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A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price: Part 3: Empaneling the Panel

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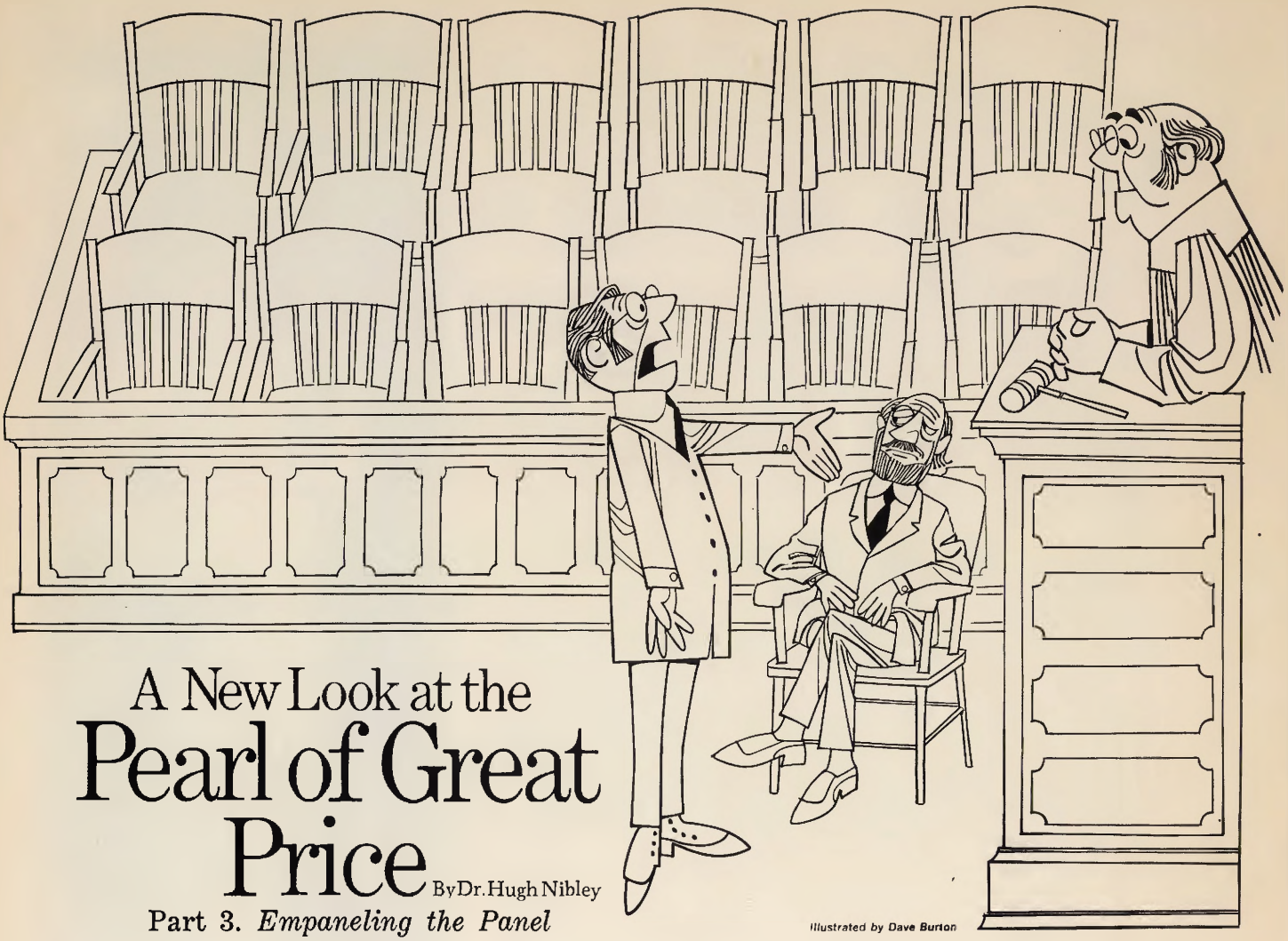

A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price

By Dr. Hugh Nibley

Part 3. *Empaneling the Panel*

Illustrated by Dave Burton

• *Qualified for What?*—"But surely," we hear again and again, "such great scholars should be able to decide on this particular case without any trouble." Should they? Being a great scholar, while it gives people the impression that one is an authority on many things, is possible only because one is an authority on few things. It is precisely the great authority, C. S. Lewis reminds us, that we should mistrust: "It sounds a strange charge to bring against men who have been steeped in those books all their lives," he writes of the leading New Testament scholars, "but that might be just the trouble. A man who has spent his youth and manhood in the minute study of New Testament texts and of other people's studies of them . . . is, I should think, very likely to miss the obvious things about them."[1] Lewis then proceeds to cite examples in the field of biblical scholarship, but the best examples of all must surely be furnished by the Egyptologists.

Every Egyptologist is by necessity a specialist, if only because Egyptian is written in three totally different scripts, and as the outpouring of specialized studies has steadily increased in volume, especially since World War II, the specialists have become ever more specialized. Jean Leclant noted in 1966 that the last of the real "all-round" Egyptologists are fast dying off.[2] Shortly before his death, Sir Alan Gardiner, who was certainly one of those great ones, complained that it was "impossible for any student to keep abreast of all that is written save at the cost of abandoning all hope of personal contributions."[3] And those contributions become ever more personal, according to Jean Capart, things having reached the point where "the authors sometimes confine themselves to reading nothing but their own works while systematically turning their backs on those of their colleagues."[4] Many years ago Capart cited Heinrich Schaeffer's complaint that the study of Egyptian religion had made little or no progress through the years because the experts, like the blind wise men examining the elephant, were each content to study and report on one limited department only; all their lives, Capart notes, Maspero and Wiedemann had protested against that sort of thing—but in vain.[5]

In 1947 an attempt to organize an international society of Egyptologists (a thing that any sensible person would think to be totally inevitable in such an ancient and peculiar

By stating with great emphasis and clarity his views on religion in general and Joseph Smith in particular, he disqualifies himself for the jury.

brotherhood) fell through completely—for specialists are a jealous lot. Adrian de Buck even charged Egyptologists with discouraging others from studying Egyptian[6]; and G. Roeder reports that his translations of religious texts had to buck "the current of opinion and the sovran *[sic]* personalities in the field," who opposed his ideas "with much head-shaking and rude condemnation" before they finally began to give way.[7] The very nature of Egyptian studies, in which the unknown so completely overshadows the known, has always encouraged specialization, for as Chabas noted a hundred years ago, it is possible for each student "to find in Egypt whatever sustains his particular views."[8]

Today even the specialist, according to Siegfried Morenz, "is in constant danger of losing his grasp even of a special area, such as Egyptian religion."[9] How specialized Egyptian studies have always been may be inferred from the report of G. Goyon in 1963, that the problems of the Great Pyramid, which have had enormous popular appeal for more than a century, remain unsolved, because "the scholars who have really studied it on the scene can be counted on the fingers of one hand."[10]

Tucked away in a highly specialized corner of this highly specialized field are three highly specialized papyri supplying with their highly specialized commentary illustrations to a highly specialized account of Abraham in Egypt. The peculiarities of the Facsimiles and the explanations that go with them cry for careful specialized investigation. So the question we have to ask here of every member of the Spalding jury is not whether he knows a lot, but whether he is equipped to deal *with this particular problem.* The problem is complicated by emotional religious elements that make it necessary in screening the jury to ask two main questions of each: (1) whether he is equipped by training to give a thorough and definitive interpretation of the plates and texts in the Pearl of Great Price, and (2) whether he is temperamentally qualified to do so.

Five of the scholars consulted by Bishop Spalding were among the most learned men who ever lived. Each of them was a giant endowed far beyond the normal run of men with independence of mind, imagination, curiosity, insight, energy, and integrity. Yet as we look them over it appears that each is uniquely *un*qualified to pass judgment on Joseph Smith as a translator, at least on the basis of the information supplied by Spalding. Let us take them in order of their seniority, labeling them with the titles Dr. Spalding gives them.

1. "Dr. A. H. Sayce, Oxford, England," or, more fully, the Rev. Archibald Henry Sayce, D. Litt., LL.D., D.D. (1845-1931). Sayce was born with a phenomenal I.Q. and plenty of money, and "his attitude to life was that of a fastidious ascetic," according to his fellow Welshman and fellow genius F. L. Griffith.[11] Free to do pretty much as he chose, he was constantly traveling about; he "knew about every great personality in Europe in the past two generations"[12]; and "in the course of his long life he seems to have seen everything and everybody that was interesting."[13]

At the age of 18, according to Stephen H. Langdon, "he proved that he knew Hebrew, Egyptian, Persian and Sanscrit," and that "he had a firm grasp of the state of cuneiform studies." In time he "had a good knowledge of every Semitic and Indo-european language, and could write good prose in at least 20 languages." And yet this paragon "never became a great specialist in any subject"; he was too volatile, "always moving from place to place. . . . Any subject lost its attraction for him as soon as the period of decipherment passed."[14] He left no lasting monument," writes Griffith; ". . . one cannot but feel that his marvelous gifts were out of proportion to his accomplishments."[15] Or, as Langdon puts it, "his greatness was never revealed in his work." But how is one to measure gifts save by accomplishments or greatness apart from works?

In his younger years Sayce attacked the evolutionists hammer and tong, maintaining that "the whole application of a supposed law of evolution to the religious and secular history of the ancient Orient is founded on what we now know to have been a huge mistake. . . ."[16] But later in life he became even more vigorous in assailing fundamentalism: "When I was a boy," he recalled shortly before his death, ". . . there were some old fashioned people who still believed that . . . some of them [the books of the Old Testament] were written by Moses himself . . . and we of the younger generation, trained in the critical methods of Germany, were unable to accept the dogma; it rested only on unproved assertions." Of course there is no excuse for that sort of thing any more. "A new era has dawned upon us, the scientific method . . . has furnished us with facts instead of theories."[17] And so he ticks off the well-worn and now discredited clichés of scientism with evangelistic fervor: "An inductive science deals with objective facts and not with tastes and predilections. . . . like the geologist, the archaeologist has had to leave catastrophic theorizing to the literary amateur"[18]; we must forget the idea that "similarities in technique [e.g. of pottery] indicate relationship"—for diffusion is a myth.[19]

He has no patience with historians who want to measure civilization by the thousands of years, for he has proven that "civilization cannot be measured . . . by millennia . . . civilized man in the fullest sense of the word is immeasurably old. . . . archaeology is repeating the lesson of geology and physical science."[20] This is the sort of thing Griffith refers to when he writes, "His vivid imagination and insight frame pictures of events and of interpretation in which he too often mistook the sharp lines of the picture for fact,"[21] and of these "facts" he would brook no criticism, for "he was impatient of the claims, the pride, and the reticence of exact scholarship."[21]

Sayce's Egyptological researches are typical of his methods. For a number of years his own Nile boat, the *Ishtar,* might be seen searching out unfrequented spots along the banks of the great river, where he would discover new ruins and inscriptions, only to leave them behind for others to study.[22] It is significant that of the many inscriptions he discovered and copied down, he is always careful to translate

the Greek and Latin ones in full (though most of his readers could read Greek and Latin well enough for themselves), while he never attempts to translate any of the Egyptian inscriptions.[23] Why not? "His metier was that of a decipherer of anything new," wrote Langdon, explaining that he lost interest as soon as the code was cracked.[24] But surely the deciphering of Egyptian was far newer and more challenging in the 1890's than the reading of Greek and Latin. In the same way Sayce, though criticizing Joseph Smith more severely than any other member of the big five, is the only one of them to preserve complete silence regarding the Facsimiles. Sayce's speciality was Assyriology, not Egyptology, and while in the former field, according to H. R. Hall, "the Professor must be judged by his peers," his speculations in Egyptology "do not carry much conviction."[25]

There is another side to this remarkable man that we must not overlook, for though Dr. Sayce was greatly annoyed by people who took the Bible literally, he remained always a churchman and fiercely loyal to his church. "Attached by generations of his heritage to the ancient traditions of the Church of England," to follow Langdon, Sayce "regarding all learning which did not apply to the culture of his people and his Church as useless."[26] His native language was Welsh.

Now just how well does this man qualify to pass impartial judgment on Joseph Smith as a translator? By temperament he is the fastidious aristocrat moving in exalted circles, disdaining the vulgar; above all he is the austere, uncompromising churchman—how would he judge the efforts of an uneducated rustic from the American frontier? By training he is the spoiled dilettante to whom everything came easy, impatient of criticism, opinionated, and dogmatic in his own views. It is a toss-up which A. H. Sayce would be more intellectually hostile to Smith: the early clerical Sayce who "regarded as useless" all learning that did not support his church, or the scientific Sayce, invincibly opposed to supernaturalism. The two meet and mingle in the Sayce of 1912, who dismisses the Book of Abraham with eleven contemptuous lines. For all his great learning, I don't think Dr. Sayce rates a place on this particular jury.

2. "Dr. W. M. Flinders Petrie, London University" (1853-1942). If it is possible to imagine a man more independent in his ways and self-contained in his thinking than A. H. Sayce, that man must be Dr. Petrie. We can illustrate this by a story told by Professor Georgerog Steindorff to a small group that met to celebrate Steindorff's eightieth birthday in 1942. Petrie came down to meet the Nile boat one hot evening in 1894 as the young Steindorff disembarked at the scene of Petrie's operations in upper Egypt. The great man conducted his guests to his tent for dinner, which was to consist of an enormous, heaping bowl of rice, completely covered with a mantle of blue-bottle flies. Professor Petrie in his hearty manner invited the party to fall to, but when some of them hesitated he reached for a box of Keating's Insect Powder and showered its contents liberally over both flies and rice, saying as he did so, "I've found that it kills them—but it doesn't kill me!" Such a man was not to be deterred from his course by the opinions of others. Petrie's strength was his weakness—his complete independence of mind made it possible for him to make real discoveries where timid souls would never have ventured, but at the same time it blinded him to the valid objections that others might have to his theories and interpretations.

An only child, Petrie never went to school—he was from the first self-educated and self-directed; "he was incapable of teamwork," writes his biographer Guy Brunton—"Petrie seems to have felt no need of companionship; nor was he very sympathetic to the ideas of others."[27] With a "somewhat limited outlook on life in general," he boasted that he had never been to a theater.[27] Though he was the greatest practitioner of scientific archaeology in modern times, "even when visited by those having great experience in archaeology he preferred to talk rather than listen"[28]; and though archaeology was his life, "he never visited the excavations of others."[29] With his own work "there must be no interference or deviation," and "having once arrived at a conclusion he was extremely averse to modifying it in any way."[30] So as time went on, "Petrie's views on all manner of subjects . . . crystallized into stated facts" from which he was not to be moved.[31]

This intransigence was abetted, if not actually caused, by the nature of

Petrie's education, which in turn was determined by his complete inability to learn languages. At a tender age. he had a tutor to teach him "French, Latin, and Greek grammar, for which he had," according to Brunton, "no aptitude whatever. A breakdown resulted, and for two years he was left to his own devices." Then they tried again—"fresh attempts were made with the grammars, but it was found to be hopeless. . . ."[32] So he became his own teacher and did the things he was really good at: "Essentially a practical field worker of great ability, he made contributions of the highest value, but had no flair for research in epigraphy. He was prone to base his theories on inadequate premises. . . ."[33] He expressed his settled opinions on religion shortly before Spalding apealed to him, in a book in which he declares that any feeling of a need for repentance is the index of a "morbid mind,"[34] and that "the last branch of unbalanced religious experience is that of Hallucinations," which "enter so much into the scope of mental disease that it is useless to begin upon the detail of so far-spreading a subject."[35]

So here we have another spoiled only child, a law unto himself (no need for *him* to repent!) reaping the rich rewards of independent thinking (and how we could use a little of that type of thinking in our own society!), but paying a high price for the luxury of always having his own way. Not a linguist by any means, he is hardly the man to call in for a study of all but illegible documents; and, utterly averse to any hint of the supernatural in religion, he is even less likely than Sayce to give Joseph Smith a fair hearing; then too, quite aside from his one-sided training and religious prejudice, would the man who had not the patience or courtesy to listen to the opinions of his most eminent colleagues or to visit their excavations take time off to give careful attention to the 80-year-old writings of a young farmer from New York? Indeed, while Petrie confirms statements of the Book of Abraham in a surprising number of instances, he would be the last man on earth to recognize the fact, and all Spalding got from him on the subject was a terse offhand opinion. What else could he expect? I think we should excuse Dr. Petrie from serving on this particular jury.

3. "Dr. Edward Meyer, University of Berlin." Eduard (Spalding misspelled the name) Meyer (1855-1930) knew more about the whole field of ancient history than any other man who ever lived. He was the greatest scholar since Scaliger, and it would be hard to think of some way in which his learning might have been more extensive than it was, or more productive—though he himself declared at the end of his life that his generation of scholarship had erred sorely in trying to be so everlastingly "scientific" about everything instead of trusting more to their intuition and instincts. Because of his wholehearted and single-minded dedication to the documents of the past which from childhood he was determined to search thoroughly and systematically, Meyer's judgments often seemed to smack of almost prophetic insight.[36] His mistakes, wrote Walter Otto, were often more valuable than other men's facts[37]; he laid the firm foundations of Egyptian chronology, vindicated the historicity of the Old Testament against Wellhausen and his school, was rivaled only by Breasted in his contributions to Egyptian history, exploded the evolutionary theory of economic development, first showed the importance of Iran in Jewish and Christian tradition, anticipated the Dead Sea Scrolls in discerning the important role played by the desert sectaries in early Christian and Jewish history, opened up the world of the Hittites, gave the world the first real picture of ancient Greece, and was the last human being to find himself in a position of being able to write a general history of antiquity from the sources of his own learning. Like the other members of the panel, he was largely self-taught and always went his own way, a pioneer wherever he went; but unlike the others, he had a healthy sense of his own limitations and freely admitted his mistakes and changed his views when the evidence required it.[38]

Also, he had his blind spots. He could not understand art, according to his biographer; he lacked any aesthetic sense; he was impatient and usually in a hurry, so that he often brushed aside or overlooked real problems, e.g. his history of the U.S. "is hasty, biased, superficial and inaccurate. . . ."[39] When the U.S. declared war on Germany in 1917, Meyer, it is said, ran down Unter den Linden with hair flying, declaiming wildly, and tearing his honorary Harvard diploma to shreds.

Still, if any scholar was competent to pass judgment on Joseph Smith, it should have been Meyer. An indication of his peculiar independence and deep insight is seen in the fact that he always regarded Mormonism as a phenomenon of enormous importance in the history of religions. Professor Werner Jaeger recalled that the only time Meyer was able to fill his lecture hall in Berlin was when he talked on the Mormons—then the place was packed, because then Meyer became alive as never before. Meyer, according to Walter Otto, "was the first secular historian ever to tackle the problem of the origin of Christianity—the central-problem of World History," and in Mormonism he saw the best guide.[40] He was convinced that "Mormonism . . . is not just another of countless sects, but a new revealed religion. What in the study of other revealed religions can only be surmised after painful research is here directly accessible in reliable witnesses. Hence the origin and history of Mormonism possesses great and unusual value for the student of religious history."[41]

He had visited Utah in 1904, and a year before Spalding's book appeared, he had published his *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen*. In that book Meyer had made it perfectly clear just what he thought about Joseph Smith, whom he regarded as a prophet in exactly the same sense in which Isaiah, Jeremiah, and (to a lesser degree) Mohammed were prophets. He was free to run the risk of paying such high tribute to the Mormon prophet because everyone knew that he did not for a moment believe that there ever was such a thing as a *true* prophet; in keeping with the lofty scholarship of his day, Meyer disdained to grant the smallest

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measure of probability to any proposition tainted with the supernatural. That, as Otto points out, is what spoiled what should have been his greatest work, that on the *Origins of Christianity,* in which "everything in the person of Christ must be explained on rationalistic grounds. He never allowed for the irrational element in the human character."[42] So it is no compliment to Joseph Smith for Meyer to place him among the real prophets, for Meyer begins from the premise that all prophets are self-deluded. Granted that premise, there is only one position, of course, that one can possibly take regarding Joseph Smith's claims to divine revelation, and only one view that anyone can possibly take of his teachings in the Book of Abraham.

So Bishop Spalding was appealing to a judge who had already declared against any form of supernaturalism. Eduard Meyer, great man that he was, was also a judge on whom Spalding could count with absolute trust to give only one answer to his question about the Book of Abraham. By stating with great emphasis and clarity his views on religion in general and Joseph Smith in particular, he ineffectively disqualifies himself for the jury.

4. "James H. Breasted, PhD., Haskell Oriental Museum, University of Chicago." Professor Breasted (1865-1935) had his full share of those qualities which we have found to be most conspicuous in the three giants noticed so far: independence of action and judgment, boundless self-confidence, and equally boundless energy and exuberance. We have already seen how Professor Mercer chides his master for getting carried away too much. Breasted's training and temperament go together. He was trained in a school that knew all the answers—the Prussian school of the 1890's, which bolstered the individual's sublime confidence in himself as one who shared the corporate omniscience of the establishment. He was, a German reports, "most intimately tied to the German school of Egyptology from his first scientific beginnings,"[43] as "the dear, hearty comrade of the German Egyptologists." His friend Eduard Meyer inspired him to take wide views, which in turn inclined him to make wide and sweeping pronouncements that disturbed some of his colleagues,[44] some of whom point out that he was much too prone to generalize and "often interpreted evidence wrongly to

suit his purposes."[45]

The French Egyptologists sometimes felt that Breasted underestimated their work and so criticized him quite freely, accusing him of being pro-German to the point of slighting and even insulting French Egyptology, while putting forth his own theories as settled facts and completely ignoring any theories and even evidence that did not appeal to him.[46] George Foucart comes right out and accuses Breasted of being opinionated and unfair, noting that "in treating the contradictions of his predecessors without charity [indulgence] Breasted makes himself vulnerable to the same treatment in the future."[47] In this Foucart was a true prophet, for time has not been too kind to Professor Breasted's favorite theories. As Professors Jequier and Foucart see it, Dr. Breasted with sublime self-confidence goes his way "bestowing his criticism or approval freely on all sides," presenting his own opinions as historical facts and his private reconstructions as original texts,[48] and while his colleagues may find his affirmations "most unconvincing, the general public is supposed to accept them as official."[48]

We have ventured to quote such unpleasantries because we have here exactly the high and authoritarian attitude taken by Breasted in dealing with the Book of Abraham. There is no doubt that he could have translated most of the hieroglyphs if he had given himself the trouble, but, though he professed himself most interested in the problem, he never did. Why should he? He knew the answers already. Like every other American professor in 1912, he belonged to that school which firmly believed that evolution held all the answers, as Jean Garnot observes, basing their boldest speculations on implicit faith in the validity of analogies with biological evolution, sublimely confident that the evolutionary rule of thumb could give them perfect insight into the mind of the "primitive."[49] Thus he can assure us that "Set was doubtless some natural phenomenon . . . and it is most probable that he was the darkness," though no Egyptologist would write that way today.[50] And he can tell us with convincing insight how copper was discovered when Primitive Man one morning noticed little beads of the pure metal that had oozed from the rocks that banked his campfire somewhere in the Sinai Peninsula; it

"It is possible to find in Egypt whatever sustains one's particular views."

was not until 1945 that the Egyptologist Alfred Lucas called attention to the experiments of H. H. Coughlan, showing that it is quite impossible to smelt copper in any open fire.[51]

Breasted's main argument against the Book of Abraham is that the Hebrews were monotheists and the Egyptians polytheists: both points have always been disputed among Egyptologists, some of the greatest being ardent defenders of a standard Egyptian monotheism, yet for Breasted the question is settled once he has spoken. When the Mormons pointed out that Breasted had identified as the lady Isis in Facsimile 1 a figure that other Egyptologists had called Horus, Anubis, or a priest, Dr. Breasted impatiently remarked to Mercer: "One man says fifty cents, another man says half a dollar!" But it isn't the same at all; Isis and Horus are as different quantities as half a dollar and half a pound.

In our fatal year of 1912 Breasted completely misinterpreted many passages in the Egyptian wisdom literature, discovering among other things in them "a complaisant optimism" in a text that, Frankfort insists years later, "indicates no such thing, but represents on the contrary, the deep religious conviction which inspired the 'teachings.' "[52] Errors due to the imperfect state of the evidence at one time are, of course, excusable—but they are nonetheless errors. Thus, of the great *Ancient Records* series Alexander Scharff wrote in 1935, "Today we read many passages differently and more correctly."[53] "Unhappily," wrote Sir Alan Gardiner in 1961, "in Breasted's day our knowledge of Late-Egyptian syntax was not sufficiently advanced to enable him to translate the damaged introduction of the Turin papyrus correctly."[54] So as knowledge increases, the verdict of yesterday must be reversed today, and in the long run the most positive authority is the least to be trusted. Few have been more positive than Breasted, and in nothing was he more positive than in his attitude toward Joseph Smith's pronouncements.

5. "Dr. Friedrich Freiherr von Bissing, Professor of Egyptology in the University of Munich." Incredible as it may seem, there was one man in the world who actually surpassed Sayce, Petrie, Meyer, and Breasted in complete independence of thought and action, and that was the Freiherr von Bissing (1873-1956). Not yet 40 years old in 1912, he was richer than all the rest of them put together; already hailed as "the generous Maecenas of Egyptology," von Bissing was rich enough not only to visit important excavations in Egypt when he chose, but also to finance them from his own pocket.[55] Even more than the others, he traveled and dug and collected everywhere,[56] "an archaeologist in the broadest sense of the word," recognized as "the last scholar who could see the Mediterranean as a unit, familiar with everything down to the most insignificant potsherd."[57] "For us today," wrote Heinrich Brunner, "it is simply inconceivable how one individual man could speak with equal authority on the etymology of the word 'Pavian,' the painting of el-Amarna, the fundamentals of Byzantine art, the structure of the personal pronouns in early Egyptian, or the exodus from Cnidus."[58]

Von Bissing "was proud of being a dilettante,"[59] and his numerous writings on all subjects almost all take the form of short notes of a few sentences.[60] Most of them have to do with artistic history and criticism, which was his specialty, and allowed him to range as widely and speculate as freely as he chose.[61] Both rich and noble, "he was an original, stamped from a unique mold, willing to face all consequences without regard to praise or disapproving head-shakes. . . . he went the way of his own convictions."[62]

Here, then, we have an incorruptible judge—but was he an unbiased one? Hardly. Whatever his scientific convictions or scholarly integrity, he was a member of the nobility: throne and church always had first and unquestioned claim on his loyalty, and nothing could budge him from his commitment to them.[63] In this he was much like the aristocratic Sayce, his scientific scepticism matched only by his uncompromising loyalty to a feudal society and a feudal religion—hardly the man to look with a kindly eye on the supernaturalism and humble simplicity of a Joseph Smith.[64]

As to von Bissing's technical knowledge, his specialty was ancient art, especially Egyptian art, but even in that, G. Foucart maintains, "his conclusions go too far,"[65] and in his archaeological one-sidedness he often shows poor judgment.[66] Not surprisingly he too often equated the old-fashioned or established view with the sound and safe one, insisting, for example, as late as the 1930's that there were no ties whatever between ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia,[67] and continuing to doubt the existence of the Hittites, whom he always puts in quotation marks.[68] Even his approach to art was an old-fashioned, positivistic one, and he opened his *Systematic Handbook of Egyptian Art* with words that today seem hopelessly narrow: "A History of Art must not be a history of culture."[69] For him, in fact, even the glories of Egyptian art were but a preparation for Greek art.[69] Hidebound and opinionated to the point of rudeness,[70] artistocratic and aloof, fiercely loyal to the views and interests of one church, impatient of any disagreement or contradiction—is this the man to give a cool and patient hearing to Joseph Smith? He never offers to tell us what the Facsimiles are, but is completely satisfied that "every one figure is an absurdity," and that whatever the inscriptions say (though he does not read them), "they cannot say what Smith thought." His verdict is not surprising, but neither is it very convincing. ○

(To be continued)

FOOTNOTES

[1]C. S. Lewis, *Christian Reflections* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1967), pp. 154f.
[2]Jean Leclant, in *Archiv fuer Orientforschung*, Vol. 21 (1966), p. 272.
[3]Sir A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), p. 16.
[4]Jean Capart, in *Melanges Maspero*, Vol. 1, p. 227.
[5]J. Capart, *Religions d'Egypte* (1905), pp. 6-7.
[6]Adrian de Buck, in *Chroniques d'Egypte*, Vol. 23 (1947), p. 23.
[7]Günther Roeder, *Volksglaube in Pharaonenreich* (Stuttgart, 1952), p. 7.
[8]Francois-Joseph Chabas, in *Bibliotheque Egyptologique*, Vol. II (1865), p. 47.
[9]Siegfried Morenz, *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 48 (1953), p. 341.
[10]Georges Goyon, in *Revue Archaeologique*, 1963, No. 2, p. 1.
[11]F. L. Griffith, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 19 (1934), p. 66.
[12]Thus S. Langdon, in *Archiv fuer Orientforschung*,

Vol. 8 (1932), p. 341.
[13]Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
[14]Langdon, *loc. cit.*
[15]Griffith, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.
[16]A. H. Sayce, *Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies*, (New York, 1904), p. 118.
[17]Sayce, in *Smithsonian Report*, 1931, pp. 518-19.
[18]*Ibid.*, p. 529.
[19]*Ibid.*, p. 528.
[20]*Ibid.*, p. 520.
[21]Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
[22]Editorial note in *Chronique d'Egypte*, Vol. 9 (1933), p. 283.
[23]The one exception is an inscription from Aswan of only six characters, of which Sayce writes, "The inscription on the left reads, I think, 'Beloved of Khnum the Great, the Lord of the country of Ranefer.' In the inscription on the right the island of Senem appears to be mentioned." The inscription on the right was much the longer one, yet no attempt is made to translate it. *Receuil de Travaux*, Vol. 15 (1893), p. 147. On p. 148 is a Greek inscription: "This I venture to translate. . . ." Cf. *Receuil de Travaux*, Vol. 16 (1894), pp. 167-76; Vol. 17 (1895), pp. 160-64; Vol. 20 (1898), pp. 169-76; Vol. 13 (1895), pp. 62-67, 187-91.
[24]Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
[25]H. R. Hall, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 1 (1915), p. 72.
[26]Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 341.
[27]Guy Brunton, in *Annales du Service*, Vol. 43 (1943), p. 5.
[28]*Ibid.*, p. 4.
[29]*Ibid.*, p. 13.
[30]*Ibid.*, p. 5.
[31]*Ibid.*, p. 13.
[32]*Ibid.*, p. 4.
[33]*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1966 ed., s.v. Petrie.
[34]W.M.F. Petrie, *Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity* (New York: Harpers, 1909), p. 22.
[35]*Ibid.*, p. 37.
[36]His education is described by W. Otto, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 85 (1931), p. 6; his unique aptitude and personality, *ibid.*, pp. 1-3.
[37]*Ibid.*, p. 8.
[38]Some of Meyer's accomplishments are listed, *ibid.*, pp. 11-22.
[39]*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
[40]*Ibid.*, p. 20.
[41]Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen* (Halle, 1912), p. 1.
[42]Walther Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[43]Editorial in *Zeitschr. fuer aegyptische Sprache*, Vol. 72 (1936), flyleaf.
[44]*Loc. cit.*, and Gustav Jequier, in *Sphinx*, Vol. 17 (1913), pp. 148-49.
[45]Hans Bonnet, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 81 (1927), pp. 179, 183, and Jequier, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-50.
[46]Jequier, *loc. cit.*, and G. Foucart, in *Sphinx*, Vol. 11 (1908), pp. 40-42, who is particularly outspoken.
[47]Foucart, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 40ff.
[48]Jequier, pp. 148f; Foucart, p. 42.
[49]Jean Garnot, *La Vie Religieuse dans l'ancienne Egypte* (Paris: Presses Universitaires), pp. 107-9.
[50]James Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, (London, 1912), p. 40.
[51]Alfred Lucas, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 31 (1945), pp. 96-97.
[52]Henri Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (New York: Columbia University, 1948), pp. 64, 66, 71.
[53]Alexander Scharff, in *Jahrbuch der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft*, 1935/6, pp. 1-2.
[54]Alan H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 291.
[55]T. Smolenski, in *Bulletin de l'Academis de Science de Cracow*, 1906, p. 77.
[56]Helmuth Brunner, in *Archiv fuer Orientforschung*, Vol. 17 (1955), p. 484.
[57]*Ibid.*, p. 485.
[58]*Ibid.*, p. 484.
[59]H. Brunner, in *Archiv fuer Orientforschung*, Vol. 21 (1966), p. 269.
[60]For a complete bibliography of his writings, *Zeitschrift fuer aegyptische Sprache*, Vol. 85 (1959), pp. 1-16 (complete for 1895-1955); Vol. 89 (1964), pp. 3-4.
[61]The vast range of his studies on art is discussed in *Zeitschrift fuer aegyptische Sprache*, Vol. 79 (1954), p. 54.
[62]H. Brunner, in *Archiv fuer Orientforschung*, Vol. 17, p. 485.
[63]*Loc. cit.* In 1922 he became a voluntary exile for political reasons, *ibid.*, p. 484.
[64]On his skepticism, Brunner, *Archiv fuer Orientforschung*, Vol. 21, p. 270.
[65]G. Foucart, in *Sphinx*, Vol. 11 (1908), p. 89.
[66]*Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.
[67]von Bissing, in *Archiv fuer Orientforschung*, Vol. 7 (1931/2), pp. 24-30.
[68]*Ibid.*, pp. 159-201.
[69]Herbert Senk, in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 58 (1963), pp. 6-7.
[70]J. Capart, in *Egyptian Religion*, Vol. 3 (1934), p. 228.