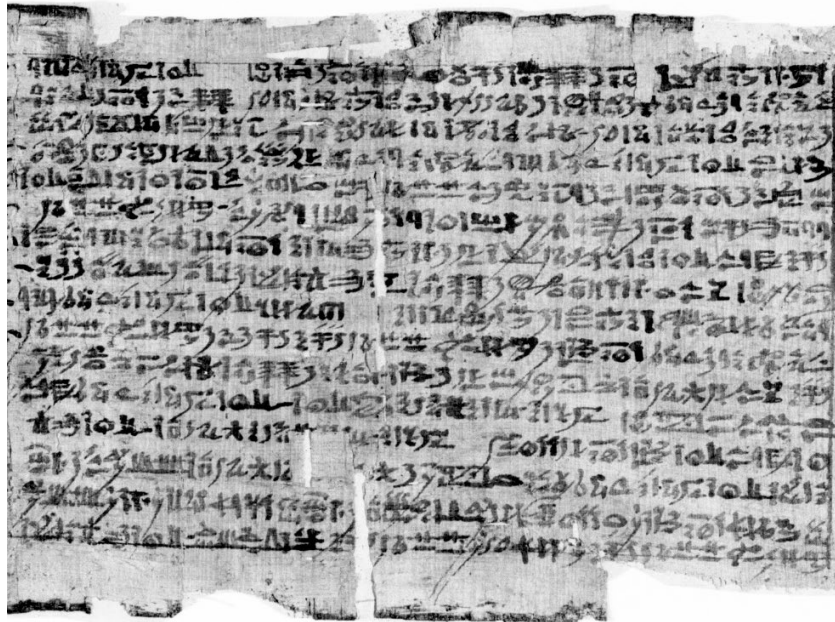


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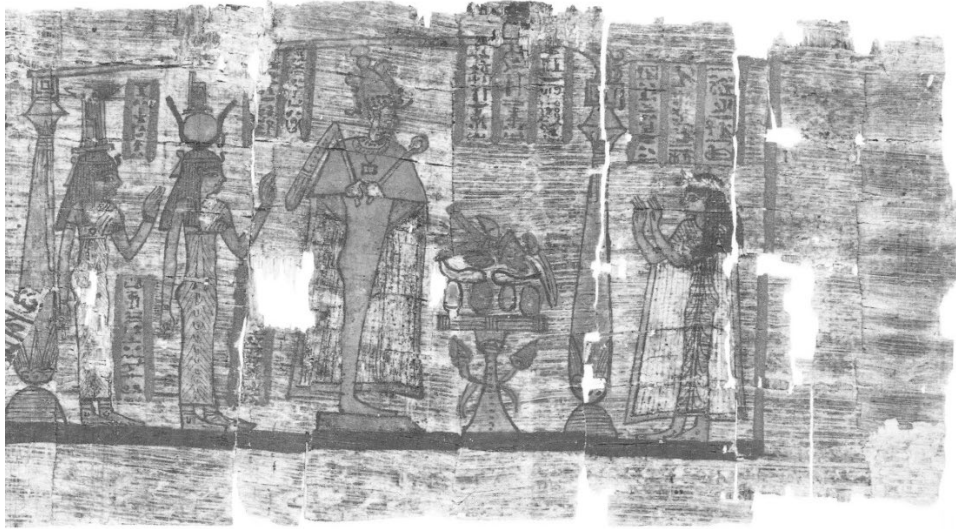


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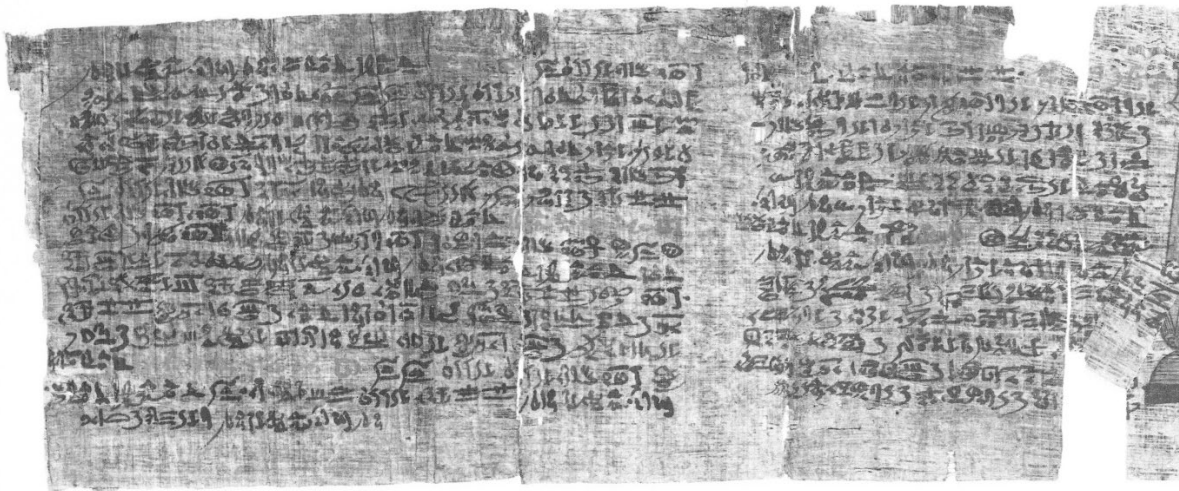


P. Louvre E 8079 + E 11080 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christian Larrieu.

P. Louvre E 11079

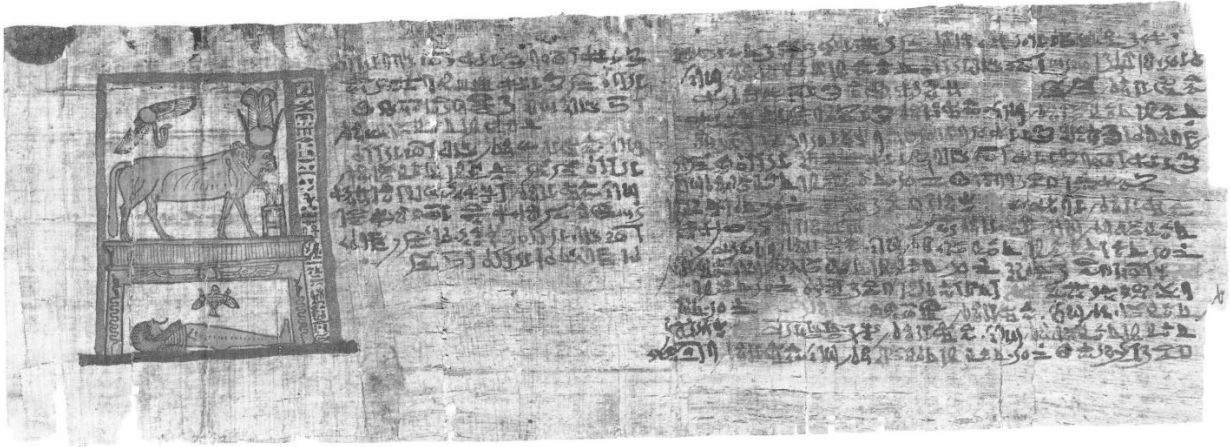


P. Louvre E 11079 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christian Larrieu.



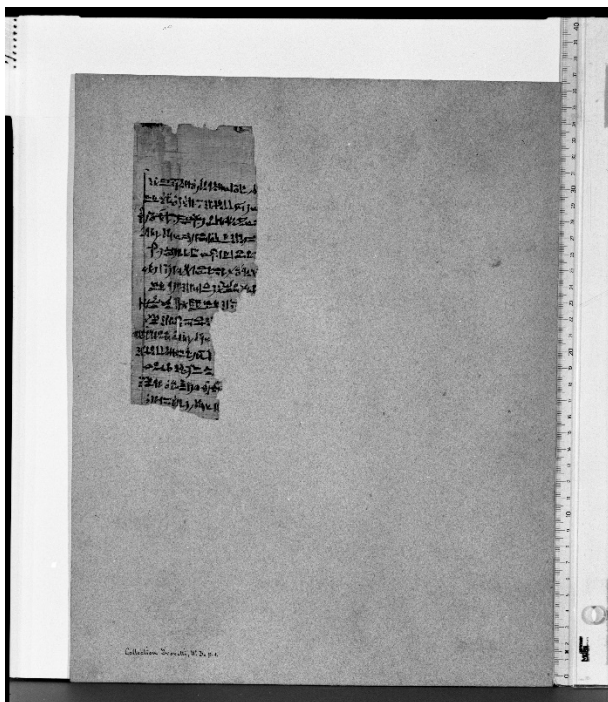
P. Louvre E 11079 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christian Larrieu.

P. Louvre E 11079

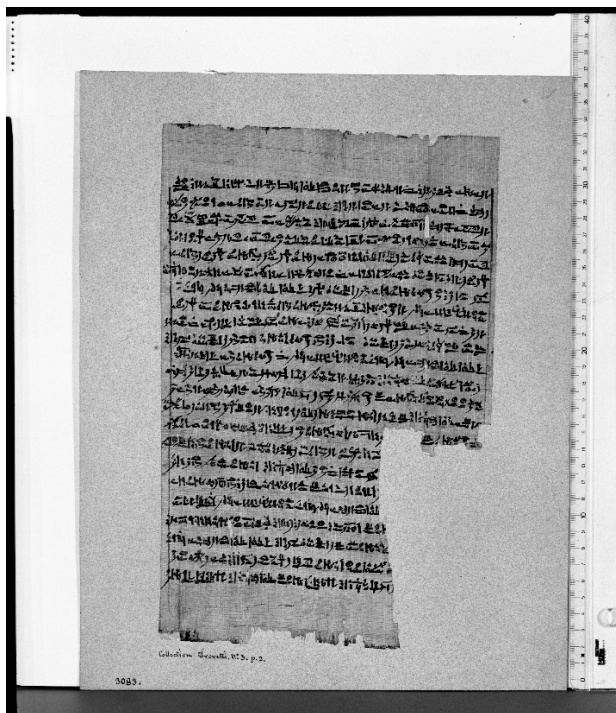


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P. Louvre N 3083 + N 3194a

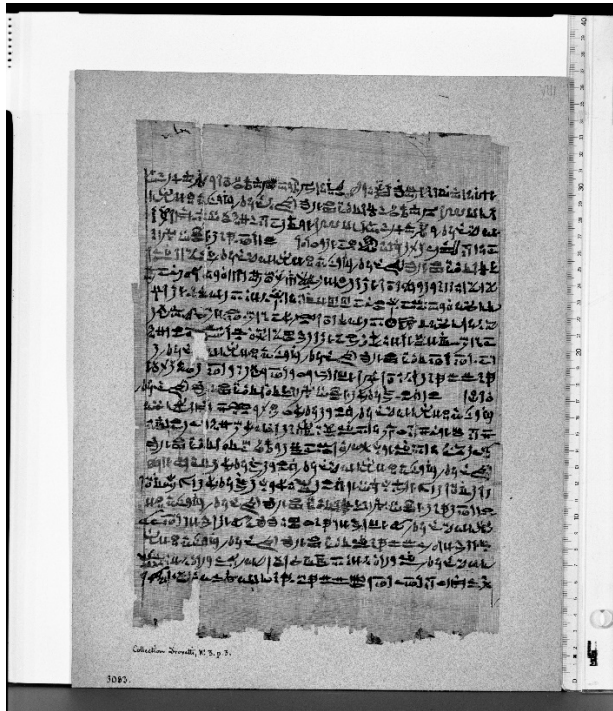


P. Louvre N 3083 + N 3194 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Georges Poncet.

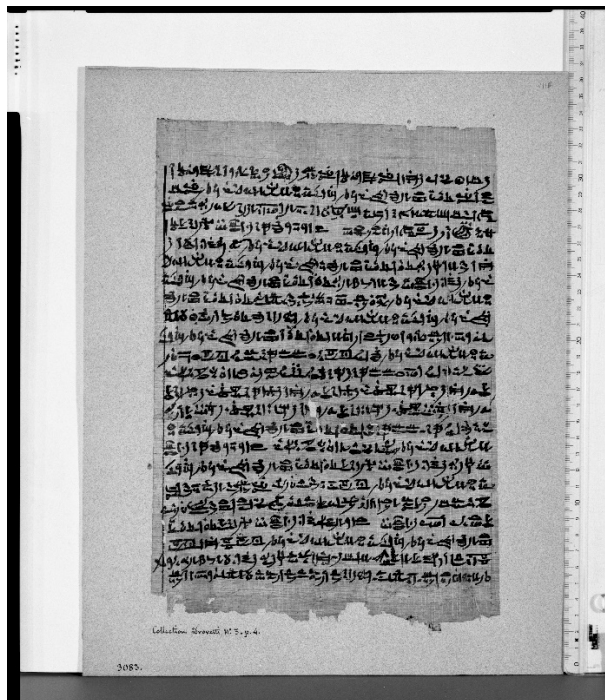


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P. Louvre N 3083 + N 3194a

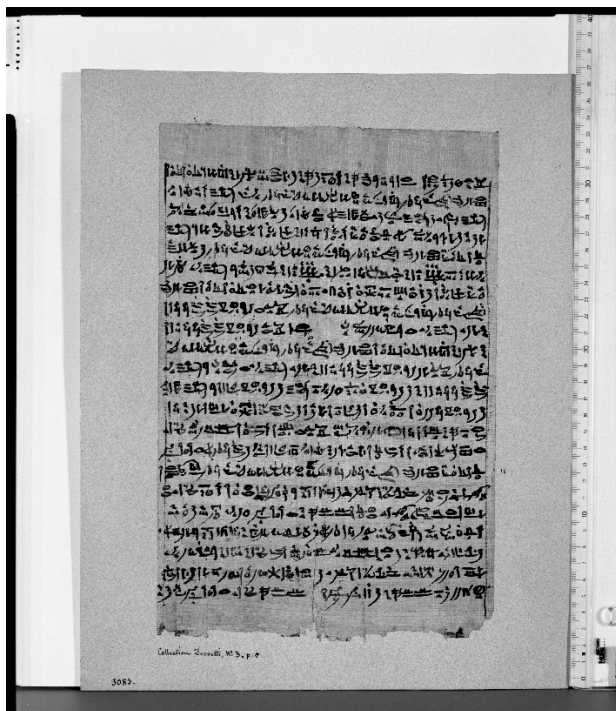


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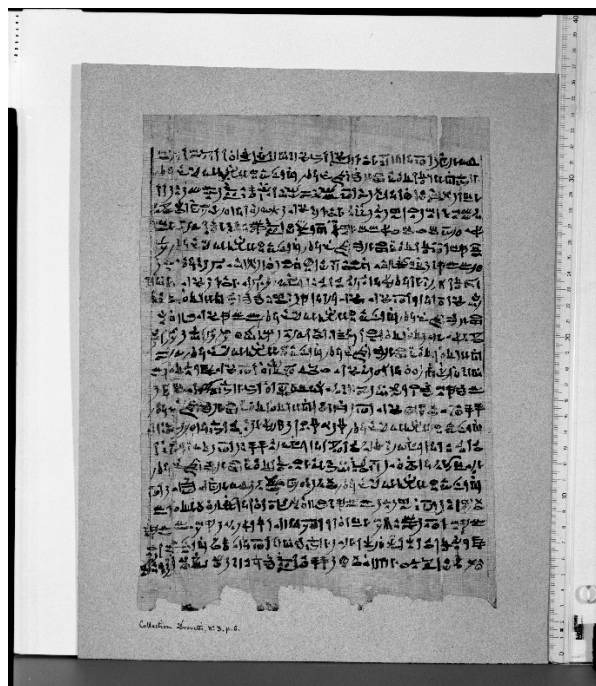


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P. Louvre N 3083 + N 3194a

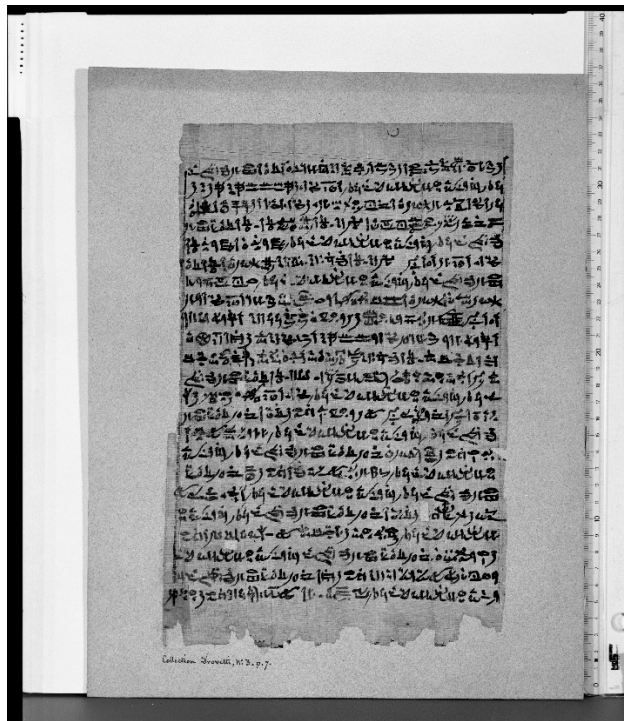


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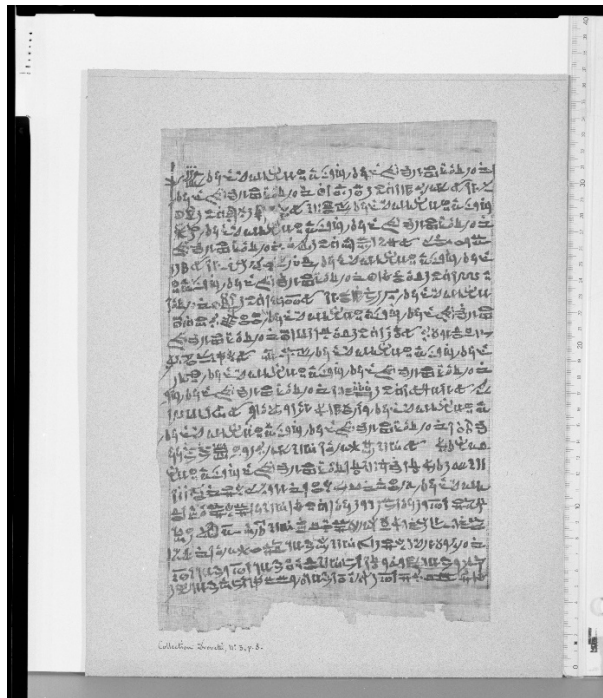


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P. Louvre N 3083 + N 3194a



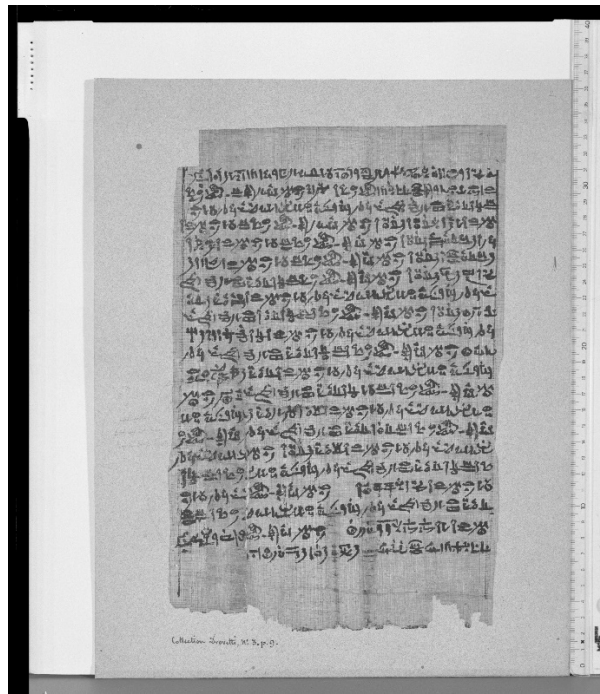
P. Louvre N 3083 + N 3194 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Georges Poncet.



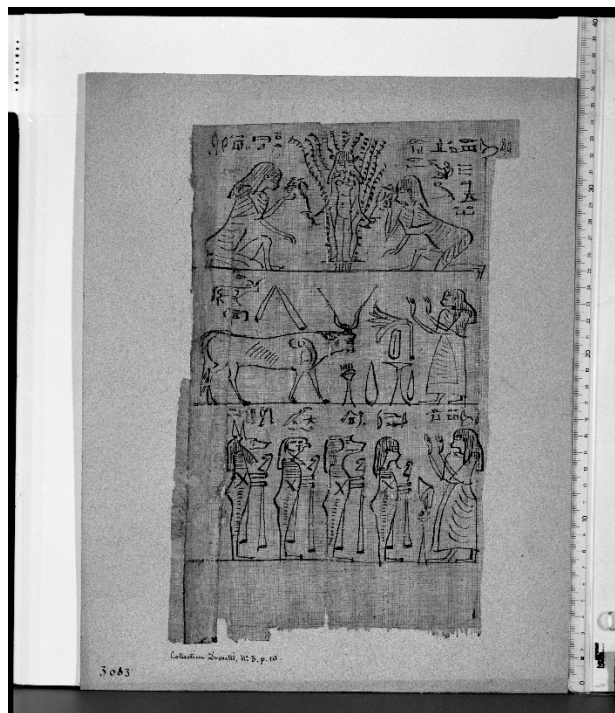
P. Louvre N 3083 + N 3194 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Georges Poncet.



P. Louvre N 3083 + N 3194a

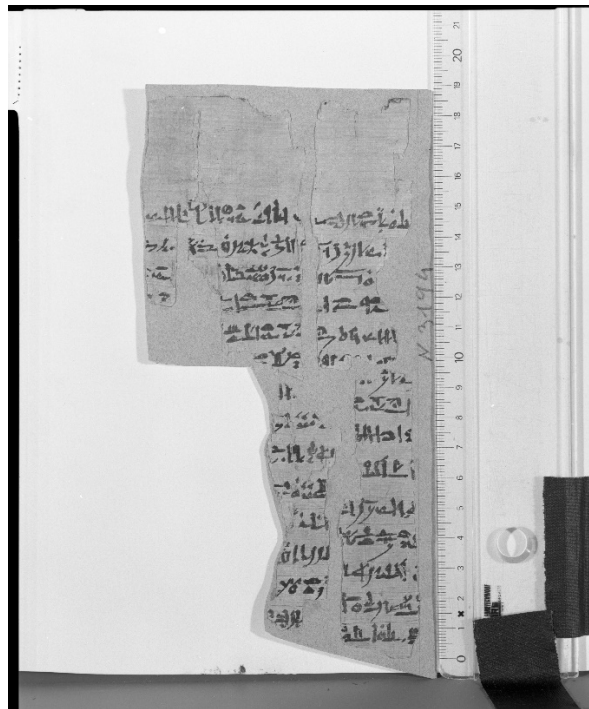


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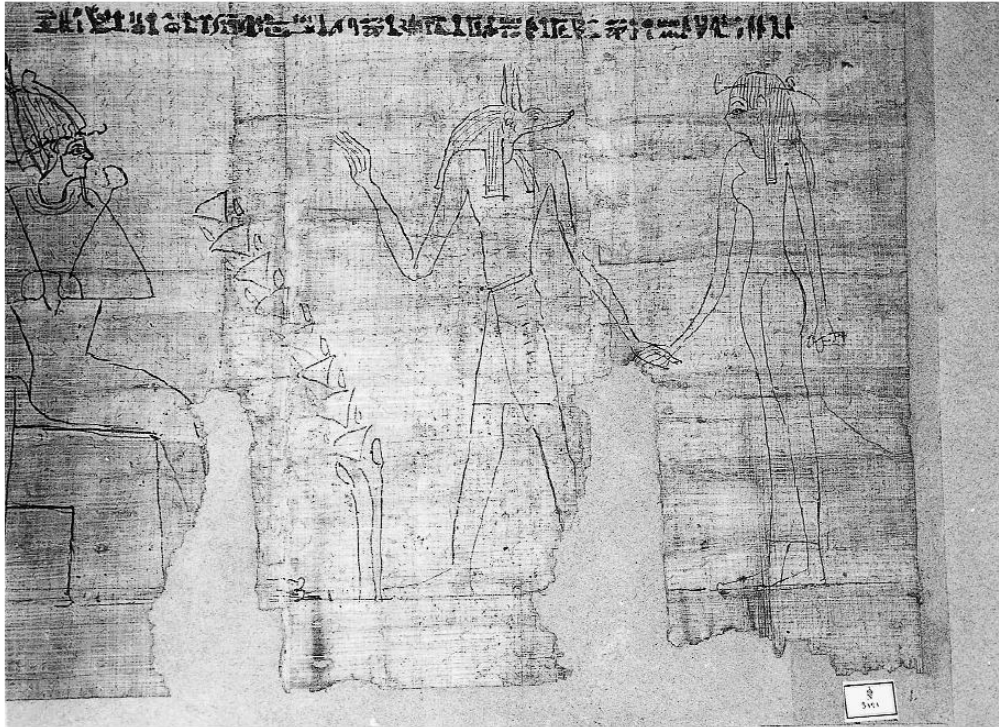
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P. Louvre N 3083 + N 3194a

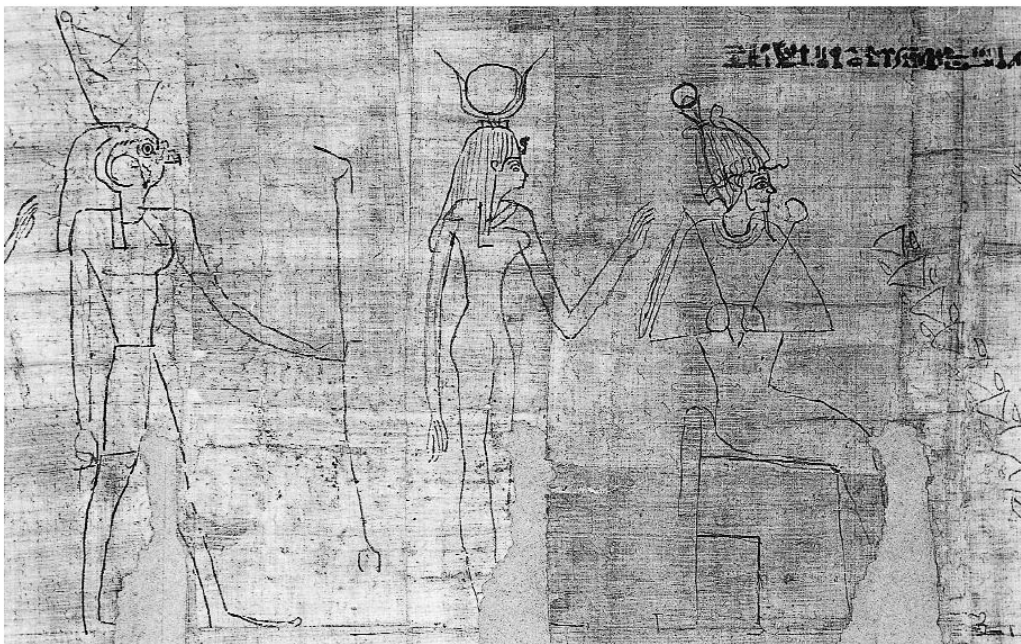


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P. Louvre N 3121



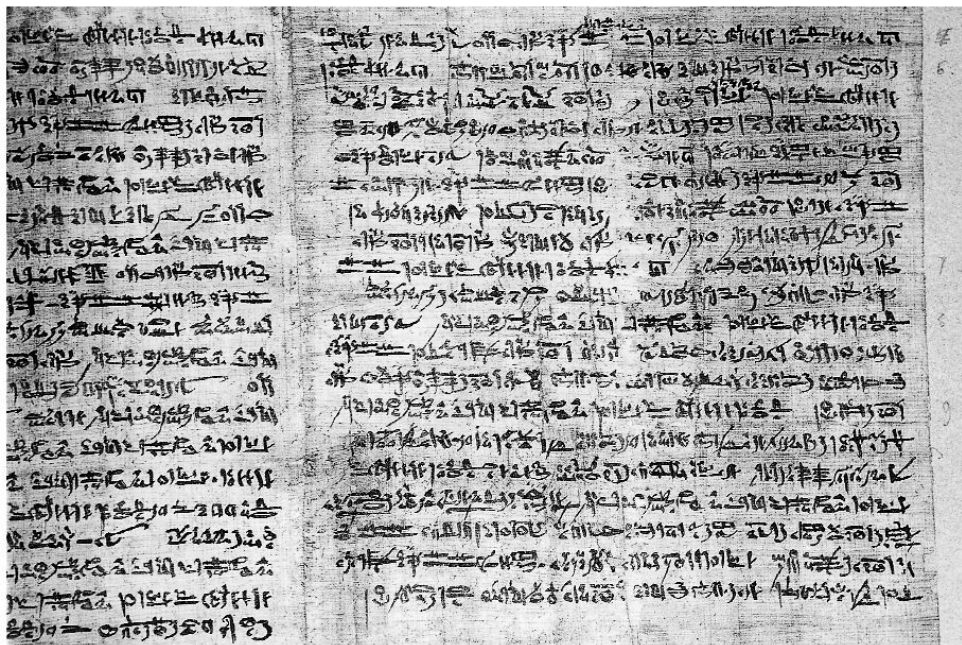
P. Louvre N 3121 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christian Larrieu.



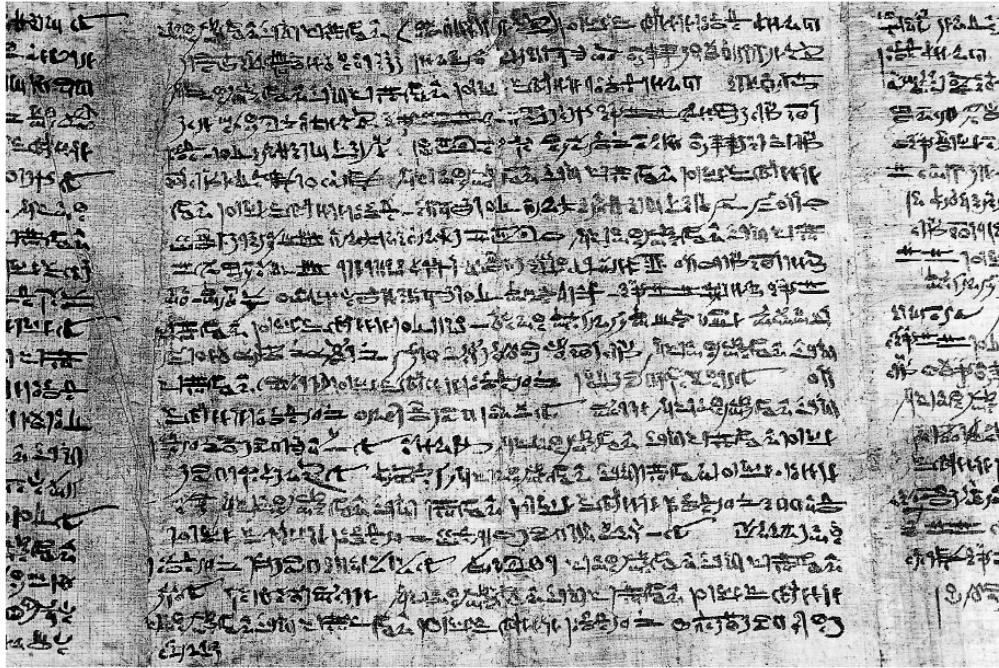
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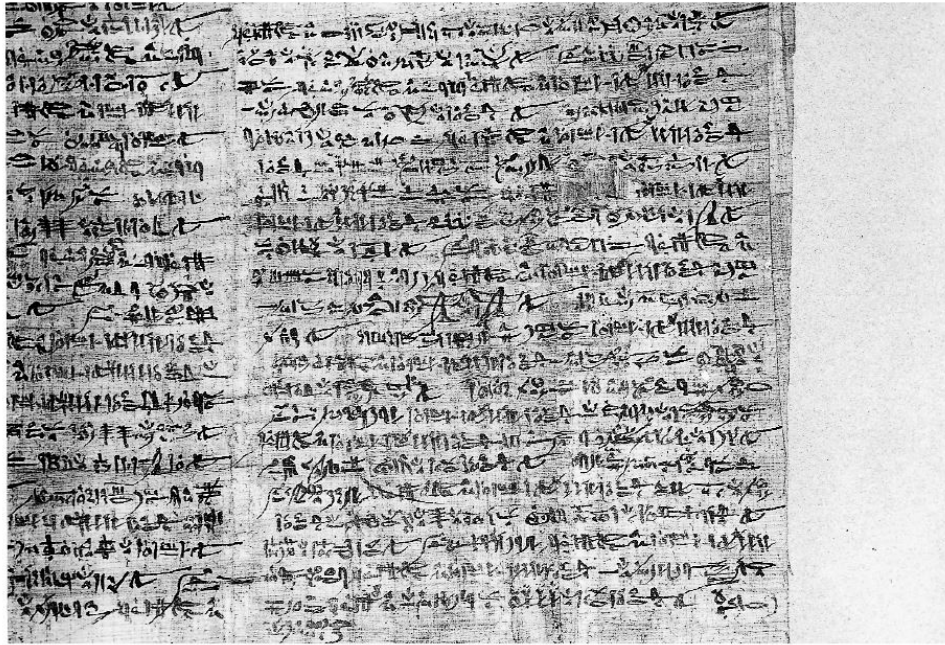
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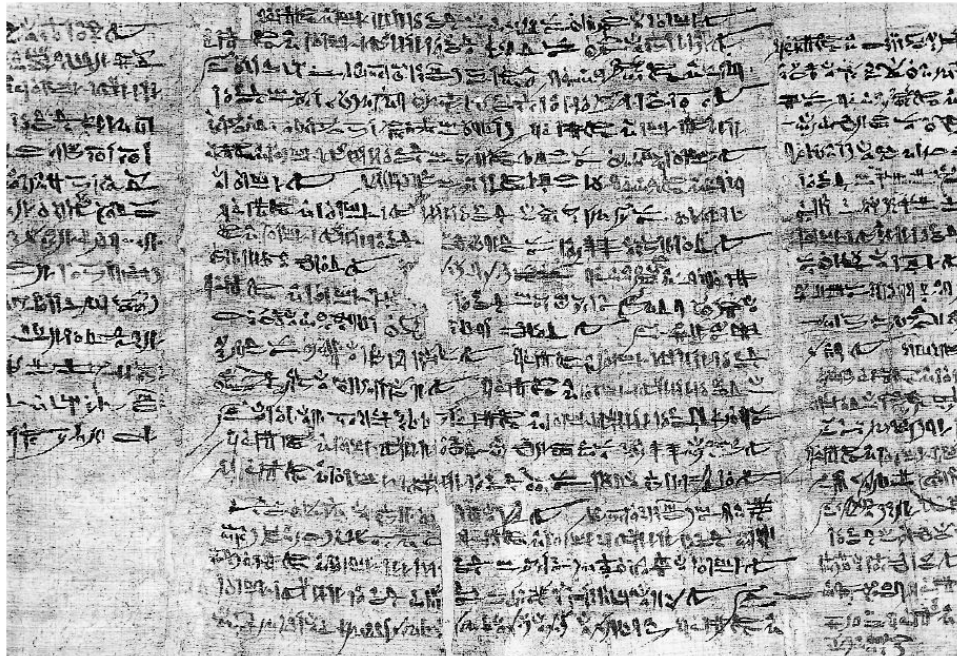
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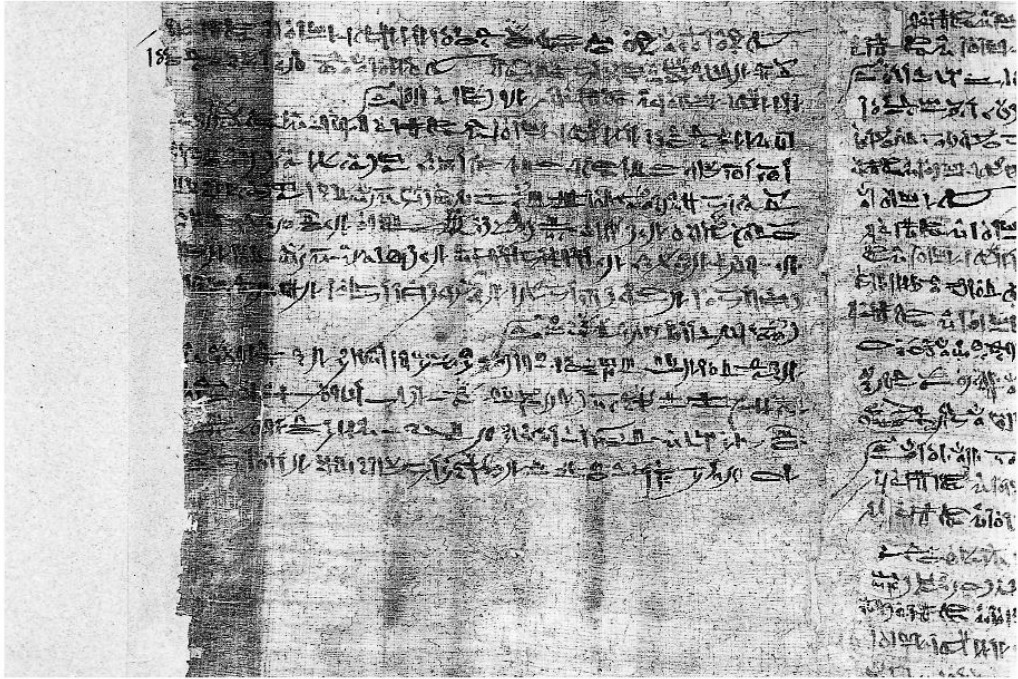


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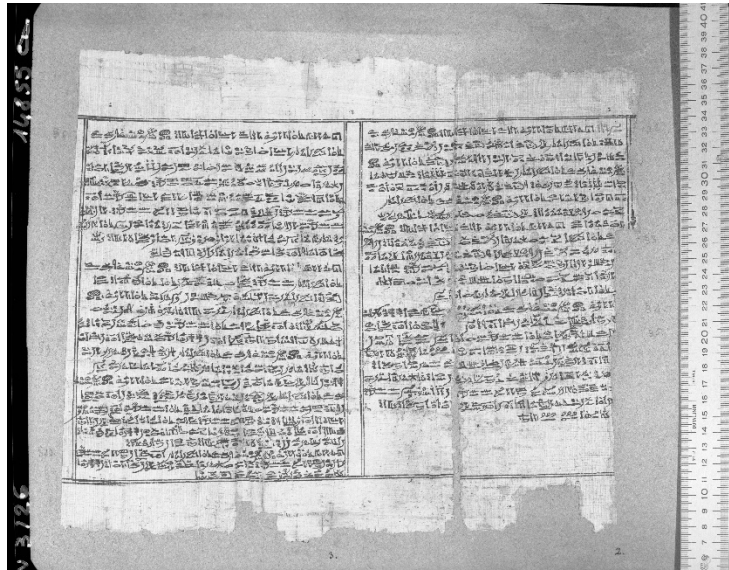
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P. Louvre N 3121

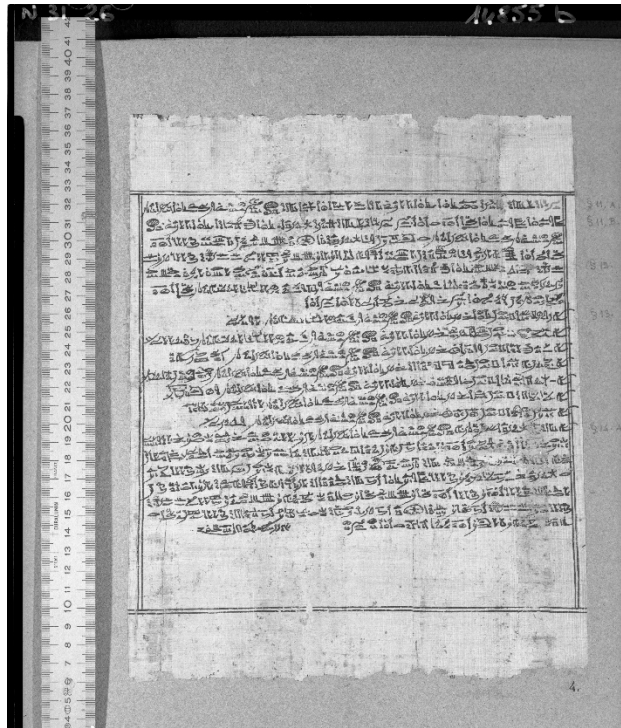


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P. Louvre N 3126



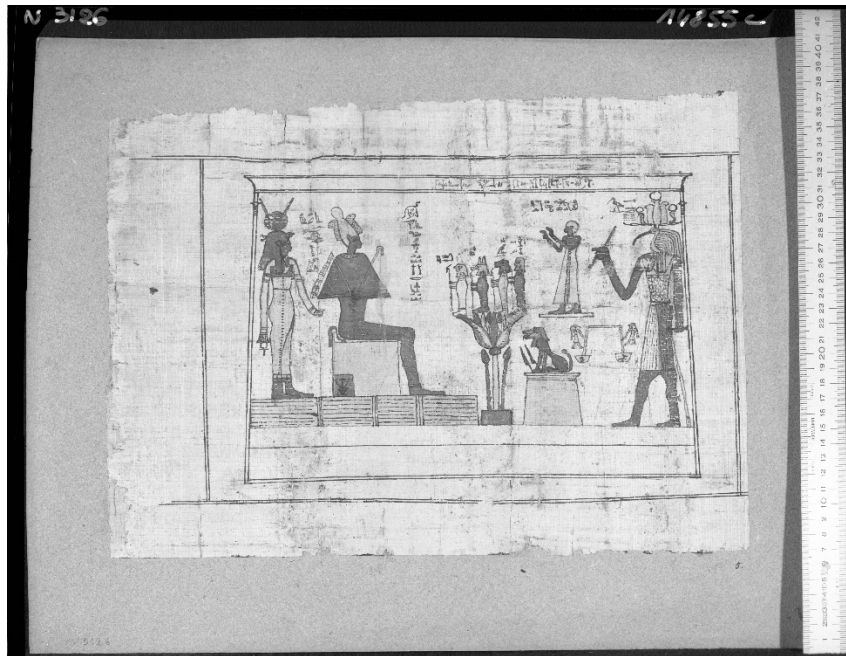
P. Louvre N 3126 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christian Larrieu.



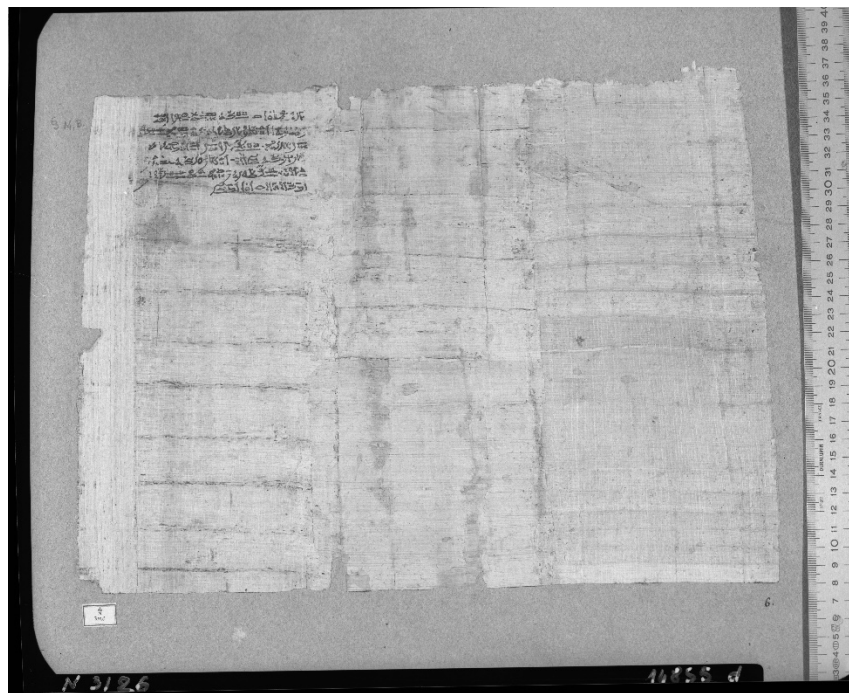
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P. Louvre N 3126

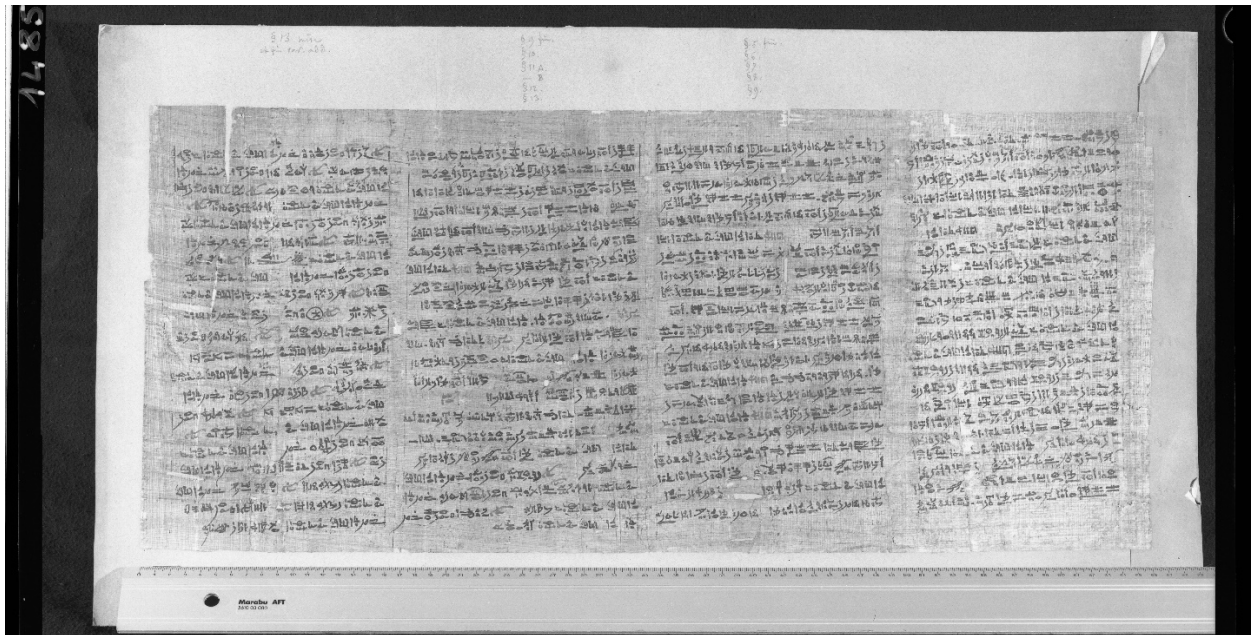


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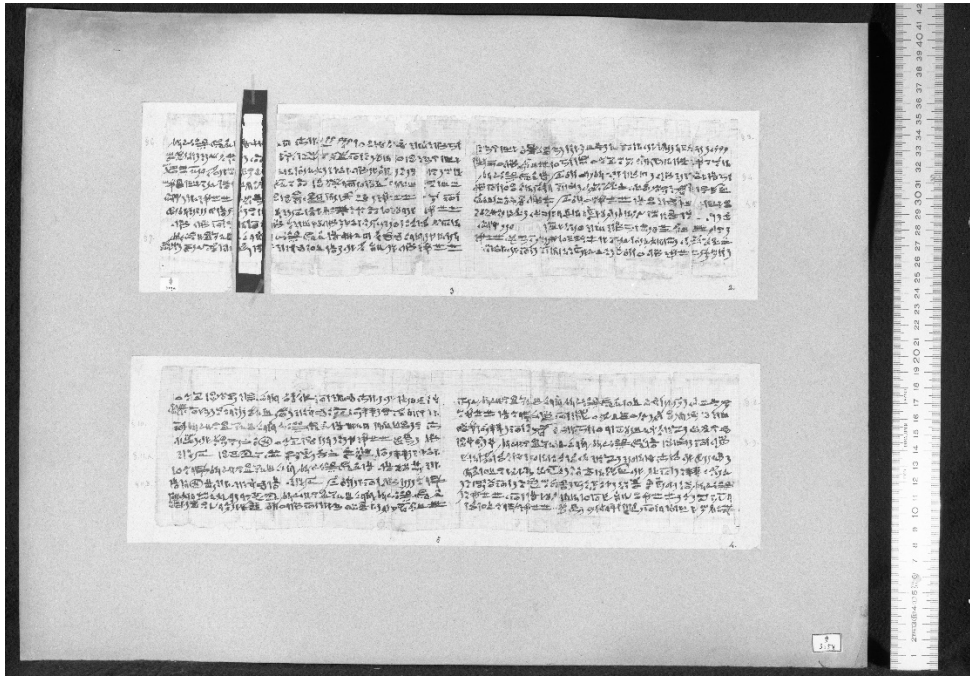
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P. Louvre N 3154

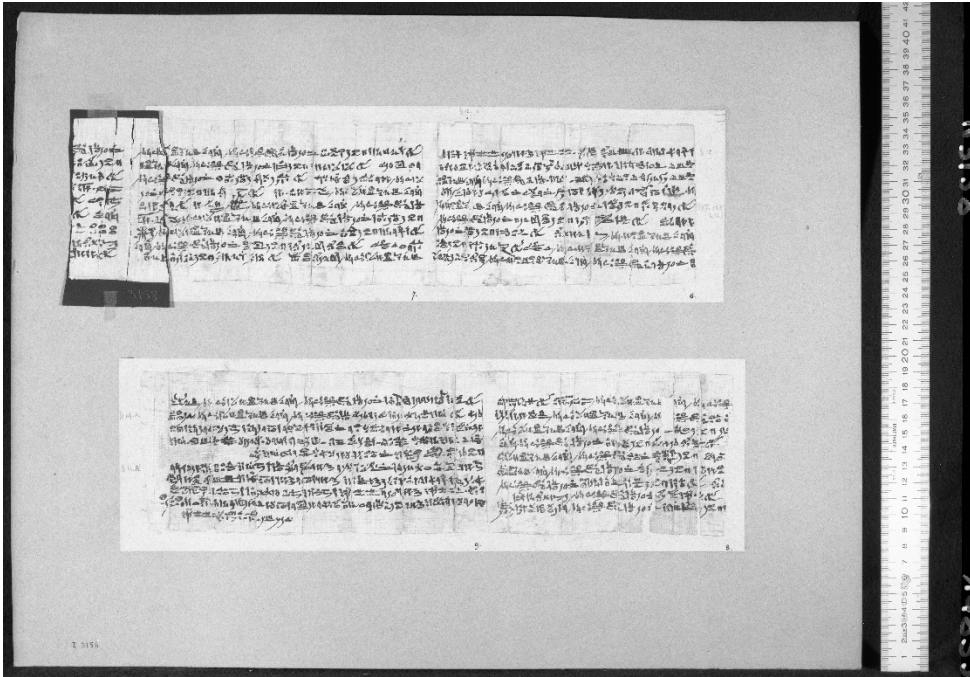


P. Louvre N 3154 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christian Larrieu.

P. Louvre N 3158

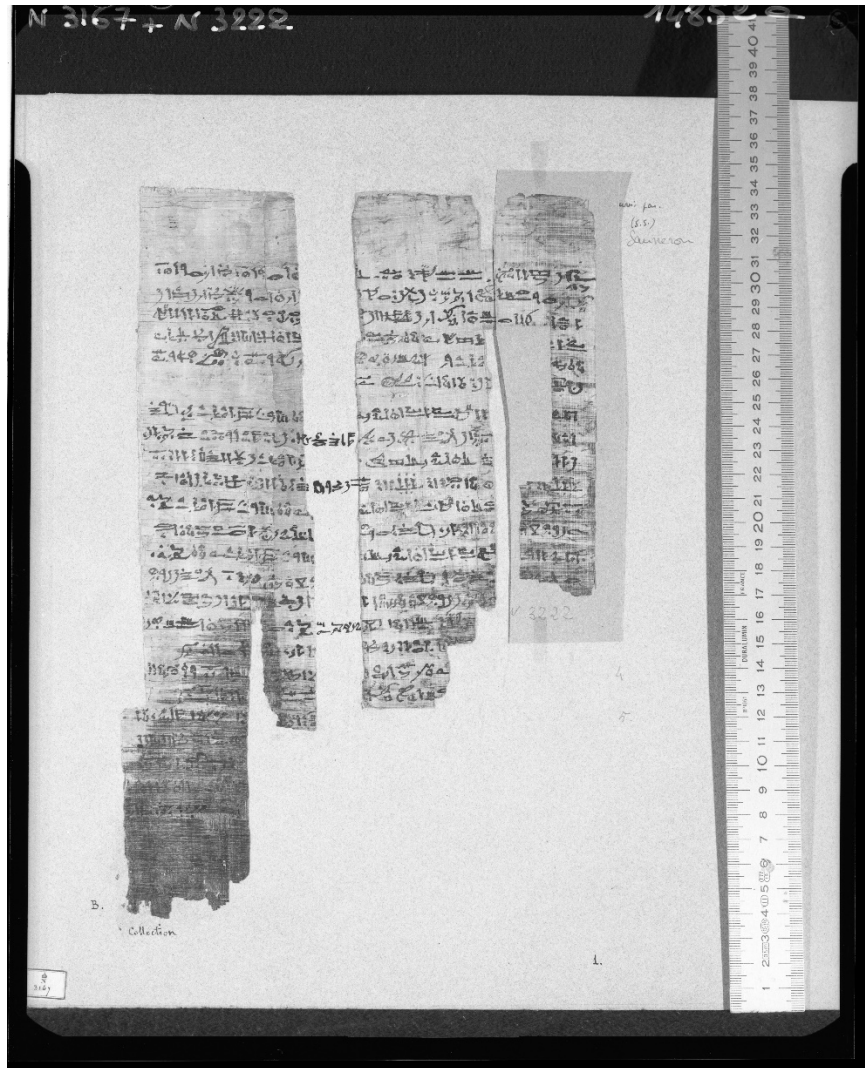


P. Louvre N 3158 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christian Larrieu.



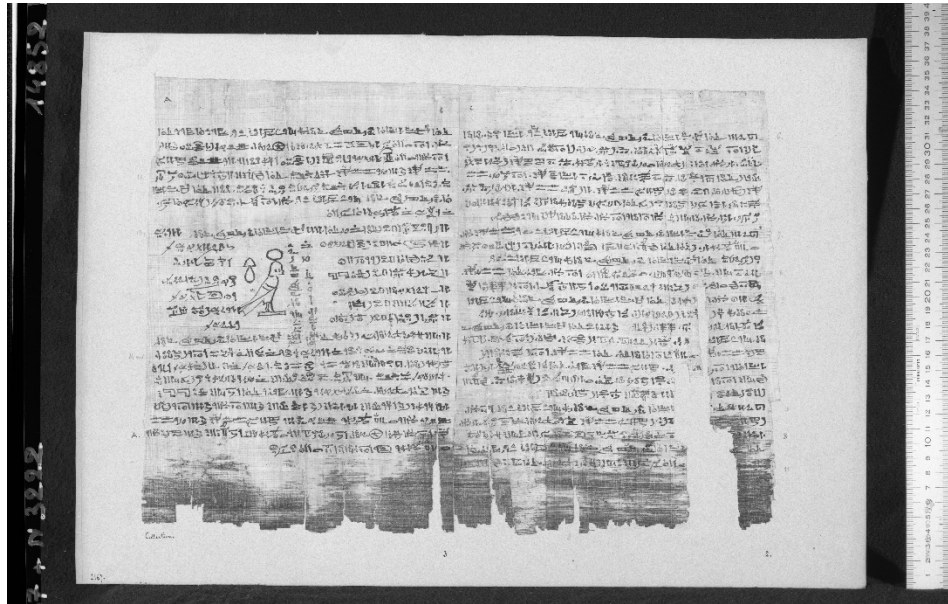
P. Louvre N 3158 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christian Larrieu.

P. Louvre N 3167 + N 3222

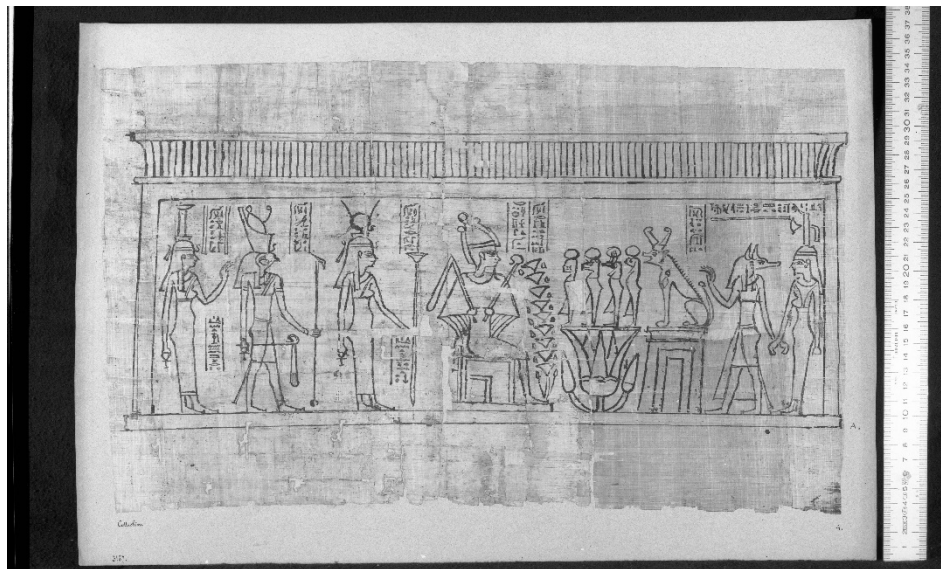


P. Louvre N 3167 + 3222 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christian Larrieu.

P. Louvre N 3167 + N 3222

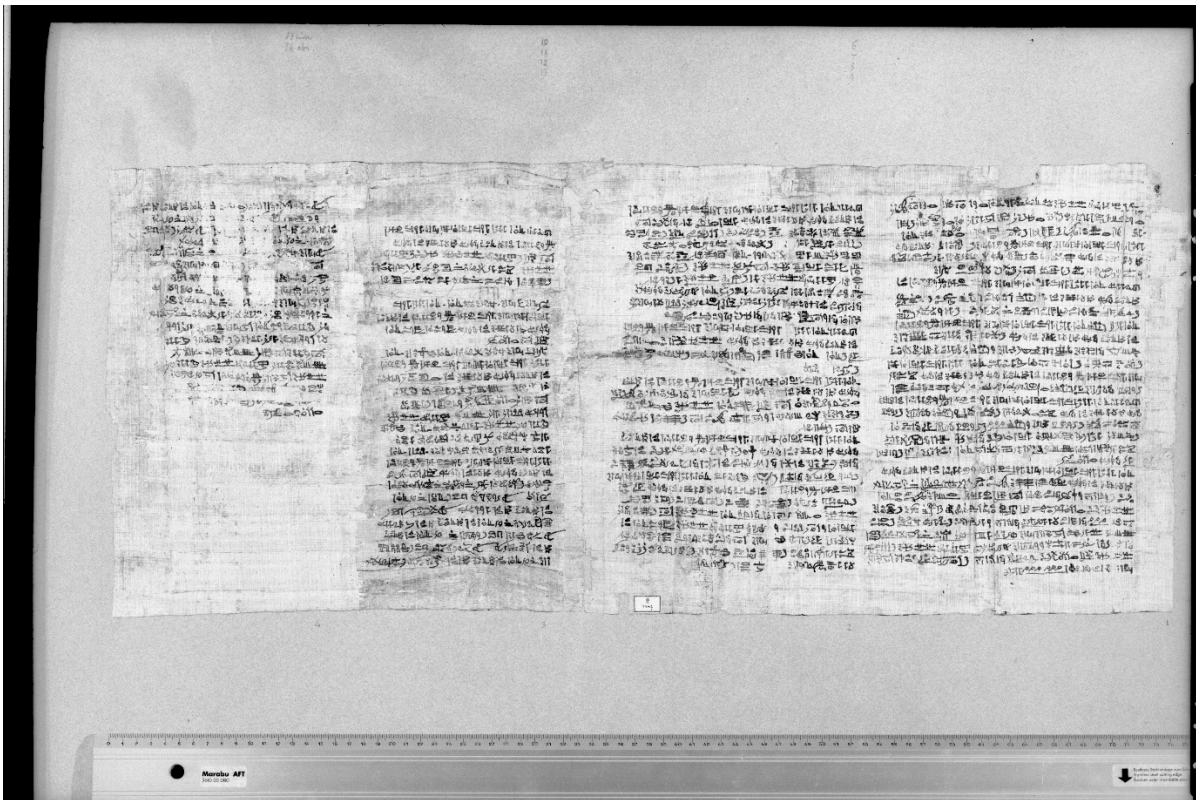


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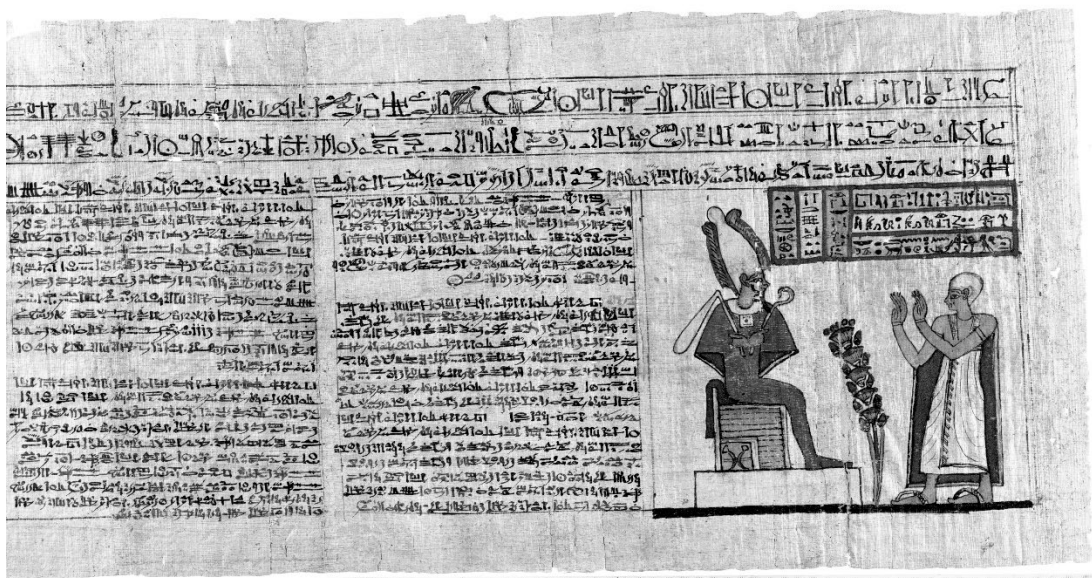


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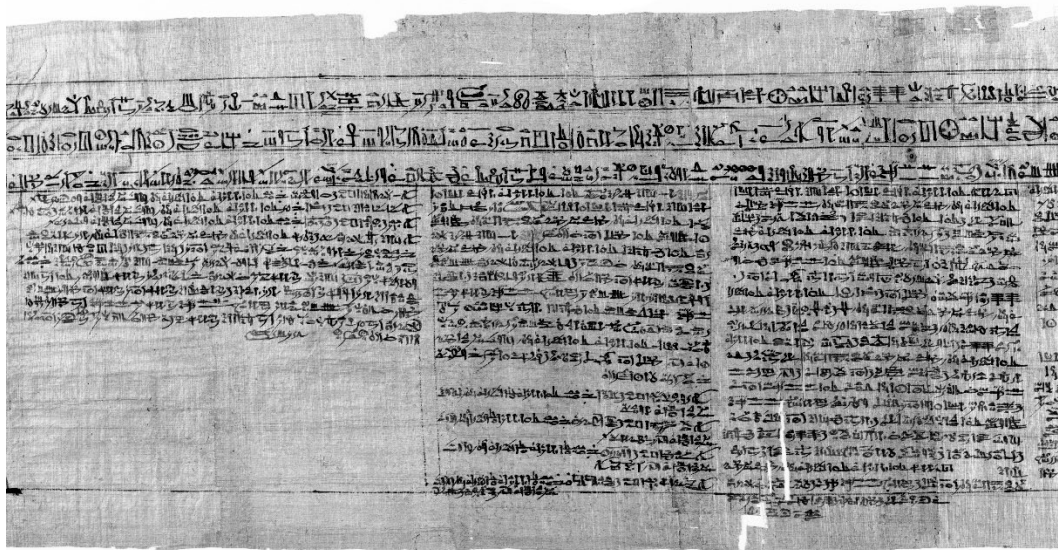
P. Louvre N 3204 b and c and N 3285



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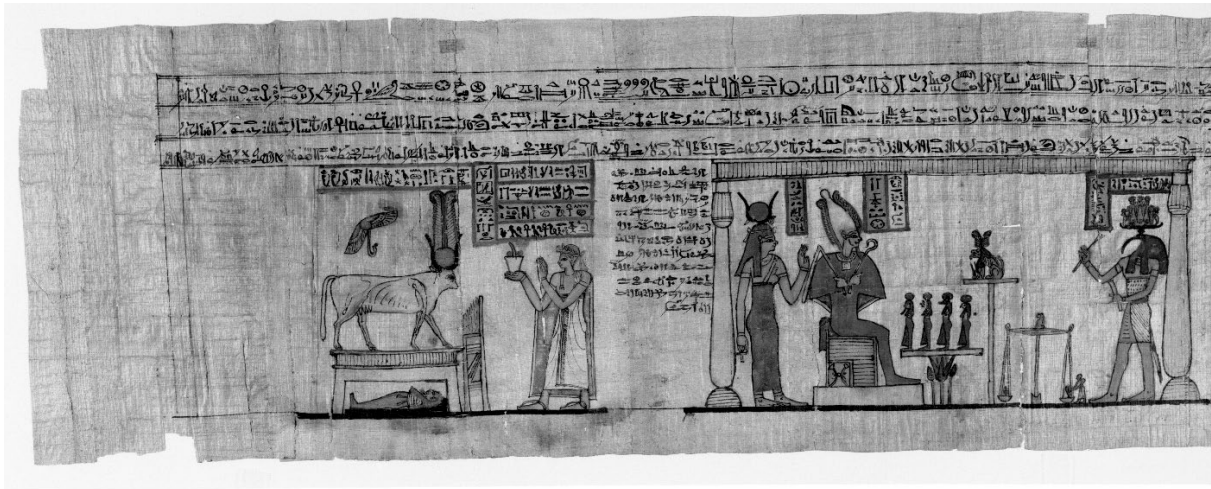


P. Louvre N 3284 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christian Larrieu.



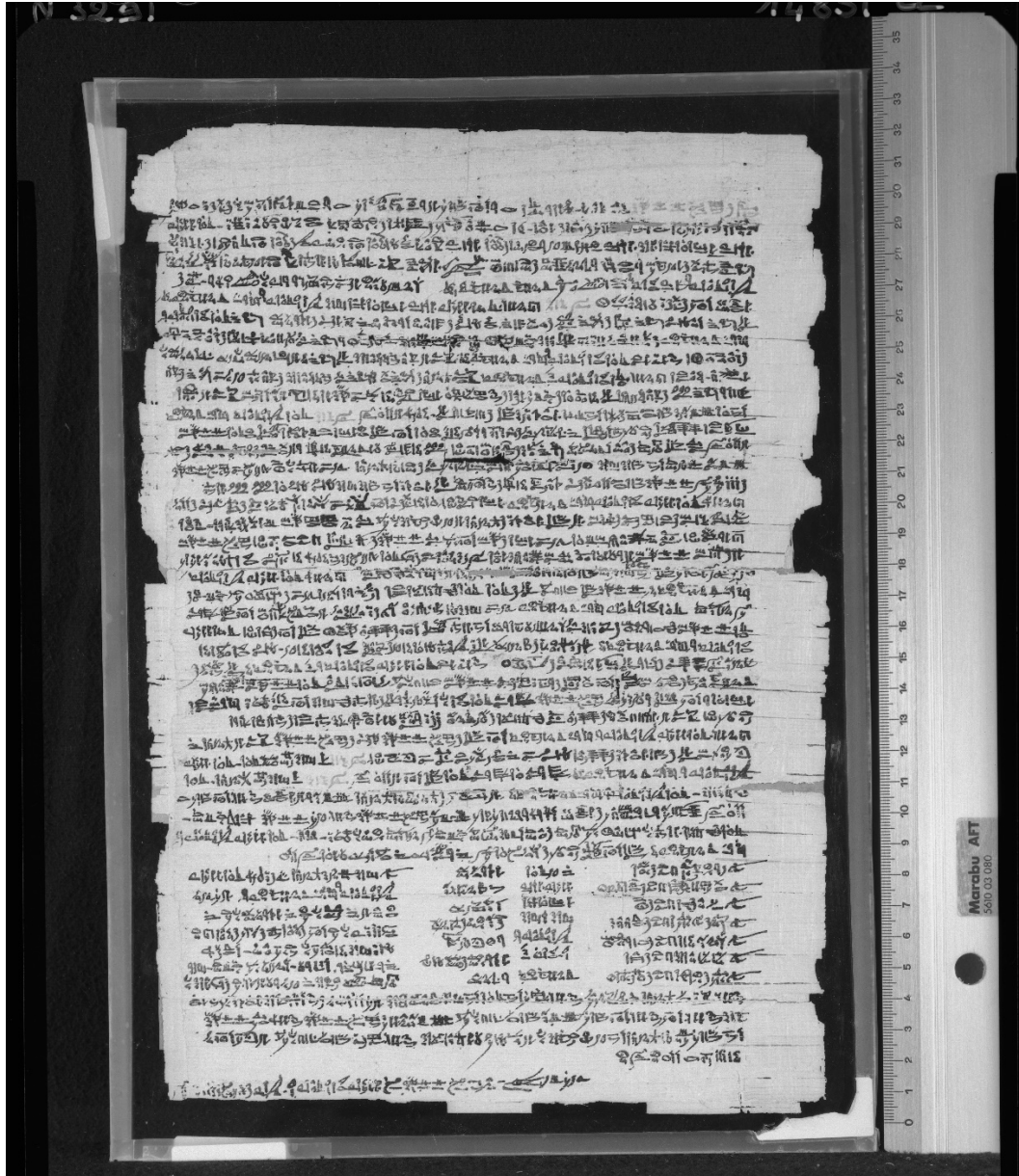
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P. Louvre N 3284



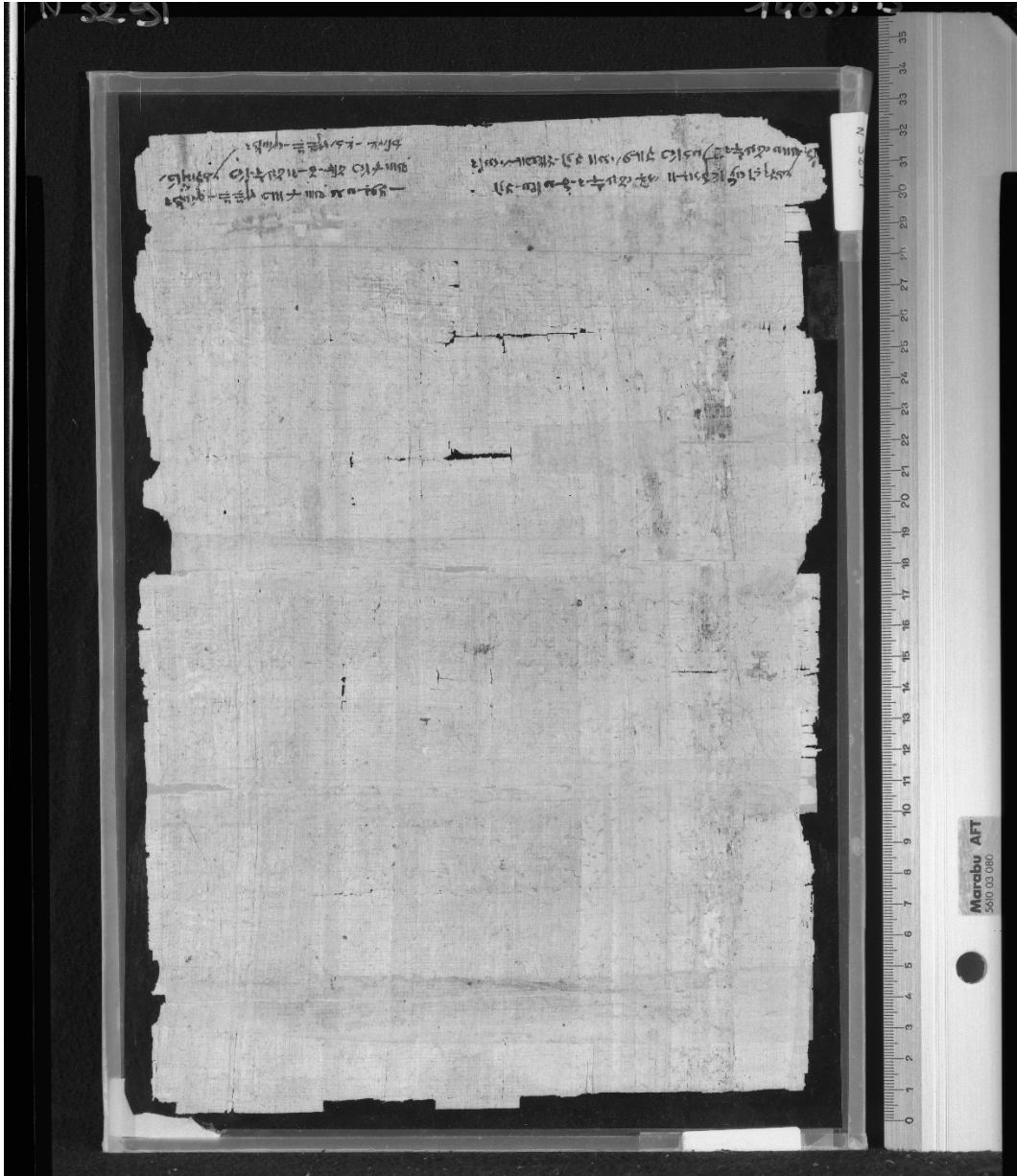
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P. Louvre N 3291



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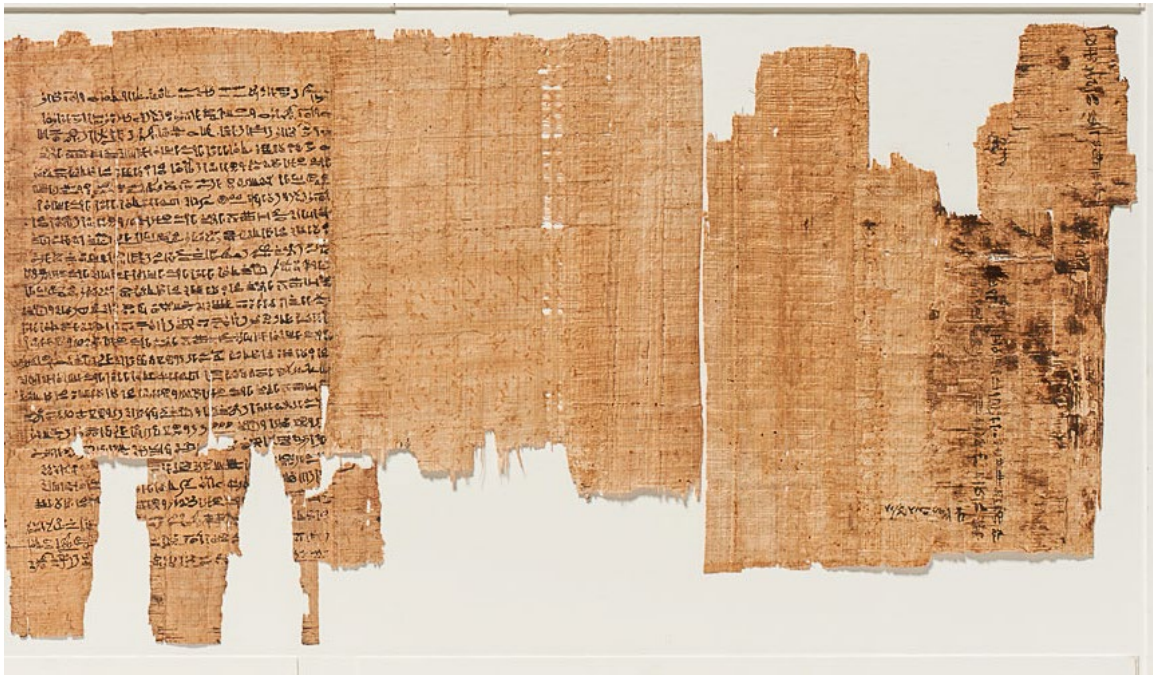
P. Tübingen 2016 © Egyptian Collection of the University of Tübingen, photograph by S. Beck.

P. Tübingen 2016

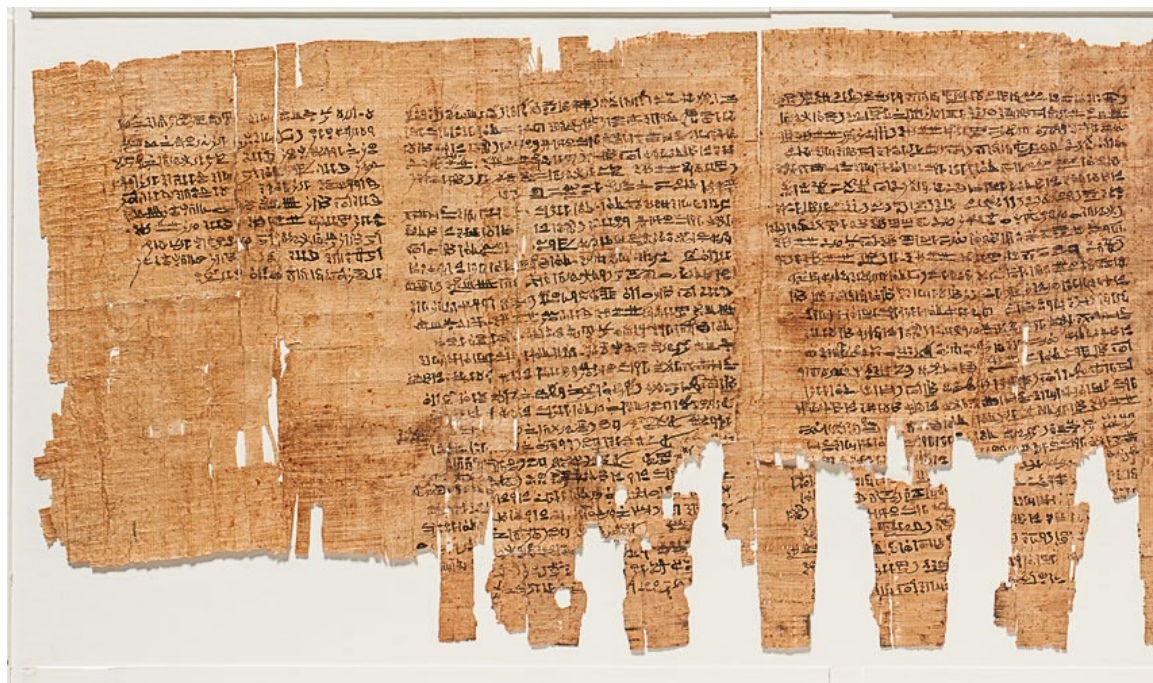


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P. Vienna 3863



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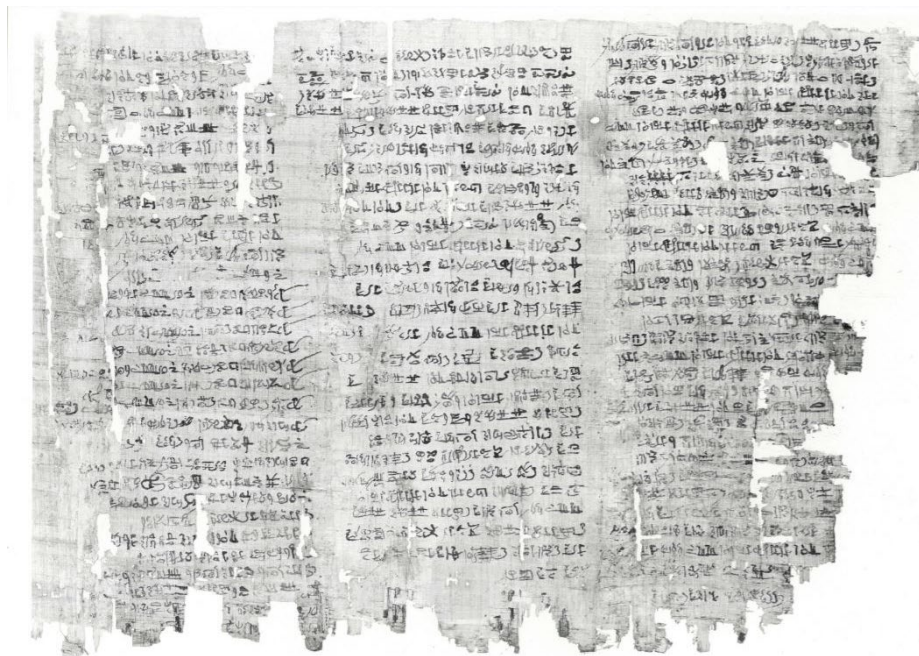


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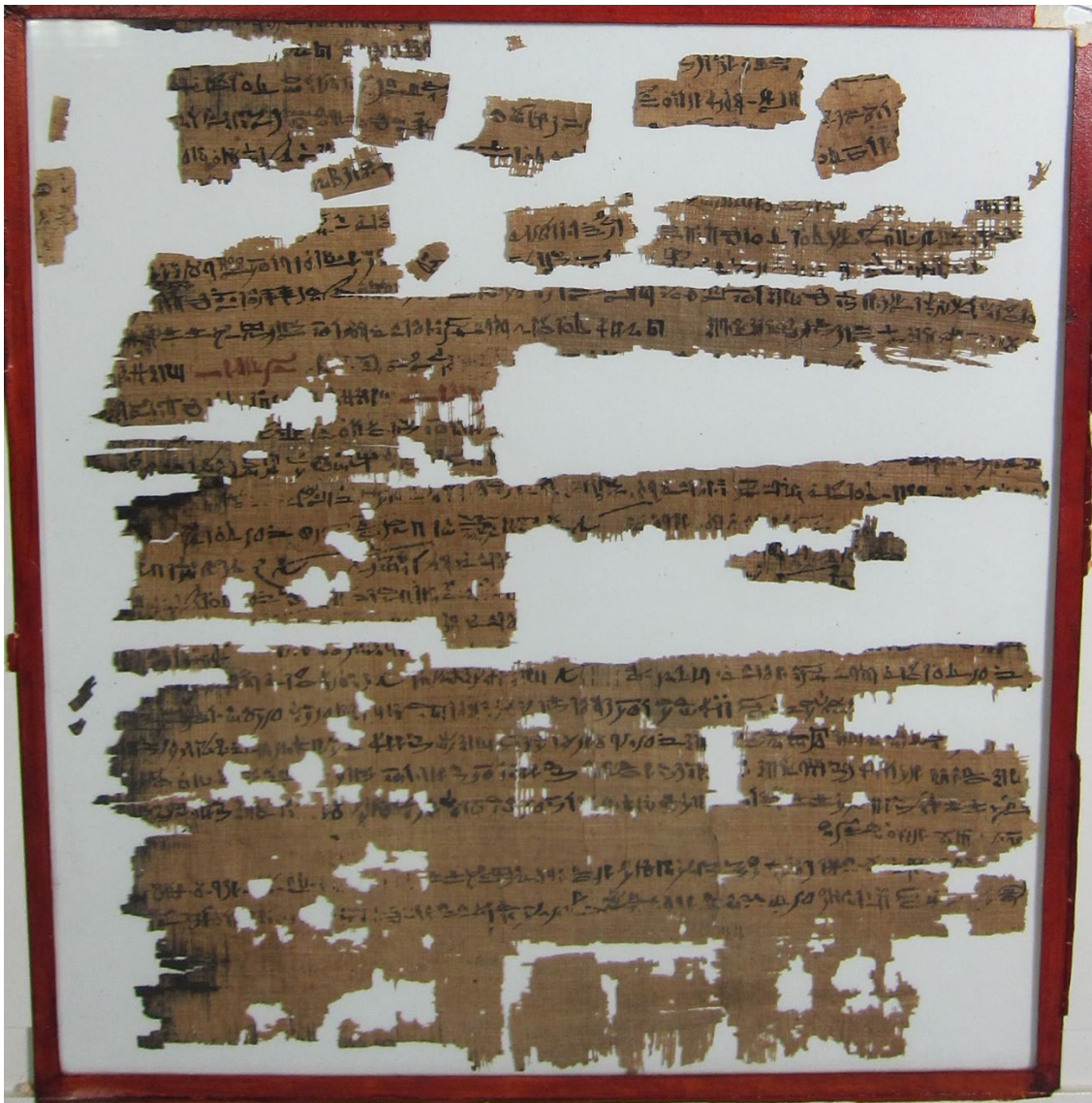


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