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The Saga of the BOOK OF ABRAHAM

Jay M. Todd

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Dedication

Dedicated to my parents, Kenneth Christian Todd and Gertrude Avonia Viehweg Todd, lifelong followers of truth, and persons who have engendered within me a hunger for things of value.

Preface

In addition to telling the remarkably rich story behind the story of the Book of Abraham, this book is also a treasury for the interested reader of data, experiences, stories, reports, and related information dealing with the mummies and papyri which are associated with the Book of Abraham. Some segments and facts of the story have found presentation in other varied and sundry forms, but never under one cover.

My presentation is simply reportorial. It does not pretend to the qualities of literature, and for some there will be those pages which will not be compelling reading. However, hopefully such a reader will find his interest quickened in another segment of the story.

Those persons familiar with the concerns of historiography or communications know that no presentation is devoid of bias. I have preferred to slight the romanticization of some segments of the story in favor of seemingly a more detailed approach. I suspect the analysis of some data and a few chapters will be tiresome.

I hope the errors will be minimal. But from experience in writing and editing, I know that it is difficult to produce a book without errors, even if they only be transpositions, misspelled names or words which escaped the proofreaders' attention. All that I can say concerning the quality of the work is that which any researcher-writer would say in a similar position: This is the best I could do under the circumstances, in the time allowed, and under our and my present state of knowledge. I have found Warren R. Daw-

son's sentiments to reflect those of my own: "... I can only wish this little book no happier fate than to see it superseded by a better, undertaken by an author whose knowledge and facilities for research are greater than my own." (*Who Was Who in Egyptology*, p. v.)

The work is my own (reviewing past findings, origination of reports, origination of some new research, exploration of related areas, and the writing). But after the completion of the manuscript, two persons, in discussion, contributed several items of value: Dr. James R. Clark and Michael Marquardt, to whom I give thanks.

The project has opened up dozens of areas for future research. Hopefully, readers will see them also, and will make a stab at doing the work. If this is not done, Latter-day Saints will continue to perpetuate segments of a story surrounding the background of the Book of Abraham, all of which cannot be true. But readers will soon be apprised of that.

Jay M. Todd
July 1968
Salt Lake City

Additional comment:

Essentially the data was collected between late December 1967 and February 1968, the manuscript quickly written in the evenings of April and May, and then hurriedly reviewed, with liberal insertions, in July, after which I decided to present it to the publisher. However, it was not until early November that I found time to return the manuscript to the publisher after reviewing again new research and making hurried insertions throughout the manuscript. Therefore, I hope the strands of thought are obvious and meaningful. Ultimately, however, I am satisfied if only I relay new, interesting, and valuable—or potentially valuable—information. I do wish to note, however, that I am well aware that in actuality this work is only an interim report. Even at this writing, the central problems of the case remain unsolved. But this report will have served its purpose if it motivates or assists others in the resolution of the problems that are part of this most interesting story.

JMT
November 9, 1968

But Gone Is Your Evidence

In Monday, November 27, 1967, people throughout the world heard over their radio and television stations and read in their newspapers an intriguing announcement datelined New York City. The press release, its basic structure written by Jack E. Jarrard, editor of the "Church News," a week-end supplement of the *Deseret News*, was refined by three men: Earl Hawkes, publisher and general manager of the paper; William B. Smart, executive editor; and President N. Eldon Tanner, second counselor in the First Presidency, the ruling council in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the owner of the newspaper. The announcement went as follows:

NEW YORK—A collection of papyrus manuscripts, long believed to have been destroyed in the Chicago Fire of 1871, was presented to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) here Monday by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The long-lost manuscripts were presented to President N. Eldon Tanner of the First Presidency, the governing body of the Mormon Church, by Thomas P. F. Hoving, director of the museum.

Accompanying the manuscripts was a letter attesting to the fact that the papyri had been the property of the Prophet Joseph Smith, first president of the Church. The letter, dated May 26, 1856, was signed by Emma Smith Bidamon, widow of the Prophet, and his son.

Included in the papyri is a manuscript identified as the original document from which Joseph Smith had copied the drawing which he called "Facsimile No. 1" and published with the Book of Abraham.

An interpretation of the facsimile was prepared by Joseph Smith, and the Book of Abraham now forms part of the volume known as The Pearl of Great Price.

The announcement made front-page news in many



Presentation of the papyri at New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art. Left to right, G. Stanley McAllister, President N. Eldon Tanner, Dr. Henry G. Fischer, Dr. Thomas P. F. Hoving, Dr. Joseph Noble, Dr. Aziz S. Atiya, Arch L. Madsen, George Watkins, E. Earl Hawkes, George Mortimer.

papers—including the leading Egyptian newspaper—and generally was carried by most newspapers throughout the world. Radio and television newscasters beamed the message across national boundaries and over continents. Most listeners and readers were interested. Some were intrigued. But members of the Church were stunned!

For 96 years Church authorities and members had believed that all known evidence dealing with their scripture, the Book of Abraham, had burned in the Chicago fire. And during those 96 years, as always seemed their lot, members of the Church had been assailed by doubters, enemies, critics, and even scholars for their belief in the Book of Abraham. Some persons had even challenged the entire story of the Book of Abraham, claiming that the Prophet Joseph Smith had never owned or had in his possession any Egyptian mummies or Egyptian manuscripts.

Against such assertions, members of the Church could

produce no known physical evidence proving that their Prophet had indeed had some Egyptian materials. To the cypic, it was only a repetition of a pattern that had long since manifested itself in terms of things Mormon.

The Saints spoke of angels—but where were their heavenly visitors for others to see, hear, and be inspired by?

They spoke of gold plates—but where were their ancient volumes for interested parties to view, touch, and finger their pages?

They spoke of a Urim and Thummim, a special instrument used in translating languages—but where was this priceless tool for linguists and scholars to test and marvel at?

And now, in the usual pattern, the Saints spoke of Egyptian mummies and ancient papyrus, the latter contributing to a new book of scripture and increased insight into history. "But where are your mummies and where is your papyrus that we too may examine, admire, and translate?" the interested and disinterested asked.

It seemed that the Mormons were forever losing their evidence: their angels wouldn't return, their gold plates had been given back, their Urim and Thummim was not around, and now the Saints claimed that their Egyptian documents had burned in a fire! It was more than some critics could endure.

Thus, the news that the actual papyrus document had been found from which Facsimile No. 1 had been copied was of no little import and interest to most Latter-day Saints. Most members of the Church were highly motivated to finish reading the news article:

The Pearl of Great Price is accepted as one of the four volumes of scripture by Church members. The others are the Bible, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants.

Included in the museum's presentation are a number of other papyri once in the possession of Joseph Smith.

These include conventional hieroglyphic and hieratic Egyptian funerary texts. Such papyri, including passages from the well-known Book of the Dead, were commonly buried with Egyptian mummies.

The papyri originally came into Joseph Smith's possession in 1835 along with four Egyptian mummies purchased by some Church members in Kirtland, Ohio. After his death in 1844, the mummies and papyri were sold by his widow. At least two of the mummies were burned in the Chicago Fire of 1871, and it had been assumed the documents were also destroyed at that time. The collection presented to the Church today is only a part of the papyri which Joseph Smith had in his possession.

The Museum has had the collection since 1947, but their existence was not known to the Church until recently when a renowned Distinguished Professor of the University of Utah saw the original of the facsimile while researching Coptic and Arabic papyri in a special room at the Museum.

Dr. Aziz S. Atiya, only recently retired as Director of the University of Utah Middle East Center, said he was electrified when he saw the ancient document.

Dr. Atiya, Dr. Joseph Noble, and President Tanner examine the original Facsimile No. 1 and the duplication in the Book of Abraham.



"It was one of my most important finds," the distinguished professor said. He is known throughout the academic world as a historian, writer, and teacher. He was instrumental in building the Middle East Library at the University of Utah to one of the five finest and most complete in the U.S. For this effort he has been honored by having that library named the Aziz S. Atiya Library for Middle Eastern Studies.

His work in the ancient histories concentrated on Coptic and Arabic scripts. He is a member of the Christian Coptic Orthodox Church but is intensely interested in the Mormon story.

The papyrus documents will be taken to Salt Lake City for further study and research.

The press release serves as a superficial review of a story that can become amazingly complex if one wishes to further pursue the matter. Indeed, the story of how Joseph Smith received the papyri and mummies and what happened to them is one filled with adventure, mystery, unusual sideline interests, and, seemingly, one filled with providential direction. Some details are still clouded, but each year new research seems to divulge additional bits of information. Since the November 27 announcement of the papyri rediscovery, researchers and scholars again have turned their attention to the fascinating and strangely entangled and muddled historical story behind the Book of Abraham. New information has been unearthed and will be herein presented.

Also, additional information surrounding Dr. Atiya's discovery is available. In addition, there are some most interesting and inspiring background incidents dealing with aspects of the papyri and Book of Abraham story that have never before been told. These additions help fill an already bulging bag of data, incidents, and related discoveries surrounding this unique book of latter-day scripture, a book of scripture purporting to represent the thought of a man named Abraham, a man who walked the earth nearly 4,000 years ago.


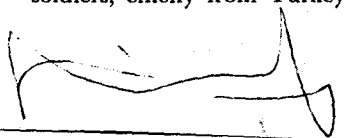
As has been noted, the story is extremely complex, so complex, in fact, that even that which is known has never been completely told under one cover. It will be my intent simply to tell the story—the story behind the story—

of our Book of Abraham, using all relevant information known to me, in order that, finally, in one work will be presented the complete story known to date.

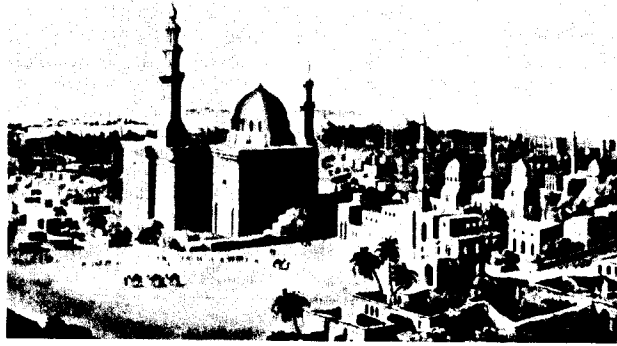
In the Wake of Bonaparte

As students of history know, the last few years of the 18th century saw the meteoric rise of a bright and powerful star across the European horizon. Napoleon Bonaparte, from the island of Corsica, fourth of thirteen children born to Charles Bonaparte and Letitia Ramolino, of Italian ancestry, had won France's respect on October 6, 1795, when after one night of planning, his 5,000 government troops repelled in one hour some 30,000 Parisian mobbers.

In less than a year the stocky Corsican had conquered the whole of northern Italy, defeated armies of Austria, Sardinia, and the Pope, in which he by "ingenuity, of plan, celerity of movement and audacity in assault, far outgeneraled all his antagonists." (*Encyclopedia Americana*, Vol. 19, p. 697.) Upon returning home, the enthusiasm of the Parisians for Napoleon was immense. Apparently, some in the government intended to invade England and had brought an army together for that purpose. The command was given to Napoleon. But instead of invading England—which some scholars think was a feint to hide France's real designs—on May 10, 1798, Napoleon and 36,000 men embarked for Egypt, the preliminary step to the desired conquest of British India. Before the summer was over, 28-year-old Napoleon Bonaparte stood as the unrivaled master of 5,000-year-old Egypt. Before his onrushing armies, the British, the Mamelukes, and the native Arabs of Lower Egypt had all fallen in succession. (The Mamelukes were descendants of slave soldiers, chiefly from Turkey, who rebelled against their



Egyptian masters and ruled Egypt from 1254 to 1517 A.D. Their wealth and superiority left them the nominal Egyptian rulers thereafter, until 1811, when Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt, destroyed them.) The history of Egypt and the disposition of most of her treasures therein were forever to be altered as a result of Napoleon.



Cairo in the early 1800's.

Even the ageless Sphinx, built about 3500 B.C., could not escape his insolence, nor his stamp of destruction. After the battle of the Pyramids, in which Napoleon routed all opposition and consequently gained complete control over lower Egypt, the five-foot two-inch military giant sullenly surveyed the Pyramids, legendary testimony of Egypt's former greatness. Three great pyramid monuments, or tombs, dominated the skyline, one by Khufu or Cheops, one by Kha'fre' or Chephren, and one by Menkeure or Mycerinus. These aged monuments had long been called the Pyramids of Giza, and were built about 2700 B.C. They were already ancient in the days of Abraham.

In front of the second pyramid of Giza stood a colossal human-headed lion, symbolizing strength and intelli-

gence. Thousands—perhaps millions—of humans from many nations had gazed upon it in wonderment and awe, seemingly from time immemorial. But something about the stare or perhaps the condemning look of the Sphinx irritated Napoleon. Motioning for the cannons to be brought up, he ordered them to be trained upon the six-foot nose of the Egyptian diety. Within minutes, cannon balls had erased forever the tiresome labors of unknown ancient sculptors. The Sphinx stood noseless, and remains so still—forever a symbol of man's latent capacity for intolerance and destruction.

It was a year later when something of value occurred in Egypt that was of lasting significance. In 1799, a black basalt stone bearing inscriptions in three languages was found near a place called Rosetta, near Alexandria, by an officer of the French military engineers.

The stone was copied and sent to European linguists, of whom one was Jean Francois Champollion, who obtained a clue from the stone for deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics. However, Champollion was helped in his decipherment by the 1819 work of Thomas Young, a British physicist, who is today credited with aiding Champollion materially. Champollion expounded his findings in Paris in 1823, and they were published by the state in 1824. However, until 1837, when a German scholar named Richard Lepsius re-examined and pronounced Champollion's work substantially correct, Champollion's studies were under the onus of speculation. His work was not available to American scholars until about 1836. Thus, it becomes apparent that although the cracking of the Egyptian script was done before Joseph Smith produced his Book of Abraham, it is extremely unlikely that the Prophet or anyone in his society would have ever read or obtained any of Champollion's work. Champollion's work was simply not respected sufficiently by scholars for it to have filtered down into public dissemination or consciousness.

More, much more, could be told on this aspect of the story.

The background story of the decipherment of the

Rosetta Stone, the work of a Swedish diplomat named Akerblad, the scholarly battle that raged in European centers of learning for over a decade make fascinating reading. But readers are referred elsewhere for this story. Interestingly, it was one of those scholars, a Gustavus Seyffarth (spelling from Warren R. Dawson), who left Europe infuriated at the turn of events abroad and came to America and journeyed to St. Louis, Missouri, where in time he viewed some of the mummies and papyri owned by the Prophet Joseph Smith and rendered his judgments on the papyri's meaning.

But let us return to Bonaparte. Accompanying Napoleon on his Egyptian campaign was a considerable body of scientific and artistic explorers. The learned men were astonished at that which lay before their eyes. Artists were quickly in top demand to record the visual images. Some of the stranger stories of history surround the scarcity of pencils for the artists, and how some men risked their lives to steal pencils, or risked their lives to steal bullets in order to rob others of their writing materials. The reports and discoveries by the scholarly contingent turned the world's attention toward the land of the Pharaohs. Shortly thereafter, a series of books by Edme Francois Jomard titled *La Description de l'Egypte* began publication. They caught Europe by storm. The series appeared in 24 volumes, from 1807 to 1826, and contained the sketches of all known Egyptian artifacts, sketched and described by many scholars working under Jomard.

Worldwide interest in Egyptian antiquities fanned itself to a searing blaze. Egypt was soon overrun with scientific expeditions, adventurers, soldiers of fortune, and robbers of catacombs and ancient burial sites.

"In the first half of the nineteenth century, and for a long while afterwards, excavation was principally concerned with the quick discovery of what was hidden in a barrow, tell, or pyramid, and with the acquisition of works of art to adorn the museums and private collections of Europe." (Glyn Edmund Daniel, *A Hundred Years of Archaeology*, p. 152.)

"These were the great days of excavating. Anything to which a fancy was taken, from a scarab to an obelisk, was just appropriated, and if there was a difference with a brother-excavator, one just laid for him with a gun." (Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, p. 8.)

A good description of the methods used by the explorers is given by one of the most famous of the fortune hunters, Giovanni Belzoni, an extraordinary six-foot-seven-inch one-time circus strongman of London who had gone to Egypt to sell hydraulic machinery, and who stayed to rob tombs and eventually die in an expedition to Tombouctou. (Timbuktu, caravan crossroad center some 950 miles inland from the northwestern coast of Africa.) After describing the entrance into a pyramid, Belzoni says:

... you generally find a more commodious place, perhaps high enough to sit. But what a place of rest! surrounded by bodies, by heaps of mummies in all directions; which, previous to my being accustomed to the sight, impressed me with horror. ...

After the exertion of entering into such a place, through a passage of fifty, a hundred, three hundred, or perhaps six hundred yards, nearly overcome, I sought a resting-place, found one, and contrived to sit; but when my weight bore on the body of an Egyptian, it crushed like a band-box. I naturally had recourse to my hands to sustain my weight, but they found no better support; so that I sank altogether among the broken mummies, with a crash of bones, rags, and wooden cases, which raised such a dust as kept me motionless for a quarter of an hour, waiting till it subsided again. I could not remove from the place, however, without increasing it, and every step I took I crushed a mummy in some part or other. Once I was conducted from such a place to another resembling it through a passage of about twenty feet in length, no wider than a body could be forced through. It was choked with mummies, and I could not pass without putting my face in contact with that of some decayed Egyptian; but as the passage inclined downwards, my own weight helped me on; however, I could not avoid being covered with bones, legs, arms, and heads rolling from above. Thus, I proceeded from one cave to another, all full of mummies piled up in various ways, some standing, some lying, and some on their heads. The purpose of my researches was to rob the Egyptians of their papyri; of which I found a few hidden in their breasts, under their arms, in the space above the knees, on the legs, and covered by numerous folds of cloth that envelop the mummy.

An expert of the times has written:

No doubt, MM. Drovetti, Passalacqua, Belzoni, and the rest of them, were in ordinary life most estimable members of society; but put them in the presence of an interesting mummy or statue, and forthwith morality fell from them like an outworn garment, and they lied, cheated, and stole not to put too fine a point upon it, like a gang of thieves. (Reverend James Baikie, *Life of the Ancient East*, p. 85.)

Reviewing such escapades of Belzoni's and other soldiers of fortune caused scholars R.V.D. Magoffin and E. C. Davis to write that modern observers turn "green with envy, red with shame, and white with rage" when learning of them. (*The Romance of Archaeology*, p. 50.)

The Arab merchants of Egypt were in a particularly good position to benefit from these soldiers of fortune, because for several hundred years some Europeans had believed that Egyptian mummies contained a magical and healthful influence. The Arabs had long been robbing the Egyptian tombs of their human treasures, selling them to occasional European merchants, or burning the mummies and their wooden cases for fuel. The Arabs often lived in the tombs of the dead. Thus, ransacked from both within and without, Egypt's treasures had feeble resistance.

Into this atmosphere, probably at least by 1817, strode 36-year-old Giuseppe Pietro Antonio Lebolo, former *gendarme* from Milan, Italy, but one now intent upon adding fame and fortune to his name. Unbeknown to Lebolo, his name was to be forever perpetuated for his part in unearthing some mummies and papyri that apparently eventually reached the hands of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and which contributed in the coming forth of the Book of Abraham. ✕

Gurneh's Pit-Tomb

At this point, in order to account for the entrance of Antonio Lebolo's name into the story, and to expose readers to the information first given members of the Church, part of an 1835 letter by Oliver Cowdery, second elder and assistant president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is presented. The letter, written to William Frye, Esquire, of Gilead, Calhoun County, Illinois, was written December 22, 1835, and was printed December 31, 1835, in *The Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, Church-owned newspaper of Kirtland, Ohio.

Before presenting the 1835 Oliver Cowdery information, it is important to note that Oliver Cowdery presumably received all of his historical information from the man who sold the Egyptian wares to the Prophet Joseph Smith, apparently a man named Michael H. Chandler. Presumably, Oliver Cowdery discussed the subject with Mr. Chandler, as did probably other Latter-day Saints, who also may have contributed information to Oliver Cowdery. So, leaving the Egypt of 1817, we turn to 1835 in the little town of Kirtland, Ohio, on the American frontier to read Oliver Cowdery's news article:

Upon the subject of the Egyptian records, or rather the writings of Abraham and Joseph, I may say a few words. This record is beautifully written on papyrus with black, and a small part, red ink or paint, in perfect preservation. The characters are such as you find upon the coffins of mummies, hieroglyphics, etc. with many characters or letters exactly like the present, (though probably not quite so square,) form of the Hebrew without points.

These records were obtained from one of the catacombs in

Egypt, near the place where once stood the renowned city of Thebes, by the celebrated French traveller Antonio Lebolo. . . .

Interestingly, Oliver Cowdery had received part of this information or had part of his information confirmed from an advertising placard that Chandler apparently gave to the Prophet at the time of purchase. This placard—long unnoticed as Chandler's placard, and a subject that will be discussed later—was printed or reprinted in the May 2, 1842, *Times and Seasons*, about a month and a half after the publication of the Book of Abraham. The similarities and differences of Oliver's letter and Chandler's placard are presented without comment, at this point:

Egyptian Antiquities

These Mummies, with seven others, were taken from the Catacombs of Egypt, near where the ancient, and we may say, almost unparalleled city of Thebes once stood, by the celebrated French traveller Antonio Lebolo. . . .

Before proceeding further, it is important to note that until a few years ago, members of the Church thought the discoverer's name was Antonio Sebolo. As a result, perhaps because they had been researching the wrong name, few if any members of the Church knew much more about the mysterious discoverer than his supposed name. However, recent research has disclosed far more than his name, enough so that some researchers feel they "know" Antonio rather well—"at least as well as my own shirttail relatives," one Latter-day Saint scholar has commented.

The problem over the name—Lebolo or Sebolo—begins in 1835 with Oliver Cowdery's letter. He calls the man by his correct name, Antonio Lebolo. The 1842 reprint of Chandler's placard calls him Antonio Lebolo. Also, in 1842 Elder Parley P. Pratt, in England doing missionary work for the Church, published an account of the mummies and the Book of Abraham, and he spelled the name "Antonio Lebolo." But in the second volume of *History of the Church*, published in 1904, appears the name Antonio Sebolo, on page 348, Vol. 2. As a result, Elder

B. H. Roberts, of the First Council of Seventy, in his *Comprehensive History of the Church*, Vol. 2, page 126, published in 1930, perpetuates the name Sebolo. Consequently, all Church literature after the publication of these two histories, except the most recent publications, identified the discoverer as the non-existent Antonio Sebolo.

Surely, if Michael H. Chandler, Oliver Cowdery, and Parley P. Pratt, contemporaries of the Prophet Joseph Smith, knew the name was Lebolo instead of Sebolo, one would expect the Prophet to also know the man's correct name and his history to carry the correct name. How, then, did Lebolo become Sebolo? The answer appears to lie in a simple printing error. Also, researchers who have looked carefully at the revised manuscript of the *History of the Church* indicate that it is often difficult to determine the difference between a capital "L" and a capital "S" of some of the scribes. Therefore, apparently a printer in the early 1900's who first helped set the type for the Prophet's *History of the Church* either mistook an "L" for an "S," or erroneously printed an "S" for an "L." As a result, for most of the 20th century members of the Church have presumed the man's name was Sebolo.

The solution to the mistaken identity was not solved until 1950, when a Czechoslovakian missionary of the Church named Melvin Mabey entered the picture. Elder Mabey had been a student at Brigham Young University, where he had been exposed to some background on the story of the Pearl of Great Price by Dr. Sidney Sperry, one of the modern-day fathers of Pearl of Great Price research. At the completion of his mission, Elder Mabey wrote Dr. Sperry and asked if there were anything he could do while in Europe to help unearth more information on the story. Dr. Sperry replied that if he were to travel as far as Cairo, he might visit the National Museum and inquire about a man named Antonio Sebolo or Antonio Lebolo. By this time Dr. Sperry was aware of the discrepancy between the Oliver Cowdery and Parley P. Pratt accounts, and the *History of the Church* and the *Comprehensive History of the Church* accounts. His interest

piqued, Elder Mabey decided to travel to Cairo. In his own words:

In April, 1950, I visited the Director of the Museum of antiquities in Cairo, Egypt, in hopes of obtaining more information concerning the excavations of Antonio Lebolo which produced the mummies on which was found the manuscript containing the writings of Abraham. I was accorded the privilege of examining the books in the museum's library which dealt with the explorers of the early middle 19th century. None of the researchers had heard of an individual by the name of either Sebolo or Lebolo. I was informed, however, that a Czech Egyptologist, Dr. Cerny, had just arrived from London and would be visiting the museum that afternoon. I awaited his arrival and in due course was introduced to him. I related the story of Sebolo in hopes that Dr. Cerny might be able to offer a clue for further investigation. He stated that his specialization was not with explorers of that period, although he had never heard of such an individual. He then added that he was familiar with some research then in progress by a certain Warren R. Dawson in England relative to individuals exploring or interested in the exploration of the ancient Egyptian civilizations during the first half of the 19th century.

Upon Dr. Cerny's suggestion that Mr. Dawson was, to his knowledge, the most informed person on explorers of Sebolo's period, I wrote to him in October, 1950 after returning to the United States. He advised me that the correct name of this explorer was not Sebolo, but Antonio Lebolo. Mr. Dawson sent information which he had obtained from original sources written in the 1820's and 1830's. (James R. Clark, *The Story of the Pearl of Great Price*, p. 76.)

To better appraise his report, interested readers will want to know something about the late Mr. Dawson. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquities, and was a librarian from 1927 to 1948 for the famous Lloyds of London, symbol of world financial institutions. In 1951, he authored *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, published in London. He died in 1968, at about 80 years of age.

As a result of Dawson's report, the case of the mistaken adventurer was solved. The explorer who unearthed the mummies apparently acquired by the Prophet Joseph Smith was Antonio Lebolo.

But surely there is more to a man than his name. One wonders about his background, his general personality,

and hungers to know more about the man whom the Lord apparently used in helping to bring forth the Book of Abraham.

Undoubtedly, research on many aspects of the story will continue to disclose many new insights. But it is already apparent that Antonio Lebolo was a morally ambivalent individual—that is, if the accounts that have been found are accurate.

The following information about Lebolo is quoted from *The Great Belzoni* by Stanley Mayes (London: Putnam, 1959), an excellent book on the life and times of the famous strongman turned explorer-adventurer, one of whose exploits has already been noted. Apparently Belzoni had many run-ins and experiences with Lebolo, and he writes of him in his journal, from which account Mayes takes the following information. These references to Lebolo, although they may seem long to some readers, are enlightening both as to the nature of Lebolo and the spirit of the times:

Belzoni's party reached Luxor in another boat on 17 August and installed themselves in the temple sanctuary. There was a letter from Salt [Henry Salt was a British consul who purchased antiquities for both Britain and himself] saying that he intended shortly to come up the Nile to look at the antiquities. But Giovanni's first thought was to find out who was digging at Thebes, and where. The two Copts had gone and in their place were a couple of Piedmontese—Rosignano, with whom Giovanni had had an unpleasant encounter already, and a certain Antonio Lebolo, a former *gendarme* of Milan. Profiting by the absence of Belzoni, Drovetti's [for whom Rosignano and Lebolo worked] agents had turned their attention from the temples of Karnak to the tombs of Qurna, and had been pretty successful among the mummies. Giovanni was reluctant to work anywhere near these men, and partly for this reason, partly because of the hopeful indications he had found a few months before, he decided to concentrate on the Valley of the Kings. (Page 173.)

If Belzoni's account is accurate, Lebolo was from the area of Piedmont, Italy, but had left the area of his youth and worked as a *gendarme*, or policeman, in the famous city of Milan, some 75 miles east of the Piedmont region. As a *gendarme* he undoubtedly had been exposed to the seamy



Giovanni Belzoni. He had trouble with Antonio Lebolo.

side of life. If the accounts that follow are accurate, it appears that he may have adopted some of the behavior patterns of the lesser elements whom he contacted as a *gendarme*. It also appears that in Egypt Lebolo worked with a fellow Piedmontese named Giuseppe Rosignano (Dawson says Rosignani), perhaps a life-long friend, or acquaintance from the Piedmont, a person at any event with whom Belzoni had apparently already had an unpleasant experience.

At Gebel el-Silsila, where the river ran through a narrow granite

gap in the mountains, they [Belzoni's party] overtook Drovetti's agent, the Piedmontese *ex-gendarme*, Antonio Lebolo. They hailed him, but he would not stop. A few miles further on, at Kom Ombo, Belzoni left the party and hurried after him in a *Kanjia*. At Aswan Lebolo tried to persuade the Agha that he must not allow the English [for whom Belzoni was working at the time] to remove the obelisk. But the Turk pointed out that Belzoni had already taken possession of it two years before and had left money to pay for a guard. Lebolo thereupon resorted to bribery and secured an affidavit before the Qadi that Drovetti was the owner. Then he disappeared.

Giovanni heard of Lebolo's activities as soon as he arrived in Aswan. When he remonstrated with the Agha and reminded him of the thirty dollars he was to receive after the obelisk was safely shipped, the Turk admitted unabashed that Drovetti's men had already made several attempts to remove it; the last one failed because there was too little water in the Cataract. It was this that disturbed Giovanni most; the season was already late and the high Nile had subsided rapidly. He hurried off at once to Philae and was there met by an old man who handed him a note. It was written in French and said: "M. Drovetti's *chargé d'affaires* begs European travellers to respect the bearer who is guarding the obelisk in the island of Philae, the property of M. Drovetti." It was signed "Lebolo" and dated a week earlier.

By now the main party had reached Aswan. There was no difficulty with the Agha, who admitted that Giovanni [Belzoni] had been the first to lay claim to the obelisk. Fortunately too there was a boat available, but the *reis* of the *shallal*, the 'captain' of the Cataract, looked askance at the idea of lowering it through the rapids with such a load when the water was low. Two months before he had refused the French when the level was much higher. However, there was one compelling argument, and with half the amount paid in advance the *reis* promised to do what he could. The agha was also given a gold watch, worth nearly four pounds, in the name of Mr. Bankes. (Page 229)

* * * * *

Giovanni had even less equipment for moving the obelisk than he had when he tackled the Young Memnon [a famous Egyptian artifact moved by Belzoni]. There was scarcely any wood to be had at all. But with the old primitive method of roller and lever he managed to get the fallen obelisk down to the water's edge—a matter of a few dozen yards. The pedestal gave more trouble; it was almost buried and had to be dug out. But eventually this too was in position for loading into the boat.

Meanwhile the Agha had received a letter from Drovetti, warning him not to allow anyone to remove the obelisk. Salt [the British consul], nettled at this, told the Agha to send his compliments to M. Drovetti and say that the English were taking it.

For what happened next Giovanni blamed only himself. He had gone down to look at the *shallal* and plot a course through the steep elephant shapes of the rocks that lay in the channel. The Barabras in his absence were building a pier of stones out into deep water. On his return he did not inspect the work closely. When the time came to embark the obelisk, the twenty-two-foot long monolith was levered and rolled out along the pier to the waiting boat. Suddenly—to Giovanni's horror—the whole structure began to disintegrate. The obelisk slewed round and then with a slow majestic motion slid into the river.

The cause was all too clear. The men, instead of bedding the foundations in the mud, had laid the stones on the sloping under-water surface of the bank so that the weight of the obelisk had simply pushed them apart. Some of the workmen laughed. A few thought of the money they would lose. Then they drifted away to their other occupations.

For an awful moment Giovanni thought the obelisk was lost. He heard the triumphant jeers of Lebolo and Drovetti. But only for a moment. As he sat transfixed on the bank, he was already working out the salvage operation. (Pages 229-30.)

* * * * *

Christmas came, and he and Sarah [his wife] spent it together in the quiet solitude of a valley that was already old and remote when the Christian era began. "On earth peace, good will toward men." But not among rival collectors of antiquity in the inexhaustible ruins of Thebes. It was now that Giovanni found himself entering upon what he later called, in a sombre and self-dramatizing mood, "new contests with evil beings."

On Boxing Day Giovanni mounted his donkey in Biban el-Muluk and trotted off to the Nile with the intention of crossing over to inspect the English enclaves at Karnak. A French visitor, Edouard de Montulé, who was sketching in the Memnonium, saw him pass. But we have only Belzoni's version of what happened later that day. On the way from Luxor, he says, an Arab warned him not to go where the other Europeans were, but he took no notice of this. Coming to Karnak, he found some of Drovetti's men digging in a spot near the two small lakes which had definitely been reserved for the English. There were no Europeans with them and Giovanni's Greek servant wanted to intervene, but he would not let him and they rode past. Belzoni looked at some digging grounds at the northern end of the temple area and then started back. They were riding through the ruins not far from the grand First Pylon of the temple of Amun when Giovanni suddenly saw a crowd of Arabs hurrying towards them. At their head, shouting and gesticulating, were the two Piedmontese, Lebolo and Rosignano. Giovanni heard Lebolo asking in an angry voice what he meant by taking the obelisk from Philae. (The boat had

arrived on Christmas Eve and the tantalizing present that was not for them was stuck tactlessly under their very noses.) In a moment they were all round him. Lebolo seized the bridle of his donkey with one hand and grabbed Giovanni's waistcoat with the other. Rosignano levelled a gun at him and swore violently. The Arabs overpowered the Greek and relieved him of his pistols. Rosignano said it was time Belzoni paid for all he had done to them, and Lebolo declared that he was to have had one-third of the proceeds from the obelisk if Belzoni had not stolen it.

"My situation was not pleasant," says Giovanni, mildly understating. "I have no doubt that if I had attempted to dismount, the cowards would have dispatched me on the ground, and said that they did it in defence of their lives, as I had been the aggressor. I thought the best way was to keep on my donkey, and look at the villains with contempt."

Then, as they glared at each other, another party of Arabs came hurrying up with Drovetti in the lead. Why, he wanted to know, had Belzoni stopped his men from working? Giovanni indignantly denied that he had done any such thing and protested at the way he was being treated. Drovetti ordered him to dismount and Giovanni refused. But the next moment a pistol went off behind his back and he slipped smartly to the ground. Then, according to Belzoni, Drovetti seemed to realize that his henchmen had gone too far, and he tried to smooth things over.

Bernardino Drovetti and his entourage at Thebes. It is not likely that Lebolo is part of this drawing.



Gurneh's Pit-Tomb

It was now there appeared someone whom Giovanni for reasons of delicacy refers to throughout as "the stranger." He admits, however, that he was an old acquaintance, "neither English nor French," who had come to Egypt "not to see antiquities, but to purchase some if he could." He was returning to "one of the capitals of Europe," and Giovanni had asked him to take four of the lion-headed statues in his name as a present "to a certain high personage." From these hints and some clues given by de Montulé it is clear that the stranger was an Italian named Sylvestre, in whose company the Frenchman had arrived in Thebes. Sylvestre had bought a cargo of antiquities which he intended shipping to Rome, and on the day of the fracas he had been with Drovetti in Karnak. As soon as he appeared Giovanni told him what had happened; Drovetti said they had "only a few words, and that was all." But Sylvestre, according to Giovanni, declared that he had seen the Arabs pick up their arms and rush out of the huts, and he recalled that Drovetti had said he must run after them and prevent trouble. Giovanni believed he had here an important witness to the fact that a premeditated attack had been made upon him.

He went back to Biban el-Muluk angry and perhaps a little afraid. He had no doubt that there had been an attempt on his life and, though it seems likely that Rosignano—if it was he—discharged his pistol only to frighten Belzoni, tempers were roused and anything might have happened. There is some corroboration of the seriousness of the affair in de Montulé's account of it. He admits that he was not an eye-witness to the quarrel, but he says that the following day Lebolo spoke to Mustafa, his interpreter, and tried to get him to go across with him to Qurna. De Montulé suspected a further attempt on Belzoni's life and would not let his man go.

De Montulé is a reasonably unbiased observer and he seems to have assessed the situation pretty well, for he says: "I firmly believe that Messrs. Drovetti, Salt and Belzoni are not to blame, but their Agents, who are frequently rewarded in proportion to the value of the discoveries, which they make, and consequently nourish mutual animosities against one another." The Frenchman is also illuminating on another point. Giovanni says that many of the Arabs of Karnak were horrified at Rosignano's outrageous behavior and took his part. (Pages 233-35.)

The Belzoni's took their assorted cargo—obelisk, sarcophagus, mummies and moulds—direct to Alexandria. There Giovanni found a letter from Salt, who was still in Nubia. He had told him about the incident at Thebes, and the consul now advised him to take legal action against his assailants. Giovanni learnt that the vice-consul, Mr. Lee, had already instituted proceedings on his behalf and taken the matter up with the French consul, M. Roussel. He therefore decided to wait for Salt's return.

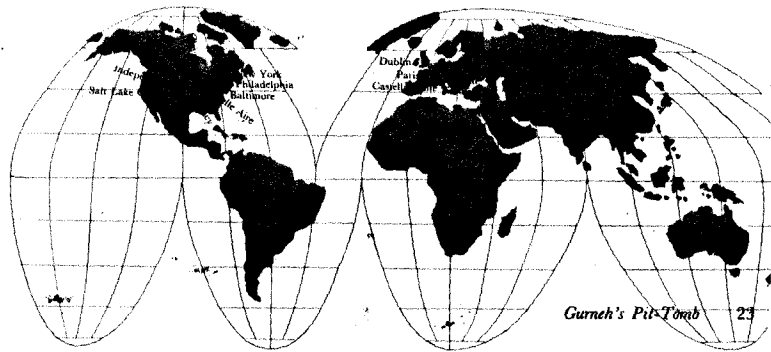
Meanwhile Sylvestre had arrived in Alexandria but was no longer willing to give the kind of evidence Belzoni had supposed he would in Thebes. He had, in fact, come to an understanding with Lebolo. He also went back on his promise to take four of Giovanni's statues "as a present to a certain court" and departed instead with a large collection bought from Belzoni's rivals for re-sale. (Page 236.)

* * * * *

Off went Giovanni to Rosetta where Sarah was patiently waiting for him, beguiling the time with her pet chameleons. By now he had probably received a letter from the Trustees of the British Museum, declining his offer—solicited by them—to collect antiquities on their behalf. There remained only the Karnak affair to settle. But this proved utterly frustrating. Drovetti wanted the charges to be preferred against himself by Salt; Belzoni insisted that his accusations were made only against Lebolo and Rosignano. Then M. Roussel was recalled to France, and the vice-consul, who took over the case, wished Belzoni to put down twelve hundred dollars immediately to cover his expenses in going up to Thebes with a boat-load of lawyers and lawyers' clerks. However, this was circumvented and eventually Lebolo and Rosignano were brought down to Alexandria. But another loophole was soon found. The men accused were both Piedmontese and not French subjects. So the vice-consul ruled—probably under pressure from Drovetti—that the case against them could only be heard in Turin.

Giovanni gave up in disgust at this and prepared to leave. "At last, having put an end to all my affairs in Egypt, in the middle of September, 1819, we embarked, thank God! for Europe: not that I disliked the country I was in, for, on the contrary, I have reason to be grateful; nor do I complain of the Turks or Arabs in general, but of some Europeans who are in that country, whose conduct and mode of thinking are a disgrace to human nature." (Pages 245-46.)

The map shows the key geographical locations in the Saga of the Prophet's mummies and papyri.



This long series of quotes from Mayes' excellent book on Belzoni provides our most detailed information about the possible character of Lebolo. Another book, *A brief account of the researches and discoveries in Upper Egypt made under the direction of Henry Salt Esq.*, published in London in 1836, and written by Giovanni d'Athanasia, a well-known Greek excavator, mentions difficulties d'Athanasia experienced with "a certain Antonio Lebolo, a countryman of M. Drovette [sic] who had just been buying up all the antiquities the Arabs had to sell." (Page 51.)

The picture that Belzoni and d'Athanasia present of Lebolo is one of a contemptuous jeerer, briber, unsuccessful thief, ruffian, potential murderer, companion to an equally "outrageous" fellow adventurer, Rosignani, a man who successfully slipped through the fingers of the law, and one who successfully captured one of Belzoni's clients. Whether this is an accurate portrayal of Lebolo's character, or whether Belzoni and d'Athanasia slant their accounts beyond truth are questions to which we may never find answers. Perhaps no man can be adequately appraised by another, and in this sense, Belzoni's account of Lebolo may lack much important information.

Thus, in the interest of balancing the scales, the following information on Lebolo is presented. It is contained in a letter in the book *Il Corpo Epistolare di Bernardino Drovetti*, published in Rome in 1940. The letter, dated 1818, is from an Englishman, reportedly a Mr. M. D. Brine, employed by the French Consul-General Drovetti, for whom Lebolo also worked. (The author of the letter may be Charles Brine, English manufacturer in the service of Mehemet Ali.) Lebolo is mentioned as having arrived in upper Egypt, and the subject matter concerns another apparent misdeed:

I have the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Lebolo arrived and according to your desires I wrote to Casciff telling him to send me the peasant from the Savanian Village to settle the trouble you mentioned concerning the coins. When the peasant and his wife arrived, the sum of 200 peastres was given him in my presence, and in the presence of several persons of this, your factory. The peasant

was surprised and asked if this money had been given him to find more coins, and Mr. Lebolo answered that the ex-Consul General of France, Mr. Drovetti was giving it to him as a gift. The peasant was amazed at finding himself in possession of such a large sum. His wife was called, to which Mr. Lebolo (according to your orders) gave her the gifts in Corals, Pearls of Venice, and to Canas who had guided him was given five peastre.

I am of the opinion that Mr. Lebolo is not guilty of any misdeeds, for when the Casciff was determined to beat the peasant he [Lebolo] retired into a room saying that he would lose all of the antiques of the world rather than see anyone beaten. . . . (Translation by Dr. M. Carl Gibson.)

On this, perhaps the matter of Lebolo's character should charitably rest.

Related Personalities

Oliver Cowdery's 1835 account is very important in its introduction of related personalities:

The records were obtained . . . by the celebrated French traveller, Antonio Lebolo, in the year 1831. He procured license from Mehemet Ali, then Viceroy of Egypt, under the protection of Chevalier Drovetti, the French Consul, in the year 1828; employed 433 men four months and two days, (if I understood correctly, Egyptian or Turkish soldiers,) at from four to six cents per diem, each man; entered the catacomb June 7th, 1831, and obtained eleven Mummies. There were several hundred Mummies in the same catacomb: about one hundred embalmed after the first order, and deposited and placed in niches, and two or three hundred after the second and third order, and laid upon the floor or bottom of the grand cavity, the last two orders of embalmed were so decayed that they could not be removed, and only eleven of the first, found in the niches. On his way from Alexandria to Paris he put in at Trieste, and after ten days illness, expired. This was in the year 1832. 87

Because the names of Henry Salt, Bernardino Drovetti, and Mehemet Ali have entered—or will enter—the story, a brief review of their lives should be helpful and interesting.

Mehemet Ali Pasha (or Mohammed Ali) was the viceroy of Egypt. A viceroy was a governor who ruled a country or a province as a representative of a king or sovereign. Ali represented the Ottoman Turkish Empire. He

was reportedly a very successful merchant, and was famous for breaking the Mamelukes' hold on Egypt through a "perfidious strategem," after which he ordered a massacre of all Mamelukes in Egypt. He was known for his cruelty, and efficiency in getting things done. Perhaps his cruelty created his efficiency. Here is a brief review of his life:

1769-1849. Viceroy of Egypt (1805-48), born Kavalla, Rumelia, of Albanian parentage. Father of Said Pasha and (or adoptive father) of Ibrahim Pasha; fought against Napoleon at Abukir (1799); proclaimed loyalty to sultan (1804); made pasha by sheiks of Cairo (1805); strengthened his position (1807-10) and, by massacre of Mamelukes (1811), left without rival in Egypt; carried on war against Wahhabis (1811-18), brought to successful conclusion by Ibrahim Pasha, subdued Nubia and Kordofan (1820-22); laid foundations of Khartoum (1823); persuaded by sultan to aid him in Greek revolt (1824-27); lost fleet at Navarino (1827); granted possession of Crete (1830); sent Ibrahim to conquer Syria (1831-33), his conflict with Turkey becoming vital part of Eastern question of the time; his forces completely defeated Turks at Nizib (1839), but deprived by Great Powers of spoils of victory; retired to hereditary viceroyalty of Egypt (1841); during last years weakened in mind, Ibrahim Pasha being appointed viceroy (1848). (*Webster's Biographical Dictionary*, 1965 edition, page 1000.)

Bernardino Drovetti (1775-1852), called "Chevalier" by Oliver Cowdery, was the French Consul-General during Lebolo's excavations. "Chevalier," however, was his title. Dawson, who had done so much in authoring *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, and in tracing data on the early adventurers, says the following of Drovetti:

Italian collector of antiquities; born Livourne, 1775; assumed French nationality, and served as Colonel in Napoleon's Egyptian campaign and saved the life of Murat, one of Napoleon's generals; under the Empire until 1814 and again under the Restoration, 1820-29, he was French Consul-General in Egypt; he was ardent collector of antiquities and employed many agents to excavate and buy from native diggers; his first collection, offered to and rejected by France, was bought by the King of Sardinia in 1824 and is the principal part of the great Egyptian collection at Turin; the second collection was bought by France by order of Charles X, for 250,000 francs and is now in the Louvre; the third collection was acquired for Berlin by Lepsius in 1836 for 30,000 francs; Drovetti made a journey to the Oases in 1820 and his notes and geographical observations are em-

bodied in Jomard's works of 1821 and 1823; he had great influence with Mohammed Ali and suggested many administrative reforms; Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur, 1820; he was very hostile to other collectors and excavators in Egypt, and particularly to Salt and Champollion; his methods, and those of his agents, were often unscrupulous; towards the end of his life, his mind gave way, and he died in an asylum in Turin, 1852.



Bernardino Drovetti, the man for whom Henry Salt. Some have thought he was related to Michael Chandler.
Lebobo worked.

Henry Salt (1780-1827) is reported as follows by Dawson:

British Consul-General in Egypt and collector of antiquities; born Lichfield, 14 June, 1780; trained as a portrait-painter and went to London in 1797 as a pupil of Joseph Farrington, R.A., and afterwards of John Hoppner, R.A.; in 1802 accompanied George Annesley, Viscount Valentia, as secretary and draughtsman, on a long tour in the East, visiting India, Ceylon, Abyssinia and Egypt, and returned 1806; made many drawings to illustrate Lord Valentia's *Voyages and Travels*, 1809; sent by government on a mission to Abyssinia, 1809-11 and published *Voyage to Abyssinia*, 1814; in 1815 appointed to succeed Missett as Consul-General in Egypt and arrived there in 1816; did much excavating in Egypt to procure antiquities for the British Museum; with Belzoni and Burchhardt removed colossal bust of Rameses II from Thebes and presented it to British Museum, 1817; employed Belzoni at Thebes and financed his explorations in Nubia, and those of Caviglia at the Pyramids; in 1819, d'Athanasia excavated at Thebes under his direction; in 1818, he sent a large collection of antiquities to the British Museum, but the Trustees

objected to the price demanded, and after protracted delay, they gave £2,000 (less than the cost of excavation and transport) for the collection, but rejected the finest piece—the sarcophagus of Sety I—which was brought by Sir John Soane; Salt's second collection, formed 1819-24, was reported upon by Champollion and bought by the French government; his third collection was sold at Sotheby's in nine days' sale in 1835 and realized £7,168; many objects were bought by the British Museum; he published an essay on Young's and Champollion's systems of decipherment, 1825; F.R.S. 1812, F.L.S.; died Alexandria, 30 Oct. 1827.

Of interest, as shall be later noted, he married in 1819 a daughter of a Mr. Pensa, a merchant of Leghorn, Italy.

The Question of Dates

Similar to the problem of the correct name—Lebolo or Sebolo—has been also the problem of dating Lebolo's entrance into Egypt, discovery, and death. As will be remembered from Oliver Cowdery's account, Lebolo acquired his license from Mehemet Ali in 1828, entered the catacomb June 7, 1831, and died at Trieste in 1832. For 115 years—from 1835 to 1950—these dates were considered reliable. But more was learned from Warren R. Dawson's response to Elder Mabey's letter than the correct name of Lebolo. His information, presented as it came in a letter from Dawson to Elder Mabey, opened new doors for research on Lebolo and the Oliver Cowdery story:

Piedmontese traveller and adventurer in Egypt. He was in Egypt from 1817 till 1823. He took service under Bernardo Drovetti, an Italian, but Consul General in Egypt for France. Drovetti was an ardent collector of Egyptian antiquities and used his diplomatic privileges to the full in order to amass and export them. He made three great collections the first of which was sold to the King of Sardinia in 1824 and deposited in the museum of Turin; the second was bought by France and is now in the Louvre, and the third was bought in 1836 for the Berlin Museum. Drovetti employed many agents, mostly his own countrymen, to excavate and to buy antiquities from the natives.

In 1818, Lebolo, and a renegade named Rosignani, were working for Drovetti at Thebes and were also carrying on clandestine excavation for their own account. They came into conflict with Giovanni

Belzoni, of Padua, who was then excavating for Henry Salt, British Consul General in Egypt, who was also a collector of antiquities, many of his specimens being now in the British Museum. Lebolo and Rosignani made a murderous attack upon Belzoni, for which Salt endeavored to obtain by fraud some antiquities discovered by Belzoni at Philae.

Whilst at Thebes in 1818, Lebolo discovered a pit-tomb at Ger-nah containing a number of mummies of Ptolemaic date. The best of these were seized by Drovetti, but Lebolo sold two of them to Baron Minutoli, who was then carrying out a scientific mission in Egypt for the German Government; these two mummies, however, were lost at sea while being conveyed to Europe. He sold a third mummy to the French traveller Frederic Cailliaud, a fourth to Giovanni Anastasi, Consul General for Sweden and also a dealer in antiquities; a fifth mummy Lebolo kept for himself.

An account of these mummies was written by Quintino di San Guilia in "Lezioni Archeologiche", Turin, 1824, p. 25. This paper was read in the Turin Museum, 14th and 19th August, 1824, after the death of Lebolo which occurred at Trieste in 1823.

The dates quoted in your letter of 2 October, 1950 are wrong. The discovery was made in 1818, not 1828, and Lebolo died in 1823, not 1832.

For students of the Book of Abraham, Dawson's information was stunning. It was easy to see how errors could have crept into Oliver Cowdery's account: (1) Certainly whatever information Oliver Cowdery and the Prophet Joseph Smith acquired about the mummies came from Michael H. Chandler, and Chandler's information could have been incorrect. (2) Chandler's information could have been incorrect because, according to the story, at best he apparently received his data second- or third-hand: either through a will, a letter, or some such manner, and errors could have crept in; between 1823, the apparent death of Lebolo, and 1835, when the Prophet acquired the mummies, 12 years had passed, sufficient time for memories to dim, and dates to get crossed up. (3) It is possible that Oliver Cowdery may have simply reported inaccurately. (4) Also, it is important to realize that the *History of the Church* is as much the creation of others as it is the creation of the Prophet. During and following the Prophet's inspired call to begin a "history of the Church," the manuscript

of the history has undergone a handful of revisions. No one will want to attribute to the Prophet or to Oliver Cowdery the errors of omission and commission that might be identified with our present *History of the Church*.

Having established some potential sources of errors in Oliver Cowdery's report, we return to the question of correct dates in the Antonio Lebolo story.

Dawson's book says:

Antonio Lebolo: Piedmontese traveler in Egypt; excavated at Thebes for Drovetti and on his own account; he found a number of Ptolemaic mummies in a pit-tomb at Gurneh; the best of these went to Drovetti, two to Minutoli (which were, however, lost at sea), one to Cailliaud, another to Anastasi, and he kept one for himself; an account of these mummies was written by Quintino di San Giulio, *Lezioni Archeologiche*, Turin, 1824, 25; the paper was read in the Academy of Turin in the presence of Champollion; Lebolo was very hostile to Belzoni, who was working for Salt and in company with Rosignani (another employee of Drovetti), made a violent assault upon him at Karnak, and afterwards endeavoured by a trick to secure some antiquities at Philae belonging to Belzoni; died at Trieste, 1823.

Dawson's report contains the seeds of proof, which lie in checking further on the names given within the account, to determine when the personality lived and when he was in Egypt. A Latter-day Saint researcher, Richard Deland, has verified Dawson's report, confirming that Lebolo was at least in Egypt near 1818, the date Dawson says he made his find. A careful check in any major library reveals the following data:

1) Giovanni Battista Belzoni published a two-volume work titled *Narrative of operations and recent discoveries in the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia*, in which he mentions his encounters with Lebolo. The date of the publication is 1820—eight years before Oliver Cowdery reports that Lebolo even had a license.

2) In 1834 a book titled *The Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt Esq., late H.B.M. Consul-General in Egypt* was published. In volume two is a letter dated in 1819 in which Salt mentions Lebolo—some nine years before Oliver Cowdery even has Lebolo in Egypt.

3) Giovanni d'Athanasi also authored a book, *A brief*

account of the researches and discoveries in Upper Egypt made under the direction of Henry Salt Esq., in which he dates Lebolo as being in Egypt during the late teens and early twenties of the nineteenth century.

4) Baron Heinrich Carl Menu Minutoli, the certain traveler to whom Lebolo gave two mummies, has been the subject of a biography that places him in Egypt in 1821 and 1822.

5) M.D. Brine, in an 1818 letter to Bernardino Drovetti, quoted earlier from *Il Corpo Epistolare di Bernardino Drovetti*, also places Lebolo in Egypt at the earlier date.

Therefore, it has appeared that the dates provided by Dawson are substantially correct. More on this shortly.

Dawson's information about Lebolo went far beyond suggesting the years that Lebolo was in Egypt and the year of his death. Dawson also noted, as did Belzoni in his accounts, that Lebolo was from the Piedmont. Further information on Lebolo was—and is—most important because of the purported uncle-nephew relationship that was supposed to exist between Antonio Lebolo and Michael H. Chandler, from whom the Prophet Joseph acquired the mummies and papyrus.

Another Latter-day Saint researcher decided to push the matter further. Armed with the information about Lebolo's death date and the area of his youth, Piedmont, Richard Deland, graduate student at Brigham Young University, in 1960 addressed 16 letters to various museums, universities, and libraries in France, Italy, and Egypt, requesting information about Lebolo. There were only eight replies, and most of the responses referred to Dawson's work as the authoritative work in the area of early Egyptian archaeology. One letter, however, from the Academy of Science of Turin, Italy, which is located in the Piedmont area, reported the following:

In regard to the birth-place of Lebolo, I can tell you that it was Castellamonte, a little town situated in a region of the Piedmont called Canavese.

On January 2, 1968, some two weeks after the press of

an extended deadline under which I wrote the article in the January *Improvement Era* on "The Papyri Rediscovered," I spent the day at Brigham Young University reviewing, among other things, the report given by Richard Deland at the 1960 *Eleventh Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures*, and came across the mention of Castellamonte as the birth-place of Lebolo.



Castellamonte, Italy, birthplace of Lebolo.

A quick look at the map showed that Castellamonte was about 20 miles north of Turin, Italy. It was reported to be a community of about 3,500 inhabitants, and was located on the Ceresole River about a mile from the foot of the beautiful Graian Alps. Several days later, after receiving approval from Elder Ezra Taft Benson, who was in charge of the Italian Mission, I sent a letter to President John Duns, Jr., of the Italian Mission, requesting that if it were convenient, and if he felt that the information would be valuable to the Church, a visit be made to the town of Castellamonte, some pictures be taken of the town, and the Catholic Church records be checked for the name of Antonio Lebolo. About February 23, I received the

following letter and a packet of pictures from Italy, with its thrilling information:

February 21, 1968

TO: Jay M. Todd
Editorial Associate
The Improvement Era
79 South State Street
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111

FROM: Elder R. Brent Bentley
E.I.S. Information Coordinator
Italian Mission

RE: Report on trip to Castellamonte, Italy, for research on Antonio Lebolo

President John Duns Jr. of the Italian Mission received your letter of January 21, 1968 requesting information about Antonio Lebolo and photographs of the town of his birth, Castellamonte. Although President Duns would have liked to attend to the matter personally, his busy schedule did not allow. Therefore he assigned me to be in charge of gathering the requested information. Elders Lynn Barney and Roddy Davis, Zone Leaders of Zone III of the Italian Mission were asked to provide transportation and assistance in obtaining the material.

On the morning of February 1, 1968, the three of us departed by car from Italian Mission Headquarters and made the trip to Castellamonte. The town of 8,500 residents lies about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) to the north of Turin (spelled Torino in Italian) and wraps itself in a horse-shoe fashion around a small protrusion of the foothills that eventually leads to the Italian Alps. I was informed that the elevation was about 345 meters (1130 feet) and that Castellamonte was found in the center of the area known as Canavese which lies in the region of Italy called the Piedmont (Piemonte in Italian). The town is typical of the area . . . many cobble streets, rather modern yet limited outskirts, and an antique center of town.

Our first project was to attempt to photograph the city from the hill overlooking it. By this time it was late afternoon and the area was rather foggy, making a decent shot of the city impossible. The next day proved equally discouraging because of the foggy weather that is prominent in the area all winter. Also the horse-shoe shape of the town makes it almost impossible to photograph more than a small part of the area.

We checked into the "Tre Re" (Three Kings) Hotel which is in the main piazza. Across the piazza is the main Catholic Church of the town and, of course, this was our first target. Unfortunately

the priest was not in, so we went to the town graveyard. Little success was to be found there. There were no records that dated past 1919 there and we found no headstones with the name Lebolo. However, the caretaker recognized the name as being one that once was found in Castellamonte but by now had disappeared. He also corrected our pronunciation of the name. Normally a name like Lebolo would be pronounced Lay-bó-lo but he informed us that the accent falls on the first syllable . . . Láy-bo-lo.

Toward evening we returned to the priest's house, an appendage of the town cathedral. He proved to be very helpful.

Upon hearing our request, he led us into his small private study. Behind his desk was a wall-closet with old, dirty glass doors. When he opened them, three Mormon missionaries were absolutely amazed! There spread before us were handwritten records in bound books of every death, baptism and marriage of Castellamonte starting in 1407! The priest started perusing the record for 1783 and eventually found a listing for the baptism of a female Lebolo, supposed to be a sister to Antonio. Another supposed sister, Maria, was baptized in 1782, and another supposed sister in 1778, and finally the information we were seeking came before our astonished eyes in the form of an entry written in beautiful 18th century script. It revealed the following information (the names are translated into English):

1. Joseph Peter Anthony LEBOLO was baptized on the 22nd day of January in the year 1781, making him approximately forty-two years old at his death if 1823 is his correct date of death.
2. He was the son of Peter Lebolo and Marianne.

The original was recorded in Latin, as are all the records, and we had the priest carefully copy the entry in as near the handwriting as he could imitate. In Latin this reads as follows:

LEBOLO, Jo us Petrus Antonius f.us Petri et Mariannae Iugali-
um natus die vigesima secunda Januarii (y) Millesimo septin-
gesimo Oct mo primo, et (?) baptizatus tenentes P. Petrus
Morozzo et Anna Maria uscor (uxor) Bernardini Meuta.

The Italian translation of this is as follows:

LEBOLO, Giuseppe Pietro Antonio figlio dè Pietro e Marianna
Iugaliu nato il ventiduesimo giorno di gennaio millesettecento-
ottantuno (1781) e battezzato tenuto dal padrino Pietro Morozzo
e (madrina) Maria moglie di Bernardino Meuta.

The direct English translation, including the heading is:

Parish

Most Holy Peter and Paul

Castellamonte (% Torino)

LEBOLO, Joseph Peter Anthony son of Peter and Marianne

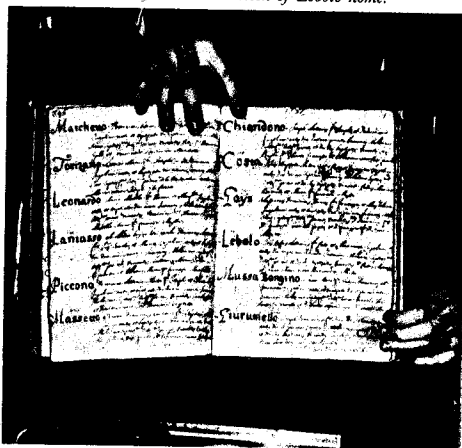
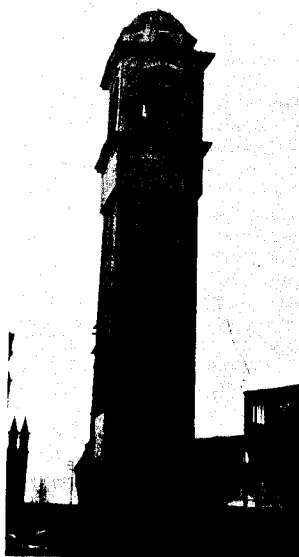
born on the twenty-second day of January seventeen hundred and eighty-one and baptized being held by the godfather Peter Morozzo and (the godmother) Maria wife of Bernard Meuta.

Tower was part of church Lebolo attended.

Baptismal entry for Lebolo was found in parish records.

Civic records indicated Lebolo owned lots 7700, 7702.

Original doorway and construction of Lebolo home.



There are a couple of interesting comments that can be made about this entry. First of all, it states that he was *born* on January 22nd. When questioned however, the priest affirmed that this meant he was actually *baptized* on this day. This, he explained, was usually done on about the eighth day after birth, thus putting his birthdate on or near January the 14th, 1781. The priest, like the man at the cemetery, mentioned that the name Lebolo is a last-name that has disappeared. He thought that it must have been a family that just lived in the area for a relatively short time. Italians are very good at names and regions but I never was able to conclude if the name has completely disappeared (no descendants or a change of name) or if the name had disappeared from that region of Italy. But the priest said that the name didn't exist anymore (Non c'è piu!).

The next morning we returned to photograph the book and the room. We could not get a picture of the priest—"I'm not at all an actor," he protested. The fellow was in his late thirties and had only been the priest there for two or three years.

Then we turned to the history of the area to give us some idea of the conditions during the time that Lebolo lived in the town. First we inquired about the church that would have been standing in the late 1700's. The priest informed us that it was a small, white, Romanesque church that was connected onto the still-existent bell tower in front of the present church. You can still see where the roof attached to the tower. However, the members decided they wanted a bigger church and so one night in 1830 after a big "festa" they tore the old church down. ("When the parish priest wasn't looking," he said.)

The church that now stands has a large circular area in front of it, the walls of which were started in 1845 and were intended to be the walls of the church itself. He said if they would have finished that church, that area would have been three meters less in diameter than the corresponding area in Saint Peter's in Rome. But the industry of the town-folk gave way to arguing and high costs and so fifteen years later, in 1860, the smaller church that now stands was built with the old walls serving as the boundaries of what is now the parking lot.

We then proceeded to the City Municipal Building, hoping to find more information. We did not have very high hopes of finding where Lebolo lived so long ago, but we went to find out what we could. We were most happy, however, with the results.

We received a wonderful acceptance at city hall and one of the clerks assigned himself to help us in a search that lasted all morning. First we started with a book that they gave us on the history of the area, entitled *The Civil, Religious, and Economic History of Castellamonte Canavese* by M. Giorda. A close perusal of the era involved revealed no listing whatsoever with the name Lebolo.

However, we did find this interesting entry on page 274 of the book: "Adding up all the 'Castellamontesi' over the age of 7, the

ecclesiastic body, the artists and the store owners, in 1775 there were 3,234 (inhabitants) with 117 oxen and 10 work-cows." The source of this at the bottom of the page read: "Census, 1775 Community Archive—Recapitulation".

This census is what we wanted to find! Upon checking the index of the community archives, we discovered that those records must have been destroyed during the German occupation of the town. However, finally we convinced the clerk that we should look at the records upstairs anyway, just to see what we could find.

The results were amazing. We wove our way up a very narrow, dank stairway to an old door and shoved it open. There before us was a large room with a huge table covering most of the floor. The entire room was filled with huge, dust-encrusted, handwritten books of city records! Again three Americans found it hard to believe what they were beholding. The clerk approached the first big book (it measured about 24" x 18" x 5") with the date 1822 on the outside and the title *Register of land systemization—1822*. There we found a good four pages of property purchases under the name "Lebolo", and among them we found Antonio's purchases. Purchase no. 7700 was particularly interesting because it listed a house and court being acquired. And 7702 was a field near the house that was also purchased by Antonio. The date of purchase was not given, but it could have been some time before 1822. It was in that year when the book was assembled and hand-written with names in alphabetical order and with no spaces between entries.

The regions in which these most interesting purchases were made was listed as "Capoluogo". The clerk did not know in what part of Castellamonte this area had been. However, upon opening another book (the second one he picked up) he found a series of detailed, hand-drawn, color maps of the purchases which corresponded with the book in which we had found the entry. Among these he found several maps labeled "Capoluogo".

After diligently searching we found the plots of land numbered 7700 and 7702. Several neighboring lots had been owned by other members of the family.

The workmanship of these books and maps was really something to behold. The house on 7700 was carefully shaded in a light red and the court area was outlined in a brownish coloring. Naturally we wanted to find this lot! However, only a small area was shown and no street names appeared on the map. The clerk did not have the slightest idea where this place was to be found.

We took the big map back downstairs where four employees and policemen gathered around. By finding a church (the position of which they were acquainted with) on another map and turning the pages, carefully deciding where the individual maps joined from

page to page, they were able to decide that the property was on Via Braida. Then an officer was assigned to lead us right there.

We walked the $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to the area and the policeman took us right up to the door and rang the bell. He introduced us to the housewife, a Mrs. Ignis Morozzo (husband-Francesco) and she was very thrilled to have us take pictures of the house. She did not know of the Lebolo's however. She and her husband had purchased the house over fifty years ago from an Italian who had spent a great deal of time in America. That is all she knew about the history of the property. The better part of the living quarters had been remodeled since she had lived there, but a small part of the original surface was still to be seen. They had added a room onto where there had once been a stall, but the shape of the house and court (front yard) fit the representation on the map perfectly. The present address is Via Braida 17, Castellamonte (Torino).

This concluded our research on a most interesting project—one I and Elders Barney and Davis shall never forget. With hope that this will be of help, I submit this report to "The Improvement Era".

Sincerely,

Elder R. Brent Bentley
E.I.S. Information Coordinator
Italian Mission
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Unforgettable indeed! One can only imagine the missionaries' thrill, and the thrill that a Latter-day Saint genealogist would have in viewing the records of Turin. Elders Bentley, Barney, and Davis acquired information that has never before been known to members of the Church. Apparently I did not stress the need for additional information on any Lebolo sisters, because the names of the two supposed sisters born in 1778 and 1783 were not forwarded. The mystery of the purported nephew-uncle relationship between Lebolo and Chandler is still unsolved. But from data that will be given later, it is logically possible that the supposed sister born in 1778 could be the mother of Michael H. Chandler. Possible, but not probable. As a sidelight, in case it is important, no information is known about a relationship existing between the Morozzo family that now owns the house on Lebolo's old lot and Pietro

Morozzo, godfather of the newly baptized Antonio Lebolo.

With the aid of the Italian Mission's excellent report, members of the Church now know far more about Antonio Lebolo than did even Oliver Cowdery and Joseph Smith.

But our knowledge of Lebolo does not end there. There is data available that informs us of other events that occurred in 1818. Antonio not only found a pit-tomb; he also became a father—probably again. It would be unlikely that this particular 37-year-old man was a father for the first time. The information was gleaned from a microfilm of a marriage record of the parish of San Giovanni (St. John), Turin, Italy. The marriage is of a Jean Lebbolo, presumably another version of Lebolo, and dates his birth at 1818, in Parella, province of Ivrea, which is within a dozen or so miles of Castellamonte, Antonio's birthplace. Jean is recorded as born to Antoine Lebbolo and Lucie Vernet, or Vernet.

And so, the picture fills out even more. It would appear that Antonio left his wife Lucie and family in Italy while he sought wealth in Egypt. Some months after his probable departure—Dawson says he was in Egypt in 1817—Antonio's wife gave birth to a son, Jean. It is interesting to note, if this is the right Antonio Lebolo, that his wife did not stay in Milan some 75 miles to the east where Antonio reportedly had been a *gendarme*. Also, she apparently did not reside in Castellamonte, where Antonio at some time owned property. It may be that Mrs. Lucie Vernet Lebolo went to Parella to be with relatives or her parents at the birth of her child.

The marriage record shows the following:

"Jean Lebbolo, son of Antoine Lebbolo and Lucie Vernet, married, first, Josephine Passerone; he married, second, 3 May 1855, at San Giovanni, Torino, Italy, Madeleine Sophie Bastie.

(F Italy Piedmont, S 1, Part 4, 1855, no. 7.)

The report also shows that his first wife, Josephine, had died, that he was living in Turin, that he signed himself

as Giovanni—Italian for the French Jean—and that his parents, Antonio and Lucie, were both dead at this date.

Further research has disclosed still another Lebbolo marriage, this one to Henri, Jean's son:

Henri Lebbolo, son of Jean Lebbolo and Madeleine Bastie, married, 27 Oct. 1888, at San Giovanni, Torino, Italy, Marie Jourdan, daughter of Jean Jourdan and Marie Gay. (F Italy Piedmont, S 1, Part 4, no. 11.)

The reason these facts have been given is to show that descendants of Antonio Lebolo may still be residing in Turin. With the family's help, one could perhaps trace their genealogy and determine the accuracy of the purported Lebolo-Chandler relationship. Certainly there is sufficient work remaining for those who may be interested.

However, before leaving the subject of dates, a potentially valuable problem remains to be studied. The problem deals with the date of Lebolo's discovery. Oliver Cowdery, in his letter to William Frye, says: "... he [Lebolo] procured license from Mehemet Ali, then Viceroy of Egypt, under the protection of Chevalier Drovetti, the French Consul, in the year 1828. . . ." As will be pointed out later, Michael H. Chandler did not print such information, although one presumes he passed what he knew on to Oliver Cowdery and the Latter-day Saints. Warren R. Dawson merely says Lebolo "excavated at Thebes for Drovetti."

The problem in question is this: Lebolo cannot discover his mummies in 1818 and be under the direction of a contemporary French Consul-General named Drovetti, because Drovetti was not in office in 1818. Here are the facts: Drovetti was French Consul-General from some unknown date until 1814, and then from 1820-1829, according to Warren R. Dawson. According to Dawson, a Mr. Roussel was the French Consul-General between Drovetti's two periods of consular service: "Roussel, _____ (fl. 1814-1819) French Consul-General in Egypt, 1814-19; he held office in the interval between the two periods of the consulship of Drovetti, and was much under his influence."

Obviously, if Lebolo discovered his mummies while Drovetti was Consul-General, it would place the discovery no earlier than 1819-1820, because Lebolo is not known to have been in Egypt under Drovetti's first reign. However, the answer to Oliver Cowdery's claim that Lebolo acquired "protection" under the French Consul-General may simply be that he was working under Drovetti, who carried his former title of office during this interval when Drovetti was working for himself as a powerful antiquity agent. The fact that Drovetti returned to his position, and that Roussel was apparently very much under his thumb, suggests that this minor discrepancy between names, dates, and officeholders may be of little potential help in solving some riddles that will shortly be presented. However, no lead can afford to be overlooked. This one has at least been noted. Interestingly enough, Oliver Cowdery's date of 1831 as the discovery is not a year in which Drovetti was serving as Consul-General. This too may pose another area of inaccurate reporting by Chandler or Oliver Cowdery. The question of unknown dates will soon join a much larger question—that of unknown personalities.

New—and Potentially Upsetting—Data

As this book goes to press, new information has presented itself which may be extremely important or, as research continues, may fade into insignificance. The information has direct bearing on this chapter, and has relevance on the next two chapters, but because of deadlines, and other factors, the new information is being lumped together here rather than face dissection and correlation into these three mentioned chapters. But, perhaps in afterthought, the decision to present it together serves equally as well as would an attempted correlation. In part, this is because the new data suggests the need for another explanation concerning the dating and number of discoveries made by Lebolo, and at this point, additional explanations perhaps are best handled all at once, rather than risk hopelessly confusing the reader: the mind can only

follow so many strands. The new data will be most interesting to students and researchers, but some readers may find parts of it tiring. Hence, the basic outline will be presented first, and if the reader desires to pursue it further, he may read the translation and excerpts from the quoted works.

In short, the sum of the matter is this: Two different works—one by a Dutch scholar, B. H. Stricker, and another by two British scholars, Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss—report the whereabouts of all or nearly all of the mummies and sarcophagi found by Antonio Lebolo in his discovery at Gurneh; the mummies and sarcophagi, essentially all accounted for, are reportedly in a half dozen museums scattered across the face of Europe. Obviously, then, if all Lebolo's mummies *are* accounted for, it would suggest that Joseph Smith's mummies came from someone else, from another Lebolo find, or any combination of a dozen possibilities that come to one's mind.

(Stricker's work: "Het Lijkpapyrus van Sensaas" *Oudheidkundige mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, n.r., Vol. 23, pp. 30-47. Porter and Moss's work: *Topographical Bibliography* (2nd edition), Vol. 1, part 2, pp. 674-76.)

The first report, Stricker's is of most interest because it contains an eyewitness account by a third party concerning what still may represent the find from which the Prophet's mummies came. The eyewitness report is by Sir Frederick Henniker. Stricker has quoted parts from Henniker's 1823 book dealing with his tour of Egypt and his visit at Luxor in January in the winter of 1819-20:

I was standing by when one of the resurrection men found a sepulchre; they offered me the haul, unopened, for four guineas. It proves to be Grecian-Egyptian, the first of its kind hitherto discovered; three chambers, fourteen coffins, on each of which was placed a bunch of sycamore branches; these branches fell to atoms at the touch—there are also coffinless bodies, having the appearance of leather, dried in the same manner as is still practised by the Capuchin friars in Sicily; one of these stood erect at the entrance, the others were prostrate on benches; the heads were shaved; the beards were of a few days growth; on the principal coffin is the following in-

scription: [inscription in Greek] The hieroglyphical figures testify to the degeneracy of the art; the papyrus found in this case, is not, as is usual, rolled up, but folded flat; the body was enveloped in thirty wrappers, the hands and mouth gilt:—from another I copied an inscription, which attests the coffin to be about sixteen hundred and fifty years old—some long earthenware jars were in the tomb, but empty.

Stricker then says:

Then, after the grave has been found, the loot will have to be divided. Now I am combining with the information of Reuven that which I myself have been able to find in Egyptological literature. Lebolo acts as the seller. He seems to have arrived immediately and evidently was the person who pulled the strings of this entire excavation. Buyers are the few consuls or tourists who are present. . . .

Stricker then notes that (1) a mummy and sarcophagus each were purchased by Henniker and his traveling companion, Reverend George Francis Grey—but that although both caskets were given to the British Museum, the mummies from each “got lost” before the caskets left Egypt; (2) another account of Lebolo as a swindler is given—this time it deals with his relationship with Baron von Minutoli; (3) a report is provided about *another* Lebolo find.

Stricker attempts to trace the location of all the mummies found in this particular pit, but as readers will observe by reading this account, it is not an easy matter to follow his discussion. But of considerable importance is that, even with all his accounting, Stricker’s report still leaves about four mummies unaccounted for. Also, from his report it is difficult to determine if the museums mentioned have both a coffin and a mummy, or just the sarcophagus. It may be that some of the mummies received by the Prophet Joseph Smith were not in their sarcophagi. It’s a possibility, anyway. The fact that at least two mummies were “lost” (or stolen and sold by Lebolo) may have bearing on the matter.

But of equal importance to the claim that nearly all of Lebolo’s mummies from this one find are apparently locatable is the report that Lebolo was associated with

other finds. At any rate, at this point and without correspondence from the European museums named by Stricker concerning the actual identity of their holdings, the significance of Stricker's report is unknown. The Prophet's mummies may have come from *another* Lebolo find, or they may still be associated with the mummies for which Stricker does not seem to account.

The first seven pages of Stricker's report or article will now be presented. The article deals with a piece of papyrus now in Leiden, Holland, and which came from Lebolo's 1818 or 1819 find. But before discussing and translating this papyrus, Stricker first reviews the story of its discovery and attempts to identify other mummies and items discovered with it. It is the strange story of the scattering of an Egyptian family's final remains all over Europe. The translation of the article was made by Joan Chase, Dutch translator in the Church Translation Department. Some readers will find it intensely interesting:

The Funeral Papyrus of Sensaos

The papyrus¹ published in this article—a funeral text from the time of Roman domination—belongs to the older parts of the Egyptian Collection of the Royal Museum of Antiquities. It was bought in 1828, along with the rest of his collection, by G. d'ANASTASY, Swedish Consul to Alexandria and also well-known dealer in antiquities. As shown in the catalog compiled by d'ANASTASY, the papyrus (AMS 29) was found on the mummy of a young woman who in the Greek caption was called Sensaos which also belongs to the collection (AMM 8) and at the present in the museum carries the number M 76. The finding place is found in a note from the hand of d'ANASTASY's co-worker MARTHOUX "Thèbes" which according to the catalog is supposed to be the ruin field of the west border of the little town of Loexor.

Shortly after the purchase C. J. C. REUVENS, at that time director of the Museum, who naturally focused his attention especially on those articles of the Collection which lend themselves to further investigation because of the presence of Greek inscriptions, discovered that with the mummy and the papyrus of Sensaos only part of a much

¹Mr. JEAN CAPART, Director der Musees d'Arte et d'Histoire te Brussel (Museum of Art and History in Bruxelles) was kind enough to send me for my perusal some of the works of study. I express to him my sincere thanks.

larger discovery had been found, while the rest had landed in various European museums through the medium of other dealers than d'ANASTASY. REUVENS mentioned this discovery in the second of his "Lettres à M. Letronne, sur les Papyrus Bilingues et Grecs, et sur Quelques Autres Monumens Gréco-Egyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités de l'Université de Leide" ("Letters to Mr. Letronne on the Bilingual and Greek Papyrus and on several other Greek-Egyptian Monuments of the Museum of Antiquities of the University of Leiden"), Leiden, 1830, a publication which upon appearing enjoyed much success but since then has almost been forgotten. The question of the "Momie Gresque", however, is for the Egyptian studies for more than one reason of great importance, and since in the literature of the last fifty years a complete ignorance of REUVENS' work reveals² itself, it is desirable that the substance of the same be briefly mentioned here. There have been few discoveries in Egypt which need a small monograph like just this one.

The mummy and other antiquities purchased by the dealers were discovered by the residents of the little village of Sjaich-Abd-aj-Qoerna, located on the border of the Nile opposite of Loexor, in the winter of the year 1819/20. In that year Egypt was much-traveled by an English tourist, Sir FREDERICK HENNIKER, a person about whom information can be found in the XXVth volume of the Dictionary of National Biography, London, 1891, p. 425, and who has left us an account of his travels, titled "Notes, During a Visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis, Mount Sinai, and Jerusalem," London 1823. HENNIKER arrived at Loexor during January and spent a few days here visiting the antiquities. During his excursion to the city of the dead on the western border (pp. 136, 137) he had the opportunity to also watch the native excavators, and about this episode he relates the following:

"I was standing by when the resurrection men found a sepulchre, they offered me the haul, unopened, for four guineas. It proves to be Grecian-Egyptian, the first of its kind hitherto discovered; three chambers, fourteen coffins, on each of which was placed a bunch of sycamore branches; these branches fell to atoms at the touch—there are also coffinless bodies, having the appearance of leather, dried in the same manner as is still practiced by the Capuchin friars in Sicily: one of these stood erect at the entrance, the others were prostrate on benches; the heads were shaved; the beards were of a few days growth; on the principal coffin is [a Greek] inscription: The hiero-

²A praiseworthy exception in VALDEMAR SCHMIDT, whose collections of material have been very helpful to me. Otherwise, I have not been successful in obtaining a somewhat complete review of the findings. This will only be possible when—which, I think, is not yet the case—will be done for the British Museum what REUVENS did for the Museum and DI SAN QUINTINO for that in Turin.

glyphical figures testify to the degeneracy of the art; the papyrus found in this case,³ is not, as is usual, rolled up, but folded flat; the body was enveloped in thirty linen wrappers, the hands and mouth gilt:—from another I copied an inscription, which attests the coffin to be about sixteen hundred and fifty years old—some long earthenware jars were in the tomb, but empty.”

Soter the son of Cornelius Pollius was the father of the Sensaos preserved in our Museum and there is, therefore, no doubt that HENNIKER witnessed with his own eyes the opening of the grave from which more than six museums received their Roman-Egyptians mummies.

But he was not the only one. Such a remarkable discovery cannot help but set in motion the wheels of the already flourishing trade in antiquities, and so we watch appear on stage a certain LEBOLO whom we know from the information of BELZONI and others to be the private collector and agent of the French Consul and dealer in antiquities DROVETTI. This LEBOLO gave an account of the discovery and sent this on with the mummy which was sold by DROVETTI to Turin. Here it came into the hands of the curator of the collection, G. DI SAN QUINTINO who in an article titled “Interpretazione e Confronto di una Bilingue Iscrizione che Sta sopra una Mummia Egiziana nel R. Museo di Torino” (“Interpretation and comparison of a bilingual inscription which is with an Egyptian mummy in the Royal Museum of Torino”), explains the substance of it in his own words. This article was printed in his “Lezioni Archeologiche” (Lectures on Archaeology), Turin 1824, and was devoted to the description of this mummy.

“This mummy was discovered by a traveler of Piemonte, Mr. LEBOLO, in a deep tomb near the old Thebes near the Libyan side of the Nile at what is now the village of Gournah. The structure of this tomb is not different from that of other ones to be found there in large numbers. This was not dug up out of rock or earth but was found at the bottom of a well. This well was made of brick and the inside was decorated with various paintings. It was hidden by twelve or thirteen sarcophagi made out of wood; some of these were still well preserved. All of these were square with a lid in semi-circle form showing the shape of the human body. They were all decorated with the usual religious legends in hieroglyphics and adorned with very colorful symbolic signs, with the portrait of the deceased relative. Only one still showed the outwardly preserved appearance of the sycamore wood without any trace of plaster, rubber or paint which could have covered it, and such a particularity had never been shown so well on Egyptian caskets. Moreover, there were six or seven urns which all showed brief inscriptions in the Greek language.”

³REUVENS already referred to the older literature; as will be shown nothing much was added.

Then, after the grave has been found, the loot will have to be divided. Now I am combining with the information of REUVENS that which I myself have been able to find in Egyptological literature.¹ LEBOLO acts as the seller. He seems to have arrived immediately and evidently was the person who pulled the strings of this entire excavation. Buyers are the few consuls or tourists who are present at Loexor; they are all persons who collected on a large scale and whose names, therefore, are still known.

HENNIKER received from this discovery only the mummy with belongings of the most prominent member of the entombed family, Soter the Archon, maybe because the four guineas were according to him too much or because he dreaded the trouble of the transportation. The mummy was unwound by him or a servant and got lost, the casket was presented to the British Museum. The same happened with the mummy and casket of Tphousa, young girl, bought by HENNIKER's travel companion GEORGE FRANCIS GREY. The mummy also got lost and the casket came to the British Museum. A third mummy, that of Cleopatra Candace, remained after the sale thereon with the Arabs and some time later was purchased from them by JANNI d'ANTHANASI who forwarded it to his commissioner—the English consul HENRY SALT, who worked for the British Museum.⁴

With the help of the "Guide to the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms", London 1924, I find in the British Museum the following objects: Of Cornelius Pollius, the cover of the mummy casket (nr. 6950A) and a wooden "baseboard" (nr. 6950). Of Soter, the mummy casket (nr. 6705) and a funeral robe (nr. 6705A). Of Cleopatra Candace, the mummy (nr. 6707) and a "mummy-board" (nr. 6706). And of Tphousa, the mummy casket (nr. 6708) and a "mummy-board" (nr. 6708). The high inventory numbers of the first two objects indicate that they had been added later so that REUVENS had no knowledge of them.

With the mummies some corpse papyri were found which casually are mentioned in "Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms, and the Coptic Room", London 1922. They are numbered 10114 and 10115 both found with the mummy of Cleopatra Candace. Most likely and without any proof numbers 10108, 10109, 10111 and 10112 were found with mummies from the same grave and by ROBERT HAY—in whom we thus find a new buyer⁵—were pre-

⁴Compare G. d'ANTHANASI, A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt, Made under the Direction of Henry Salt, Esq., London 1836, p. 51.

⁵One could search whether in the notes of HAY which are in the British museum something is mentioned by him about the grave of Soter. According to a note of CHAMPOLLION (on p. 91 of his still to be mentioned letters published by Fräulein H. Hartleben) drawings can be found in the papers of W. J. BANKES.

sent to the Museum and published by S. Birch in the VIIth volume of the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology", London 1885, on pp. 204-210, and the numbers 10110 and 10116 at present still unpublished. The papyrus of Soter mentioned by REUVENS is not called by name, but should be present and there probably is identical with the other objects mentioned above.

France manages to wiggle out of the discovery two mummies and a few smaller pieces. The most beautiful of the two mummies, that of Petomenophis, the brother of *Sensaos*, was bought with belonging casket by the famous traveler FREDERIC CAILLIAUD who gave it after his return from Egypt and the Sudan to the Bibliothèque Royale (now National). Here CAILLIAUD had it unwound in the presence of CHAMPOLLION, an unwise act, which he tried to correct with an extensive and reliable publication⁶.

Some years ago the casket and the rest of the mummy together with the balance of the Egyptian antiquities were turned over to the Louvre. The papyri still can be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale where they were inventoried under numbers 152-155.

The second mummy and the smaller pieces landed with the collections Salt II (1824) and Drovetti II (1827) in the Musée Charles X erected by CHAMPOLLION. They are recorded in the "Descriptive des Monuments Egyptiens du Musée Charles X" (Brief description of the Egyptian Monuments in the Charles X Museum) which was compiled by him for this collection and which I have not been able to consult.

REUVENS cites the following objects: The mummy of an unknown person belonging to the family of Soter. A funeral robe perhaps belonging to the same mummy. Five mummy portraits of which some show Greek captions, all published by H. CROS and CH. HENRY in the illustrations 7, 8, 9, 18 and 22 of their "L'Encaustique" (Encaustic), Paris 1884⁷. And a number of Papyri. These can be found in T. DEVERIA's "Catalogue des Manuscrits Egyptiens qui sont Conservees au Musée Egyptien du Louvre" (Catalog of the Egyptian Manuscripts preserved at the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre), Paris 1872, and bear insofar recognizable the numbers 3156, 3289 and 3290 (all from the collection Salt II) and 3161 (from the collection Drovetti II).

D'ANASTASY bought what at present can be found in our

⁶Compare F. CAILLIAUD, "Voyage à Méroé, au Fleuve Blanc, à Syouah at dans Cinq Autres Oasis, (Trip to Meroe, to the White River, to Syouah and the five other oases), part IV, Paris 1827, pp. 1-54, with pictures 66-71 of the second binder with pictures.

⁷U. WILCKEN, "Archäologischer Anzeiger" (Archaeological Paper), Berlin 1889, pp. 1-7, voices objections to the allotment of these portraits. But LEBOLO describes them specifically as: "ed ornati di figure simboliche a pit colori, col ritratto del loro defunto" (ornaments of symbolical and very colorful figures with the portrait of the deceased parent).

Museum, the mummy and the mummy casket of Sensaos and the papyrus found therein. Furthermore possibly the mummy of which the painted portrait is shown on the little picture of this edition and some dishes. HENNIKER speaks of a number of "long earthenware jars" which he found in the grave and which since then have not shown up. However, the description is too vague to be of any use. A fateful star hung over the part of the discovery sold to the Prussian General HEINRICH VON MINUTOLI whose purchases were to go to Berlin. Still in Egypt, VON MINUTOLI was swindled by Mr. LEBOLO. In his "Lettre à Monsieur Reuvs, Relativement à un Tombeau Greco-Egyptien Découvert à Thèbes et le Papyrus Grec, Appelé Communément le Papyrus d'Anastasy, Faisant Partie du Musée de Leide" (Letter to Mr. Reuvs, concerning a Greek-Egyptian grave discovered in Thebe and the Greek Papyrus commonly called the Papers of Anastasy, being part of the Leiden Museum), which appeared in Berlin and Stettin 1831 as the ninth of his "Abhandlungen Vermischten Inhalts", Zweiter Cyklus, Erstes Bandchen (Discourses of different contents, 2nd cycle, first volume) he accuses him of having stolen several objects among which a gold or gilded wreath which were entombed with the mummies. VON MINUTOLI had gathered in Loexor and in other places a tremendous collection of antiquities among which five Greek-Egyptian mummies. He sent this collection to Trieste of which a small part—about one sixth of the whole—was transported to Berlin overland and arrived there in good order, while the rest went to Hamburg by boat. However, the place of destination was not reached for at the mouth of the Elbe the vessel encountered a storm and was shipwrecked and with it all its treasures.

The circumstances under which VON MINUTOLI made his purchases did not allow him a thorough study of his pieces. The complete size of the part of the grave allotted to him may, therefore, never be known, but it is sure that the following objects belonged to it: The mummy and the mummy casket of Phaminis, the brother of Tphousa, number 504 in Berlin, compare the "Ausführliches Verzeichniss der Egyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse" (Extensive Contents of the Egyptian antiquities and plaster casts), second edition, Berlin 1899, p. 344. The mummies of Sensaos (another one than ours!) and her sister Tkauthi and the double casket belonging to these two mummies, illustrated on p. 410 of A. ERMAN's "Die Religion der Agypter" (The religion of the Egyptians, Berlin and Leipzig 1934). All three have been combined in the Extensive Contents on p. 345 under number 505; here also one finds a mummy portrait at the bottom of the casket. The corpse papyri found with these mummies have been numbered 3041, 3068 and 3069; compare G. MOLLER, "Hieratische Paläographie" (Hieratic Paleography), volume III, second edition, Leipzig 1936, p. 15. And the mummy and mummy casket of Senchonsis, surnamed Sapaulis. These were lost

in the shipwreck but in Trieste a copy had been made of the Greek caption.

A last shipment found its way to Italy where it was lined up in Florence and Turin. The first museum received the casket as shown under number 1338 of VALDEMAR SCHMIDT's "Sakofager. Mumiekister, og Mumiehylstre i det Gamle Aegypten. Typologisk Atlas" (Sarcophagi, Mummy caskets, Mummy wrappings in Ancient Egypt; Topological Atlas), Copenhagen, 1919. The second one is that of the mummy and mummy casket of Petemenophis, in A. FABRETTI, F. ROSSI AND R. V. LANZONE's "Catalogo Generale", volume I, Rome 1881, inventoried under number 2230; compare H. HARTLEBEN "Lettres de Champollion le Jeune" (Letters of Champollion, the younger), volume I, Paris 1909, pp. 46 and 47; and in that of the two small corpse papyri found therein the numbers 1861. DI SAN QUINTINO in his record adds a few other objects, namely three mummy portraits and two mummies, each in a double casket. I do not dare say anything about the portraits. The mummies of which one—that of *Rap.t-nfr.t* can be identified from the catalog under numbers 2231/2—appear to me not to have been found in the grave of Soter, even if they are from a later date, such based on the description given therein. I also have my doubts about the mummy kept by LEBOLO in Trieste in his particular collection and cited by DI SAN QUINTINO. She must have been the most beautiful of all and was anthropomorphic but she has, as far as I know, during the last hundred years never been mentioned by anyone as being exceptional. The Turin objects were bought by DROVETTI with his first collection (1824)⁸. The grave of which the contents thus were scattered to the four corners was the last resting place of a family whose members according to the Greek captions on the caskets lived at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century of our era under the Roman emperors Trajanus and Hadrianus. The scientific information which people in Europe could gather from the Greek as well as from the Egyptian captions did not come up to original expectations. They only give the names, the genealogy and the ages of the people concerned, and only the caption on the casket of Soter is somewhat more explicit and tells us that during life he had [a royal title]. Brief as this information may be it still created puzzles. Archont of Thebes or, as this in the administration would have been called, of Diopolis Magna can only name the 6 or 7 people who had the function of "gymnasiarch", "exegete", "cosmetician", "eutheniarch", "archiereus", "agoranoom", or "hypomnematograaph" of the metropolis. And it can hardly be accepted that a man whose near of kin with the exception of his father all had purely Egyptian names and

⁸Some Greek Captions of mummies are cited by CHAMPOLLION; compare H. HARTLEBEN (see above), pp. 91 and 92.

who, moreover, took with him in his grave a copy of the "Boek van het Ademen" (Book of Breathing), in life would have been appointed a function the bearers of which should have been the champions of the Greek culture in Egypt. I just do not know what to think of it and refer to the discussion of W. DITTENBERGER, "Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae," volume II, Leipzig 1905, pp. 435-36 in which is also mentioned the older papyrological literature. No conclusions can be drawn from the Egyptian captions which have not been published at all or were published very poorly.

The grave of Soter was found in the neighborhood of the hamlet Sjah-Abd-al-Qoerna on the northern ridge of the region covered by the antique city on the western border of the Nile. It was, in LEBOLO's words: "in fondo del sua pozzo fabbricato di mattoni e tutto ornato internamente di pitture diverse" (the bottom of a well made with bricks and completely decorated inside with many paintings), and, therefore, could possibly be identified with the numerous open graves on that site. According to my knowledge this has not yet happened. There is in the entire Theban necropolis a great uncertainty about the places where antiquities from the Greek-Roman period can be found. In the city of the dead of Loexor there was no lack of findings of this kind, but none of the older ones can be located with certainty. At least, this we may assume from the silence of the "Theban Necropolis" of the "Topographical Bibliography" by Misses B. PORTER and R. MOSS.

The finding mentioned here can be very remotely connected with one of these findings. This discovery happened during the same time that the famous archive of the Theban Choachytes came to light. Its discoverer was again LEBOLO. Tens, yes, perhaps more than a hundred of large papyri were found in a pitcher, which were studied and published and proved to be the Demotic and Greek contracts and other papers of a native family. LEBOLO made DI SAN QUINTINO believe, probably to make the story more interesting, that one of the papers, the papyrus Turin no. 1 had been found with the mummy of Soter. This was doubted by later discoverers, starting with PEYRON, and indeed it is very improbable; the relics of the Choachytes date from an entirely different time and even in the texts themselves nothing can be found in favor of such an argument. Fact is, however, that both discoveries must have been done about the same time and possibly in close proximity of each other. For the same GREY who bought the mummy of Tphousa and stayed in Loexor only a few days also brought with him the two Demotic papyri from the archive of the Choachytes which are now in the British Museum and bear his name.

By way of completion one must bear in mind that of the thousands of Greek ostraca found in Thebes which were placed on the market in the seventies and eighties of the past century, the greatest

part originated in exactly the same period we are discussing here—the second half of the first and the first half of the second century A. D. This period is so richly represented that one tends to search for a much deeper connection. However, we must postpone our judgment for the time being for the places of discovery of the ostraca are entirely unknown.

Stricker notes toward the end of his article: "The funeral papyrus of Sensaos was found on the side of the mummy just outside of the right arm and was 'folded flat.' This is of importance as nothing is known about the spots of the other published papyri." The report is interesting to Latter-day Saints because of one of the stories associated with the Prophet Joseph's mummies and the location of some papyri found in a bulge on the mummy's side. This story will be handled later.

Before leaving Stricker's report, however, it may be of interest to have on record something about this man Sir Richard Henniker—just in case the H in Michael H. Chandler turns out to be connected with Henniker. The reason one's mind jumps to such an illogical possibility can be observed from the following biographical data taken from Dawson's book:

Traveller; born 1 Nov. 1793; educ. Eton, St. John's Coll. Cantab., B.A., 1815; succeeded as 2nd Bart., 1816; travelled in Egypt and Palestine in 1820, and accompanied George Francis Grey to Upper Egypt; was the first to climb to the apex of the Second Pyramid, a difficult task owing to the smooth casing-stones being still in situ; pub. *Notes during a visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis, Sinai and Jerusalem, 1823*; presented the mummy Soter to the B. M. (6705); died, unmarried, 6 Aug. 1825.


As is apparent, Henniker died before Chandler received his mummies, according to Dawson, and being unmarried, his belongings must have reverted to other family members. Also, is there a connection somehow with the report that he gave the British Museum a mummy called Soter and the report by San Quintino, which Stricker apparently doubts, that Lebolo had with him at his death a mummy called Sotero? Wild notions that deserve exploration! San Quintino's report will be examined in a coming chapter.

The second work which supports the idea that all of Lebolo's mummies are accounted for is the Porter and Moss work: *Topographical Bibliography*. Their work is essentially an encyclopedic listing of known finds, a review of early writings about each object, and the present-day location of the object. In short, their work lists 13 of the 15 sarcophagi associated with Lebolo's brick-lined pit discovery and places them, as did Stricker, in the museums at London, Paris, Berlin, Turin (Italy), and Leiden (Holland). A confusing element about their report is the impossibility of determining which museums have both sarcophagus and mummy. One would think that the mummies and sarcophagi would be together. Also, one would assume that all of the Prophet's mummies came to America in coffins. However, that assumption really cannot be proven at this point. Hence, the actual significance of the following report dangles in mid-air at present. Obviously, a report is needed from the museums in question.

BRICK-LINED PIT. Temp. Hadrian.

Fourteen wooden sarcophagi and coffins. Found by LEBOLO before 1823.


SAN QUINTINO, *Lezioni* [&c.], (1824), pp. 26-7; HENNIKER, *Notes during a visit to Egypt, Nubia* [&c.], (1824), p. 139; REUVENS, *Lettres à M. Letronne sur les papyrus bilingues et grecs* [&c.] (Leyden, 1830), 2^e lettre, pp. 46-7; MINUTOLI, *Lettre à Reuvens in Abhandlungen Vermischten Inhalts, Zweiter Cyklus*, i (1831), pp. 160-88 with pl.

1.¹ Sarcophagus of Pedamenopet , son of Soter (Σωτήρ) and Cleopatra (Κλεοπάτρα), (cf. infra, Nos. 9, 10, 13), with hieroglyphic and Greek texts, and zodiac, brought back by Cailliaud (formerly in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 75), in Louvre, E. 13048. LEBRAUN, *Mon. Bibl. Nat.* pls. lxxviii-lxxx; CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Méroé* [&c.], ii, pls. lxxi-lxxii, cf. *Texte*, iv, pp. 1-21; SCHMIDT, *Sarkofager*, fig. 1322; LETRONNE, *Observations . . . sur l'objet*


¹ Numbers are those of San Quintino.



As this manuscript goes to press, I am informed by Dr. Ross Christensen of the Brigham Young University that "after examining the Porter and Moss listing of a Lebolo discovery, I believe their report refers to another discovery of Lebolo's. It is not, in my mind, the discovery whence came the Prophet's mummies. Some mummies discovered by Lebolo and now at Turin are apparently not a part of the Porter and Moss report. For this, and other reasons, I think the Porter and Moss report refers



des représentations zodiacales (1824), passim, with texts, pl. [A, C]. See SAN QUINTINO, *Lezioni* [&c.], pp. 25, 37. Inscribed bead-wrapping, LEDRAIN, op. cit. pls. lxxxiii-lxxxiv; CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes* [&c.], ii, pl. xiv, p. 26 [492].

2. Sarcophagus, &c., of child Tahefat  (Tphous), daughter of Heraclius and Serpu, with hieroglyphic and Greek texts (from SALT), in Brit. Mus. 6708. SCHMIDT, *Sarkofager*, figs. 1320, 1334-5; sketch with scenes and some text, GELL MSS. i. 7 verso, 8 [left]. Texts on one side, YOUNG, *Hieroglyphics collected by the Egyptian Society*, pl. 35 [lower]; part of text, LEMANS in *Rev. Arch.* iv (1847-8), p. 725. See LETRONNE, op. cit. pp. 23-4, 30-1, and pl. [9]; SAN QUINTINO, *Lezioni* [&c.], p. 38 [2]; *Handbook . . . Mummies*, p. 56; *Guide, 1st to 3rd*, p. 125; SHARPE, *Eg. Antiq.* p. 177 [case 75].


3. Sarcophagus of Sienkhone with hieroglyphic and Greek texts, in MINUTOLI Collection. See SAN QUINTINO, *Lezioni* [&c.], p. 38.



4. Sarcophagus and base-board with Nut, zodiac, and hieroglyphic and Greek texts, and mummy-cloth, of Soter (Swt), son of Pimet  , about A.D. 110, in Brit. Mus. 6705. *Handbook . . . Mummies*, pl. xxvi (sarcophagus), p. 58; *Guide, 1st to 3rd*, pl. xxi (sarcophagus), pp. 126, 139, 140; SCHMIDT, *Sarkofager*, figs. 1319 (sarcophagus), 1321 (board, from Tomlinson); board, BUDGE, *The Mummy* (1925), pl. xxxii [right]; *A Summary Guide to the Egyptian Antiquities*, pl. 4; TOMLINSON in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* iii (1839), pl. B, p. 489. See SHARPE, *Eg. Antiq.* pp. 179-80 [case 90]; SAN QUINTINO, *Lezioni* [&c.], p. 39; LETRONNE, *Observations . . . sur l'objet des représentations zodiacales*, p. 27; HENNIKER, *Notes during a visit to Egypt* [&c.] (1824), p. 139. Name of mother, PRISE in *Rev. Arch.* iii (1846-7), pp. 711 [left], 712; LEMANS in *Rev. Arch.* iv (1847-8), p. 724.

5. Sarcophagus of child Pedamenopet  son of Takuza  , with hieroglyphic and Greek texts (DROVETTI Collection), in Turin Mus. 2230. SAN QUINTINO, *Lezioni* [&c.], pls. i-ii, pp. 28-37, 43-55; part, LANZONI, *Dis.* pl. cliv, pp. 400-1. See FABBRETTI, &c., *R. Mus. di Torino*, p. 309; ORCURI, *Cat.* ii, pp. 72-4 [43]. Text on lid, BRUGSCH, *Thes.* 1061 [left]; names, LIEBLEIN, *Dict.* No. 1341.

6. Sarcophagus and coffin of Renspetnefert  , daughter of 'Ankh-khons  (DROVETTI Collection), in Turin Mus. 2231-2. Sketch of sarcophagus, SCHMIDT, *Sarkofager*, fig. 1009. See SAN QUINTINO, *Lezioni* [&c.], p. 27; FABBRETTI, &c., *R. Mus. di Torino*, pp. 309-10; ORCURI, *Cat.* ii, pp. 68 [21], 74 [44]. Names, BRUGSCH, *Thes.* 1423 [5]; LIEBLEIN, *Dict.* Nos. 1271-2, cf. Supp. p. 981.

7 and 8. Two sarcophagi, bought by MINUTOLI, lost at sea in 1823. See SAN QUINTINO, *Lezioni* [&c.], pp. 26, 38.

9. Sarcophagus of Tashen-zeho  , daughter of Soter and Cleopatra (cf. supra, No. 1), with hieroglyphic and Greek texts, and zodiac, in Leyden Mus. M. 75. Zodiac, SCHMIDT, *Sarkofager*, fig. 1340. See BORSER, *Cat.* pp. 95-6 [60]. Names, LEMANS in *Rev. Arch.* iv (1847-8), p. 727. See id. *Descr. rais.* pp. 189-91.

10. Coffin of children Tashen-zeho  and Takusa  , daughters of Soter and Cleopatra (cf. supra, No. 1), with hieroglyphic and Greek texts (MINUTOLI Collection), in Berlin Mus. 505. ERMAN, *Die ägyptische Religion* (1905), fig. 156, (1909), fig. 152; id. *Die Religion der Ägypter*, fig. 174; BONNET, *Revue des études égyptiennes*, 1909, p. 666. See *Ausf. Vers.* p. 345 (Sensas and Tkauthi).

11. Sarcophagus of child 'Phaminia', son of Heraclius, with Greek and demotic texts (MINUTOLI Collection), in Berlin Mus. 504. See *Ausf. Vers.* pp. 344-5. Texts, BRUGSCH, *Die Inschrift von Rosette, i, Sammlung demotischer Urkunden*, pl. iv [9], pp. 20-1.

12. Coffin in possession of LEBOLO. See SAN QUINTINO, *Lezioni* [&c.], p. 27.
 13 (?) Sarcophagus of Cleopatra surnamed Candace (Gndgy), wife of Soter (cf. *supra*, No. 1), in Brit. Mus. 6706. See *Guide, 1st to 3rd*, p. 129; *Handbook . . . Mummies*, p. 59; SHARPE, *Eg. Antiq.* p. 178 [case 77]. Part of text, PRISSE in *Rev. Arch.* iii (1846-7), p. 711 [right]; LEEMANS in *Rev. Arch.* iv (1847-8), pp. 721-2.

to another Lebolo discovery." If this evaluation by Dr. Christensen is correct, it suggests even more the need for additional study on the mummies Lebolo found, and their present-day location.

Before leaving the Stricker, Porter, and Moss reports, one final observation deserves presentation, particularly because it, in part, helps to evaluate the meaning of the two quoted works. The observation is from Dr. Klaus Baer, associate professor of Egyptology at the University of Chicago, and a close friend and tutor of Dr. Hugh Nibley of Brigham Young University. Dr. Baer's observation is in the form of a letter to the author, in which Dr. Baer is responding to my request for information on Lebolo and Chandler. Several comments will be helpful for the reader: 1) Dr. Baer's reference "that a young historian in Salt Lake City has unearthed newspaper accounts of Chandler's collection before it was taken to Kirtland" refers to a report which readers will find highly interesting, but which will be given later. The report is a description of the four mummies the Prophet apparently purchased, something that Latter-day Saints have never before read. The historian who found the newspaper reference in question, however, was Dr. Richard Lloyd Anderson of Brigham Young University. 2) Dr. Baer's letter portrays the complexity of the situation in attempting to solve what some would think to be an extraordinarily simple historical problem—and Dr. Baer is one of America's great and gifted minds! 3) Latter-day Saints will find it most refreshing and sustaining to note that Dr. Baer thinks the basic story as told in the *History of the Church* (DHC) concerning

the papyri may be substantially correct. This is a point of view most timely. For eighteen years Latter-day Saints may have been following a side trail on the belief that Warren R. Dawson's data was correct and that 1818 was the date of the Egyptian find, instead of the date in 1831 as Oliver Cowdery suggests. Dr. Baer suggests a return to the basic outline. 4) The information marked (3) in the letter may communicate little to most Latter-day Saints. Dr. Baer is saying that Facsimile No. 1 and the "Sensen fragments" (numbers X and XI of Dr. Atiya's 1967 Metropolitan Museum of Art discovery) are called by Egyptologists "The Breathing Permit of the Priest Hor." As a result of reading these recently found fragments, Dr. Baer notes that Hor was the son of the priest Osorwer and the Lady Tikhebyt, and that these same names, in the same child-parent relationship, are on some papyri of which Deveria wrote and which may be in the Louvre in Paris. Hence, there would be a possible connection between the papyri, perhaps related to the same Lebolo find. With that much preface, here is Dr. Baer's interesting and thought-provoking letter:

Seminar fur Agypotologie
8 Munchen 2
Meiserstr 10
Germany

24 October 1968

Dear Mr. Todd,

Many thanks for your letter of October 15, which finally reached me in Germany, where I'm spending part of a sabbatical year (unfortunately without my library and files).

When Jeppson first asked me to contribute an article to *Dialogue* about the papyri, I thought of going into the question of their origin and the Lebolo-Chandler relationship, but gave up almost immediately. Most of the problems cannot be solved on the basis of published materials, and most of what has been published (correspondence of Italian scholars of the period, works such as that of Guilio di San Quintino cited indirectly by Clark) were not available in Chicago. Since the research that would have to be done was more in the field

of Nineteenth Century intellectual history than Egyptology, it seemed best to leave the work (and it would be a very big job) to someone more qualified. As a historical figure, Lebolo is primarily of interest to the LDS, and I have hoped for some time that a properly qualified LDS scholar would take up the challenge. It would definitely involve research in European archives, though I imagine that the existence of the Genealogical Society makes SLC one of the best places to start such a project.

It is probably safe to assume that the account of the discovery of the papyri found in LDS sources (and all accounts so far published are based on these) ultimately goes back to Michael Chandler, an antiquities dealer and thus a member of a profession not known for scrupulous honesty. And that Chandler was not above lying emerges, among other things, from the certificate he made out comparing Joseph Smith's interpretation of the papyri with those of scholars. Whatever you may think of Joseph Smith's abilities as a translator, it is a fact (I believe already pointed out by LDS writers on the topic, but I don't have my notes) that there simply weren't any qualified scholars in the USA at that time who could have offered an interpretation. This makes it all the more important to start searching for independent confirmation.

The job has been begun. The article about Lebolo's birth that appeared in the *Era* was definitely a start in the right direction, and I gather that a young historian in SLC has unearthed newspaper accounts of Chandler's collection before it was taken to Kirtland.

At the moment, I can only offer guesses and suggestions where it might be profitable to look:

(1) For Lebolo's career and the date of his death, it would be most profitable to study Drovetti's correspondence now in Turin. One volume has been published by Marro. Records in Trieste might give some indication of Lebolo's death (even of a will?); on the other hand, since Trieste was Austrian at the time, the records might be in Vienna. The Ge. Soc. people should have some idea how best to go about this. But Drovetti was Lebolo's boss in Egypt and should mention him if anyone did. At the time I first became interested in the problem (1962) I thought I found a reference to Lebolo as alive in Drovetti's correspondence of 1826 but didn't note it down and my memory may well have been playing tricks on me. San Quintino may have definite data in his book—or could Dawson just have been mistaken and printed 1823 for 1832?

(2) The Lebolo-Chandler relationship: I am convinced that there was such a relationship. Lebolo was not a familiar name in the 1830's (the fact that the handwritten form Lebolo was eventually misread as Sebolo indicates that). He was an unscrupulous, unimportant man of no scholarly attainments who did some of the dirty work for Drovetti in building the collections he (Drovetti) eventually

sold to form the basis of big European museums. In other words, Chandler wouldn't have dropped the name in order to impress potential customers when he could just as well have claimed that the objects were found by someone famous like Drovetti himself, or Belzoni, etc. So I don't think that Chandler invented the fact that the objects came from Lebolo. But whether there was an actual family relationship between the two or whether the relationship was a commercial one, that I wouldn't venture to guess at the moment.

(3) The actual origin of the papyri: So far as I know, the Lebolo find mentioned by Stricker and Porter-Moss is the only one that anything is known about in detail. He certainly discovered other tombs, but I don't believe that any inventories were ever published, assuming that records were kept—they usually weren't. The only positive data I have comes from Theodule Deveria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens. . . qui sont conservées au Musée Égyptien du Louvre* (Paris, 1881 but actually written between 1861 and Deveria's death in 1871—his name keeps turning up in connection with the LDS papyri, and the more I see of his work, the more I'm impressed by his learning and scholarship, especially when you consider that this is scarcely 40 years after the birth of Egyptology). Anyway, he lists the following documents that are pertinent:

p. 70: III. 23 (Inv. no. 3207), a fragmentary Book of the Dead belonging to Hor the son of Osorwer and Tikhebyt (the abbreviated writing sometimes found in P. JS X-XI).

p. 113-14: III. 87 (Inv. no. X, 24, 25) an inscribed linen bandage belonging to Tshenmin whose mother was Skhons (and whose father was a priest of Amon in Karnak and of Khons in Thebes called Hor [it's a common name, so we don't have enough to attempt an identification with the other Hor]).

Now granting that none of the names are unusual, it still seems significant that the same names with the same parentage occur in the Jos. Smith Papyri and in the Louvre. And considering that Egyptian families tended to use the same names over and over again, the following may be significant:

p. 135: IV. 5 (Inv. no. 3166) a Breathing Permit of Osorwer whose mother was Tikhebyt. A son of the Hor of P. JS I, X, XI??

p. 110: III. 80 (Inv. no. 3063) a Book of the Dead belonging to Tikhebyt (with many priestly titles), daughter of Khenemibre and Tayot.

(Note: hieroglyphs were often read differently in Deveria's day, so you can't rely on his transliterated forms.)

The implication is that part of the find found its way to Paris. I suspect that inquiry at the Louvre won't be of much help. Their records are in very poor shape for the first part of the Nineteenth Century, and usually they don't have the vaguest idea where their

objects came from or what agent sold them to the Louvre. Deveria seems to have listed most of the data that could be extracted from the Louvre's records, and he gives no indication of origin for any of these. However, it might not hurt to inquire.

But as things stand now, the Louvre data is merely suggestive and should be investigated much more closely. A search of museum collections to find out if other papyri, mummy bandages and similar objects bearing the names of persons occurring in the Joseph Smith collection exist would be necessary. Note that name, titles (if any) and parentage are necessary for a plausible identification.

A quick check of Porter-Moss reveals no monuments bearing the names of persons in the Joseph Smith Papyri. This is about what would be expected if the description of the discovery as given in LDS sources were correct: the kind of mass burial vault described there is typical for the Greco-Roman Period and such burials usually were not accompanied by inscribed stone monuments, just coffins (often inscribed) and objects such as hypocephali and papyrus scrolls that could be wrapped up with the mummy or placed in the coffin.

There are various complicating factors: If the tomb was discovered by Lebolo alone, the contents may have been kept together, or split between him and Drovetti. But often there were several excavators around at the same time, so the find may have been split on the spot. Or the tomb may have been excavated partially and then reexcavated later. And, of course, we only have Chandler's word for it that the mummies and papyri come from one tomb and aren't simply an accumulation of antiquities collected over the years.

One possible approach: If the objects were in Lebolo's possession, we can be reasonably sure that he hoped to sell them. He wasn't the type of person to build up a private collection as a hobby. So would there be any indication in contemporary newspapers or in the files of the museums that were buying Egyptian objects at the time that Lebolo (or Chandler?) had approached them?

Well, this is about all I can say about the problem. As you see, our knowledge is almost nil, and the research is still to be done. My own guess, for what it is worth, is that the story as reported in the DHC is more or less correct in its general outline—but my guesses are usually wrong. Evidently, there is a challenge here for a competent young LDS scholar, one who will have to know a good deal about Italy and Egypt. This history of Egyptology is still at the level of collecting anecdotes, and Lebolo may be as good a place for someone to start serious research as any. At the very least, we'll learn something about the kind of scoundrel that characterized the fringes of Egyptian archeology in its early days.

I wish I could provide you with more definite information, but I can't. And while I am definitely fascinated by the problem, its solution will require research that is basically outside my training

and competence—I discovered that rather rapidly about six months ago.

Two afterthoughts: (1) There is clear internal evidence in the Breathing Permit of Hor that it comes from Thebes and was wrapped up with the mummy (two more points in Chandler's story that check). (2) Final horrible thought: Could the Paris pieces have found their way to France via Mr. Combs?

Please let me know if I can be of further help.

Sincerely yours,

Klaus Baer

Some of that which Dr. Baer treats will be under discussion in coming pages, but it has been helpful for him to suggest possible solutions for some of our concerns.

But we have dealt long enough with the question of dates and the imponderables. The whole interesting problem of tomb-location and personalities—with their many intriguing experiences—awaits us. Let's move on to Thebes where some scholars think they have located the actual tomb from which may have come the Prophet's mummies

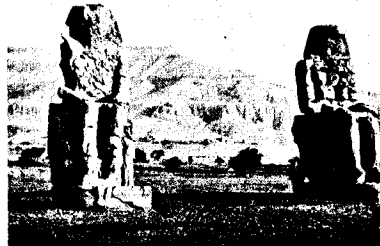
Identification of the Tomb

Since the earliest accounts of their unearthing members of the Church have envisioned the place and the tomb wherein Lebolo acquired his mummies, which in turn contained the papyri scrolls. Oliver Cowdery's 1831 *Messenger and Advocate* account said the mummies were taken "from one of the catacombs of Egypt, near the place where once stood the renowned city of Thebes. . . ."

Dawson has been able to define the identification even more: "Whilst at Thebes in 1818, Lebolo discovered a pit tomb at Gerneh containing a number of mummies of Ptolemaic date." Gerneh, or El Gerneh (also Journah Gournah, Qurneh, Gurnah, Gernah, El-Qurna, and sometimes Kurneh), is the name given by modern Arabs to a small village on the west bank of the river Nile and north of Thebes.

Thus, El Gerneh is a section of the area previously

known as the Necropolis, or city of the dead, which made up the western side of Thebes. Thebes is a famous ancient Egyptian city on the banks of the Nile, some 350 miles south of Cairo, whose ruins are among the most magnificent in the world. It is near the modern towns of Karnak and Luxor. The Temple of Karnak, with its avenue of sphinxes on the east bank of the river, and the Tombs of the Kings, hewn into solid rocks of the hillside on the west bank of the Nile, combine to make Thebes a great tourist attraction. Thebes was once a great sprawling "city of the living," and the Necropolis or "city of the dead," with its royal tombs and tombs of noblemen, or private tombs, was across the river westward.



(Top) Looking across the Nile to the valley of the Tombs of the Kings, near Lebolo's find.

(Right) The Colossi of Memnon, overlooking the Necropolis at Thebes.

(Bottom) Many ruins, such as these columns and seated Pharaoh, dot the Theban landscape.

(Photos courtesy Doyle L. Green)

In biblical history, Thebes was known as No. Of interest to some will be the following two references to No (Thebes) that are found in Jeremiah and Nahum:

The daughter of Egypt shall be confounded; she shall be delivered into the hand of the people of the north.

The Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, saith: Behold, I will punish the multitude of No, and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with their gods, and their kings, even Pharaoh, and all them that put trust in him:

And I will deliver them into the hand of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of his servants: and afterward it shall be inhabited, as in the days of old, saith the Lord. (Jer. 46:24-26.)

Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea?

Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubium were thy helpers.

Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains. (Na. 3:8-10.)

The Bible records both the predicted fate and the eventual history of Thebes, which in our time has gained renewed fame as a result of the 1922 discovery of the tomb of King Tutankhamen (Tut) and its great wealth of jewels and objects of art.

At any event, Oliver Cowdery mentioned Thebes as the site where the mummies were unearthed. But his account gave more information concerning the location of the mummies:

There were several hundred mummies in the same catacomb: about one hundred embalmed after the first order, and deposited and placed in niches, and two or three hundred after the second and third order, and laid upon the floor or bottom of the grand cavity, the two last orders of embalmed were so decayed that they could not be removed, and only eleven of the first, found in niches.

Of prime importance is the information that the catacomb was a "grand cavity," and that there were "niches" in it.

With this information from Oliver Cowdery, and

Warren R. Dawson's information that the site of Lebolo's pit-tomb was at Gurneh, it was only a matter of time before an alert Latter-day Saint scholar would attempt to identify Lebolo's pit-tomb, or see if identification could be made. The scholar was Dr. Ross T. Christensen, associate professor of anthropology and archaeology at Brigham Young University, and the time was 1960. Dr. Christensen, long interested in the archaeology of the scriptures and a constant support to students interested in the archaeological aspects of religious history, tells his own story:

As I recall, I was doing research in 1960 and 1961 on Thebes for a paper I was to present at the 13th Annual Symposium of Archaeology of the Scriptures. In my work, I came across a book titled *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. The volumes were by two British female scholars, both highly reputed, who were named Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. They in turn had taken their information on the matter from Duemichen, a nineteenth century German Egyptologist of note. Volume one, titled *The Theban Necropolis*, was a storehouse of information. The book had the ground plans of what we call the private tombs of noblemen. From the information given by Dawson, that Lebolo's discovery was a pit-tomb—one under the surface of the ground—and that it had some Ptolemaic mummies in it, I thought that the tomb in which Lebolo found the mummies would have been a private tomb, not a tomb of a Pharaoh, and would be presented by the authors.

So of all those presented, I simply picked out the largest tomb to study. It was the tomb of Petamenpet, a nobleman of the twenty-sixth or Sait dynasty, and called by Egyptians today, Tomb 33. I also noticed that it seemed to have a number of recesses in it, which I figured could be the "niches" Oliver Cowdery referred to. As I counted the niches, there seemed to be sufficient to hold the 100 embalmed mummies that Oliver reported were in these niches. Then as I began to compare this ground plan with other ground plans, it appeared to me that Tomb 33 could be the tomb Lebolo discovered. It certainly was at Gurneh, it was right in the area of the pit-tombs, and it seemed to be the only one with a "grand cavity" big enough to hold a total of three or four hundred mummies, two or three hundred of which were in the second and third order. Also, the presence of the recesses or "niches" in the side, sufficient and big enough to house about 100 mummies of the first order, was another factor. Tomb 33 seemed to be the only one that fit the description. A great number of the ground plans had no "niches" at all, and some of

the ground plans did not seem big enough to house three or four hundred mummies. Thus, it was by a process of elimination that I concluded with my hypothesis that Tomb 33 could be the tomb in which Lebolo found his mummies.

Question: Would not the Egyptian government have records of all the original excavations?

One must remember that Egypt was not controlling her own land during much of the nineteenth century, and during much of the period of excavations, the governments of Turkey, France, and Britain were involved. I strongly doubt that one could learn from the Egyptian records information that would not be available to him in any large library.

Now, I suppose I have been recognized by some as the discoverer of Lebolo's tomb, but let me assure all interested parties that this conclusion is based only from a study of published sources, a study accomplished far away from the actual site of the tomb. The conclusion is only a possibility, albeit a rather good one at present. This assumption does not depend upon any personal field work.

After forming this hypothesis involving Tomb 33, I gave various talks on the subject, and Dr. Lynn Hilton heard me and informed me that he would have the opportunity to visit Egypt, and we sat down and analyzed the records again in order to fully apprise him of all relevant information.

Within a matter of months of his interview with Dr. Christensen, Dr. Hilton was in Egypt with a BYU Travel Studies tour and was able to make a first-hand inspection of Tomb 33. However, before entering Tomb 33 with Dr. Hilton, readers should be apprised of the nature of a pit-tomb. A pit-tomb is an underground burial chamber carved from solid rock. They are found in great numbers at the Necropolis at Thebes. Some are called "private tombs," or the "tombs of the nobles," to distinguish them from the royal tombs in the nearby Valley of the Kings, and, according to Dr. Christensen, "each has been labeled by the Egyptian government with a number placed at the entrance." Hence, the name Tomb 33.

Here, then, is Dr. Hilton's story, with an aside that readers should find interesting:

As assistant dean of adult education, I had occasion to plan a trip for adults who were going to visit Luxor. Since all the adults

were Latter-day Saints, I contacted Dr. Ross Christensen and asked him about his hypothesis concerning the tomb that Lebolo had excavated in 1818. We examined a rather large book of floor plans, all of the floor plans of known tombs that have been found, and I imagine they have found nearly all of them: they have been looking for 150 years. As we examined the plans there was only one that seemed to fit the description Oliver Cowdery gives, and as I recall, it was 1) the largest and 2) the only one with niches.

Question: "How many pit-tombs in the area of Gurneh?"

"Oh, dozens—but none had niches, and none were big enough to hold three or four hundred mummies. And I suppose that when Lebolo got there, the mummies were stacked up like cord wood inside. Well, we traveled to Egypt, and as soon as we got to Luxor, we inquired of an archeologist who was with us where Tomb 33 might be. Guess what his reaction was?

"You mean you came all the way from America to see Tomb 33?"

I said, "Yes."

"Well, I happen to be one of the chief government archaeologists. If we knew why you want to see Tomb 33, we might exploit that idea and get other tourists to come."

"Well," I said, "We're Bible scholars."

He said, "Well, there are not many Bible ruins around here, but we certainly have plenty of ruins."

"Well," I said, "the fact of the matter is that we are here to see if we can find Tomb 33, whence we think came the papyrus for the Book of Abraham."

He then said that he had prided himself on reading everything that had come from the tombs of Egypt but that he had never heard of the Book of Abraham.

"Well," I said, "I just happen to have a copy with me." It was in my little three-in-one. I opened it to Facsimile No. 1 in Abraham, and you should have seen his eyes! He said, "I must read this."

So I said, "That's good. I'd like to have your reactions to it."

"All right," he said, "you go across the river and see Thebes, and I'll read this. I'm staying at the same hotel as you are."

Well, we crossed the river and visited Thebes. When we got back that night his face was as long as a horse. "Now, Hilton," he said, "I don't want to give you offense."

"Oh, go ahead," I said, "tell me what's on your mind."

"Well, if you won't take offense, I'll tell you straight out that this book is the grossest kind of nonsense."

"Oh, hold on," I said. "The Lord's prophet translated that. That's a true book. Tread lightly on it."

"Why, Hilton," he said, "you're a fool. Where did you get your doctor's degree?"

"From the University of Chicago," I replied.

"Well, that's a good enough school. In Egyptology?"

"Well, no. In school administration."

Then he laughed. "Well, I read this book. This hieroglyph that says Abraham was in Egypt—your three-year-old son, blindfolded with a crayon, could draw better than that. It's a nonsense symbol. It doesn't mean Abraham. It doesn't mean anything."

Well, as we now know, Reuben Hedlock hadn't carved it very well in the first place. Now that the papyrus from which Facsimile No. 1 was taken has come to light, it is interesting to see what Facsimile No. 1 really looks like. It's quite a bit different from that which is in our Book of Abraham. But at the time I did not know that.

So I asked, "Well, what do you think of this?"

"Oh, I've seen lots of pictures like this," he said. "Instead of Abraham tied to the altar, this is a cadaver—a dead body; instead of the priest of Pharaoh standing there ready to cut him with the knife, it is an embalmer. He's about to encise the belly of the deceased and remove the viscera and put it in those canupial jars." Then he laughed and said, "You know, your Joseph Smith said that these are the gods of Elkenah, Libnah, Mahmackrah, Korash, and Pharaoh. These are not gods—they are canupial jars. Look, you've just been down to Cairo. Didn't you notice that these four jars are in association with every mummy? Isn't it true that one of those jars is the head of a hawk, the other a jackal, the other a hippopotamus, and the other," I think he said, "a baboon?"

"Well," I said, "it is true that there are canopic jars in association with every mummy, and it is true that the viscera is put in these jars to be sealed with the mummy."

Well, here I was without a degree in Egyptology, and here was the great scholarly archaeologist telling me that I was a dead cadaver. All I could say was, "Well, look, I got a testimony that this is a true book."

"Well, you're a greater fool than I thought you were," he said. "This is a dead body."

"Well, look," I said, "across the river they told us that the ancient Egyptians depicted life by having one foot above the other, just as it is in Facsimile No. 1. Now, how could a dead cadaver show life? One foot above the other? Tell me, what does this mean? A hand with fingers outstretched in front of the face?"

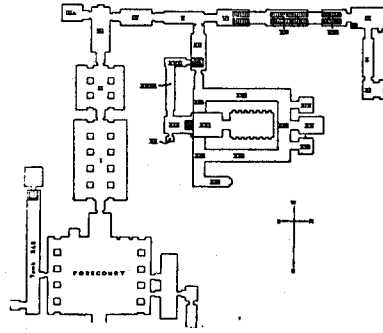
"Well," he said, "that means the symbol of prayer, as folding of hands does to a Christian."

"How could a dead person be praying?" I asked. "Indeed, the man is not dead, he's alive, and he is praying, and that's the priest of Pharaoh about to offer him up."

At that point he gave up, shaking his head, and we parted.

We got around to visiting the tombs, and we asked our bus

Dr. Ross Christensen. Has he identified Lebolo's find?



Floor plan of Tomb 33.

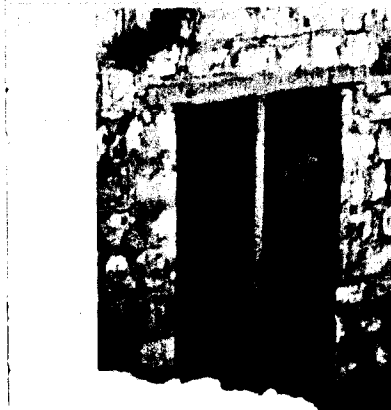


Ground level view at Tomb 33.



Descent into parts of Tomb 33.

Painted scenes are on the stone walls.



Gates guard entry into the tomb's chambers.

driver to take us to Tomb 33. The driver said, "No one ever comes to Tomb 33. I have to get out my road map to find where it is." When we arrived, the first things I noticed were the first two rooms. The ceilings had caved in. The ground surface was a flat plane, just like on a desert, and the Egyptians had dug down through the stone and carved a doorway inside and then carved rooms out. There were five or six feet of stone between the ceiling and the ground level above. Now what had happened was that these ceilings over the big rooms had apparently fallen in because they did not have enough interior support. Thus, we could see the tops of the niches—not the bottoms—because they were covered by the debris from the fallen ceiling. Only the first two or three rooms had collapsed. I wanted to go back to where the ceiling had not collapsed. When we got to that point, after going down through the debris that had fallen from the roof, we could see that the modern Egyptians had cut down through the debris so that they could get to the doorway. But the doorway had a heavy screen or grill locked over it.

Down there we could see not only the tops of the niches, but also carefully painted pictures and hieroglyphs around the upper corners of the room. And in the corners where the ceiling hadn't dropped down entirely—all of the corners were in place—protected from the weather were brightly colored painted pictures.

At the grilled doorway there was a strong scent of kerosene. We shook the grill, but it was locked. We looked in and saw many fifty-five gallon drums of kerosene. The government was using the rooms of the tomb as a warehouse to store their kerosene. Nearby was a *felahine*, a guard, to protect the kerosene. I'm sure he wasn't there to protect anything else.

Well, soon I started to notice on the sides of the cut down through the debris to the grilled door what I thought was burlap. I observed that it was about 18 inches thick and about seven or eight feet across, and that the cut had gone right down through this pile of burlap, and thus, the burlap had a lot of overburden on top of it. But as I picked up what I thought was burlap, it turned out to be mummy linen, thousands of years old.

My wife began kicking around and found an old bone which was later confirmed as an old human femur bone. And pretty soon we turned over part of a skull of a mummy with parts of the mummy wrapping and hair still on it. As we looked around, we found a human clavicle and other bits and pieces of things.

Well, I was satisfied. I honestly believe that we were the first Latter-day Saints who had come to that tomb knowing what we were looking at. And I thought to myself, if I were Lebolo, and if there were three or four hundred mummies of the various orders which were partly decomposed, and if I only found 11 good mummies, I would take those 11 good mummies—which Lebolo did—but

I would not discard those other three or four hundred mummies. What would I do? I would unwind them and look for treasure. And what would the remains be? Well, there would be a skull over there, and a femur bone over here, and so on. And in fact there would be a lot more. There would be a pile of mummy wrappings 18 inches thick, ten feet or so across, which is exactly what we found. Can you imagine Lebolo's servants, pulling off mummy wrappings, hour after hour? There must have been a tremendous stack of mummy wrappings, and then when the roof caved in on it, the pile would be crushed to its present dimensions. I think we were the first Latter-day Saints to see what had happened. That was really something.



Some mummy shroud, bone, part of a skull from Tomb 33.

Now I honestly believe that we were at the same place that the Prophet Joseph's four mummies came from. Our visit was during the summer of 1961. I suppose if you went back and did the research all over again, you would come to the same place that we did—Tomb 33. And if you went there today, you would find a lot more bones.

I've been back four times, and have never been able to get beyond the grill, but it doesn't matter, because from the floor plans that Dr. Christensen has, we can tell that there are only small rooms beyond and none of them have niches in them.

Exciting as the notion is that Tomb 33 is the one

Lebolo found, one would do well to recall Dr. Christensen's own words, "This conclusion is only a possibility. . . ." Future research will undoubtedly further confirm or reject the idea.

At the time of Dr. Hilton's visit to Tomb 33, the recent rediscovery at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art had not been made, but the document accompanying the papyri signed by Emma Smith Bidamon reports a confirming idea: "This [*sic*] Mummies were obtained from the catacombs [*sic*] of Egypt sixty feet below the surface of the Earth." Thus, if it is true that the mummies acquired by the Prophet were some of those found by Antonio Lebolo, this report of Emma's confirms Warren R. Dawson's claim that Lebolo found a pit-tomb. Tomb 33 reportedly fits this general description of being about 60 feet beneath the surface of the earth.

Contemplating the report of Dr. Hilton, one wonders if the figures reported by Oliver Cowdery concerning Lebolo's servants pertain to the excavation of his Gurneh pit-tomb, or to other work also. Dr. Hilton's envisioning of the servants unwrapping mummy after mummy in search of something of value is probably a good one. Concerning the labor of the servants, Oliver Cowdery wrote, "Lebolo . . . employed 433 men four months and two days, (if I understand correctly, Egyptian or Turkish soldiers,) at from four to six cents per diem, each man. . . ."

It is interesting to note the calculations of those figures: Assuming the maximum of 31 days to a month, multiplied by four months, plus two days, the sum equals 126 days; six cents a day for 126 days of labor equals \$7.56 that an individual soldier or worker would have received. If he received only four cents daily, his total would have been \$5.04; multiplying both figures by the 433 men employed, a low figure of \$2,182.32 is determined, and a high figure of \$3,273.48. This may well have been the out-of-pocket cost (1818-1823 dollar value) of acquiring the mummies and papyri from which came Facsimiles Nos. 1, 2, and 3 in the Book of Abraham.

Emma's document is again useful at this point. She

says that the "mummies were obtained . . . by the antiquarian society of Paris. . . ." Perhaps the Antiquarian Society of Paris sponsored Drovetti, the agent for whom Lebolo worked, and if Emma's report is accurate, it would appear that the Society paid the wages and expenses and, of course, had a hand in directing the disposition of any finds. But perhaps the Society did not finance the digging, only purchasing some of the mummies at a later date. Whatever, the clue is a valuable and potentially productive one. Researchers need to review the records of the Antiquarian Society of Paris for information about work originating at Gurneh during the years in question. Also, the clue could conceivably settle the long unresolved supposed uncle-nephew relationship of Lebolo and Chandler. It is a good new lead.

Ptolemaic Mummies in Lebolo's Pit-tomb

Before departing Egypt with the mummies en route to ports unknown, a very important aspect concerning Lebolo's find needs explanation. Warren R. Dawson, in his *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, reports that Lebolo found "a number of Ptolemaic mummies in a pit-tomb at Gurneh."

As most students of history know, the Ptolemy family, the name of a line of Graeco-Egyptian kings, ruled Egypt from the death of Alexander the Great at 323 B.C. until the Roman subjugation of Egypt in 31 B.C. The family is intimately connected in the rise of Alexandria to a great commercial and scholastic colony, and joins with the various Cleopatras to make the name an illustrious one.

Knowing this, one naturally wonders how mummies placed in a tomb at this late date could be connected with scrolls reportedly connected somehow with Abraham. A brief account of Egyptian history, only as it relates to burials—and reburials—will explain the "Ptolemaic" reference.

Several accounts in Genesis mention Egyptian embalming:

And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed Israel.

And forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed: and the Egyptians mourned for him three-score and ten days. (Gen. 50:2-3.)

So Joseph died, being an hundred and ten years old: and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt. (Gen. 50:26.)

The practice of embalming is a very aged one. Apparently, around 2800 B.C. the ancient pharaohs of Egypt began the custom of building the enormous pyramid-tombs, a custom that continued until about 1500 to 1400 B.C. The last one was believed to have been built by Ahmose I, who died about 1445 B.C. For purposes of dating, Abraham lived around 1950 B.C., Joseph around 1700 B.C., and Moses around the thirteenth century B.C. Following this period of pyramid building, the Egyptians took to carving out great pit-tombs or catacombs in the solid rock underneath the ground. They buried their dead kings, sealed, and concealed the entrances. They would then build a mortuary temple for the king some distance away in the "city of the dead." Perhaps the change in burial pattern was due to tomb robbers, who apparently from the very beginning were a threat to the practice of burying wealth, jewels, and objects of value.

Around 1100 B.C., a period known as the Decline set in for about 1,000 years. For several centuries the rulers were not very strong, and tomb-robbing flourished. The remains of many ancients were dragged out of their tombs, jewels and objects of value were taken off their persons, and the mummies were left lying on the ground. As a result there were some trials and government investigations of tomb robbing. In conjunction with this national concern, the government approved the efforts of a pious priest who assembled some of the displaced mummies. From that time on, pious priests gathered up the mummies that had been dragged out of their tombs, and re-buried them in mass burials in underground pit-tombs—again sealing and hiding up the entrances.

According to Annie Abernethie Quibell:

They were extremely pious in their devotion to the mummies of the kings, their predecessors: For instance, Herhor rewrapped the bodies of Seti, Painezeni, and the bodies of Rameses II and others were rewrapped even more than once as the present linen shrouds bear testimony.

They were so much concerned in keeping the mummies safe from robbery that they moved them about and gathered several into one tomb to insure better guarding.

Finally, a good many of the royal bodies were buried together in a vault near Der-El-Bahri, where they were found in modern times. (*Egyptian History and Art, with References to Museum Collections.*)

Some students will be interested to know that the site of Der-El-Bahri is near Gurneh. As Quibell noted, in some instances these subterranean chambers in modern times have been discovered to contain hundreds of ancient mummies. When found, the mummies have been stacked like kindling wood, one upon another.

But our case further complicates itself with the information that Lebolo's find contained Ptolemaic mummies; indeed, these are the only mummies mentioned. Since Ptolemaic mummies would be from the third to the first century B.C., it apparently means that the pit-tomb had been re-opened, probably during the Ptolemaic reign, for the depositing of Ptolemaic mummies. Obviously, it is possible that through the ages other burials could have taken place at the same tomb.

As a result of this background of the history of Egypt, one understands how a tomb, perhaps Tomb 33, could contain objects dating from the earliest periods as well as from the first century B.C., and even later. None of the mummies or any of the objects need to be necessarily related to one another, nor contemporaneous with one another. Objects and mummies in the same tomb could have differed in antiquity by far more than a thousand years, perhaps even 2,000 years.

Mummification

Oliver Cowdery relays some interesting information

when he says that some of the mummies were "after the first order," and some were "after the second and third order. . . ." Chandler simply records that the mummies were "differently embalmed." By "order" is meant the quality of mummification given to a body. This was determined in ancient Egypt by one's rank, and by the amount of money descendants were able to spend. The "first order" personages were wrapped in linen that had been soaked in resin or bitumen and that fit tightly against the body. The flesh was dried up by the use of natron, a hydrated native sodium carbonate. The viscera, or the internal organs such as heart, liver, and intestines, were removed by knife, and then washed and preserved. Sometimes the brain was removed through the nostrils by a special hook. Many varieties of mummification were followed during Egypt's long history, some of them involving the use of artificial eyes, and the returning of some of the organs to the body.

The "second order" was much less expensive and consisted of producing a mummy with little flesh; only skin and bone were left after the body was soaked in oil—for the internal organs—and soaked in a fluid of natron and salts to dry up the flesh. The "third order" was for those who could afford some method of mummification, but were unable to purchase the specialties. These bodies were merely soaked in a fluid of natron and salts.

The Egyptians did more than mummify their dead humans, however. They often would mummify some of their animals, particularly some animals respected by various religious beliefs. Animals and humans were then buried in chambers ranging from the grandeur of the pyramids to the simplicity of the shifting sands.

The Case of the Missing Benefactor

Unknown to most Latter-day Saints, there are two aged and conflicting accounts surrounding the transfer of the mummies from Egypt to one Michael H. Chandler in New York City. There is the commonly used account of Oliver Cowdery that appeared in *The Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* in December 1835, some six months after the Prophet acquired the mummies. Oliver Cowdery was in Kirtland, Ohio, headquarters of the Saints, and should have been in a position to get the facts. But we have already noticed his possible errors in dating.



Oliver Cowdery. A great debate concerns the accuracy of his report.



*Parley P. Pratt.
His report clouds the issue further.*

The other account—and in several important aspects it is a conflicting account—appeared in the British Mission publication, *Millennial Star*, seven years later in July 1842. Presumably, it was written by Elder Parley P. Pratt, president of the British Mission, to introduce the Book of Abraham, then currently being presented to the British Saints through the pages of the *Millennial Star*. In 1835, the year the Prophet acquired the mummies, Elder Pratt was intermittently in Kirtland, Ohio, between his journeys as a missionary to parts of Canada, Pennsylvania, New York, and several New England States. One would think he was in Kirtland sufficient time to learn first-hand the story being told. However, his account was written seven years later. As a result, there is a possibility that he was able to add information that was not known when Oliver Cowdery wrote; also, there is a possibility that he could have corrected some of the errors that appeared in Oliver's account. On the other hand, there is the possibility that the passing years dimmed his memory, and that Parley P. Pratt conveyed inaccurate information.

Oliver Cowdery reports as follows:

(The last two orders of embalmed [mummies] were so decayed that they could not be removed, and only eleven of the first, found in the niches. On his way from Alexandria to Paris he [Lebolo] put in at Trieste, and after ten days illness, expired. This was in the year 1832. Previous to his decease, he made a will of the whole to Mr. Michael H. Chandler, then in Philadelphia, Pa. his nephew, whom he supposed to have been in Ireland. Accordingly the whole were sent to Dublin, addressed accordingly, and Mr. Chandler's friends ordered them sent to New York, where they were received at the custom house, in the winter or spring of 1833.)

But this is Parley P. Pratt's report:

(Singular is the providence by which this ancient record fell into the hands of the servant of the Lord, Joseph Smith. A gentleman, travelling in Egypt, made a selection of several mummies, of the best kind of embalming, and of course in the best state of preservation; on his way to England he died, bequeathing them to a gentleman of the name of Chandler. They arrived in the Thames, but it was found the gentleman was in America, they were

then forwarded to New York and advertised, when Mr. Chandler came forward and claimed them.)

The differences are obvious: according to Oliver Cowdery, Lebolo carried some of his mummies with him to Trieste, Italy, where he died, and the mummies were then sent on to Dublin, Ireland, to Lebolo's supposed nephew. From Dublin they went to New York. The entire episode is to have taken ten years—(using Dawson's death date on Lebolo)—from 1823, the death of Lebolo, to 1833, when the mummies arrived in New York. Since 1950, this ten-year account has been the one commonly understood by members of the Church. However, Oliver Cowdery's story, as written by him, is only from 1831 to 1833, a period of two years.

Parley P. Pratt's account reports that a traveler acquired the mummies while in Egypt. The phrase "made a selection of several mummies" suggests that the traveler purchased them rather than discovered them. Lebolo is not mentioned. Yet because of Oliver Cowdery's account, one would tend to think that they were Lebolo mummies that the gentleman acquired, although one need not accept that view either. Since the traveler was going to England, one tends to think of an Englishman returning home, although this need not be the case. The traveler could have been of another nationality. He could have been going to London to market his purchases to one of the many private museums in Britain. For the wealthy of the nineteenth century, it was popular to maintain one's own exhibition of curiosities for the enjoyment of one's guests. Hence, the traveler—based on the information given by Parley P. Pratt—need not have been British. But one tends to think that he would have been British. Also, according to Elder Pratt, this unknown traveler was going to the Port of London on the Thames—not to the Port of Dublin. There is no mention of any relationship between the gentleman and Chandler, although one tends to think the normal state of affairs is for one to bequeath his acquisitions to his family and relatives. Also, interestingly enough, there is no date given

for either the acquisition of the mummies by the traveler or the date of his death. These factors will manifest themselves shortly.

Without question the accounts are conflicting—yet in some aspects not incompatible. The simple truth is that presently no one knows which report reflects the true story in terms of the transfer of the mummies from Egypt to Chandler. In time, research will undoubtedly disclose the strength or fallacy of one report over the other, or it may show that both accounts present different sides of the same story.

At any rate, in order to present some of the surprising and valuable information recently discovered concerning the background of the mysterious case of the unknown donor, the Oliver Cowdery story will be explored, with departures from it at points relevant to Parley P. Pratt's account.

Down the Nile to Alexandria

The mummies—however many Lebolo had—were now ready for their unusual voyage from the land of the Pharaohs. By now, Lebolo had left southern Egypt, left the sandy, dry plains of ancient Thebes, and sailed, more than likely, down river to Alexandria as hundreds of thousands before him had done for thousands of years. How long he stayed in Alexandria and what he did with all of the objects and mummies that he would have acquired during his five to a possible fifteen years in Egypt (1817-1832) is not known.

Warren R. Dawson makes this important review in his *Who Was Who in Egyptology*: “[Lebolo] . . . found a number of Ptolemaic mummies in a pit-tomb at Gurneh; the best of these went to Drovetti, two to Minutoli (which were, however, lost at sea), one to Cailliaud, another to Anastasi, and he kept one for himself. . . .”

Undoubtedly, the reader already has observed a major discrepancy between this account and the traditional account of Oliver Cowdery. If Lebolo left Egypt

with only one mummy for himself, he certainly could not will at least four mummies to his supposed nephew, Michael H. Chandler. Obviously, attention must be given to this problem; otherwise the entire Oliver Cowdery story would fall apart without any attempt to determine its accuracy or errors in dating.

It is important to recognize, however, that adventurers such as Lebolo are known to have held back part of their finds, and to have hidden from others artifacts and treasures that they hoped to sell later for their own welfare. Certainly this possibility cannot be overlooked. Lebolo may have left Egypt with mummies that modern researchers, such as Dawson, have been unable to identify.

In fact, Dawson has already informed us that Lebolo was not completely honest in his diggings, and thus, in his reportings: "In 1818, Lebolo, and a renegade named Rosignani, were working with Drovetti at Thebes and were also carrying on clandestine excavation for their own account. . . . Lebolo and Rosignani made a murderous attack upon Belzoni. . . . Lebolo afterward endeavored to obtain by fraud some antiquities. . . ."

Be that as it may, Dawson says "the best" of Lebolo's mummies went to Drovetti, the man for whom Lebolo was working in some capacity as an agent. In addition, Lebolo apparently made some sales to Minutoli, Cailliaud, and Anastasi. It should be noted that these sales could have taken place anywhere—Thebes, Alexandria, or somewhere else—and anytime from 1818 to 1823.

One wonders if Drovetti or the Antiquarian Society of Paris knew of these sales, or if the sales were clandestine and in effect were mummies Lebolo had held back. But perhaps they had been given Lebolo in payment for his efforts. Since the men who purchased them will appear from time to time in the story, a brief sketch of each will be helpful.

The sketches are from Warren R. Dawson's work, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*:

ANASTASI, Giovanni (1780—1857)

The adoptive name of an Armenian merchant settled in Alex-

andria; born 1780; went to Egypt to assist his father about 1797; after the death and bankruptcy of his father, by great efforts he re-established himself and became one of the most considerable merchants of Egypt; Swedish-Norwegian Consul-General in Egypt, 1828-57; in addition to his commerce, he carried on a large trade in antiquities, employing agents to buy from the natives in Sakkara and Thebes; he sold a large collection to the Dutch Government in 1828; another was sold in London in 1839, and the residue (1,129 lots) in Paris in 1857; he bequeathed a part of his fortune for Swedish charities, and a large granite sarcophagus to Stockholm Museum; died in Alexandria early in 1857. Anastasi's name is chiefly associated with the numerous important papyri from his collections now in B.M., Leiden, Paris and Berlin.

ATHANASI, Giovanni d' (1799-1837.)

Son of a Greek merchant of Lemnos who settled in Cairo; born 1799 and went to Egypt in 1809; whilst still a boy, he entered the service of Col. Ernest Misset, Brit. Consul-General, on whose retirement, in 1815, he became servant to Henry Salt; excavated at Thebes for Salt 1817-27, and thereafter on his own account; he sold many important antiquities, and brought to England a large collection (some of which were engraved by Visconti), which was sold at Sotheby's in an eight-days' sale in 1837; Athanasi, or d'Athanasi was well known to all travellers in Egypt as Yanni, and he is frequently mentioned in diaries and books of travel from 1817 to 1835; he had a house at Gurneh, just above tomb No. 52; not traced after 1837.

Readers will have to be on guard not to confuse Anastasi and d'Athanasi. To make matters worse for the researcher, Anastasi often goes by d'Anastasi. In fact, misspellings or different spellings of both names abound in existing volumes.

CAILLIAUD, Frederic (1787-1869)

French traveller and mineralogist; born Nantes, 1787; studied mineralogy in Paris, 1809; travelled in Holland, Italy, Sicily, Greece and Asia Minor; left Constantinople for Egypt, 1815, where he was employed by Mohammad Ali to find the emerald-mines described by the Arabic historians; visited Upper Egypt and Nubia as far as Wady Halfa with Drovetti; explored the routes to the Red Sea and discovered the quarries and the ruins of Coptos; after returning to Paris, he revisited Egypt in 1819 and explored the Oases, and in 1821 ascended the Nile as far as Meroe; returned to France in 1822 with a collection of more than 500 objects; Croix de la Legion d'Honneur, 1824; pub. at the expense of the French Govt., *Voyage a*

l'Oasis de thebes, 2 vols. 1822-4; *Voyage a l'Oasis du Syouah*, 1823, and *Voyage a Meroe*, 1823-7, text 4 vols., plates 3 vols.; in the preparation of these works he was assisted by Jomard; died 1869.

MINUTOLI, (Baron) Heinrich Carl Menu (1772-1846)

German military officer, of Neapolitan origin; born Geneva, 12 May 1772; entered Prussian army in which he won distinction and came under the personal notice of the king; in 1820 sent by the Prussian Govt. on a scientific mission to Egypt, 1820-1, and visited the Siwa Oasis; an account of the journey pub. in 1824-7; his wife (née Comtesse de Schulembourg) pub. *Mes Souvenirs en Egypte*, Paris, 1826, English ed., 1827; he collected large quantities of antiquities, some of which were sold in Paris and seen by Champollion, others were acquired for the Berlin Museum; the remainder were retained in the collection of Dr. Alexander von Minutoli, which was sold in Cologne in 1875.

The evidence concerning the years of Cailliaud's and Minutoli's visits to Egypt is further confirmation of Dawson's information about Lebolo. Hence, it would appear that if Lebolo found his pit-tomb in 1818 and if he sold mummies to these two men, he would need to do so while they were in Egypt. Cailliaud was in Egypt during most of the years from 1815 to 1822, and Minutoli was in Egypt in 1820-21. In discussing Lebolo, it was noted earlier that Dawson says the mummies sold to Minutoli never reached Berlin, but were lost at sea, perhaps from a vessel lost in a storm.

It is at this point in the story that Parley P. Pratt's report is most interesting: "A gentleman, travelling in Egypt, made a selection of several mummies, of the best kind of embalming, and of course in the best state of preservation; on his way to England he died. . . ."

One would tend to think that a traveler—English or otherwise—met Lebolo and purchased from him some mummies. After his period of travel was over, he apparently headed toward England, dying en route. Yet it is also possible that Lebolo could have sold some of his mummies to someone else, and this unknown individual could have held the mummies for a few years before he in turn sold them to the gentleman of whom Parley P.

Pratt speaks. Such an event would help eat up some of the years in the ten-long-years problem between Lebolo's apparent 1823 death and the mummies' supposed arrival in New York.

However, another interesting possibility centers around the date of 1832, the date Oliver Cowdery gives for Lebolo's death. It may be that this is the death date of the traveling gentleman, and as a result, there would have been only about one year between his death and the arrival of the mummies in America, after having gone first to the port on the Thames at London. This would remove the long period of shipping that has concerned some observers. But if this were true, one wonders why the name of Antonio Lebolo appears with such emphasis in Oliver Cowdery's 1835 account. The solution to that problem could simply be that the unknown purchaser, or purchasers, sought to accurately identify their particular mummies with their discoverer, Lebolo, in order to enhance what was believed to be an extraordinary acquisition. This relationship between Lebolo, the discoverer, and his mummies, and the date concerning the unknown traveler could have become garbled as the years went by, and Oliver Cowdery could have heard an erroneous report from Chandler; or he could have reported inaccurately. Certainly, there is no reason—at this point—to dispute Antonio Lebolo's role as the modern-day discoverer of the mummies the Prophet Joseph would soon find in his possession.

By itself, Parley P. Pratt's account does not contain enough evidence to sustain the position that the "gentleman" traveler was indeed the unknown benefactor, or that Oliver Cowdery's identification of Lebolo as the benefactor is in error. But strange and complex as it may seem, Elder Pratt's account does not stand alone. There is still another report that confirms aspects of this story. Professor N. L. Nelson of the Brigham Young Academy at Provo, Utah, gave an address in March 1885, which was carried in part by the *Academic Review* of the Academy in the March issue. Although born in Utah in 1862, he

knew intimately several persons who had been in Nauvoo and Kirtland. His report has long been quoted:

The manner in which the papyrus bearing this ancient record was transferred from a musty catacomb of Egypt to the hands of the Prophet Joseph Smith is no less wonderful than providential. Four mummies, secured by a certain English Minister Plenipotentiary to Egypt, were bequeathed to his nephew, a Mr. Chandler of New York.

Nelson was only 23 years old at the time, but has been regarded in other matters as a fairly reliable reporter. Thus, with two reports involving a donor other than Lebolo, the possibility cannot be rejected lightly. In fact, Nelson identified the man as an "English Minister Plenipotentiary." If this were true, it would explain his trip to England—he was returning home. Fortunately, however, Nelson's account provides within it the seeds of its own proof. Researchers fortunate enough to have the proper records nearby need only review the lives of British government ministers and agents during a fifteen-year period to strengthen or weaken this report. A "plenipotentiary" is a person, and especially a diplomatic agent, invested with full power to transact any business. Such a person could have been the Consul-General, or any of his officers in an embassy, or it could have been a person assigned to perform a particular mission. It could even be a person who had been a "Minister Plenipotentiary" at a previous time. The man need not have been in diplomatic service in Egypt.

It is interesting to note that Professor Nelson says this is the person to whom Chandler was related as a nephew. This certainly seems more plausible than the unusual nephew-uncle relationship that was supposed to have existed between Oliver Cowdery's Irish Chandler and Italian Lebolo.

If Parley P. Pratt's account were true, the problem of the apparent ten-year period between Lebolo's death and the reception of the mummies in America in 1833 is reduced with the possibility that the Minister Plenipotentiary might have bought the mummies some years

earlier but kept them with him until his tour of duty or travel was finished and he was heading home. It may even be that he was returning to England in the year 1832, thus confirming the death date given by Oliver Cowdery.

It should be quite apparent that areas of study abound for those interested in the fascinating and complex story behind the Book of Abraham. Indeed, unless interested students turn to the problem, we as members of the Church may continue to perpetuate a story, parts of which all cannot be true.

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Italy's Disconcerting Reports

We now rejoin—in thought—Antonio Lebolo, and voyage with him in the year 1823 to Trieste. Surely Trieste was part of Oliver Cowdery's original story for good reason. Indeed, according to Oliver, the mummies acquired by the Prophet were not with any such English Minister Plenipotentiary, but were with our Piedmontese Antonio Lebolo. Having explored the possibilities of Parley P. Pratt's and N. L. Nelson's accounts, one may not be prepared for the surprising and newly discovered evidence supporting Oliver Cowdery's account. But this remarkable and complex story is not over yet. We are far from through with one Antonio Lebolo.

After the sale of the mummies to interested parties and the resolution of his affairs, Lebolo left Egypt, apparently headed for France. But, according to Oliver Cowdery: "On his way from Alexandria to Paris he put in at Trieste, and after ten days illness, expired."

From this report, we can only guess concerning Lebolo's supposed trip to France. Perhaps it was to sell objects no one knew he had; or perhaps it was to market himself in Paris as an explorer and archaeologist; or perhaps it was to avoid returning to the deplorable, depressed, economically unadvanced, and constantly changing political scene that had afflicted Italy for years.

Another area in which we are left to our own surmises is Lebolo's death. Perhaps he had acquired a disease while in Egypt, and for this reason left Africa; or perhaps he had long suffered from a lingering malady; or

perhaps he had suddenly become ill aboard ship and died while in the beautiful and free port of Trieste, which at the time was under Austrian rule.

But whatever his purposes, and whatever his cause of death, according to Dawson, Giuseppe Pietro Antonio Lebolo died in Trieste in 1823, twelve years before the American Prophet of God, Joseph Smith, acquired in Kirtland, Ohio, the apparent fruits of his labors.

However, in terms of reconstructing the missing parts of this fascinating puzzle, Lebolo had, before dying, an enormously important meeting in Trieste with a Giulio di San Quintino, curator of the Turin (Torino) Museum. Turin, some 75 miles southwest of Milan, Italy, where Lebolo had some years earlier worked as a *gendarme*, was part of the kingdom of Sardinia, but was actually at the will and whim of the Austrian Empire. It was, and is, an important commercial and intellectual center, and a powerful community in its geographical setting in northern Italy, some 25 miles from the French border.

From Turin, the former national capital of Italy, had come in 1823 Giulio di San Quintino. He personally met Antonio Lebolo, and, fortunately, recorded the substance of that meeting. However, not until 1965 were members of the Church even aware of this 1823 confrontation between these two men. The information concerning their visit, and the important data San Quintino received while with Lebolo are part of the ever-widening horizon that continues to present itself to researchers and interested students of the story of the Book of Abraham. Once more it was the ever-energetic, ever-inquisitive Mormon missionary who unearthed the new data. This time the missionary was Elder Leslie W. Bradshaw of the Swiss Mission, who tells his own story:

While working in Luzern, Switzerland, in the Swiss Mission in 1964, I inquired of my mission president, John M. Russon, about being assigned to the then still infant Italian Program of the mission. As many missionaries had made the same request, I was very surprised to receive a transfer shortly thereafter to the Italian-speaking area in south Switzerland. About two months later, President Ezra Taft Benson arranged for us to enter Italy, and to regis-

ter with the government as missionaries. Five months and three transfers after that historic event, I found myself in Torino (Turin). Several days after my arrival, I received in the mail U.A.S. Newsletter 95, which was a publication of the University Archaeological Society, now called "Society for Early Historic Archaeology," 139 Maester Bldg., Provo, Utah 84601. It contained a review of the latest developments in Egyptology and history as they pertained to the Pearl of Great Price. Several undeveloped aspects of the story of the coming forth of the Pearl of Great Price were listed with an appeal to members for any additional information.

The newsletter to which Elder Bradshaw refers is the "newsletter and proceedings of The Society for Early Historic Archaeology" of Brigham Young University, and is disseminated among its members, many of whom are not related to BYU. The newsletter's purpose is to inform members of "new discoveries in archaeology throwing light on the origins of civilization in the Old and New Worlds, on the earliest periods of recorded history in the two hemispheres, and on the important historical claims of the Hebrew-Christian and Latter-day Saint scriptures; also, news of the Society and its members and of the BYU Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, of which the Society is an affiliated organization. Included are papers read at the Society's and Department's annual symposia on the archaeology of the scriptures."

The newsletter is well-edited by Dr. Ross T. Christensen of the BYU Department of Archaeology. The Society has made some remarkable contributions to Church scholarship. It has played a great role among interested students, and is probably destined to play an increasingly important role. Interestingly, the Society was started, in part, from the motivation of the late Elder John A. Widtsoe, formerly a member of the Council of the Twelve. Persons interested in joining or contacting the Society should write to The Society for Early Historic Archaeology, Brigham Young University. Membership entitles one to all publications put out yearly by the Society.

As Elder Bradshaw has acknowledged, Newsletter 95, written May 22, 1965, carried these two items which motivated him. They are 95:7 and 95:72:

95.7 WHAT HAS BECOME OF LEBOLO'S MUMMIES?: SOME RESEARCH PROJECTS AND CLUES. The extraordinary little scripture known as the Book of Abraham was translated by Joseph Smith from a papyrus scroll found on one of eleven mummies removed from a pit-tomb near Thebes by Antonio Lebolo in the early 1800's. Four of the mummies, together with the scroll, were brought to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835, by Michael H. Chandler (Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Vol. 2, pp. 235, 348-351. 2nd ed., 1948).

The whereabouts of these eleven mummies is no longer known, although two of the four that were brought to Kirtland are understood to have been in a museum in St. Louis in 1859 and may have been destroyed in the great fire of Chicago in 1871 (James R. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-163). What might have become of the rest of them has been a matter of keen interest to students of the Pearl of Great Price.

If any of these mummies or their accouterments could now be located or if more could be learned about those who had them in their care, it would no doubt aid materially in the archaeological and historical studies of the Book of Abraham that are currently going on. If any reader can supply additional information, it will be gratefully received by the Newsletter.

95.72 *Lebolo's Discovery Published in 1824*. According to Warren R. Dawson, British authority on the history of Egyptology, Antonio Lebolo's remarkable mummy discovery was published in Turin, Italy, in 1824, in an account written by Quintino di San Giulio. This paper, which appeared in *Lezioni Archaeologiche*, page 25, was read before the Academy of Turin while Jean Francois Champollion, pioneer decipherer of Egyptian hieroglyphics, was present. (See Dawson, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, p. 88.)

Does any reader know the location of a copy of the San Giulio reference?

Elder Bradshaw's fascination was caught. After all, he was in Turin . . . the missionaries were given diversion time . . . wouldn't it be interesting to find it! And so, as he has since reported, he determined at his first opportunity to try to locate the journal *Lezioni Archaeologiche*. His story continues:

As it was, the area I was assigned to in Torino included the above so-named Academy of Turin. It is called the Reale Academia di Scienza di Torino and is housed in the Museo Egitto di Torino. (The address is Via Academia Della Scienza 6, Torino, Italy.)

At the first opportunity I and my companion visited this

museum and arranged an appointment with Dr. Curto, the present curator. He suggested that we search the Biblioteca del Università for the correct copy of *Lezioni Archaeologiche*. This we did. The 1824 copy of *Lezioni Archaeologiche* was found. The entire work was devoted to the description of certain Greek and Egyptian inscriptions on the sarcophagus of one Petemenofi, a mummy which had been recently received by the Museo Egittio di Torino. I had the entire monograph reproduced. Also the same article was found to be included in a book.

Upon studying the monograph, many interesting facts began to be brought out. The author's name had been improperly propagated in the Society's Newsletter. His name was Giulio di San Quintino, and he had been the curator of the museum in Turin. This was, of course, an understandable error, but it caused some delay in obtaining the monograph at the library. San Quintino mentioned that he made a trip to Trieste and talked with Lebolo about the discovery and the facts Lebolo gave were verified by another Italian voyager that took part in that discovery. San Quintino states that he used some of Lebolo's notes in writing the monograph. Dr. Curto of the present-day museum said those notes were presently non-existent or lost.

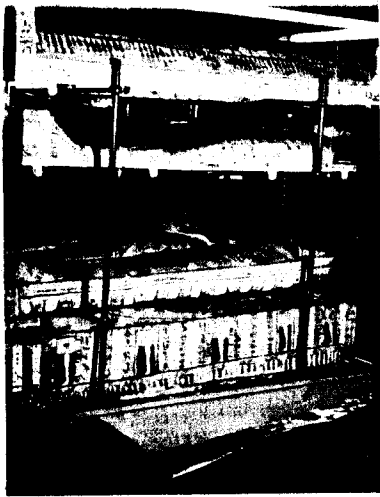
The location of Lebolo's find was given as being near the present village of Gournah, on the Libyan side of the Nile, near Thebes. A very brief description of the discovery site was also given. It was a pit-tomb, partially constructed of brick, internally adorned with varied wall paintings.

In the course of the monograph, San Quintino states that 12 or 13 mummies were removed from the pit-tomb by Lebolo and definite information about all but three of these 12 or 13 was given. Further, the monograph states that three of those 12 or 13 were in the Museum at that time. But Dr. Curto verified that an additional mummy and a double sarcophagus of another mummy (both from the Lebolo find) were also in the Museum, making a total of four mummies and a sarcophagus of a fifth mummy from Lebolo's find currently on display in that museum. We then turned to the museum catalogue, and according to it, these five may be described as follows:

(1) Number 2230, a baby named Petemenofi, who died 27 August 123 A.D. The Mother's name was Tacui. The writings on the sarcophagus of this mummy are the main theme of the San Quintino monograph. It was acquired by Drovetti while still in Egypt.

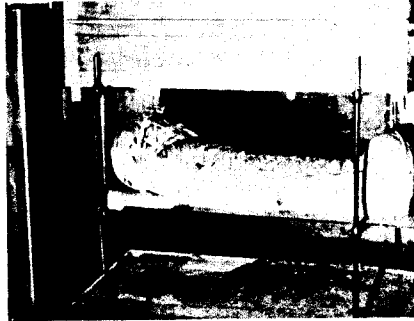
(2) Number 2231 (Sarcophagus No. 2232), a female named Bonanno.

(3) Number 2215, a female, sister to 2231. These two (Nos. 2215 and 2231) are mentioned in the monograph as having been



Three of Lebolo's mummies in Turin Museum (Nos. 2215, 2218, 2231), a woman named Bonanno and her two sisters.

A Lebolo infant mummy at Turin (No. 2230), named Petemenofi.



given to Drovetti on another occasion than when he acquired No. 2230, possibly after he had left Egypt.

(4) Number 2218, a female, is a sister of Nos. 2215 and 2231. It is assumed that Number 2218 came from the same tomb as the two sisters and was therefore a part of Lebolo's find. In the San Quintino monograph, it is not explained how or when Drovetti acquired this mummy. References to one of these sisters is made in Schiaparelli's *Libro dei Morti*, Ch. 89.

(5) Number 2236 is the internal case of a double sarcophagus. Number 2237 is the external half of this double case. According to Dr. Curto this double sarcophagus was part of Lebolo's find mentioned in the monograph. The inscriptions on No. 2237 are included in Schiaparelli's *Libro dei Funerali degli Antichi Egiziani*, Vol. 1. Number 2237 is known as the Sarcophago dello Scriba Butehaamon del Museo di Torino (The Sarcophagus of Butehaamon the Scribe in the Turin Museum).

San Quintino also presents information on the fate of several of the rest of the original 12 or 13, as follows:

(6) One went to a certain Mr. Cailliaud. It was called Petemnone, and died 2 June, A.D. 116. In 1824 it was in the Paris Museum and presumably still rests there. There have been many publications on this mummy, notably by Letrone and Champollion.

(7) One went to a Mr. Anastasi, Swedish consul in Alexandria. It was a child called Tfute, who died 15 January, A.D. 127. A detailed description was published by a Mr. Grey for the Egyptian Society of London in 1823.

(8 and 9) One or two (Probably two. Here San Quintino is not certain) went to a Prussian general, Count Minutoli. These were lost

at sea off the coast of Africa during transport to Europe. One of these was a female named Senchrons, who died 11 March, A.D. 146. Of the other nothing is known.

(10) One was the mummy of a man named Sotero, which San Quintino saw in the possession of Lebolo in Trieste. This mummy is not at present in any museum in that city. (I inquired of Prof. Claudia Dolzani, head of the Egyptian section of the Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte di Trieste, in Dec. 1965, to see if any mummy that had been brought there by Antonio Lebolo was in that city. She replied that at Trieste nothing was known about Lebolo's death, much less his will, or any documents about his having shipped any mummies.)

Nothing is said by San Quintino about the remaining three mummies of the original twelve or thirteen. San Quintino always referred to the number of Lebolo's mummies as 12 or 13. The uncertainty of whether it was 12 or 13 arose, I am sure, from the fact that he didn't know if Count Minutoli had one or two mummies, this information not having been accurately relayed to him either by Lebolo himself or the other "unnamed Italian voyager that had knowledge of the find."

Some people may not wish to classify the double sarcophagus in the Turin Museum (Nos. 2236 and 2237) as one of the mummies, but I do not agree with this. The sarcophagus is that part of a mummy that gives us pertinent information, e.g. names, dates, ages, and other cultural data, and the double sarcophagus certainly yielded this information, as Schiaparelli included in his compilations. I think that in this particular case the fact that the actual body is missing isn't important, because obviously there was once a body, and we have the name, age, rank, etc. of the missing body.

If we assume that the missing three remaining mummies, plus the one called Sotero, were in Lebolo's possession at the time of his death, then perhaps we can assume that Michael Chandler received these four.

There also is a scroll on display in the Turin museum which was part of Lebolo's find: It was found in the sarcophagus of No. 2230 and measures ca. 2 m. [about 79 inches] in length. It is written in Greek and dates from the reign of Tolemeo Evergete II, dated by San Quintino at 117 B.C.

Concerning the mummies, San Quintino was also of the opinion that the tomb which Lebolo had found the mummies in had been used at different occasions by different people and said that all the mummies in his museum, although reported to have been found in the same tomb, definitely didn't all belong to the same family.

Elder Bradshaw's report, part of it published in the May 1, 1967, number 101, Newsletter of The Society for

Early Historic Archaeology, was a tremendous surprise to students of the already knotty story of the Book of Abraham. It added valuable confirmation to various points of the saga, yet in turn presented a host of new questions and important information. It seems important to detail these findings, hopefully not laborously:

1) San Quintino has provided our only firsthand report of one who saw and talked to Antonio Lebolo after he left Egypt. This alone makes his report of great importance. Also, San Quintino represents the only known person to have used some of Lebolo's personal notes in writing his own account. San Quintino has provided additional evidence to support the story that Lebolo actually found mummies in Gurneh and that he may have had more than one mummy in his possession when he died. Since the pamphlet was written in 1824, it is further evidence that the dates of the Egyptian discovery used by Oliver Cowdery for Lebolo may be in error.

2) San Quintino reports that Lebolo's account was verified by "another Italian voyager that took part in that discovery." One thinks immediately of Lebolo's fellow Piedmontese, Rosignani, with whom Lebolo had been closely associated in his troubles with Belzoni, and whom Belzoni describes as "outrageous."

Whoever this person might be, one cannot help but wonder if he were involved in shipping any mummies to Michael H. Chandler. Presumably at the supposed death of Lebolo, the voyager who had taken part in the discovery would remain to help resolve the affairs of his deceased companion. It would stamp another strange twist to the already fascinating story if indeed this "outrageous" Rosignani had a hand in directing some mummies to the humble servant of God, Joseph Smith.

Of course, if the voyager had not been identified as Italian, one would speculate that he could be the "English Minister Plenipotentiary." But although it is true that some French, Italians, and other nationalities have served Britain as agents, the account of N. L. Nelson seems to suggest that the man was an Englishman. Thus, it seems

that the "Italian voyager that took part in the discovery" would not be the same person as Nelson's "English Minister Plenipotentiary."

Not so, however, with Parley P. Pratt's account. Without evidence to the contrary, some students might contend that Elder Pratt's "gentleman travelling in Egypt" could conceivably be the "Italian voyager that took part in the discovery." Hence, if this were true, the Italian voyager apparently would have decided to go to England, but on his way died. Again, if this were the case, one wonders if his death occurred in 1832 to agree with Oliver Cowdery's date given for the death of Lebolo.

By now it should be apparent that not much is known—that is, data fortified by evidence—concerning this whole section of the amazing story behind the story of the Book of Abraham. At this point we can only assume that Trieste became a part of the Oliver Cowdery account for sound reasons. Perhaps the man who bequeathed the mummies to Chandler was with Lebolo in Trieste; but if he were the Italian voyager, it would even further complicate the efforts to identify Chandler with his long unknown uncle, or unrelated donor. There is the possibility that the donor could be any one of the following: (1) Lebolo, (2) an English traveler, (3) an English Minister Plenipotentiary, (4) an unknown Italian voyager, (5) Rosignani—Lebolo's companion while in Egypt, (6) one would even wonder if it were Bernardino Drovetti—after all, he acquired most of Lebolo's mummies, (7) someone else. Surely, interested members in a Church world famed for its genealogical research should be able to answer this long-unsolved riddle. In terms of Trieste, perhaps when the complete story is known it will be found that Trieste had nothing at all to do with the story, other than the supposed death site of Antonio Lebolo, who may well have sold the mummies to Chandler's donor long before he left Egypt. But this view should not be accepted at present. It will soon be seen that the traditional Oliver Cowdery story has its support too. It still is a strange and unknown saga in many aspects.

3) San Quintino's report also interestingly notes that the walls of the Lebolo find were "internally adorned with wall paintings." One thinks immediately of Dr. Hilton's observation that Tomb 33 had "brightly colored painted pictures" in the corners where the ceiling had not crumbled away.

4) San Quintino's report notes that Bernardino Drovetti acquired Lebolo mummies on at least two different occasions, forcing the possibility that (a) Lebolo may have been involved in more than one find, which has been discussed in Chapter three also; (b) or Lebolo may have somehow *acquired* rather than *discovered* other mummies from other locations; (c) or Lebolo may have decided to sell some mummies he had previously intended to keep for himself; (d) or the two occasions may simply represent two different occasions during the "four months plus two days" that it reportedly took Lebolo's men to go through the Gurneh pit-tomb, and as a result, at a later working date Lebolo managed to salvage some other mummies for Drovetti to acquire. The Italian report supplies proof that Drovetti managed to benefit from the labors of his agent Lebolo.

5) San Quintino's report indicates some of the mummies died as late as 146 A.D., and that mummies were being placed in a tomb that could have had other mummies in it already a thousand years old. It is also interesting to note that a 20-year spread exists between the death of some of the mummies, one of them supposedly dying in 116 A.D., another in 123 A.D., another in 127 A.D., and another in 146 A.D.

6) San Quintino's report indicates that three of the mummies were sisters. None of these sisters' death dates were given by Bradshaw; therefore the above dates do not refer to them.

7) The report provides a handful of new names for Egyptian historians to supply background information on: a baby Petemenofi, a mother named Tacui, a female Bonanno, two sisters of Bonanno, Butchaamon the Scribe, a child Tfute, a female Senchronsis, and a

male Sotero. A big question—is this the same Sotero that Sir Frederick Henneker gave the British museum?

8) The report suggests that Minutoli's lost mummy or mummies were lost at sea off the coast of Africa.

9) San Quintino has also given us the seeds of additional information by reporting that one of Lebolo's mummies went to the Paris museum in 1824 and that considerable literature was written about the particular mummy, including literature by Letrone and Champollion. Research should divulge accounts by these two men which might provide more information on the Lebolo story, just as research has already proved the location of this Paris Lebolo mummy. The story of the Paris mummy's identification is essentially this: in order to pursue the subject I requested the help of the French Mission, and on July 26, 1968, I received the following response:

Dear Brother Todd:

As soon as your letter concerning the Egyptian mummy Petemenone was received here, President Anderson referred it to me for action.

We are very fortunate to have here in Paris a young member, Annette Malaize, who works at the Office of the Director of the Museums of France. Thus, we were able to solicit her help on this problem.

At first she was quite skeptical about our finding the mummy inasmuch as several hundred of the Louvre's mummies had been recently destroyed because of their poor condition and hazards to health.

The search for the mummy and material relating to it was, of course, held up by the strikes here, but only a few days ago Sister Malaize was very happy to report that the mummy had been found. She tells us that it is at present in the Bibliotheque Nationale (National Library) here in Paris, and will be transferred to the Louvre in October. The problems with taking pictures at this time, however, are numerous. She has done a marvelous work thus far and deserves much credit and thanks for her successful efforts. (It took her several weeks before she was even able to ascertain if the mummy had ever been to Paris.)

She reports that the sarcophagus (coffin) is undergoing restoration before being transferred to the Louvre.

Just as a sidelight, Sister Annette Malaize regarded the sudden

reappearance and transfer of this mummy to the Louvre as just short of divine intervention after all the work she had gone to.

Sincerely, your brother
Elder Michael E. Gardner
Secretary to the President

Attached find a bibliography which Sister Malaize says will be helpful.

Bibliography:

Ledrain, *Les Monuments de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pl. LXXXI-LXXXIV, Paris 1881.

Schmidt, *Sarkofogor, Mumie Kister og Mumieglotre*, Copenhagen 1914, p. 231.

Coche de la Ferte Les Portraits Romains, *Egyptiens du Louvre*, Paris 1852.

Parlaska, *Mamien Portraits und Verwandte Denkmäler*; p. 43 et sig. 152, Wiesbaden 1966.

Other titles are cited in the above works.

Good news! And proof of at least some aspects of San Quintino's account. Hopefully, the sources in the bibliography will lead to additional information.

10) San Quintino has also told us that a Mr. Grey wrote considerably in the journal of the Egyptian Society of London in 1823 about another mummy, one acquired by Anastasi, the Swedish consul. Here too, research should divulge accounts that should provide more details on the Lebolo story.

11) The report also announced the location of four Lebolo mummies and a sarcophagus of another in the Turin Museum, additional tangible evidence that Lebolo actually had found some Egyptian mummies.

Several other aspects of the report also deserve brief mention. Warren R. Dawson's information on Lebolo noted that Drovetti, the agent for whom Lebolo worked, "made three great collections the first of which was sold to the King of Sardinia in 1824 and deposited in the museum of Turin; the second was bought by France and is now in the Louvre. . . ."

One wonders if the second collection had any Lebolo mummies in it. Presumably the mummy sold to Cailliaud

by Lebolo, which was in the Paris Museum in 1824, was not a part of this second Drovetti collection.

Information is lacking concerning the identity of the King of Sardinia who purchased the Turin mummies. The history of Italy is complex, and interested readers are encouraged to review it elsewhere. Suffice it to say that King Victor Emmanuel I was King of Sardinia following the treaties of Paris and the Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815, but he was under the thumb of Austrian rule. However, King Victor Emmanuel I was unprogressive, and a famous period of conspiracies and insurrections promoted by the Carboneria began. By 1821 the king had abdicated in favor of his brother Charles Felix, who called for Austrian troops to quell the insurrections. For the next 10 years many revolutionary attempts dot the history of Italy as the peasants and some army leaders sought liberty from Austria and unresponsive monarchical rule. It is not known which king, Victor Emmanuel I or Charles Felix, began the negotiations or which king made the purchase. Apparently King Charles Felix was ruling during 1824.

But the identification of 1824 as the year of purchase by the King of Sardinia causes one to wonder about the purpose of San Quintino's visit to Lebolo at Trieste. Perhaps Lebolo was serving as Drovetti's agent and accompanying the collection Drovetti had sold to the King of Sardinia for the Turin Museum. However, this is 1823, a year before the apparent purchase in 1824. As a result, perhaps the purchase had not yet been made from Drovetti, and San Quintino was merely investigating the reputed discoverer's story. More likely, however, is that San Quintino was gathering information about mummies that were already under negotiation. One suspects that Lebolo was not delivering the Turin mummies to Turin, because Trieste and Turin are at opposite east and west ends of Italy, separated by much more than 150 miles of land travel, and are each reached by different seas, Turin by the Ligurian Sea, Trieste by the Adriatic Sea. Another possible reason for San Quintino's

visit with Lebolo at Trieste may be that he was interested in some Lebolo mummies that were already in Turin.

When considering this perplexing story, one cannot help but wonder what happened to Lebolo's estate—and the mummies or mummy with him—at his death. Oliver Cowdery said Lebolo "put in at Trieste, and, after ten days illness, expired. This was in the year 1832. Previous to his decease, he made a will of the whole, to Michael H. Chandler. . . ."

One wonders how the reputed decision was reached to forward some of the mummies to Chandler. Indeed, one wonders if Chandler really received "the whole" as Oliver Cowdery suggests Lebolo intended. Elder Bradshaw reports that the monograph by San Quintino describing the King of Sardinia collection mentioned three Lebolo mummies, but that the present-day curator, Dr. Curto, reports that four Lebolo mummies and a sarcophagus of a fifth are in the museum today. Thus, one speculates that San Quintino might have managed to acquire some mummies from Lebolo's estate after his death. If this were the case, it is also possible that the other "voyager" felt a partial right to obtain something for his time with Lebolo. Hence, this other "voyager" may have sold some mummies to the Turin Museum after Lebolo's death. If the voyager were Rosignani, and if Belzoni's description of him as an "outrageous" person is accurate, it would not be beyond Rosignani to take advantage of his partner's death for personal gain.

But such conjectures only indicate the broad field of unanswered questions that still surround the ever-fascinating story. We may never know the innumerable points where the hand of the Lord may have manifested itself in directing certain mummies and their papyri through the hands of would-be robbers, fortune hunters, and envious onlookers to ultimately reach Joseph Smith.

Of interest at this point, therefore, would be the will of Antonio Lebolo. Were such a document available, it would clear up the purported relationship between Lebolo and Chandler. Consequently, Elder Theodore M. Burton,

Assistant to the Council of the Twelve, and vice president and general manager of the Genealogical Society, was asked to assist in the location of Lebolo's will. Hugh Law, research specialist of the Society in things Italian, was assigned the task. He wrote a letter to the State Archives of Trieste (Archivio di Stato di Trieste) seeking information. The return letter, dated January 24, 1968, is translated as follows:

In reply to your letter, we inform you that in the notarial archive (1638-1927) is not found the testament (will) of Antonio Lebolo who is supposed to have died at Trieste in 1823. Since you were uncertain of his death date, the research was extended throughout the years from 1820 to 1830.

Also the research conducted in the indexes of heirs of the city and provincial court (1767-1850), in which are registered the names of those who died in the city, and under the heading of commerce and navigation and health of the seacoast government (1814-1850) under the names of Lebolo, Mummies, Alexandria, brought negative results.

The name of Lebolo does not appear in the death records conserved in the parish archives at St. Maria Maggiore, of St. Antonio Taumaturgo, of St. Antonio Vecchio, of St. Giusto, of the Civil Hospital, and of *Muggia*, the latter of which conserves registers of death for the Lazzaretto from 1800 to 1836.

We inform you, finally, that the Archives of the City of Trieste, Civil Registration, where research was conducted, conserves death registers only since 1850, and that the cemetery of St. Anna conserves the registers of burial beginning in 1825."

As is apparent, we are left with no new information on the matter—except to wonder the reason for the lack of a Lebolo will at Trieste, if Lebolo died in 1823 as Dawson has indicated.

A potentially fruitful notion exists among some persons that some Lebolo mummies are in a present-day Yugoslavian museum. As readers know, present-day Trieste is in Yugoslavia, not Italy. The same 1965 newsletter from the U.A.S. that had spurred on Elder Bradshaw carried another request about information on Yugoslavian mummies:

95.71 *Mummies in Yugoslavian Museum.* Wayne D. Campbell of Provo and Melvin C. Clark of Orem have reported an experience of

two recent LDS missionaries in eastern Europe. Elders Stanley E. Abbott of Lehi and Carl Alden Johnson of Idaho Falls, while traveling in Yugoslavia following their release, saw some Egyptian mummies on exhibit in a museum. According to the museum label, these mummies were discovered in the same find as those connected with Joseph Smith and the Book of Abraham.

Does any reader know how to reach Elder Abbott or Elder Johnson for questioning? Has any UAS member ever been to this museum?

Letters written by the author to a Stanley Abbott and a Carl Alden Johnson located in Church membership files have resulted in both men informing me that they know nothing of the subject, and that they were never in Yugoslavia. Perhaps the names of the men involved are still unknown.

All in all, Elder Bradshaw's report of the situation in Turin constituted a remarkable find. It has given researchers and students of the Book of Abraham story several new leads to research. Unfortunately, no new information had manifested itself at this writing.

As would be expected, other missionaries in Turin became intensely interested in the discovery of some Lebolo mummies. One of these, Elder Michael Pinnell, was able to photograph much of the Lebolo collection at the Turin Museum for the interest of members of the Church. His brief report of his visit to the museum will probably be of interest to Latter-day Saints who may find it convenient to visit the Turin Museum. He also contributes some new and interesting data:

At the time I was a junior companion, but could speak Italian fairly well. After Elder Bradshaw reported his discovery to us, another missionary and I on our diversion day drove to downtown Turin on our motor bikes, looking for the museum. We had the address but drove by it three times without realizing what it was. The museum is right in the middle of the city, which is an industrial city of great importance in Italy—they make the Fiat cars, for example. The building is old, made of gray bricks, with a little sign on top which says "Museum." We paid our *piazza*—about eight cents—and entered into a courtyard, and went up some dirty, very worn steps to an upper story. The ceilings were very high, and it was very chilly inside. The light was very poor, and it was hard to see. We did not take

pictures the first visit, but returned another day, toward the end of the day, and because of our friendly chats with the curator he gave permission for us to photograph the mummies. The policeman on guard had to unlock two big giant grills which shut off a dark room where the mummies were located. After we had taken our pictures, a policeman came up and told us that the curator permitted few pictures to be taken, and said we were lucky fellows. The museum has a famous collection of Egyptian materials—it ranks number three or four in importance behind Cairo and Paris.”

But our stay in Trieste has been long enough—perhaps too long for some readers. Some may have begun to wonder when they were going to reach that part of the story dealing or associating with the Prophet Joseph Smith. It is a fair question, and deserves a fair reply. By now it should be apparent that the story behind the Book of Abraham is very complex. Perhaps for this reason it has interested Latter-day Saints for so many years. Yet because of those same complexities, many writers, and readers, have scurried quickly over the landscape, running up to the house, scarcely noticing the beautifully landscaped lawn, artistic flower beds, and the several children’s scooters blocking the walkway, if I can paint a mental picture that has some direct analogies to the problems at hand. In candor, the story behind the story is not a simple nor easily told one, in terms of quickly handling all aspects of it. As an example, some readers may have thought they had a book more on the life of Antonio Lebolo than on the Prophet Joseph. Readers who have thought this will be pleased to learn that we shall soon leave Antonio Lebolo; yet the study of the background for handling some of the complex aspects already discussed and many still unanswered questions dealing with the whole story could only have been accomplished in a thorough review of all that is known about Antonio Lebolo and his mummies. Readers will soon find themselves among more familiar names and places as we move on to America, yet it is only fair to mention that one more forage through the question of the number of mummies still awaits us. Students of the Book of Abraham complexities will find it an important part of the background.

It is hoped that the casual reader will not find it without interest and value either. But, let's board ship and be off to the British Isles.

In Port and Out of Port

Parley P. Pratt, commenting on the strange and peculiar story of the Book of Abraham, said, "Singular is the providence by which this ancient record fell into the hands of the servant of the Lord, Joseph Smith."

Nothing is more singularly remarkable about the whole account than the story of the mummies' voyage to America. By now, the reader knows that it is not known how the mummies reached the British Isles, whether it was through Trieste and Lebolo and on to Ireland, or whether it was from Egypt to London on the Thames through an Englishman—or an unknown combination of both stories.

Following the line of thought involved in Oliver Cowdery's story, the mummies' length of stay in Trieste is unknown. Perhaps it was years, or maybe only months until adequate information presented itself concerning their destination. At any rate, according to Oliver Cowdery, Chandler was "supposed to have been in Ireland. Accordingly the whole were sent to Dublin, addressed accordingly, and Mr. Chandler's friends ordered them sent to New York, where they were received at the custom house, in the winter or spring of 1833."

Ten years! From 1823, Lebolo's supposed death, until 1833, the date of their arrival in New York. Surely it did not take ten years to cross the high seas, even in the nineteenth century! However, some years could have been taken up before the mummies left Trieste, and the mummies could have lain in wait at Dublin for several years before port authorities desiring to be rid of the unclaimed

boxes sought information on the whereabouts of Chandler.

Following the line of thought involved in Parley P. Pratt's story, the mummies went to London on the Thames. Also, as has been noted, the gentleman traveler—or "English Minister Plenipotentiary," according to N. L. Nelson—need not have left Egypt until a date much closer to 1833. Also, periods of waiting and storage in the London port could very well have occurred.

There is also the strange, yet real, possibility that both accounts reflect elements of truth. Perhaps the mummies lay in wait at Dublin—or London—for several years, sufficient time for port authorities to learn that Chandler had gone to London or was from Ireland, whichever applies. The mummies could have been shipped to the other port, where once more the period of waiting presented itself. Perhaps after some search for their owner, authorities may have sent them back to the port whence they had come.

According to Oliver Cowdery, at some point along the line, kinfolk or friends at Dublin informed the authorities that Chandler was in America. And gambling once more on finding their rightful heir, the mummies were apparently sent to New York.

Consequently, the possible combined stay of the mummies in the ports of Trieste, Dublin, and London could have eaten up years. But ten! In response, perhaps a few lines from a letter addressed to Lord Mountnorris in London, written by Henry Salt, Britain's Consul-General in Egypt, will help make this possibility more plausible. The letter, postmarked October 30, 1816, Cairo, is about some mummies that Salt had acquired:

As to sending the mummy entire, it is almost impossible, owing to the objections made by captains of ships to carry them. There are some [mummies] at Alexandria that have waited four years. If I can get a good head, you may depend on having it, and with respect to the cases I hope there will be no difficulties.

It may be that captains and shippers viewed Egyptian

mummies with some superstitious fear, and as undesirable passengers. This could help account for the slowness in shipping, if Oliver Cowdery's account is determined to be accurate.

"Signs and Wonders Upon Pharoah"

Before leaving the entire episode of the transferral of the mummies from Egypt to America to Michael H. Chandler, one more account needs to be reported. It is from a modern United States Egyptologist and historian, Dr. John A. Wilson of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Dr. Wilson is the author of many books and papers on Egyptology, and authored *Signs and Wonders Upon Pharoah* in 1964, a history of Egyptology in America. Dr. Wilson has access to much information on many topics dealing with things Egyptian that Latter-day Saints do not have.

His book presents still another, a third, report concerning the entrance into the United States of the mummies to be acquired by the Prophet Joseph Smith:

Early in the 1830's an Englishman acquired in Egypt some mummies and their burial equipment. These went to his nephew Michell (or Mitchell?) Chandler who conceived the idea of going to the United States and making money by exhibiting them from town to town. In this gypsy-like life, he came to Kirtland, Ohio. . . . (p. 37.)

If this report were true, it would completely change part of the story that Latter-day Saints have been exposed to for over 135 years. This account was not entered earlier in the story because it was thought that handling Parley P. Pratt's, Oliver Cowdery's, N. L. Nelson's accounts, and references to Stricker's and Porter and Moss' reports, would be confusing enough to some readers, without further entangling the situation with an additional account.

However, another reason for delaying the entry of Dr. Wilson is that until this point in the story it would have provided nothing new. We have already considered the possibility that the purchase was made some years after

Lebolo's discovery, even long after his supposed death. We have already noted that such a purchaser could have turned to Drovetti, who apparently had the best of Lebolo's find.

Dr. Wilson's report suggests many new possibilities: that the purchase was made in the 1830's by an Englishman in Egypt and that Chandler came to the United States with the mummies, as well as other possibilities. And so, seeking information and the source of his report, I wrote to Dr. Wilson, requesting assistance. His reply was quick, gracious, and perhaps reduces the import of the report he uses in his book:

The story about the Mormon papyri of which you write, is certainly a confused one. Perhaps we gentiles are the ones who are confused, but as I read about the piece which was rediscovered in your archives, I think that the record is difficult for all of us.

My statement in "Signs and Wonders" was taken from a single source and I inclose the French text of that source. It is obvious that he has wrong the name of Joseph Smith and the date of the Chicago fire. I was pretty sure that he also had wrong the first name of Chandler, so his text was not thoroughly reliable. Nevertheless, it seemed to explain the disappearance of those documents which had been presented in "Pearl of Great Price."

While my book was still in manuscript, I was told that the statement was not true that these pieces had been burned up in the Chicago fire of 1871. I therefore changed my text to say that they were "allegedly destroyed."

As to the point that Chandler brought the mummies with him to America, that depends on the French text by Capart that Chandler's uncle had secured them in Egypt and sent them to his nephew in England.

Coming back to Capart, his text reads as though he heard this story during a visit to Salt Lake City in 1924. His humorous account suggests that his hosts in Salt Lake City told him the story and then challenged him to give his view of the pieces. Ten years later he wrote things down for publication.

My recording of the story seems to have errors which should be corrected. I should welcome your setting me right as you have already set me right on the first name of Chandler.

Perhaps I had better give the French of Capart rather than attempt a translation. His obvious errors and the patronizing tone in which he writes should not be altered by translation. He takes note that in 1920 Mrs. Caroline Ransom Williams had written an article

about Egyptology in the United States in the *Bulletin of the New York Historical Society*. The following is from pp. 3-4 of Capart's article.

Here is the source of Dr. Wilson's information, the article by Capart:

Mrs. Williams did not seem to recall the following episode: In July 1835 a certain Michell Chandler came to Kirtland bringing with him several mummies that he had inherited from one of his uncles; the uncle, having found them in the excavations in Egypt, had shipped them from England where they had been received by his nephew, his only heir. The nephew had the idea that to earn some money, he would exhibit them from city to city. He thus arrived in Kirtland where the first prophet of the Mormons, John Smith, then resided. Some sightseers asked him to translate the inscriptions found thereon, and he immediately supplied some explanations which were so interesting to the Saints of Kirtland that they brought the mummies for the prophet. Thus it was that the prophet of the Mormons began his career of translating the Egyptian texts.

During the last of July 1835, he wrote in his memoirs, "I busied myself in translating an alphabet of the book of Abraham and in arranging a grammar such as it was used by the ancients." He published in the official newspaper *Times and Seasons* of March and May 1842 an article entitled "The Book of Abraham." "The translation of ancient documents coming from the catacombs of Egypt had reached our hands; according to an autograph (signature) on the papyrus written by Abraham during his sojourn in Egypt." In this case they were very ordinary documents dating back to the lower period. Among others one of these disks on canvas covered with stucco carried some writings and some magic figures. Thus it was called a hypocephalus, an object that did not appear until the end of the Egyptian civilization.

John Smith seemed to feel some reserve toward divulging certain paragraphs. Thus, he warned us that the number 8 contained texts that should not be revealed to the world. He made the same observation for numbers 9, 10, and 11. . . . "If the world discovers for itself these revelations, so much the worse. Amen." Then on my trip to Salt Lake City in 1924, they asked me to translate the inscriptions in question. At the moment when I read the prayer: "Oh, God, in the heavens, God primeval, God great who has made the heavens, the earth, the world infernal, gives life to the soul of the dead man Shasha," I saw that my words produced a certain dismay in my listeners. In effect, I read aloud this which the prophet had not permitted to be revealed to the world.

John Smith was assassinated in 1844 and the hieroglyphic documents were sent to the museum in Chicago. They became the

prey of flames and in 1870 the "Book of Abraham" disappeared forever. The Mormons, in their naive admiration for the prophet, believe still that he understood the sense of the hieroglyphics. (Translated by Sharon Kirwan.)

One suspects that Capart's information about the mummies, papyri, and Chandler was gleaned from a visit to Salt Lake City in 1924, and as a result, he would have learned nothing in Salt Lake City that is not already known. His garbled account is not primary source material. But it does provide the other side of the story for all Latter-day Saints who have read Dr. Wilson's excellent book of Egyptology in America and have wondered about his account of how Chandler received the mummies.

And so it was that mummies whose content was destined to influence the lives of millions of Latter-day Saints, and which would greatly contribute to the promulgation of Joseph Smith's name for good and evil throughout the world, were now en route to the United States. On this point, all accounts most firmly agree. The day of the Prophet was not too far distant.

"The Gypsy-Like Life..."

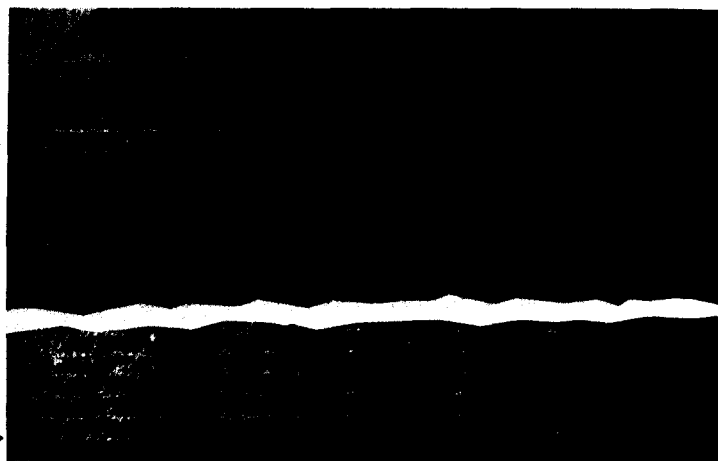
One of the most fascinating and least known aspects of the story of the mummies and papyri deals with that period of time between the entrance of the mummies into the United States and their purchase by the Latter-day Saints.

It begins with the man reportedly named Michael H. Chandler, according to Oliver Cowdery, and named only Chandler by Parley P. Pratt and N. L. Nelson. Oliver Cowdery says that Chandler lived in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: "... he made a will of the whole, to Mr. Michael H. Chandler, (then in Philadelphia, Pa.,) his nephew. . . ." N. L. Nelson says he lived in New York: "Four mummies, secured by a certain English Minister Plenipotentiary to Egypt, were bequeathed to his nephew, a Mr. Chandler of New York." Elder Pratt makes no claim as to his city of residence.

This has been the state of knowledge about Michael H. Chandler. But the recent rediscovery of some papyri has turned researchers again to the matter. Shortly after the 1967 announcement, *The Improvement Era* requested the aid of a genealogical researcher on the problem through Elder Theodore M. Burton, who turned the assignment over to Frank Smith, research coordinator, who in turn assigned the project to Jimmy B. Parker. Within a few days Jimmy Parker gave the following report:

Passenger lists were searched for the Port of New York and the Port of Philadelphia to determine when Michael Chandler entered this country. The index to passenger lists of vessels arriving in New

York, 1820-1846 (GS Serial No. 44676 Pt. 15) revealed a number of Chandler entries, but no Michael, Mike, Michael H., M. H., nor M. entries. The index to passenger lists of vessels arriving at Philadelphia, 1800-1906 (GS Serial No. 55057 Pt. 21) listed four Chandler entries, all arriving on the steamship *Republic* on 7 March 1831. The four Chandlers listed were Alan, George, Isabel and Marguerite. There was one additional entry under the surname *Chanler*, which gave the following information: Mike Chanler — age 32 — M. — labourer — from Ireland — arrived on the schooner *Eliza Jane* out of New Brunswick 14 October 1828. A copy of the original record could be obtained from our microfilm collection at the Genealogical Society Library. The 1830 census of Philadelphia City was also checked to determine the residence of Michael Chandler in that year. However, no Michael Chandler was located in this census.



→ Entry of a Mike Chandler, 32, male, labourer, from Ireland, who arrived in U.S. in 1828.

Circumstantial evidence would suggest that Mike Chanler is the Michael H. Chandler who acquired the mummies. Since the ship's clerk recorded the information as the passengers filed by, he could easily have mistaken Chanler for Chandler.

If this were the right Chandler, and if he were 32

years old in 1828, his year of birth would probably have been 1796. If one were to try to create an uncle-nephew relationship between Michael H. Chandler and Antonio Lebolo, it would be rather difficult using the supposed sisters born in 1782 and 1783, because they would have been only 13 and 14 years of age at that time, an unlikely age for motherhood. However, the supposed sister born in 1778 would have been 18 years old, old enough to have been a mother. Since the Mike Chanler found by Jimmy Parker was from Ireland, this is compatible with that part of Oliver Cowdery's story which said the mummies were sent to Dublin, the presumed location of Michael H. Chandler.

In addition to this report by Jimmy Parker, another researcher, Michael Marquardt, claims to have located the names of many Chandlers arriving in New York, Philadelphia, and other United States ports during the years in question, 1820-1827. Some of the men surveyed by Marquardt are listed in the indexes and records without first names or the date of their entry into America. Interestingly, some of the men are listed as "gentlemen" and from Ireland and England. Conceivably, any of these unknown Chandlers could be the Michael H. Chandler for whom we are searching.

At this point, no one knows. What is known, however, is that some very conflicting, confusing, and uncorrected accounts exist. But no reader of this book need question that.

The Henry Salt Notion

For some years now, certain scholars of the Church have suggested that Chandler may have been a relative of Henry Salt, the famous representative of the crown in Egypt who was closely associated with Egyptian treasures. He died in 1827. This notion has been particularly fanciful because of N. L. Nelson's phrase "English Minister Plenipotentiary." Salt certainly was an English Minister Plenipotentiary.

But an examination of Salt's will discloses the following:

WILL OF HENRY SALT
PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY
ALEXANDRIA, 25 SEPTEMBER 1824

I, Henry Salt, being of sound mind and body, do declare this to be my Last Will and Testament and do annul every former will and testament made by me. I do give and bequeath all my property of whatsoever sort or description personal, real or in reversion unto Samuel Briggs, merchant, and Henry Broughton Esq. Solicitor, Great Marlbro' Street in trust to and for the following uses, that is to say that the whole of the property I may leave whether in Egypt, England, Leghorn or elsewhere be realised as soon as possible and collected in mass — and that the same be put out to interest to the best advantage to and for the sole use and benefit of my beloved and only legitimate daughter, Georgina Henrietta Annisley Salt now upward of three years of age, And further that such sum be allotted annually, for her duration as they Samuel Briggs and Henry Broughton may deem necessary. . . .

I also declare it to be my wish that my said daughter do so long as it may be agreeable to her under the care and kind guardianship of her natural grandmother Signora Theresa Pensa whom I wish to be provided for to that effect out of my aforesaid property during her natural life so far as may be compatible with interests of my beloved daughter, and I do declare to my dear daughter to love and behave with the greatest affection to her said grandmother who has watched over and taken care of her with unexampled tenderness and kindness from her birth. . . .

Codicil to this my last will August 13 1825 Alexandria

It is my will that the sum of Two thousand five hundred dollars out of the proceeds of my house here at Alexandria should go to the benefit of my reputed son in the hands of Osmyn as a provision for him.

Signed H. Salt

In case of the death of my dear child I leave and bequeath to her Grandmother Mrs. Theresa Pensa the annual sum to be paid during her natural life of four hundred Spanish dollars, which at her death is to revert with the rest of the property to my natural heirs. This is to be considered as a codicil to my last will.

Signed Henry Salt

Witnesses:

G. Jno. Schutz

R. R. Madden

Salt left everything to his then six-year-old daughter. It is possible that some of Salt's Egyptian treasures and collections in Alexandria were sold, perhaps even to the donor of Michael Chandler. Indeed, a codicil of August 13, 1825, suggests that the proceeds from his belongings at Alexandria were to be sold for the benefit of a reputed son. However, no information is available suggesting that Chandler's donor received any mummies from the sale of Salt's treasures. At any rate, the notion that Henry Salt willed the mummies to Michael Chandler apparently does not stand up. Salt's will was authenticated and proved April 21, 1828, less than a year after his death. Also, although interesting information, the identification of Salt's mother-in-law as an Italian woman from Leghorn, Italy, is apparently not connected with our story. Salt married in 1819, at Alexandria, the daughter of a Mr. Pensa, a merchant of Leghorn, Italy. His young wife died in 1824.

New York or Philadelphia

One would think with all the disagreement among the several accounts that somewhere along the line they would all agree on some points—and agree they do on many important facts. For example, no one disputes the report that Chandler at least had some Egyptian mummies, and that they had come from Egypt. To some it may appear humorous or weak-minded to note this, but less knowledgeable critics have accused the Latter-day Saints of manufacturing the entire mummy story, claiming that the Prophet never did own or possess any Egyptian artifacts. Such charges will shortly be shown without foundation entirely.

Another aspect upon which there is disagreement is the port of arrival. All who discuss it claim that it was the port of New York—except Elder B. H. Roberts. Oliver Cowdery says the mummies were “sent to New York.” Parley P. Pratt says the mummies were “forwarded to New York.” N. L. Nelson says the mummies were bequeathed to Chandler “of New York.” But Elder B. H.

Roberts in his *Comprehensive History of the Church* (CHC) says: "Previous to his death he willed his Egyptian treasures to his nephew, Michael H. Chandler, who was then living in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; but whom Sebolo [sic] believed to be in Dublin, to which city he ordered the mummies shipped. The mummies were shipped to Philadelphia. . . ." (Vol. 2, p. 127.) No supportive information is given by Elder Roberts to sustain the mention of Philadelphia, and as a result one wonders if the entry is not a mistake, an error that slipped through unnoticed. Yet, on second thought, one tends to wonder if Elder Roberts' report might not be true. Certainly Chandler would have corresponded with family members in Ireland, and one would presume that they would have known the city of his residence. Port authorities should have been able to obtain from Chandler's Irish relatives his exact address, which presumably was Philadelphia, although Nelson says he was "of New York."

If Elder Roberts' mention of Philadelphia as the port of arrival of the mummies is correct, it would explain why no information on the mummies has been located at New York by Latter-day Saint researchers. Another field—the port records of Philadelphia—now present themselves to interested students.

But it is to the unknown custom house that we now turn. The accounts concerning Chandler and his reception of the mummies at the unknown port and what transpired at the custom house are most interesting:

Oliver Cowdery:

[and Mr. Chandler's friends ordered them sent to New York, where they were received at the custom house, in the winter or spring of 1833. In April of the same year Mr. Chandler paid the duties upon his mummies, and took possession of the same.] Up to this time they had not been taken out of the coffins nor the coffins opened. On opening the coffins he discovered that in connection with two of the bodies, were something rolled up with the same kind of linnen, saturated with the same bitumen, which, when examined, proved to be two rolls of papyrus, previously mentioned. I may add that two or three other small pieces of papyrus, with astronomical calculations, epitaphs, &c. were found with others of the mummies.

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When Mr. Chandler discovered that there was something with the Mummies, he supposed, or hoped it might be some diamonds or other valuable metal, and was no little chagrined when he saw his disappointment.

Parley P. Pratt:

They arrived in the Thames, but it was found the gentleman was in America, they were then forwarded to New York and advertised, when Mr. Chandler came forward and claimed them. One of the mummies, on being unrolled, had underneath the cloths in which it was wrapped, lying upon the breast, a roll of papyrus, in an excellent state of preservation, written in Egyptian character, and illustrated in the manner of our engraving, which is a copy from a portion of it. (He referred to a drawing of Facsimile 1, on the cover of the *Millennial Star*.)

N. L. Nelson:

The mummies were bequeathed to his nephew, a Mr. Chandler of New York. Lying transversely on the stomach, beneath the folded hands of one of the mummies, was found the relic in question.

Some of the information in the accounts is important:

1) Oliver is the only man to suggest the time, noting that it was in the spring or winter of 1833. He also notes that it was in April that Chandler claimed the mummies.

2) Parley P. Pratt suggests that when the mummies arrived in New York their rightful owner was not known, and it was necessary for the shippers to advertise the inheritance of Mr. Chandler.

Consequently, it would seem a simple—yet time-consuming—task for someone to research the newspapers of New York and Philadelphia and the cargo lists of the two ports in search of information concerning Chandler and his inheritance. Unfortunately, such efforts have been partially undertaken without success.

Jimmy Parker, research specialist of the Church's Genealogical Society, reported as follows on his search for cargo lists:

Attempts have also been made to locate cargo lists for the Port of New York for the time period 1825-1835. Letters have been written to the National Archives, and to New York Historical

Society, both of which replied, stating that they do not have such cargo lists in their collections, and that they know of no place where they do exist.

Research in the newspapers of New York was done by Dr. Sidney Sperry in 1935, when he went to Washington, D.C., to the Library of Congress and elsewhere in search of documented evidence. Dr. Sperry's contributions in this area of research and many other areas dealing with the background of the Book of Abraham were among the first by a Latter-day Saint scholar. His report on his research is as follows:

In 1935 I went to Washington, D.C., for the purpose of doing some research on matters concerning the history of the Book of Abraham. Some time before, I had written a letter to the French Service of Antiquities in Egypt giving the data concerning the acquisition of the Egyptian mummies by the Prophet Joseph Smith. I requested the Service of Antiquities to give all possible data concerning Antonio Lebolo and his work at Thebes. It is improbable that he should go to Egypt, find a tomb with several hundred mummies in it and put several hundred men to work digging into the ruins without attracting the attention of the French officials of the Service of Antiquities. But a letter came informing me that there was no data available upon the subject because the Service of Antiquities was not in operation at the time given (1832).

I then determined to obtain data concerning the importation of the mummies into New York. For that purpose I entered the Library of Congress with the very gracious aid of Senator William H. King and Director Evans of the Periodical Division. There the entrance of practically every vessel into New York Harbor as reported by the New York papers between the years of 1832 and 1835 was carefully scanned. I thought that the importation of the mummies should occasion some comment; however, I was unable to find a single item of news concerning their arrival.



Dr. Sidney Sperry, who examined countless records without success.

Not content with this, I carefully examined the *Shipping and Commercial List and New York Price Current* for the period in which Oliver Cowdery stated that the mummies came to New York. Every report of the content of the cargo on each vessel that entered the harbor was carefully scrutinized, but still no success crowned my efforts.

Believing that it might be possible to trace the importation of the mummies by the aid of the United States Customs Office in New York, I enlisted the help of Elder James H. Moyle, Director of the United States Customs Service in Washington. Brother Moyle gladly offered his services. He wrote a letter to the Customs Service in New York, but though his men did their best and duplicated some of the work that I did on New York papers, they were still unable to give me any information. It was found that most of the records for the year in which the mummies were supposed to have come through the custom house had been destroyed, and for that reason perhaps no record was available concerning them.

All of this labor was, to say the least, very discouraging. Finally Director Evans of the Library of Congress brought me a number of volumes of Dublin newspapers for the period concerned. But though I scrutinized these papers very carefully, my efforts, as heretofore, were not crowned with success.

Dr. Sperry's task took him a complete summer, scanning periodicals and shipping manifests hour after hour, day after day. But again, no success. At this point, one wonders if the French writer's seemingly inaccurate report is not the more truthful one. Certainly if Michael Chandler came into the United States with the mummies, there would be no need for advertising as Parley P. Pratt claims. But one would still expect to find the mummies on the cargo lists. Unfortunately, according to the National Archives and the New York Historical Society, no known records of cargo lists of that period exist. It also should be noted that presumably Chandler found a considerable shipping expense for the mummies. The sum, however, is obviously unknown.

The Papyri

In our time, particularly since the 1967 recovery of some of the papyri once owned by the Prophet Joseph Smith, the matter of the number of scrolls has become a

very important aspect of the story. As a result, it is important to carefully note the accounts that are given:

Oliver Cowdery:

On opening the coffins he discovered that in connection with two of the bodies, were something rolled up with the same kind of linnen, saturated the same bitumen, which, when examined, proved to be two rolls of papyrus, previously mentioned. I may add that two or three other small pieces of papyrus, with astronomical calculations, epitaphs, &c. were found with others of the Mummies.

Parley P. Pratt:

One of the mummies, on being unrolled, had underneath the cloths in which it was wrapped, lying upon the breast, a roll of papyrus, in an excellent state of preservation, written in Egyptian character. . . .

Obviously, a state of confusion exists as to whether the papyri were taken from one body or two; and, equally as important, a confusion as to whether there were one roll or two rolls. It is important to note at this point that in addition to the roll or rolls were certain other pieces of papyri. Also it is most important to recognize that any one of these pieces or rolls and certainly not all of them contained the material which gave rise to the Book of Abraham. It is interesting to observe that Oliver Cowdery said one of the small pieces of papyri had astronomical calculations. One is reminded that in the Book of Abraham, Facsimile No. 2 has to do with Kolob, planets, and the order of the heavens. A circular rendition as Facsimile No. 2 is known as a hypocephalus, which apparently means "under the head." Such a circular figure was often placed under the head of the mummy for religious purposes, and contained material important to the mummy's salvation. It is not known whether Facsimile No. 2 came from a small circular papyrus, or whether the scene was on a larger roll, where Egyptians placed the hypocephali at certain times in their history.

As to the other roll or rolls, readers have already noted in the opening chapter that apparently all, or nearly all, of the papyri rediscovered in 1967 represented material

from the Book of the Dead. The Book of the Dead, or more literally, "Coming Forth By Day," is a title given to the funerary texts which were to assist in the safe passage of the mummy into the spirit world. Scholars have often said that to call it one book seemed untrue, because in reality the "book" contains a collection of books or chapters, or compositions as different from each other as the Hebrew Psalms. Some Books of the Dead contain up to 160 to 180 chapters and are as long as 60 to 70 feet. Most of the commonly recognized chapters contain literature dealing with the judgment, death, and resurrection. The book is of remote antiquity, and certainly could represent both accurate and corrupted versions of the gospel as the Egyptians understood it at various points throughout their flow of dynasties.

The texts were written upon papyrus made from a reed native to the banks of the Nile River, a reed which usually grew well over the height of a man. The papyrus stem was cut, the outward rind or band was taken off, and with the use of a sharp-pointed instrument, a thin substance which made up the remainder of the stem was extracted. These thin coats were unwound and laid upon a table, two or more over each other transversely, and then glued together. The glue might be the muddy water of the Nile or a fine paste made from flour. They were then pressed and dried, and smoothed with a roller.

The scribes, of varying grades of expense and professionalism, wrote with reed pens. The inks ranged in color from the black made from charcoal and gum to lighter colors.

The Egyptian papyri became enormously popular in the ancient world, so much so that papyrus was often Egypt's chief export. When the Egyptian production of papyrus was at its height, each leaf had to be marked with a stamp for authenticity. For a long period, even well into the Middle Ages, all diplomatic and official transactions and correspondence were written on papyri because of its beauty and adaptability. The sheets could be glued together for any desirable length.

Concerning Chandler's papyri, it is interesting to observe that Oliver Cowdery reports the papyrus rolls were saturated with a bitumen substance. Bitumen is an asphalt substance used in Egyptian embalming only in the Ptolemaic period, and through the Roman and Christian period. If Oliver's report were accurate and the appraisal of bituminous use were accurate, this knowledge would help date the mummies. Some of the mummies presently in the Turin Museum have been identified as belonging to the Roman and Christian period. But in point of fact, it was probably impossible for Oliver to determine the actual nature of the substance and, therefore, his report may be erroneous at this point.

The Mysterious Stranger

For Latter-day Saints, because of their familiarity with the workings of the Lord and the guidance of the Spirit, the account by Oliver Cowdery concerning an event which occurred in the custom house is particularly noteworthy:

He [Chandler] was immediately told, while yet in the Custom House, that there was no man in that city, who could translate his roll [rolls in original letter] but was referred by the same gentleman, (a stranger,) to Mr. Joseph Smith, Jr. who, continued he, possessed some kind of power or gifts by which he had previously translated similar characters. Bro. Smith was then unknown to Mr. Chandler, neither did he know that such a book or work as the record of the Nephites had been brought before the public."

Supposedly, the year is 1833, April. Mormonism could hardly win a fair word for itself in western New York where the Prophet Joseph grew up. One can only imagine the tales and rumor that had blown elsewhere across the state and the still new American nation of only 57 years.

One wonders about the caliber of person it would have taken to inform Chandler at such length and with such apparent personal emphasis about the inability of anyone in New York to translate the papyri, and to have turned Chandler's attention so early to Joseph Smith, who,

according to the stranger, possessed some kind of power or gifts by which he had previously translated unknown characters. Perhaps it was an early convert employed at the Custom House, or someone who had heard the gospel message and been impressed with the unexplainable spirit of Mormonism. Perhaps, too, it was someone similar to that unknown personage who one night in the spring of 1828 tilled the soil of David Whitmer in an hour of need. Perhaps only heaven knows who it was.

Drs. Anthon and Mitchell Again

To all Latter-day Saints familiar with the history of the Church, the names of Professor Charles Anthon and Professor Samuel I. Mitchell of New York are indelibly engraved upon their memories because of an experience Martin Harris reportedly had with them. The account and some rationale important to the understanding of the story perhaps have been best presented by William E. Berrett, administrator of the seminaries and institutes for the Church School System, and a well-founded Latter-day Saint historian and theologian.

Some time in February Martin Harris arrived in Harmony and, securing a transcription of the characters which Joseph had made, took them to New York—evidently determined to check on the story of Joseph Smith concerning them.

It is evident from various accounts and documents¹ that Professors Anthon and Mitchell of New York viewed the two papers Harris had, one a transcript of characters without a translation and the other containing both characters and translation. According to the story told by Martin Harris, Professor Anthon gave him a writing certifying that the characters shown him were genuine and that the translation of the part was fairly accurate. Upon hearing from Harris that the ancient records had been obtained from an angel, the professor asked for the certificate and tore it into shreds. The reason for this is quite obvious. Neither Professor Anthon nor any other man could read the characters. Even at the date of this writing the language of the plates remains a hidden secret. The characters were in a language which, the prophet informs us, had developed from the Egyptian.² Even had they been in close harmony with

¹Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, Vol. I, Chapter IX.

²See Book of Mormon—Mormon 9:32.

ordinary Egyptian hieroglyphics it is improbable that Professor Anthon could have read them, as that written language was then little known and no single American was as yet skilled in its reading.

Bearing these facts in mind we must arrive at the following:

Professor Anthon knew nothing as to the correctness of the translation or the genuineness of the characters, and was either scheming to get possession of the plates or was not willing to confess his ignorance of the ancient language. Hence he fabricated the certificate. After finding the nature of the ancient records and what might happen to his certificate he was wise indeed to destroy it before his pretended knowledge made him the laughing stock of other learned men. If Professor Mitchell, to whom Martin Harris also showed his copies, agreed as to the genuineness of the characters, he at least was wise enough to refrain from writing that which he could not possibly have known.

Suffice it to say that the two learned men were visibly impressed by the characters and the translation. Returning from his encounters, Martin Harris was ready to devote much time to the work, as well as to borrow money to pay for the publication of the translation.

This incident fulfilled the following words of the *Book of Mormon*:

"And it shall come to pass that the Lord God shall bring forth unto you the words of a book and they shall be the words of them which have slumbered. And, behold, the book shall be sealed. * * * Wherefore, because of the things which are sealed up, the things which are sealed shall not be delivered in the day of the wickedness and abominations of the people. Wherefore, the book shall be kept from them, but the book shall be delivered unto a man, and he shall deliver the words of the book, which are the words of those who have slumbered in the dust, and he shall deliver these words unto another; but the words which are sealed he shall not deliver, neither shall he deliver the book. * * * But, behold, it shall come to pass that the Lord God shall say unto him to whom he shall deliver the book, take these words which are not sealed and deliver them to another, that he may show them unto the learned, saying, read this, I pray thee—and the learned shall say, bring hither the book and I will read them: And now because of the glory of the world, and to get gain will they say this, and not for the glory of God. And the man shall say, I cannot bring the book, for it is sealed. Then shall the learned say, I cannot read it. Wherefore it shall come to pass, that the Lord God will deliver again the book and the words thereof to him that is not learned; and the man that is not learned shall say, I am not learned. Then shall the Lord God say unto him: The learned shall not read them, for they have rejected them, and I am able to do mine own work; wherefore thou shalt read the words which I shall

give unto thee." (2 Nephi 27:6-20.) (Berrett, *The Restored Church*, pp. 33-34.)

As far as Latter-day Saints are concerned, the incident also fulfilled a prophecy of Isaiah:

For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes: the prophets and your rulers, the seers hath he covered.

And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot; for it is sealed:

And the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I am not learned.

Wherefore the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men:

Therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid. (Isaiah 29:10-14.)

Because of this, the names of Anthon and Mitchell have long been used in Mormon proselyting literature. As a result, the report by N. L. Nelson in the *Academic Review* of 1885 captures one's attention:

Some of the papyri opened by Mr. Chandler for exhibition were shown to Prof. Anthon of New York and Dr. Mitchell of Philadelphia, each of whom commenced a translation. The characters were written in three colors—red, blue, and black—only two of which were legible, thus rendering the sense incomplete. As these gentlemen were among the highest recognized authorities on the translation of dead languages, Mr. Chandler began to despair of securing a translation, when he was reminded by Dr. Mitchell of Joseph Smith's reputed power as a translator.

Nelson's account is most interesting. Surely Professor Mitchell did not maintain any respect for Joseph Smith as a translator! The learned men in general scorned the claims of the Prophet. But marvelous are the ways of the Lord, and no man knoweth the limits of his handiwork. Mitchell's reminder must have been in jest.

Apparently Professor Mitchell had moved to Phila-

delphia by now. He was supposedly in New York at Martin Harris' visit. The report that Anthon and Mitchell commenced translation is surprising, if for no other reason than that Champollion's Egyptian Grammar did not appear in French until after Champollion's death in 1832, and it is the basis of American scholarship on translating Egyptian. The good doctors probably commenced to attempt a deciphering, but hardly a translation, at this stage of American scholarship.

The Exhibition Trail

Dr. John A. Wilson's account of Chandler's next several years is the most romantically written of all the accounts: "... Chandler ... conceived the idea of ... making money by exhibiting them from town to town. In this gypsy-like life, he came to Kirtland, Ohio. ..." And that he did; but not before he had traveled and exhibited for apparently nearly two years throughout cities and hamlets of the East. Whether Chandler employed himself in this manner full-time or only as exhibitions permitted is not known. What is known, however, is that Chandler left a trail of evidence behind him, of which only a few fascinating scraps have been picked up by Latter-day Saint researchers. This entire area cries for thorough study. Indeed, the very clues have been given already:

Oliver Cowdery:

From New York he took his collection to Philadelphia, where he exhibited them for a compensation. The following is a certificate put into my hands by Mr. Chandler, which he obtained while in Philadelphia and will show the opinion of the scientific of that city:

"Having examined with considerable attention and deep interest, a number of Mummies from the catacombs, near Thebes, in Egypt, and now exhibited in the Arcade, we beg leave to recommend them to the observation of the curious inquirer on subjects of a period so long elapsed; probably not less than three thousand year ago. The features of some of these Mummies are in perfect expression. The papyrus, covered with black or red ink, or paint, in excellent preservation, are very interesting. The undersigned, unsolicited by any

person connected by interest with this exhibition, have voluntarily set their names hereunto, for the simple purpose of calling the attention of the public to an interesting collection, not sufficiently known in this city.

John Redman Coxe, M.D.
Richard Harlan, M.D.
J. Pancoast, M.D.
William P. C. Barton, M.D.
E. F. Rivinus, M.D.
Samuel G. Morgan, M.D.

"I concur in the above sentiments, concerning the collection of Mummies in the Philadelphia Arcade, and consider them highly deserving the attention of the curious.

W. E. Horner, M.D."

[While Mr. Chandler was in Philadelphia, he used every exertion to find some one who could give him the translation of his papyrus, but could not, satisfactorily, though from some few men of the first eminence, he obtained in a small degree, the translation of a few characters. Here he was referred by bro. Smith. From Philadelphia he visited Harrisburgh *[sic]* [Pennsylvania], and other places east of the mountains, and was frequently referred to bro. Smith for a translation of his Egyptian relic.]

It would be beyond my purpose to follow this gentleman in his different circuits. . . .

On May 2, 1842, in Nauvoo, Illinois, the Church-owned *Times and Seasons* also reported the following under the headline "Egyptian Antiquities." It is part of Chandler's placard, and hence, information from Chandler himself. "They have been exhibited in Philadelphia and Baltimore, to crowded audiences; in the latter place, although only engaged two weeks, the exhibition was prolonged to five weeks, with attraction."

Parley P. Pratt in his *Millennial Star* account two months later in 1842 wrote:

The mummies, together with the record, have been exhibited, generally, through the States, previous to their falling into our hands. Mr. Chandler was, of course, anxious to find some one who could interpret or translate this valuable relic of antiquity, and, we believe, on one occasion, met with an individual who was enabled to decipher a small portion, or, at least, to give an opinion of what he supposed its meaning to be. He every where heard mention of Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon, but so generally associated

with something slanderous, that he could scarcely think seriously of applying to him.

If the cargo lists of the Port of New York are not available, then perhaps confirming and new evidence only awaits the student who turns to the newspapers of the towns named during the years of 1833 and 1835, Oliver names the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The *Times and Seasons* reprinting of the placard names Philadelphia and Baltimore. In fact, in terms of Philadelphia, the actual building in which the exhibition was reportedly held is named: Philadelphia Arcade.

Armed with this information, Dr. Sidney Sperry turned his attention to this area of research that same summer, 1935, while in Washington, D.C., and New York, when he attempted to locate new data:

An attempt was made to trace the course of the mummies after they were taken from New York. For this purpose many newspapers in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Lancaster, Penn., Columbus, Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio, and other places were carefully looked over in the hope that some trace might be found of them. The Philadelphia Arcade had been mentioned in the early December 1835 account, and I tried to pursue that. Numerous advertisements of the Philadelphia Arcade and of the exhibits in it during this period were found but not a word could be found concerning the Egyptian mummies. I did find, however, the location of the Arcade, which was on Chestnut and Carpenter Streets. In *Poulsen's American Daily Advertiser* for Wednesday morning, May 6, 1835, on page 3, upper right-hand corner, under the caption, "The Philadelphia Arcade," occurs the following notice: "The managers of the above institution are willing to sell the above splendid lot and building with the appurtenances. It has 109 feet, on Chestnut and Carpenter Streets, and is 150 feet deep, the situation is unrivalled; offers must be made in writing, and must be sent to No. 1 in the building."

That the mummies were exhibited in the Philadelphia Arcade is apparent. Of the gentlemen who signed their names to the above placard I was able to find in Philadelphia newspapers some mention of two of them, namely, W. E. Horner, M.D., and J. Pancoast, M.D. Horner was professor of anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania and Pancoast was at the Philadelphia School of Medicine, summer session, as professor of anatomy or physiology. These, and the other

medical men whose names are signed above, met Michael H. Chandler, and they may have been the ones who gave him the assurance that the mummies were truly ancient and genuine.

I came to the conclusion that Michael H. Chandler, instead of advertising his exhibits in the various newspapers of the cities he visited, must have sent out "dodgers" or placards of some sort. (*Ancient Records Testify*, pp. 62-65.)

Dr. Sperry's research is somewhat confirming, and greatly helpful to the interested student. The identification of two of the doctors who signed the placard reprinted in the 1835 *Messenger and Advocate* report is important corroborative information.

However, since Dr. Sperry's research, additional information of a significant nature has been found by David C. Martin. Brother Martin became interested in the story of the Book of Abraham after a 1965 summer class with Dr. James R. Clark of Brigham Young University. Brother Clark, long a persistent student of the complexities of the story, was an early student and companion of Dr. Sidney Sperry at BYU on matters pertaining to the Pearl of Great Price. As a result of his manifested interest in the problem, Dr. Clark suggested that Brother Martin write Smith, Kline & French Laboratories of Philadelphia for a copy of the January-February 1965 issue of their drug-house periodical *Psychiatric Reporter*. The issue carried an article titled "American Golgotha," by a Glenn White, that mentioned a mummy of Antonio Lebolo's which apparently had been dissected in front of more than 80 members of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia on two separate days in December 1833. The article was about a Dr. Samuel George Morton who measured the cranial capacities of skulls by pouring buck-shot into empty skulls. Dr. Morton's collection is now in the possession of the University of Pennsylvania Museum. The article, reflecting the unusual methods of research and the unusual subject at hand, should be fascinating reading, particularly since a Lebolo mummy is part of the article, and also because we may have already met Dr. Morton elsewhere.

AMERICAN GOLGOTHA

Reprinted from *SK&F Psychiatric Reporter*, Jan.-Feb., 1965

During his lifetime, Dr. Samuel George Morton poured buckshot into the heads of at least 623 human beings. Not that he was a one-man crime wave; the heads—*skulls*, really—belonged to people already dead. Dr. Morton (1799-1851), a distinguished nineteenth century scientist, was engaged in a study rooted in the then prevalent theory that intellectual activity was mirrored in the size and shape of the skull. Dr. Morton measured skulls "to illustrate the differences in the form of the skull as seen in the five great races of man."

(Old theories, however false, may fade and change but apparently never quite die. Only a few months ago the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization felt it necessary to issue a report, compiled by 22 scientists from 17 countries, denouncing the idea that differences in physical traits can be used to justify the concept of inferior and superior races.)

But though Dr. Morton's conclusions, and those of his followers, have disappeared from serious scientific thought, his vast collection of skulls—known in his day as the "American Golgotha"—remains. I have just returned from visiting it.

The skulls, purchased from his estate in 1853 by "42 gentlemen," are stored in long rows of old, oak-paneled museum cases in a loft of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. The collection—which actually contains over 1,000 skulls and mummified heads—is so little known that no one has asked to see it for many years. Historically, the Morton Collection is important and perhaps unique in the world. Mr. James A. G. Rehn, Curator of the Entomology Department, says it is "currently the most comprehensive" and that it contains "the last of several lines of pure American Indian stock." Representative skulls from all the so-called great races are included in the collection.

As a man of science, Dr. Morton was to a great extent a "man for all seasons." A physician with a large practice in Philadelphia, he was a professor of anatomy at Pennsylvania Medical College and an authority on tuberculosis, one of his medical writings being, "Illustrations of Pulmonary Consumption." In addition, he wrote extensively on such subjects as mineralogy, geology, paleontology, zoology, ethnology, anthropology—and, of course, craniology. At the time of his death he was president of the Academy of Natural Sciences; of him the *New York Tribune* wrote that "probably no scientific man in America enjoyed a higher reputation among scholars throughout the world."

Though his interest in skulls was scientific, it was also touched with the romantic, as shown by a poem called "Lines on a Skull" (credited to Dana's *Book of Household Poetry*) which he pasted inside

the cover of an early catalogue of his collection. Here are two stanzas:

*What vast and unsubstantial schemes,
What gorgeous palaces in Spain,
What grand, unattainable dreams,
What phantom pageants of the brain
Were conjured by the magic mind
That in this skull was once confined?*

*Time was the wizard changed this skull
Into a dungeon dull and drear,
Where groaning lay, in bondage dull,
Sorrow, Remorse, and grim Despair
Who rolled their livid eyes in pain,
And gnawed their bony arms in vain.*

Among the names of the "42 gentlemen" who contributed \$100 apiece to buy the Morton Collection for the Academy are some of the best known in Philadelphia: Biddle, Lea, Mercer, Vaux, Pepper, Cooke, Morris. In his unfinished memoirs, Dr. Morton appears somewhat apologetic that the Anglo-Saxon skulls in his collection did not come from such fine families. "Many of the crania have been obtained from hospitals and institutions for paupers," he wrote, "whence we might infer they pertain to the least cultivated portion of their race." Further on in his memoirs he speaks of the skulls as coming from the "lowest and least cultivated of the community—malefactors, paupers, and lunatics." Some of the skulls he catalogued "Negro Lunatic," "Lunatic Irishman," "German Lunatic," and even more specifically, "Mulatto Lunatic—died of religious mania, 1831." That skull size might have a correlation with a person's station in life seemed indicated to him when he found that the skulls of mummies buried in the "ancient tombs of Gizeh" were larger, on the average, than a number of Egyptian skulls found elsewhere. "The persons whose bodies had reposed in these splendid mausolea," he wrote, "were, no doubt, of the highest and most cultivated class of Egyptian citizens; and this fact deserves to be considered in connection with the present inquiry."

In the preface to his *Catalogue of the Skulls of Man and the Inferior Animals*, published in 1849, he stated that his was "an enterprise that, for obvious reasons, had been attended by many difficulties," and "I need hardly add, that had it not been for the exertions of my friends in every quarter of the globe, my objective would not have been accomplished." His method of measuring the volume of skulls by filling them with $\frac{1}{8}$ inch buckshot was far more accurate, he maintained, than the mustard seed which most other investigators had used.

The largest skull he measured was that of "a Dutch gentleman—114 cubic inches," and the smallest that of an old Peruvian—"58 cubic inches, a difference of 56 cubic inches." From his measurements

he concluded that the races with the best minds inhabited the northern latitudes. However, as he told one of his anatomy classes:

"While much is due to climate even more is attributable to those primeval attributes of mind which, for wise purposes, have given our race a decided and unquestionable superiority over all the nations of the earth. . . ."

During my visit to the Academy, I wandered down the row of skull cases with Mr. Steve Harty, Assistant in the Exhibits Department. At random we unlocked one musty case after another, pulling out trays of human skulls—some that had not seen the light of day, even in this dark and stifling storage room, for 20 years. There was a perfectly white skull labeled "Apache Chief," its mandible swinging a full set of teeth as we pulled out the tray. Such was his nobility now. There was the brown and noseless head of an Eskimo, with coarse black hair, and wearing what remained of a fur parka. *Among the embalmed heads of several other mummies was one of an Egyptian girl of 16 "brought from the catacombs near Thebes by the late Antonio Lebalo," Dr. Morton noted in his catalogue, "of whose heirs I purchased it, together with the entire body; the latter I dissected before the Academy of Natural Sciences on the 10th and 17th of December, 1833, in the presence of 80 members and others."* There were also a few intricately decorated heads of New Zealand tribesmen. [Italics added.]

There was the skull, in fair condition, of an Englishman named Samuel Gwilym who lived a short and unhappy life. About him Dr. G. Huffnagle, of Calcutta, wrote to Dr. Morton: "Transported to Van Dieman's Land in 1820 for housebreaking; was an orderly on shipboard but subsequently robbed his master, for which he was sent for two years to Maria Island. . . . Returned to Van Dieman's Land, he was fined twice for drunkenness; and was executed there on the 16th of March, 1837, for the murder of Mary Mills, a young woman whom he had previously violated."

I wanted especially to see the skull of someone known only as Pierce, listed in the catalogue as "No. 59—Anglo-Saxon head: a convict and cannibal who was executed in New South Wales, A.D. 18__." Pierce, it seems, had eaten a few fellow convicts after an escape from a penal colony when "hunger compelled them to prey upon each other." After searching for an hour, I believe I found Pierce's skull. The labeling is obscure and the mandible has fallen off; it is not an impressive skull, perhaps because it has no jawline. Nearby on the same tray is the skull of Vincente Priazi of Mexico City, about whom Dr. Morton wrote a rare eulogy: "He lived to be 80 years of age and was remarkable for his literary attainments and amiable disposition." Priazi's skull is intact and formidable, completely indifferent to its cannibalistic neighbor.

Morton's catalogue was published in 1849; some of the death

dates given for the original owners of the skulls are only a few years earlier. So it is apparent that many of these skulls were not burnished by age and the elements but had been cleaned and prepared. Among the Morton memorabilia, I found handwritten instructions for this grisly task. Seeing what undoubtedly was a grimace on my face, Mr. Harty said, "Yes, skulls have to be cleaned. I have cleaned a good many—but of animals, no humans. But here, let me show you something *really* interesting."

He went to a metal cabinet farther down the line, unlocked the door, and pulled out a tray of animal skulls. He lifted the largest one. "This is the skull of a black bear who killed a child in Camden, New Jersey, in 1840. See, it's inscribed here on the skull. The bear had a name—Jack Dunning. Wasn't he a big fellow?"

I hefted the bear's skull in my hand. "Yes, he was," I agreed. "He ate a child, you say?"

He repeated the story, but I wasn't listening. My thoughts were back on those human skulls: Anglo-Saxon, Bengalese, African, Peruvian, Hindu, American Indian, Mexican—all perfectly equal at last.

Glenn White

Among the over 1,000 skulls in the Morton collection is a head of a mummy that apparently was purchased from Michael H. Chandler, "brought from the catacombs near Thebes by the late Antonio Lebalo, of whose heirs I purchased it, together with the entire body." Of great interest and importance, this mummy head of the 16-year-old Egyptian girl is the first known American physical evidence available for inspection today of any of Chandler's (?) mummies. Perhaps research into the papers of Dr. Morton and the Academy for the days listed would reveal new information dealing with the Chandler story.

However, another aspect of interest is the name of Dr. Samuel George Morton. One wonders if in fact he is not the same man identified on Michael Chandler's placard printed in the *Times and Seasons* in 1842 in Nauvoo, Illinois. Those signatures again are:

JOHN REDMAN COXE, M.D.
RICHARD HARLAN, M.D.
J. PANCOAST, M.D.
WILLIAM P. C. BARTON, M.D.
E. F. RIVINUS, M. D.
SAMUEL G. MORGAN, M.D.

I concur in the above sentiments, concerning the collection of Mummies in the Philadelphia Arcade, and consider them highly deserving the attention of the curious.

W. E. HORNER, M.D.

Without further evidence, it would seem that the above listed Dr. Samuel G. Morgan of Philadelphia is Dr. Samuel George Morton of Philadelphia. Dr. Morton's manifest interest in such matters would have drawn him to visit Michael Chandler's exhibit. According to the article, he was highly regarded, and apparently no "scientific man in America enjoyed a higher reputation among scholars throughout the world." Therefore, with these interests and reputation, Dr. Morton would have had no difficulty in convincing Michael Chandler (?) to sell at least one of his mummies to him for scientific research.

But David Martin was interested to learn more about the Lebolo mummy head, so he wrote to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia requesting information about Dr. Morton's papers and a picture of the skull. He received the following answer:

In reply to your letter of June 18th, we have found the following information in the catalog of Dr. Morton's collection:

"#60 Embalmed head of an Egyptian lady about 16 years of age, brought from the Catacombs of El Gourn, near Thebes, by the late Antonio Lebolo, of whose heirs I purchased it, together with the entire body: The latter I dissected before the Academy of Natural Sciences on the 10th and 17th of December, 1833, in presence of eighty members and others. Egyptian form with long, fine hair. *Crania Aegyptiaca*, plate 10, fig. 6."

The skull is presumably in the collection, but the body was not retained. The skull is evidently illustrated in Morton's work under *Crania Aegyptiaca*.

Perhaps the only additional information was confirmation of El Gourn as the place whence had come the mummy. However, it is interesting to note that the seller also told Dr. Morton of his relationship to Lebolo. Presumably, further research at Philadelphia by Latter-day Saints would disclose additional information. Surely the newspapers of Philadelphia would carry mention of the exhibition or the dissection on or near the dates of Decem-

ber 10 and 17, 1833. Obviously a modern picture of the skull could also be obtained.

It is now at this point in the story that we introduce probably the most important and most interesting pre-Joseph Smith evidence to appear to date: a newspaper report describing in detail the four mummies. The report, taken from the March 27, 1835, Painesville, Ohio, Telegraph, was located by Dr. Richard Lloyd Anderson, professor of religion and history at Brigham Young University, in his search through the newspaper collection about the Mormons of Dale Morgan. This collection is housed in the Utah State Historical Society in Salt Lake City.

The report is in the form of a letter to the editor and actually includes a second letter addressed to the person writing to the newspaper. It is this second letter that is of great interest to Latter-day Saints, because it is the only report known by this author that presents such a minute physical description of the mummies that the Prophet purchased.

Mr. Editor,—The history of the ancients is replete with grandeur & curiosity; and who is there so callous, as not to be excited with sufficient curiosity, to intervene with interest, all the dark labyrinths of pagan lore and long gone by usages. History, indeed, calls to mind spirits which have long since been traversing the golden works of the celestial world: but, how much more are we neared to them, when we can commingle with bodies spiritless, who traversed this earth thousands of years ago, as we now do, possessing passions and wants, ambition, avarice and superstition like ourselves. Could we but look forward beyond the dark curtain of time and see the mighty changes, which will transpire for thousands of years to come, we should be lost in amazement. The past is wonderful although very incomplete; yet we are daily obtaining new light from the researches of scientific antiquarians. The discoveries in the long buried cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii which have been hidden from the world about 1800 years are truly interesting. The habits, manners and customs of those once inhabited cities are plainly inferred from the appearances of the charred dwellings and other edifices for public purposes—their amphitheatres and temples of Isis, holy utensils and baths &c. &c.

But the most interesting of all antique subjects, is the opening of the catacombs of Egypt where human bodies are found in a complete state of preservation or nearly so. How, or by what agency these

bodies were preserved, or for what object is wholly an enigma. Many have conjectured that the doctrine of the resurrection was embodied in the Egyptian religious faith, and others again suppose that the practice of embalming their dead originated in their abhorrence to decay—but all is speculation. Curiosity has frequently prompted us to visit and critically examine mummies which were found in the catacombs near Thebes; and to realize that I was viewing one of my own species who had lived like myself and been a member of a community three or four thousand years ago, produced a sensation like that of associating with people of another world.

I received a short description from a friend in Cleveland of four mummies that are now exhibiting in that place which may not be uninteresting to some of your readers.

A. Gardner.

Dear Sir: I send you a description of four Mummies, now exhibiting in this place. They were found in June 1832—three miles from Thebes, 236 feet deep in a catacomb or vault 94 by 18 feet in the clear. Some stone described by the finder 32 ft. long, 8 high and 5 feet wide, evidently belonging to Mount Lebyen, to which there are strong indications of a rail-road. The stone were put together with a cement and exhibited superior workmanship.

Some of the bodies stood in niches of the wall; a row of bodies, however, laid on the bottom 8 feet deep (reversed), more or less decayed. This statement of the owner is accompanied by good authority.

No. 1—4 feet 11 inches, female—supposed age 60; arms extended, hands side by side in front; the head indicating motherly goodness. There was found with this person a roll or book, having a little resemblance to birch bark; language unknown. Some linguists however say they can decipher 1336, in what they term an epitaph; ink black and red; many female figures.

No. 2—Height 5 ft. 1½ inch; female; supposed age 40. Arms suspended by the side; hands brought in contact; head damaged by accident; found with a roll as No. 1, filled with hieroglyphics, rudely executed.

No. 3—Height 4 ft. 4½—Male, very old, say 80; arms crossing on the breast, each hand on its opposite shoulder; had a roll of writing as No. 1 & 2; superior head, it will compare in the region of the sentiments with any in our land; passions mild.

No. 4—Height 4 ft. 9; female. I am inclined to put her age at about 20 or 25, others call her an old woman; arms extended, hands by her side; auburn hair, short as girls at present in their new fashion. Found with her a braid of hair, three strands of the color of that on her head and 18 inches long. The head approximates to the

form of the Orang Outang. The occipital and bazillar region very large; the head indicating a person of the lowest grade of human beings. Slander, fight, and devotion to the passions were undoubtedly peculiar traits in her character. They were enveloped in linnen saturated with gum, the qualities of which are not well understood. A thousand yards are supposed to be used on each body; 186 thicknesses have been counted on one of them. They are covered so as to preserve the exact form of the body and limbs. No. 3 and 4; the envelope is mostly stripped off; on 1 and 2 it is some broken. No. 1, fine linnen; No. 2, coarse; No. 3, very coarse; No. 4, very fine. The bodies evidently were reduced before winding. The man, No. 3, whose cerebral organization indicates a mind able to guide the destinies of a nation, is enveloped in the poorest and coarsest linnen, while the woman, No. 4, whose head indicates a disposition which may well be represented as the demon of society, was in the most careful manner enveloped in the finest of linnen and with a much greater proportion of gum. Is not this circumstance an intimation to us that rank was not according to merit—that superiority in station did not follow from superiority of mind, but from extraneous circumstances.

It is interesting to observe in these individuals the external indications of disposition which at this day build up and pull down society; that these relics of another and unknown age were once animated with life, and actuated by passions, hopes and fears, as we now are. How pleasing to contemplate that aged man, by rules that will not deceive, in the active exercise of those sentimental powers of the mind from which the hope of immortality springs. In such minds there is light—in such minds a nation will find prosperity, and society an anchor. But how sad to contemplate the history of that young female (No. 4)—revenge and hate indignant frown upon her brow.

The love of property is not indicated on either of their heads as being in any proportion as strong as with us. Did they not hold property in common? and is not this remark applicable to Indians?

Farmer.

As is apparent, the newspaper report is priceless! To the author's knowledge, nowhere else is there found such interesting data dealing with the mummies. The meaning of the data will not be rehearsed in detail, but some comments are in order.

First it should be noted that this report appears only three months before the Prophet acquired the mummies in July 1835. But since mailing and delivery of the letters and the printing schedule of the press would have eaten up

some time, the observations of Farmer and Gardner may have been made as much as four, five, or even more months before July.

Second, it seems that both A. Gardner and Mr. Farmer viewed the mummies in Cleveland, a distance of only some 20 miles from Kirtland where the Prophet was residing. Also, it appears that Farmer saw the mummies first, and then, perhaps as a result of previous acquaintanceship or reputation, he sent "a description of four mummies, now exhibiting" to A. Gardner. Gardner then notes, "curiosity has frequently prompted us to visit and critically examine mummies which were found in the catacombs near Thebes. . . ." One would expect the "frequency" to have been within a several-day period, although the mummies and their exhibitor may have stayed some time in Cleveland. The attitudes of Farmer and Gardner are such that one presumes they were men of education, or men who thought they were of education at least.

Third, both Gardner and Farmer indicate that these four mummies are from the area of Thebes, the same general locale from which the Prophet's mummies apparently came. Farmer even says that the four mummies were found "three miles from Thebes. . . ." This is a fairly good description of Gurneh's relationship to Thebes. But of vital importance is the data that these four mummies exhibiting in Cleveland "were found in June, 1832. . . ." Compare Oliver Cowdery's information concerning the date of discovery: ". . . June 7, 1831." These two reports, so close in time, present an additional reason for reviewing the validity of Warren Dawson's long believed information concerning Lebolo and his finds. If Dawson's 1950 information on the 1823 death of Lebolo can be supported by research, then it may mean that another Egyptian discoverer of mummies is involved, at least for one or more of the mummies. The Prophet's mummies could represent finds from several men. At any rate, one point seems clear: Oliver Cowdery and the Painesville *Telegraph* indicate that the exhibitor, Chandler, was at least telling the same story to the non-Mormons as he

told to the Mormons in Kirtland some months later.

Members of the Church would now do well to probe the discoveries made in and around Thebes in June of 1831 and 1832. Research may find some highly interesting answers. The fact that both sources mention June seems far more than coincidental. Either Farmer or Cowdery could have erred in recalling the year—1831 or 1832.

Fourth, additional significant clues are provided by Farmer for our researchers: depth and dimension of the catacomb. With these clues available, one may again check Dr. Ross Christensen's notion about Tomb 33, and compare other tombs. Farmer says: "They were found in June, 1832—three miles from Thebes, 236 feet deep in a catacomb or vault 94 by 18 feet in the clear. Some stone described by the finder 32 ft. long, 8 high and 5 feet wide. . . ." Oliver Cowdery reported, interestingly, that it took 433 men four months and two days to reach the catacomb. Perhaps these two descriptions are different views of the same scene. Also interestingly, Emma Smith has another report about the depth of the catacomb. This report will be given later.

But the correlation between Farmer's report and Oliver Cowdery's is not finished yet: Farmer mentions that "bodies stood in niches of the wall; a row of bodies however, laid on the bottom 8 feet deep (reversed) more or less decayed." This seems to be another indication that Chandler was telling the same story at different places, because as a result of his interviews with Chandler, Oliver Cowdery reports similarly about the niches and the mummies on the bottom of the floor, most of which, he said, were in a decayed nature. The similarities do not end there, but these are sufficient to indicate that the mummies Farmer described were the mummies the Prophet Joseph Smith acquired. Absolute proof of the matter—that Chandler was in Cleveland exhibiting his mummies—will be provided shortly from the pages of another Cleveland newspaper.

This being the case, then, it is interesting to note that three of the mummies were female and one male. Three

of the mummies were reported with scrolls. This should settle the question of how many scrolls Joseph Smith acquired. The mummies' ages at death, seemingly, were 60 years, 40 years, and either 20-25 years, or quite aged for the three females. The male was regarded as old, about 80.

Readers will note that the aged man was regarded as one able "to guide the destinies of a nation." As will be observed later, the Prophet was widely quoted as having indicated that one of the mummies was a pharaoh. Is it possible that this unknown Farmer could detect such a thing also? Perhaps of more universal interest, does one's face reflect his life? Does a life of sin or service really show through? At any rate, the notion that the 80-year-old mummy was a pharaoh is going to be widely implanted, as readers will shortly learn. Scholars may also find interest in the fact that of the four mummies, the male is the only one who has his arms crossed on the breast. The arms of the others were at their sides. The fact that one of the mummies had his arms crossed across his breast will appear again as Latter-day Saints describe the mummies purchased by the Prophet. Another fact of interest that will appear deals with the auburn or red hair. Latter-day Saint witnesses describe one of the Prophet's mummies as having "red" hair. Obviously, it seems quite possible that these are the mummies purchased by the Prophet.

But as usual, there are contrary factors. One of these factors deals with the mummies sold by Emma Smith. Two of the mummies sold by her after the Prophet's martyrdom were described as "that of a female, about forty; the other, that of a boy about fourteen." Where does the boy of 14 come from? Or could different people give two different reports on the age and the sex of one of the mummies? Or could it be that Chandler had other mummies in his possession, not on exhibit in Cleveland for Farmer to see, which he sold to Joseph Smith? These are unanswered questions which perhaps only time and research can unravel. Researchers could also probe the sarcophagi in the European museums that Porter and Moss and Stricker mention in order to determine if there

is any possible relationship between the sarcophagi and these mummies somewhat limitedly described by Farmer. All in all, the Painesville *Telegraph* report is our most accurate and detailed review of the mummies Joseph Smith purchased. Readers will want to remember it.

Before leaving the newspaper reports, however, at least an additional statement of Farmer's deserves mention: "This statement of the owner is accompanied by good authority." Apparently Chandler had some proof of the statements he was making, but evidence that escapes us today. What form could that proof have been in? a letter? customs data? or could it have been information written by the heirs, from whom Chandler purchased the mummies? Seemingly the sentence suggests that Chandler may have been merely the owner of the mummies, and his evidence was acquired from another seller. Only time will tell.

These three reports—the *Messenger and Advocate* reprinting of the *Philadelphia Arcade* placard (more on the placard later), the Martin report on Morton, and the *Painesville Telegraph* report—exhaust the evidence to date on the supposed "gypsy-like life" that Chandler is claimed to have followed. Latter-day Saints with a bent for finding interesting tidbits could have a heyday in unearthing new evidence on the matter. Perhaps the flow of confirmatory evidence has already started. In response to the author's article in *The Improvement Era* in January 1968, the following letter was received:

While you are publishing such articles as "Egyptian Papyri Rediscovered," and the series, "A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price," you might be interested in giving a little space to this item:

THE HARFORD REPUBLICAN

Belle Air, Harford County, Maryland

Thursday, May 23, 1833

(Vol. 3, No. 41, p. 1, col. 4.):

"Nine Mummies, recently found in the vicinity of Thebes, are now exhibiting at the Masonic Hall, Philadelphia."

This newspaper was found in the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, and the item was copied by me with their gracious permission.

Sincerely, Ruth Shinsel

The *Harford Republican* was checked for the day listed, and the notice was found, but nothing else of relevance. The town of Bel Air, its modern spelling, is located some 23 miles northeast of Baltimore, where Chandler, according to the *Times and Seasons* report, exhibited the mummies at popular demand for five weeks, and is in a rather direct line of travel between Philadelphia and Baltimore. Perhaps this report pertains to another Chandler exhibition. Certainly the date of May 23, 1833, is compatible with the dates under consideration. Oliver Cowdery said that Chandler acquired the mummies in April 1833, about a month earlier.

To probe the matter further, Jimmy Parker of the Church's Genealogical Society was assigned to determine if records existed of Chandler's exhibiting his mummies in Baltimore. Brother Parker contacted an associate at the Maryland Historical Society, P. William Filby, librarian and assistant director, who responded July 6, 1968:

... we have checked three newspapers of the times and have found nothing of value to you concerning the Egyptian artifacts. We are mystified, but the search goes on. Of course, we could have missed it; but one person for a whole week took on the search without success. Still looking.

A month later the librarian reported again:

Dear Mr. Parker,

I am afraid that three weeks' work on our microfilm has yielded nothing of value to you. I am sure there is something there, but the research assistant assures me that every para was scanned.

I am so sorry we have been so unlucky, especially after your great help with the basic list. But I have retained your letter of 2 April and have asked our staff (and our cooperative readers) to keep eyes open for the piece you need.

As can be observed, research exacts a high price in time and energy.

The Question of the Number of Mummies

Interesting and confirming as is the evidence presented about Chandler's exhibitions, the most significant aspect

of Dr. Morton's catalogue and the *Harford Republican* article is the indication that Chandler had in America more than four mummies.

Consequently, we are at that point when it is fitting to tackle the one remaining nettlesome issue before meeting the Prophet Joseph Smith out on the Kirtland, Ohio, frontier.

For over 130 years Latter-day Saints have understood that Antonio Lebolo found 11 mummies of good condition in the pit-tomb at Gurneh and have presumed that seven of them came to America. This point of view has come from Oliver Cowdery's account wherein he refers three times to the 11 mummies and once to the seven:

1) Lebolo "entered the catacomb. . . . and obtained eleven mummies."

2) ". . . the two last orders of embalmed were so decayed that they could not be removed, and only eleven of the first, found in the niches."

3) "You will have understood from the foregoing, that eleven Mummies were taken from the catacomb, at the time of which I have been speaking and nothing definite having been said as to their disposal, I may, with propriety add a few words. Seven of the said eleven were purchased by gentlemen for private museums, previous to Mr. Chandler's visit to this place, with a small quantity of papyrus, similar (he says) to the astronomical representation, contained with the present two rolls. . . ."

Michael H. Chandler also reports in his placard: ". . . but only the eleven [were] in a state to be removed. The seven have been sold to gentlemen for private museums, and in consequence are kept from the public eye."

Using the Oliver Cowdery report, and ignoring the Stricker, and Porter's and Moss' listings of Lebolo's sarcophagi in Europe, the following conclusions are sometimes drawn. Many Latter-day Saints have assumed that all 11 mummies came to the United States, and that seven of the 11 were disposed to gentlemen in and around New York and Philadelphia. However, no research—as should

be apparent by now—has disclosed that 11 mummies came to America, nor to whom any were sold, other than one apparently to Dr. Morton of Philadelphia. Some students have suggested that the seven “purchased by gentlemen for private museums, previous to Mr. Chandler’s visit to this place,” must refer to the sale of seven mummies in Egypt by Lebolo. The sale of one to Caillaiud, which was in the Paris Museum in 1824, represents one mummy; the sale of one to Anastasi, the Swedish Consul-General, represents another; the one or two mummies lost at sea that were sold to Baron Minutoli represent one or two other mummies; and the Turin Museum has four mummies presently, for a total of seven or eight mummies. If Chandler’s and Oliver Cowdery’s reports are accurate ones, it would be apparent that only one mummy could have gone to Baron Minutoli to represent the seven previously sold. However, this would still leave only four mummies, and we need five, or an extra one for Dr. Morton of Philadelphia. Also, the Paris Museum and the Turin Museum certainly do not satisfy the term “private museum.” But this is a minor point. Perhaps the museums were private in the sense that they belonged to royalty or to the monarchy, and the purchasers of the other mummies may have planned on private exhibition, as did Dr. Morton. Warren R. Dawson reports that Lebolo found a “number of Ptolemaic mummies . . . the best of these went to Drovetti. . . .” These apparently are the four mummies in the Turin Museum. Consequently, these four in Turin are supposed to represent the “best” Lebolo had found.

At any rate, our arithmetic gymnastics have still left us in a quandry. The situation is made even worse by the report of San Quintino, who, according to Elder Bradshaw, always spoke of Lebolo’s 12 or 13 mummies. However, all is not lost. As is obvious, we can account for seven of his mummies: four in Turin, one to Caillaiud, one to Anastasi, and at least one to Minutoli. This leaves five, if there were 13 mummies—four for the Prophet Joseph Smith to purchase and one for Chandler to sell to the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences. This tidy bit

of arithmetic, of course, merely represents what could have transpired. No one knows at this time what actually happened. When one adds the Stricker, Porter, and Moss listings, the problem becomes very confusing.

However, the strange report of the *Harford Republican* about "nine mummies, recently found in the vicinity of Thebes . . ." upsets everything if in fact these nine mummies represent Chandler's mummies. Perhaps they were not Chandler's—although one wants to say it would be rather unlikely for several reasons: (1) few Egyptian mummies were in America before 1833; (2) Chandler is reported to have exhibited his mummies only 23 miles southwest of Bel Air at Baltimore, and Bel Air, Maryland, home of the *Harford Republican*, is in a rather direct line between Baltimore and Philadelphia, where Chandler is reported to have exhibited; (3) the time of the newspaper's advertisement fits the Chandler situation. If the mummies were Chandler's, perhaps it means that the original assumption of some Latter-day Saints is correct: Chandler did receive 11 mummies at the New York port in April 1833, and he sold seven of them to various people in the United States before selling the last four to the Prophet Joseph Smith. If this were established by future research, it will mean several possibilities in terms of Antonio Lebolo: (1) it could mean that Lebolo concealed some grave-robbing when he reported to San Quintino that he removed 12 or 13 mummies; (2) at the time of his death he may have had mummies from finds other than his Gurneh pit-tomb, which is the more likely possibility; (3) Chandler's unknown benefactor may have received both Lebolo and non-Lebolo mummies, and thus the figures 11, 12, and 13 may be irrelevant to the total number of mummies involved. The potential solution could come from many alternatives. Once more, the need for research by interested Latter-day Saints should be apparent. But we have tired of the many unknowns. The Prophet awaits us.

The Man Who Brought Michael Chandler to Joseph Smith

The "gypsy-like life" of Michael H. Chandler had

been going on reportedly for more than two years—from April 1833 until July 3, 1835, when Michael Chandler was brought to Kirtland, Ohio. During those two years, Chandler apparently exhibited his mummies and papyri wherever he could round up interested spectators. Presumably, his “curiosities” had gained him some of the money that he had hoped to make from the sale of jewels which were not in the sarcophagi. But apparently his desire to find a translation of some of the papyri script had a strong hold upon him. Reportedly he had turned to Drs. Anthon and Mitchell and others, seeking information about the meaning of some of the symbols. Undoubtedly this desire spurred him to meet many linguists and scholars of the day.

Early in this period of owning the mummies, he had heard of Joseph Smith. Oliver Cowdery wrote:

He was immediately told, while yet in the Custom House, that there was no man in that city, who could translate his roll; but was referred by the same gentleman, (a stranger) to Mr. Joseph Smith, Jr. who, continued he, possessed some kind of power or gifts by which he had previously translated similar characters. . . . Smith was then unknown to Mr. Chandler, neither did he know that such a book or work as the record of the Nephites had been brought before the public.

While Mr. Chandler was in Philadelphia, he used every exertion to find someone who could give him the translation of his papyrus, but could not, satisfactorily, though from some few men of the first eminence, he obtained in a small degree, the translation of a few characters. Here he was referred to . . . Smith. From Philadelphia he visited Harrisburgh, and other places east of the mountains, and was frequently referred to Bro. Smith for a translation of his Egyptian Relic.”

Oliver’s account is surprising in several respects. It certainly paints a picture of public knowledge concerning the Prophet and his work, and should dispel notions that Joseph’s work was being carried on in the dark, known by but a few. It is impossible to determine the attitude of the persons suggesting that Chandler visit the Prophet. One wonders if they made their comments in jest, derision, sarcasm, or whether a portion of them represented persons with an inkling of wonderment and potential belief.

Perhaps Parley P. Pratt's account answers the question, although even his review may be inadequate:

He everywhere heard mention of Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon, but so generally associated with something slanderous, that he could scarcely think seriously of applying to him. But at length, however, he called upon Mr. Smith, to inquire if he had a power by which he could translate the ancient Egyptian.

However, there is more to the story than this, as readers already know. Chandler exhibited in Cleveland, some 20 miles from Kirtland, and while there he certainly would have heard the popular descriptions of the Prophet Joseph Smith. It may be that, his interest piqued, he decided to call upon the Mormon Prophet to either test him or see if he could fare any better than did the scholars of New York and Pennsylvania. With the information available about his Cleveland exhibit, one tends to view Chandler's entry to Kirtland simply as the result of that which he had heard while in Cleveland. Seemingly Kirtland would have been his next stop.

However, there is another story dealing with his entry into Kirtland, a story that deals with a relative of Heber C. Kimball.

The account of this unproven incident was unearthed by Dr. James R. Clark of BYU and long-time student of the story behind the Book of Abraham. Dr. Clark found a speech by N. L. Nelson in the *Academic Review* of 1885 while browsing through some of the old publications of the academy at Provo. Part of that article on Nelson's speech said: "Dr. J. R. Riggs of this city . . . personally examined" the papyri. N. L. Nelsen said that he personally acquired his knowledge of the following story from Brother Riggs. What occurred after that is best told in the words of Dr. Clark:

I said to myself, how am I going to verify this story? How am I going to get additional information? I went over to the one man on the campus who probably knows more about people of BYU than anyone else, our registrar, Brother Hayes, a remarkable man for remembering names and faces. I said, "Brother Hayes, do you know anything about a Dr. Riggs who used to live in Provo?"

"Yes," he said, "he was an early physician here; but I think you can get more information by going to see either Jack Beesley, who runs the Beesley Monument business, or Mary Jane Davis."

Mary Jane Davis lived in my ward, so I went to her and said, "Can you tell me anything about Dr. John Riggs?"

And then she gave me a biography. She was a descendant of Dr. John Riggs. And then she said, "Have you seen the Bullock Narrative? We had a Bullock genealogical family reunion this last summer. Clara Fullmer Bullock of Taber, Alberta, Canada, was down, and she presented a paper, or this biography of Benjamin Bullock, III. I think you would be interested in reading it because it has something about the Pearl of Great Price." So she gave me the biography.

It seems, according to the story that Sister Bullock has written, that she had an operation at the LDS Hospital in November 1917 and then went to Lehi, Utah, to recuperate at the home of her sister, Mrs. Elva Allred. While she was there, she went into the family library (the Allreds were pioneer settlers of Lehi) and there she found a book—at least they called her attention to a book—that contained a story about Benjamin Bullock. In brief, this story is that Benjamin Bullock was the man who told Chandler about Joseph Smith.

Now, we haven't known before, and there is nowhere recorded in Church history who it was that was instrumental in getting Chandler, who had the mummies and papyrus, to go to Joseph Smith. The story is essentially that Benjamin Bullock was related to Heber C. Kimball, and the Kimballs were living in Mendon, New York, and the Bullocks were living in Moir, New York. They evidently had heard about Joseph Smith, so when Chandler got the mummies, it was Benjamin Bullock who suggested that Chandler take the mummies and papyrus to Joseph Smith, and he offered to take him. He took his team and drove Chandler the 250 miles to Kirtland to take the mummies and papyrus to Joseph Smith.

But the story is not over. There is an interesting thing about the reaction of Chandler and Bullock to Joseph Smith. As soon as Chandler had sold his mummies and papyrus, according to this story, he went on to California. Now whether he ever got there, or where he died, I don't know. Maybe someday I can trace him down, but the reaction of Benjamin Bullock was this: "I am going back. I have such a high opinion of Joseph Smith and his people that I am going back to get my family and come and join these Mormons." And so he went back to New York and took a copy of the Book of Mormon with him. This is another Book of Mormon conversion story. We have hundreds of them in the Church. His wife found out that he had a copy of the Book of Mormon and threatened that if she ever got her hands on it, she would burn it. She was prejudiced because of the bad reputation and the false stories that had been told

about Joseph Smith in the community, fulfilling the prophecies of Moroni that he would be known for good and evil. Well, she found the book, read it, and was converted to the Church even before the missionaries came.

And then John Riggs came along as a missionary and converted the rest of the family, all but the father and the oldest son, who was away at law school. The father did not join the Church, but he did migrate to Kirtland, went through the persecutions with the Prophet Joseph Smith, and continued on through the Nauvoo persecutions while still not a member of the Church. There were two reasons offered as to why he didn't join: one was that he felt he could do more good for the Church by staying out of it; and the other was that he had a habit that he had not been able to overcome, and he would not join the Church until he had overcome it. Well, he didn't join the Church, and then he and his family started west, and they got as far as the Platte River when he took the cholera. His oldest son in the meantime had come back from law school, had joined the Church, and had been made an elder. Before Benjamin's death—he apparently had always had a testimony—he wanted to be baptized. He was baptized and then died five hours later. So this is the Benjamin Bullock who was the instrumental link in getting the mummies and papyrus into the hands of Joseph Smith.

Sister Bullock gave me her testimony of the story in a letter dated September 8, 1952: "About twenty years ago I went to the Genealogical Library and with Brother Archibald Bennett, who was the Library boy, searched for just such a book as the one that contains my mummy story. But as I had forgotten the title, we were lost. It was a dark, hard-backed book, about the size of *Church Chronology* by Andrew Jenson, or it could have been a trifle thicker. Towards the center was my story, occupying perhaps from a page to a page and a half. It was not written by Bullock or Chandler, and seemed, as I remember, to be a collection of pioneer experiences.

"I am sending you a copy of my story and you are welcome to use it. I trust we will succeed in finding the original needed to make it authentic. Until then, of course, since I am responsible for its truthfulness, I will have to be quoted. But you can rely on my support and sanction in any way you need it, and I will be happy to assist. The Allreds and Bullocks have the reputation of being trustworthy, but the story I tell rests, of course, upon my honesty. Perhaps knowing my people, you will learn a little more of me. Thirteen of my immediate ancestors were Mormon Pioneers. My parental grandfather, John S. Fullmer, received the Priesthood under the hands of the Prophet Joseph Smith, who also married my grandparents in plural marriage. He was the paymaster of the Nauvoo Legion, and it was he who slept on the arm of the Prophet in Carthage Jail before the martyrdom. His son, my father, was a tender and under-

standing father, and was in the bishopric for nineteen years. Mother, a church worker all her life, raised ten of her twelve children. I am sixty-five and have been a Church worker all my life—sixteen years in the Relief Society as a class leader, ten of which were in theology; twelve as ward officer in genealogical work. I realize I have been very inefficient in all that I have been called upon to do, but I also realize God's blessings to me as a humble worker have been great. My life is full of wonderful testimonies of His goodness to me and my family."

Obviously the truthfulness of the Bullock story is yet unknown. But if it is true, it helps fill a gap in the saga of the Book of Abraham.

And so, after a long and detailed journey through the catacombs of Egypt, down the river Nile, across the Mediterranean to Trieste, over the Alps to Turin, and on to Dublin and London, where we set sail for New York or Philadelphia and the "gypsy-like life" of the exhibition trail through New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Baltimore, and Cleveland, we now find ourselves at the outskirts of the town of Kirtland, Ohio. Our peregrinations have been through grass meadows and thickly wooded hills, perhaps even a swamp or two, but, hopefully, not without a view of every important point of interest along the way. As noted before, the story of the Book of Abraham is not simple. It is extremely complicated and full of details that may become important in light of future but yet unfinished research. As is now apparent, the background story simply cannot be told in 2,000 words, nor could it ever be told in completeness in a single article, newspaper, or magazine. There is simply too much there. It is hoped that our peregrinations have helped identify the trouble spots, the presently unknown areas, and made more meaningful that which has been known.

At any rate, after our long, yet eventful, journey, we approach Kirtland, where we shall meet a true prophet of God. Over countless thousands of miles of water and sod have traveled these last four remaining mummies and their important papyri treasures. Through countless hands

of potential robbers, thieves, dishonest men and the envious have slipped these Egyptian artifacts.

As many have observed, it seems nothing short of miraculous that the mummies and their records should have safely navigated through the rough waters of antiquity barons, catacomb plunderers, dishonest and rival artifact agents, the hands of would-be purchasers and the dishonest that would have been confronted on the exhibition trail in America to eventually find safe lodging in the town of the Prophet Joseph. How many times must the hand of the Lord have been manifest! How many times must inspiration have wielded its influence in peculiar and strange manners!

"And in nothing doth man offend God, or against none is his wrath kindled, save those who confess not his hand in all things. . . ." (D&C 59:21.)

Certainly, as most Latter-day Saints have been able to testify, the Lord moves in mysterious ways, his wonders to perform. In light of all that is known about the background of the story of the Book of Abraham, it truly is a marvelous and inspiring story how these papyri records were led to the hands of the Prophet.

But it is time we met him—Joseph Smith, the Prophet.