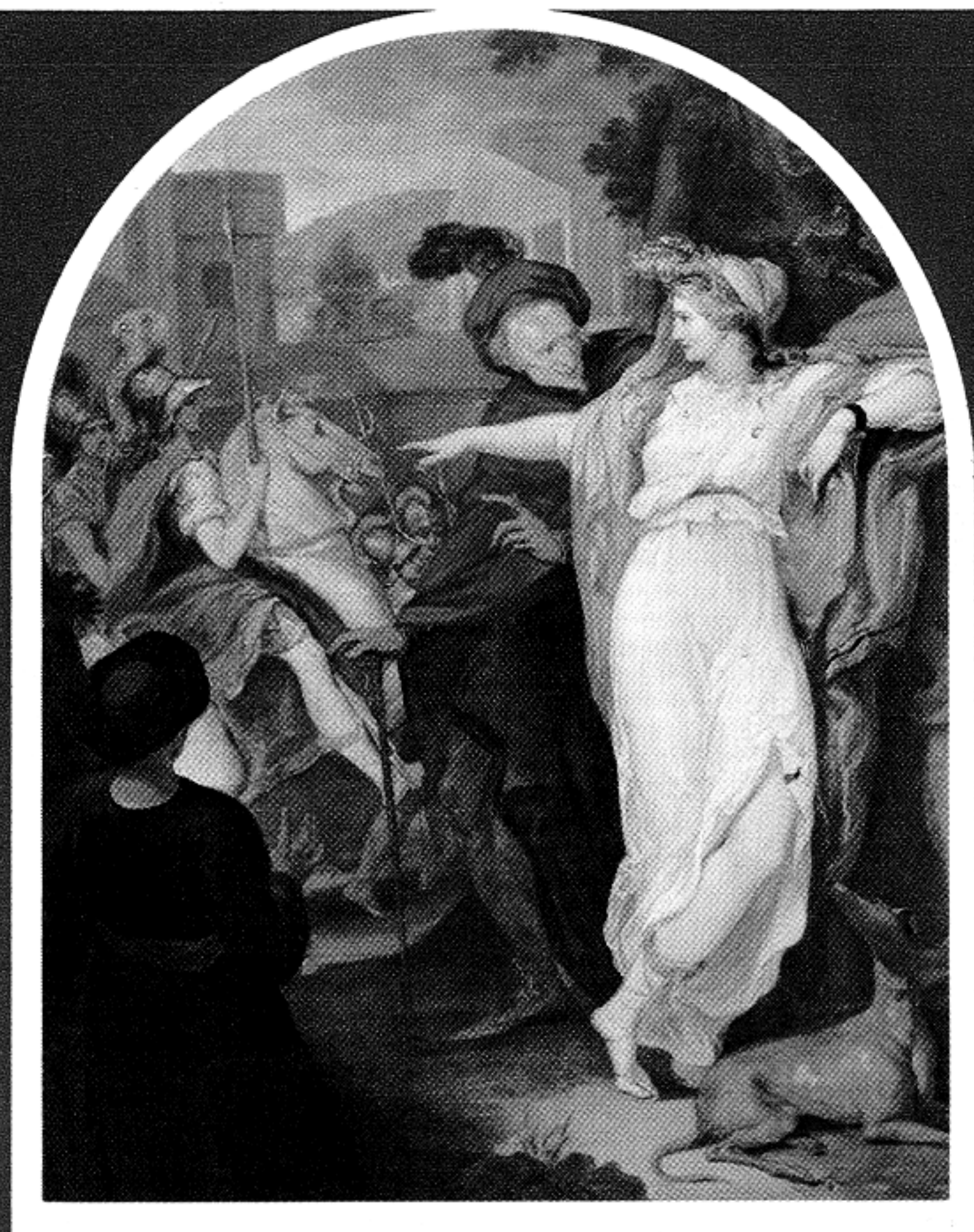


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A VOICE FOR THE COMMUNITY OF LDS SCHOLARS



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A Study of the Text of Joseph Smith's Inspired Version of the Bible

R. J. Matthews*

This is the first of two discussions that report the results of a critical study of the text of what is popularly known as Joseph Smith's Inspired Version of the Bible.¹ An examination of this subject is invited by the Eighth Article of Faith of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints which declares officially that the Church accepts the Bible (any Bible) "to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly." In this first discussion attention is given particularly to such matters as the historical importance of Joseph Smith's work with the Bible in relation to his larger mission as the first prophet of this dispensation, the extent of the textual changes effected by the Prophet, his procedure, the time involved, the question of completeness, and especially to the reliability of the printed editions published by the Reorganized Church.²

Joseph Smith's work with the Bible is closely associated with the other standard works of the Church and also with many of the doctrines held by it, and is thus inseparably con-

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¹Joseph Smith's work with the Bible has been variously known as the "Inspired Version," "Inspired Revision," "Inspired Translation," and the "New Translation." Every reference to it in the Doctrine and Covenants and the *History of the Church* calls it a translation. This was also the name by which it was known in the early years of the Church. Since it was based upon the King James Version and effected no change of language, it has become customary in recent years to refer to it as a "revision" rather than a "translation."

²The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is hereinafter designated by the abbreviation RLDS.

nected with the history of the Church. For example, the Doctrine and Covenants has frequent reference to the Prophet's work with the Bible. In D&C 45:60-61, dated March 7, 1831, Joseph was instructed to begin working with the New Testament; in D&C 76:15, dated February 16, 1832, Joseph and in D&C 90:13, dated March 8, 1833, instruction was given Sidney Rigdon were working with the fifth chapter of John; concerning the books of the prophets of the Old Testament; in D&C 93:53, dated May 6, 1833, Joseph was told to hasten the work; and in D&C 124:89, dated January 19, 1841, mention is made of printing the work. In addition, there are several entire sections of the Doctrine and Covenants that were received directly as a result of the Prophet's work in revising the Bible. This is true of at least Section 74 concerning some of the writings of Paul, Section 76 about the degrees of glory, Section 77 explaining portions of the Book of Revelation, and Section 91 concerning the Apocrypha. Other sections that are related to the work of the Bible revision might also include 86, 113, and 132.

The Pearl of Great Price is another of the standard works of the Church that owes much to the Prophet's revision of the Bible. Both the Book of Moses and the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew are extracted from the manuscripts of the Bible revision.

Although the Book of Mormon probably has little, if any, direct relationship to the revision of the Bible, the imperfect condition of our present Bibles is discussed therein. 1 Nephi 13 and 14 state that the Bible (or record of the Jews and of the twelve apostles, although originally correct and in a form that contained the plainness of the gospel of the Lamb) would become corrupted and thereafter be handed down through the generations in an imperfect condition with many "plain and precious things" removed from it. It is further stated that these plain and precious things would be available again through other records incident to the restoration of the gospel. (1 Nephi 13:39-40.) The "other records" referred to probably mean the standard works of the Church, and as shown above, these are closely associated with the Inspired Version of the Bible.

The Prophet Joseph makes frequent mention in his journal (now popularly called the *Documentary History of the*

Church) of his special work with the Bible, and he particularly names it "a branch of his calling."³ It is impossible to separate Joseph Smith's work of revising the Bible from the other aspects of his mission in the dispensation of the fulness of times.

Records and reports left us by Joseph Smith and by others associated with him indicate that he was prepared by spiritual experience and by divine appointment to do the revision work with the Bible. They also suggest that the work constituted a learning experience for him. By this experience and process many new things were to be made known to him, and this it seems was a basic purpose of the work. At least this is evident from a statement in D&C 45:60-61 which gives the reasons for the Prophet's work with the New Testament:

And now, behold, I say unto you, it shall not be given unto you to know any further concerning this chapter, until the New Testament be translated, *and in it all these things shall be made known;*

Wherefore I give unto you that ye may now translate it, that ye may be prepared for the things to come. (Italics mine.)

The Prophet also speaks of his divine appointment to "translate" the Bible in D&C 76:15:

For while we were doing the work of translation, *which the Lord had appointed unto us*, we came to the twenty-ninth verse of the fifth chapter of John. . . . (Italics mine.)

The Prophet likewise had great knowledge of the scriptures from the revelations of the Holy Ghost. In writing about the effects of his baptism and the reception of the Holy Spirit, he said:

Our minds being now enlightened, we began to have the scriptures laid open to our understandings, and the true meaning and intention of their more mysterious passages revealed unto us in a manner which we never could attain to previously, nor ever before had thought of. (Joseph Smith 2:74.)

Additional background development is explained in a series of articles written by Oliver Cowdery, published in the *Messenger and Advocate*, February through July, 1835, in which he tells of the instruction and explanations of the

³Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts (2nd ed. rev.; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1957), Vol. 1, pp. 238-239 [hereafter referred to as *DHC*].

biblical prophecies that the Angel Moroni gave to Joseph Smith. These things are alluded to in the Prophet's own account, but the fuller exposition is given by Oliver, who states that the angel quoted and explained many passages from Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Psalms, in addition to Malachi, Acts and Joel.

According to the Prophet's journal and the dates written on the manuscripts of the Bible revision, the major portion of the work was done between June 1830 and July 2, 1833. Joseph was assisted in the earlier stages by John Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, and Emma Smith; but after December 1830, the bulk of the writing was done by Sidney Rigdon. A large family-style edition of the King James Version printed in Cooperstown, New York, in 1828 was used. The Prophet and Oliver purchased this Bible on October 8, 1829, from E. B. Grandin, at Palmyra, for \$3.75.⁴

In the margins of the Bible they placed check marks, crosses, and dots indicating the passages needing correction. They then wrote the actual corrections on separate sheets of paper. These sheets of paper, used in connection with the marked Bible, constitute the manuscript notes of Joseph Smith's revision of the Bible.⁵

Contrary to what may be popularly believed, the Prophet did not make one entire manuscript of the Bible. There are three separate manuscripts for the Old Testament and two for the New Testament. The first Old Testament manuscript consists of the revelation to Moses (Chapter one of Moses in the Pearl of Great Price) and the first seven chapters of Genesis written in full. The second manuscript consists of a revision of the first manuscript and is completely written out to Genesis 24:42. The third manuscript consists of a revision of Manuscript No. 2 completely written out through Genesis 24 and a set of notes continuing through Malachi.

We should call special attention here to the fact that the entire text was written in full only through Genesis 24; for the remainder of the Old Testament a shorter method consisting

⁴This information is recorded on the flyleaf of the Prophet's Bible, and appears to be in the handwriting of Joseph Smith.

⁵The writer is indebted to Mr. Richard P. Howard, Historian of the RLDS for the technical information about the original manuscript notes of the revision. Much of the information can be found in "Question Time," *The Saints' Herald*, May 1, 1966, p. 27. The writer has also had much personal correspondence with Mr. Howard on the subject.

primarily of reference citations and brief notes showing only the points of revision was used. The accompanying photocopy of a page from the Bernhisel Manuscript (an incomplete handwritten copy made in Nauvoo in 1845 and now in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City) illustrates this shorter method. (See p. 8.)

Of the two New Testament manuscripts, the first is of Matthew 1:1 to 26:71, written out completely. The second consists of a revision of the first manuscript and is completely written out through John 5. It continues with notes through the Revelation of John.

This knowledge of the nature of the manuscripts is indispensable for an understanding of the Prophet's procedure in making the revision as well as of some of the problems associated with the publication of the printed editions of the Inspired Version. It is significant to note that where there are multiple manuscripts of the same chapters, the later manuscript is more extensive and contains additional revisions over the earlier.

The Prophet revised many passages by writing in the margins on the manuscript sheets and also by writing on additional scraps of paper and pinning them to the sheets. This is a strong indication that the work of revision was an on-going process that was never quite completed, and that, had the Prophet lived longer, he might have revised many more passages. It is likely that he worked on this task in Nauvoo, since it was left short of completion when he died. A January 12, 1843, notice in the *Times and Seasons* says that work was then being done "to arrange the Book of Mormon, *translation of the Bible*, Hymn Book, and Doctrine and Covenants *for the press*." (DHC 4:493. Italics mine.) Furthermore, Dr. John M. Bernhisel stated that after the Prophet's death Emma told him that the manuscript "was not prepared for the press, as Joseph had designed to go through it again."⁶ The minutes of a meeting of the School of the Prophets in Salt Lake City, on June 20, 1868, record Dr. Bernhisel's report that "the Prophet told him he wished to revise it."⁷ The unfinished condition of the manuscript became a matter of considerable importance

⁶L. John Nuttall, "Diary," Vol. I (typescript at Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah), p. 335, entry for September 10, 1879.

⁷"Journal History of the Church," April-June, 1868, Church Historian's Library, Salt Lake City, entry for June 20, 1868, p. 1.

19 - for the fear of the Lord shall come upon them and the glory of his
majesty shall smite them - 20 - he hath -

21 - the fear of the Lord shall come upon them and the majesty of the
Lord shall smite them

Chap. III. 1 staff - 4 - unto them - 6 - shall say ^{let} not come -
7 there - 8 - tongues - have been - 9 doth - to be even as - can not -

10 - say unto the righteous that it is well with them

11 - for they shall perish for the reward of their hand shall be upon them.

12 And - 14 - And - 26 - shall be -

Chap. IV. 2 - to - 3 - they that are - 5 - of Zion -

Chap. V. 1 And them - 4 - it brought - 5 and I will - 7 and -

8 - even - 9 - and - cities - 11 and - 21 - the - 22 - the - 28 - shall be - and -

Photocopy of Page 52 of the Bernhiser Manuscript showing how part of the Prophet's manuscript contained only reference citations and brief notes of revision. The sample contains the revision of Isaiah 2:12 through 5:28. (By courtesy of the Church Historian's Office.)

with regard to publishing the Inspired Version, and will be dealt with in greater detail later.

Emma Smith eventually gave the Prophet's manuscript notes and the marked Bible to the RLDS Church, and they have them to the present day. In 1867 they published an edition of the Bible incorporating the Prophet's revisions,⁸ having at least 3,400 verses in which the text differs from the King James Version. Between 1867 and 1936 at least twenty-three subsequent printings of this edition were made from the same stereotype plates. In 1944 the RLDS published a "New Corrected Edition" which contains a number of variant readings from the 1867 first edition, and there have been eleven subsequent printings of this edition with some slight variation.

A major objective of the study mentioned at the beginning of this article was to discover the exact points of difference between the 1867 edition and the New Corrected Edition of 1944, and to determine, if possible, why there are differences, and also which of the variant readings most nearly represents the original notes of the Prophet. Since the Prophet's manuscript and the marked Bible were not available for use in this project, the writer used the Bernhisel Manuscript to make the comparisons. The Bernhisel Manuscript is a first-generation copy of the original and has never been published or made available to the RLDS; therefore, it is an independent witness for the text of the Prophet's original notes.

A word-for-word comparison of the two printed editions of the Inspired Version shows that there are variant readings in at least 352 verses, which is about ten percent of the total number of verses in which the printed Inspired Version differs from the King James Version. Most of these consist of matters of detail, however, and should not be misinterpreted to mean a ten percent change in the text.

A comparison of the Bernhisel Manuscript with the two printed editions of the Inspired Version revealed some variant readings also; but again, most of the variants consisted of mat-

⁸For a detailed history of the publication of the 1867 edition of the Inspired Version, see Reed C. Durham, "A History of Joseph Smith's Revision of the Bible," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1965. Durham's study delineates in considerable detail the financial problems involved in bringing the first edition to the press, and also the proposed attempt to publish a "teacher's edition."

ters of detail that appear to be normal scribal mistakes and printer's errors. There are, however, several instances involving decisions by the RLDS publication committees for passages where the Prophet's notes are inadequate or vague. It is these items that have special interest and importance.

An analysis of the data obtained by the comparison demonstrated several things. First, insofar as the Bernhisel Manuscript has corresponding material, it generally supports the printed editions of the Inspired Version. Second, it shows that the Bernhisel Manuscript supports the 1944 New Corrected Edition in preference to the 1867 first edition of the Inspired Version. This was found to be the case in 49 verses, while only eight were found to the contrary. Following are two examples showing the Bernhisel Manuscript in support of the New Corrected Edition in preference to the 1867 edition. The corresponding passage from the King James Version is given for comparison. The reference is Psalms 19:13:

King James Version	Inspired Version (1867)
Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins;	Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous <i>acts</i> ;
	Inspired Version (1944)
	Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous <i>acts</i> ;
	Bernhisel Manuscript
	- - acts - -

The 1867 edition simply follows the King James Version and fails to record the change specified in the Bernhisel copy of the manuscript. This change is included in the 1944 edition of the Inspired Version. An additional example is found in Isaiah 14:16:

King James Version	Inspired Version (1867)
They that see thee shall nar- rowly look upon thee, and consider thee, saying,	They that see thee shall nar- rowly look upon thee, and consider thee, <i>and shall say</i>
	Inspired Version (1944)
	They that see thee shall nar- rowly look upon thee, and <i>shall</i> consider thee, <i>and shall</i> <i>say</i>
	Bernhisel Manuscript
	- - shall - - and shall say - -

It is quickly seen in this example that the 1944 edition follows the manuscript more closely than does the 1867 edition.

Following are two of the eight passages in which the Bernhisel Manuscript supports the 1867 edition in preference to the New Corrected Edition. The first is found in Isaiah 2:9:

King James Version
And the mean man boweth
down, and the great man
humbleth himself: therefore
forgive them not.

Inspired Version (1867)
And the mean man boweth
not down, and the great man
humbleth himself *not*; there-
fore forgive *him* not.

Inspired Version (1944)
And the mean man boweth
not down, and the great man
humbleth himself *not*; there-
fore forgive *them* not.

Bernhisel Manuscript
- - not - - him - -

The actual point of emphasis in this comparison is with the word "him" near the end of the verse. It is noted that the 1867 edition of the Inspired Version follows literally the notation on the Bernhisel Manuscript (and therefore probably also the original notes), although to preserve the plural sense of the passage "them" is preferable. In the 1944 edition the passage reverts to the reading of the King James Version and ignores the use of "him." In this case the 1944 New Corrected Edition has the more grammatical reading even though it is at the expense of the Prophet's.

Another example is found in Isaiah 33:18:

King James Version
. . . where is he that counted
the towers?

Inspired Version (1867)
. . . where is he that counted
in the towers?

Inspired Version (1944)
. . . where is he that counted
the towers?

Bernhisel Manuscript
- - in - -

The 1944 edition simply follows the King James Version, whereas the 1867 edition contains the word "in" as specified in the manuscript.

Since the Bernhisel Manuscript is an independent witness for the Prophet's original notes, and in view of the forty-nine instances in which it supports the New Corrected Edition to the eight in which it was opposed, one must conclude that the New Corrected Edition of the Inspired Version more accurately represents the Prophet's notes than does the 1867 edition. Discovery of this item alone made the study worth the effort. There were, however, other significant findings.

Not only does the study indicate the improved accuracy of the New Corrected Edition, but it also illustrates the unfinished nature of the original manuscript notes. In many instances the notes do not contain an entire passage, but only the scriptural citation with a word or two indicating the point of revision. In most cases this technique is adequate and there is no question about where to place the words, but in other cases it is not clear just where the words of the revision should be placed in the verse. At these points the RLDS publication committees were obliged to make some decisions of their own as to whether the words of the revision were simply to be added to the existing text or whether they were to replace some of the words of the existing text. Where the words are placed in the verse generally varies the meaning, and a number of the variant readings between the New Corrected Edition and the 1867 edition show that the thinking of the later committee sometimes differed from that of the earlier committee. Two citations illustrate this. The first is from John 20:17:

King James Version	Inspired Version (1867)
Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not;	Jesus saith unto her, <i>Hold</i> ; touch me not;
	Inspired Version (1944)
	Jesus saith unto her, <i>Hold</i> me not;
	Bernhisel Manuscript
	- - hold - -

In the 1867 edition of the Inspired Version the word "hold" is added to the text in a manner to convey the meaning of "stop," whereas in the New Corrected Edition of 1944 "hold" is inserted in place of the word "touch," and has the connotation of "embrace" or possibly "detain." The Bernhisel Manuscript cannot assist in placing the word, but it does

certify that "hold" should be placed somewhere. This example illustrates one type of decision that had to be made by the publication committees in preparing a manuscript for the printer, and attests to the unfinished condition of the Prophet's original notes. There could be no question that the Prophet knew exactly what he meant, but we cannot tell from the manuscript alone what that is.

A second example illustrating this problem is found in Romans 3:24 and could be important as a matter of doctrine:

King James Version
Being justified freely by his
grace through the redemption
that is in Christ Jesus:

Inspired Version (1867)
Therefore being justified free-
ly by his grace through the
redemption that is *only* in
Christ Jesus;

Inspired Version (1944)
Therefore being justified *only*
by his grace through the re-
demption that is in Christ
Jesus;

Bernhisel Manuscript
Therefore - - only - -

The point of the matter in this example rests on the placement of the word "only," whether it is to replace the word "freely" or whether it is simply to be added to the words already extant. There is no question that "therefore" and "only" are the words of the revision; it is the placement of those words that constitutes the problem. It is evident that the later RLDS committee saw a different meaning in the passage than did the earlier committee.

In problems of this category there is no evidence that the publication committees had any intent to deceive or that they willfully altered the words of the Prophet, but only that they endeavored to present the actual sense of the revision as intended by the Prophet, whatever that was. Such judgments were necessary if there was to be a publication. The decisions of the committees may be correct or incorrect, but in any event they represent conclusions beyond that which can be substantiated by the Prophet's actual notes.

In addition to the problem of the indefiniteness of some of the original notes of the revision, there is the perpetual prob-

lem of human weakness and fallibility. There were opportunities for human error in every stage of the printing process from the time the Prophet dictated the points of revision to his scribe until they appeared on the printed page.

When the RLDS decided to publish the Inspired Version, they considered it inappropriate to place the original notes in the hands of the printer, and therefore the committee commissioned the preparation of a special working manuscript from the original. After carefully checking the accuracy of this working manuscript, they delivered it to the printer. This was the only feasible way to do the work, but it also increased the possibility for human error. Anyone who has had experience in copying manuscript by hand, in setting type, and in proofreading galleys will appreciate the multiple chances for error that were inherent in the long journey from the Prophet to the published page. No matter how careful and honest the copyist, the typesetter, and the proofreader, there may be a mistake of the hand or the eye, or a slip of the pen that will permit errors to enter the copy causing it to vary from the original. With a work as complicated, complex, and extensive as the Bible, it is next to impossible to expect a printed edition, especially a first edition, to be without some kind of error.

As one might expect, the 1867 first edition of the Inspired Version and the subsequent reprints from the same plates had a number of unintentional variants from the original notes. Some of these are as follows:

Genesis 11:5: Behold, the *the* people are the same.

Genesis 14:17: And *Mechisedek*, king of Salem.

2 Kings 1:10: If I be man of God.

(Should read: If I be *a* man of God.)

Psalms 109:3: . . . they spoke against me also with works of hatred.

(Should read: . . . with words of hatred.)

Isaiah 10:2: And they shall look unto *thee* earth.

(Should read: And they shall look unto *the* earth.)

Matthew 5:38: . . . neither by heaven, for it is God's *home*.

(Should read: . . . for it is God's *throne*.)

Matthew 13:19: . . . And endureth but for a *a* while.

In addition to the normal typographical and scribal errors in the 1867 edition, there was apparently a feeling in time that the publication committee had erred in its judgment in some

of the indefinite passages of the original notes. Since there was also a desire for larger and more readable print, it was concluded that a second edition of the Inspired Version would at once be both more accurate and serviceable. Accordingly, a publication committee was appointed and a "New Corrected Edition" came from the press in 1944. This new edition corrected the typographical and scribal mistakes found in the 1867 edition, and also changed some of the passages that were ambiguous in the original notes. These were primarily matters of detail, often nondoctrinal, but in a technical sense they represent variant readings in the text of the printed editions of the Inspired Version.

Although the New Corrected Edition of 1944 contained none of the typographical errors found in the 1867 edition, human weakness and fallibility again manifested themselves in the form of several new typographical errors. This writer has identified twenty-six such instances which appear to be typographical and scribal mistakes which the proofreaders failed to catch.

When a second printing of the New Corrected Edition was issued in 1947 many of the typographical errors were corrected. In subsequent printings the number of typographical errors have become fewer. The latest printing, 1966, has the fewest number yet.

As a result of the study described in this report, it is concluded that the work of the Prophet Joseph Smith in making a revision of the Bible was of major significance in the establishment of the Church in this dispensation. The Prophet was prepared by spiritual experience and was given a divine appointment to do the work. The process was a learning experience for him, and much of the content of the Doctrine and Covenants and of the Pearl of Great Price came as a result of this work, making these standard works inseparably associated with the revision of the Bible. The work was substantial, the printed editions containing 3,400 verses that differ from the King James Version. Most of the work seems to have been done in the early 1830's, but it is evident that the Prophet was doing some work with the manuscript as late as the early 1840's.

The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints holds the Prophet's Bible and notes, and from these

they published an edition of the Bible in 1867 and a New Corrected Edition in 1944. The two editions differ in 352 verses. Of these, the New Corrected Edition appears to be the more accurate representation of the Prophet's work and to contain fewer typographical errors. This conclusion is based on a comparison with the Bernhisel Manuscript which is a handwritten copy of much of the original and is held by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City. It is also significant to note that the Bernhisel Manuscript generally supports the text of the printed Inspired Version.

Because of the unfinished nature of the Prophet's manuscript notes which left some passages vague and ambiguous, judgments and adjustments had to be made by the publication committees, and since the final sense of these passages cannot be verified by the manuscript they are open to discussion as to the exact meaning.

Japanese and English Poetry Some Similarities and Differences

EDWARD L. HART*

In a very true sense, poetry does not and cannot communicate experience; rather, it is the mechanical means whereby the reader creates the poetic experience in his own mind as he reads. A poem, then, is like a catalyst, causing fragments of forms, sense experience, and ideas to fuse in the patterns of the poet's words, in much the way that crystal forms are produced in various chemical fluxes under certain conditions of heat and pressure. It is quite obvious that if the reader has had no past experiences, there can be, for him, no poem.

The way in which the poet, as alchemist, transmutes the lead of common experience into refined gold of poetic experience is called technique. And, says Mark Schorer, if we are not talking about the achieved content produced by means of technique, we are not talking about art at all.¹ Most readers will be familiar with the techniques of English poetry; my purpose here is to see if any of these known techniques can be found in Japanese poetry, and, perhaps more important, to see if the Japanese have additional ways of producing emotional response not known in English poetry.

The first thing that must strike anyone who begins a comparison of any such widely divergent literatures as those in

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¹Mark Schorer, "Technique as Discovery," *Hudson Review* (1948); reprinted in *The Modern Critical Spectrum*, eds. Gerald and Nancy M. Goldberg (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), p. 70.

English and in Japanese is not that they are so completely different but that they are so similar. These similarities are not at first apparent, but they are basic and seem to multiply as one goes deeper.

One might begin by observing that there seems to have been a force operating upon both English and Japanese-speaking peoples pushing them toward some kind of expression that we can call poetic. Why this should be so is beyond the scope of this essay. But within its scope is this question: Why did line length become so important a unit of form in the great poetry of the past of both traditions? This, it seems to me, is more significant as a similarity than is the difference: the fact, for example, that Japanese lines are measured by syllables and English lines by feet. Even here the difference is more apparent than real, for with great frequency the iambic pentameter line, the most common line of English poetry, contains the standard ten syllables, sometimes even the monosyllabic feet that Pope complained about:

And ten low words oft creep in one dull line.²

Just as the iambic pentameter line may be varied (by a feminine ending, for example), so irregularities in the lines of the *tanka* often occur by the addition of extra syllables and less frequently by an omission. Neither is it very significant that rime does not play much of a part in Japanese poetry, probably owing to the superabundance of riming syllables available; rime was not a part, either, in the oldest English poetry, and the blank verse of Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, and Frost, just to mention four poets from various periods, testifies that rime is not an essential element of English poetry.

The *tanka* is, probably, more like the sonnet than any other English form. And here is another interesting comparison. The two parts of the sonnet, the octet and the sestet, are often counterbalanced over the fulcrum of a crisis. This kind of structure is likewise apparent in the *tanka*, or *waka*, institutionalized in the Japanese poem in the double meaning of the pivot word. The first seventeen syllables often make a statement and the remaining fourteen, a counterstatement. And, of course, this development took place without the direct influence of Aristotle's concept of beginning, middle, and end to

²*An Essay on Criticism*, I, 347.

guide it. The syllables of the modern *tanka* are divided into three lines of five, seven, and five syllables for the first part and into two lines of seven syllables each for the second part. In the courtly period, the first part was often written as a letter by a lover, and the last part would be added by his mistress. Also, a kind of chain-verse game or poetry contest called the *renga* developed from the *tanka*; one person would begin the verse and others continued it. Eventually, the first part of the *tanka* by itself (three lines of five, seven, and five syllables) came to be recognized as a separate form, known to us now as *haiku*.

Beyond these similarities of mechanically numbered lines is something more, of course. To use Robert Frost's tennis analogy, the mechanical form of a poem is simply the court upon which the game of poetry is played. All kinds of dodging, maneuvering, and alternation of fast and slow drives are possible within the set limits of play. Variety in both the *haiku* and the sonnet may be obtained by similar means. One pattern may be superimposed upon another. The pattern of meaning may not end with a line but run beyond it. In English, we should call this enjambment. The same kind of effect is produced in a Japanese poem when one idea ends and a new one begins in the middle of a line. The line in which the turning point of meaning occurs may be varied from poem to poem, or at least the position within the line may vary, as Pope carefully varied the position of the caesura from line to line. Other patterns may similarly be posed one upon the other in the poetry of both languages: for example, colloquial upon formal, or figurative upon literal.

To pursue the matter of similarities a bit further, before going into differences, I shall look briefly at sound, which is, of course, an essential element in both poetic traditions. When first studying Japanese, I was struck by the notion that there might be some sounds so fundamentally related to ideas that we should find an almost universal manifestation of the relationship. I shall illustrate this notion by just one suggested example, the extremely frequent presence of the *n* sound in words connoting or denoting negation. The *n* sound is in negatives of many of the European languages: all the way from *no*, *not*, and *never* in English to *nein*, *kein*, and *nicht* in German. And what but the *n* sound in *nyiet* has made that Russian

word so ominous and convincing? By way of comparison, a few Japanese negative verb endings are *-nai*, *-nashi*, *-nakatta*, and *-masen*. Perhaps there is more than coincidence here.

Onomatopoeia plays an important part in Japanese poetry, as it does in English. Writers of poetry in English have felt free to use onomatopoeic words when they felt like it: e.g., Poe's "tintinabulation" and Herrick's "liquefaction." The Japanese language abounds in words that exist solely, or almost solely, for sound. There is, for instance, a children's song about the rain:

Ame, ame, fure, fure kasan no,
Janome no omukai ureshii na;
Picha-picha, chapu-chapu, ran, ran, ran.

This is simply about a mother coming with an umbrella in the rain to meet a child: "Rain, rain, fall, fall; Mother's umbrella with the bull's-eye design; aren't we happy!" The remainder of the poem, the last line, is made of words that are there mostly for their sound. *Picha-picha* has a dictionary meaning: a lapping or splashing sound, but in this song it might correspond to our *plunk-plunk* or *plop-plop*. And *chapu-chapu* has the sound and rhythm of children's wooden *geta* clomp-clomping through the rainy street. Notice that *chapu* is a better sound than *clomp*, however, which has a dry sound. *Chapu* is the sound of the *geta* swishing through the water and then making a hard but somewhat muffled sound on the stones beneath. *Ran, ran, ran* suggests the skipping movements and the playfulness of the child.

The occurrence of onomatopoeia in Japanese poetry, however, is not limited to children's songs. Here, for instance, is a *haiku* of Buson (1716-1783), one of the four great *haiku* poets. And incidentally, this poem is irregular in that it has sixteen rather than seventeen syllables.

Here and there	Ochikochi	をちこち
There and here,	Ochikochi to utsu	をちこちと打つ
Beating the fulling blocks. ³	Kinuta kana.	砧かな

³The transcription and translation of this *haiku* and of those which follow are from R. H. Blyth, *Haiku*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1947-1952), I, 235; I, 375; II, 333; I, 378. A few of my exceptions to Blyth's readings will be referred to as they appear hereafter.

In the onomatopoeic words *ochikochi-ochikochi* is reproduced the slapping sound of the cloth beating the fulling blocks. And naturally the sound of the rest of the words contributes to the overall effect also.

Onomatopoeia has many more subtle possibilities than those outlined so far. Sound can suggest states of mind and abstract emotional responses. For instance, in the lines ending Carl Sandburg's "Limited": "I ask a man in the smoker where he is going, and he answers: 'Omaha,' " the repeated *o* sounds suggest a stretching out of time and distance, fading away in the last word *Omaha*. Similar subtleties can be conveyed in Japanese poetry. For example, here is a *haiku* by Taigi:

Not a single stone	Inu wo utsu	犬を打つ
To throw at the dog,—	Ishi no sate nâshi ⁴	石のさてなし
The wintry moon.	Fuyu no Tsuki.	冬の月

The combination of *u* sounds and the oppressively prickling consonants *t* and *k* contribute to the sense of emptiness, immobility, and futility in the scene. Even the absence of a predication contributes to the imagery: the Zen state of personal annihilation. It is a "not even a stone to throw at the dog winter moon," the whole thing building up toward the winter moon as symbol of cold and empty space. This piling up of attributive adjectival phrases before the noun reminds one of Hopkins, e.g., from "The Windhover": "the rolling level underneath him steady air," all modifying air.

Although the similarities are impressive regarding the ways in which poetic meaning can be conveyed in Japanese and in English, there are, of course, differences. And it is these differences that I wish to examine now. Conventional English poetry employs meter: the regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, and Japanese poetry does not. This, it seems to me, is the most fundamental difference. Quite obviously some rhythmical effects possible in English poetry are not possible in Japanese. For instance, the "sprung rhythm" of Hopkins, the contrapuntal effect produced by displacing an accented syllable with an unaccented one and the reverse, can-

⁴For "sate" read "hate."

not be achieved in a language that has no metrical pattern to begin with. Conversely, it would appear axiomatic to say that there are effects possible in a nonmetrical poetry that are not possible in one that employs meter. The lack of meter, for example, might contribute, as in the poem about the winter moon, to the sense of uninterrupted nothingness. There is, as a matter of historical fact, a strong relationship between Zen and the development of the *haiku*. The recurring accents in the English language are, in their regular recurrence, like footsteps, toward something. Any marking of space, at any rate, makes it a void no longer. Perhaps this is part of the reason why there is no significant existentialist poetry in English: English rhythm precludes it by the very way in which its accentual beat marches forward. I shall not push this idea too far, but perhaps this is related also to that quality of character called in English a "bulldog determination."

I wish, in conclusion, to illustrate an impressive way Japanese has of conveying meaning—a way not open to English, or open in only a very crude way. The method I am referring to is the conveying of meaning through linear representation—through an imitation of the forms of nature in pictures. English can certainly go only a limited distance in this direction. It is true that Herbert has a poem about an altar in the shape of an altar, and Dylan Thomas has a prayerful poem in the shape of the beads of a rosary, but much beyond this (or maybe even this) is tomfoolery of the kind Dryden satirized in "Mac Flecknoe":

Leave writing Plays, and chuse for thy command
Some Peaceful Province in Acrostick Land.
There thou maist wings display and Altars raise,
And torture one poor word ten thousand ways. (11. 205-208)

The things the Japanese poet can do with pictorial suggestions, by contrast, are subtle and varied because of the nature of the language. It is true that only a limited number of Chinese characters have an actual pictorial significance, but the poet can make an extremely good use of the resources he possesses.

To understand the kind of poetic suggestiveness I am discussing now, one needs, of course, to see the poem as well as hear it. My first example comes from Buson:

A great fall of snow	O yuki to	大雪と
Just as they are shutting ⁵	Nari keri seki no	なりけり關の
The gates of the barrier.	Tozashidoki.	戸ざし時

The third Chinese character in this *haiku* is *seki* (關). The essential radical (門) of this character is the envelope which by itself means a gate. Expressed pictorially this way, it is an open gate, an aperture through which one might pass. But functioning in the poem it is a closed gate, a barrier. The radical filling the passageway conveys to the eye of the reader a sense of shutness, and the pictorial representation, along with the slow rhythm and heaviness of the sound, conveys a sense of the weight of the barrier and of the snow.

Here is another example, a *haiku* by Kubutsu:

A child gazing at the falling flowers	Kuchi aite	口あいて
With open mouth	Rakka Nagamuru	落花眺むる
Is a Buddha.	Ko wa hotoke.	子は佛

The first character of the poem is the word for mouth. What could one do in English to create an image of an open mouth so effectively just by the appearance of letters on a page? True, a closed mouth would be represented by the same symbol in Japanese; but that would be a denotive meaning only and would not thereby preclude the connotive meanings applicable when the mouth is open, as here.

Perhaps one more example, this a bit more subtle, will suffice, this one from Kyorai:

The water of the lake	Mizuumi no	湖の
Has increased	Mizu masari keri	水まさりけり
In the rains of May. ⁶	Satsuki ame.	五月雨

⁵This should have been rendered in the past "were shutting."

⁶Blyth inadvertently translated "Fifth Month" as June.

The Japanese reader recognizes the water radical of the first character (氵) as soon as he comes to it and knows it to be derived from the character for water (水). In addition, the sound of the first part of lake, *mizuumi*, is the word for water, repeated later meaning only water. And the last character of the poem, rain, *ame* (雨), contains a picture of four drops of water in the process of falling from the sky. These three identifications give the Japanese reader a sense of the merging of rain water into lake water, conveying a sense of total unity of all water in a world dominated by water during the rainy season.

This brief introduction may be of some assistance to the lover of English poetry who has admired Japanese poetry from a distance. But, as always, when we stand closer we see more detail. There is no full and complete way to the appreciation of poetry of any language short of learning that language. Still, as I have pointed out, the similarities of effects produced in the two languages are great, and whatever one gains from the literature of another language, the pursuit is worthwhile. Both English and Japanese, in their poetry, are true to the force that causes us to humanize the inhuman world by forcing it through the mind of an artist so that it emerges wearing forever the impress of the mind it has passed through and warming forever the heart of the reader who recognizes and is at home in the great human heart. The poetry of each language uses techniques which vary according to the genius of each language. But both are working toward the same central purpose that has always been the goal of poets: the relating of fragments of things and thoughts into a human whole, a whole that carries the hallmark "Made on Earth by Man."

Reflections on the Nature of Mormon Art

MERRILL BRADSHAW*

The Mormon creative artist stands in a unique, favorable position with respect to his art, his historical opportunity, aesthetic principles, and styles of expression. The challenges of this position offer exciting potential for the creation of enduring works of art worthy of the Church and of the attention of the rest of the artistic world.

These statements are presented here at the outset as summaries of past thought, as optimistic conclusions, rather than as hypotheses. I shall, therefore, use this presentation to elaborate upon them rather than prove them. Indeed, it seems rather pointless to try to prove an artistic credo. People who read credos are generally more interested in inspiration than information, and it seems more significant in a credo to suggest possibilities than to prove philosophical hypotheses.

Nevertheless, there are times when it would be helpful if we could prove our artistic ideas with irrefutable logic, especially when we are confronted by the people I call the "Carpers" and the "Moaners." The Carpers and Moaners are the people we have all seen who stand around in the halls and complain about the unbearable situation in which the artist finds himself. They come in varying ages, sizes, and descriptions and seemingly from almost every cultural level in the Church. Most frequently the complaints seem to be an excuse for the failure to create.

Carping and lamenting seem to be an inevitable concomitant to informal discussion of art in the Church. The young

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are often inclined to find faults as a means of reforming the world left them by their elders. The old, tired of the effort it takes to create, camouflage their laziness by complaining. Too many of our would-be artists have tended to be content with bemoaning the inconveniences of their position, belittling the cultural level of their fellow saints, and generally picking at the Church for not giving them more direct encouragement.

Complaining is easy. It requires little effort and not much insight. One may, for example, find some superficial justification to blame the leaders of the Church for allowing restraints on creativity to exist. I must say that I have found my own personal limitations to be much more of a problem than any restraints imposed by anyone else. Furthermore, most of the problems usually ascribed to the Mormon culture are really problems of American culture as a whole rather than our specifically Mormon milieu. To be fair to the Church authorities, moreover, we must also realize that they are of necessity preoccupied with the many details of Church administration, with the proselyting values of art and pseudo-art. We have no more grounds to blame them for these imagined restraints than we have for excusing the artist in his failure to overcome them. If I may put this more bluntly, the artist who uses his time and energy to carp and moan appears, in the very act of complaining, to be wasting time that he should spend creating the masterpieces he regrets not having time to undertake! No one argues with masterpieces! No one has condemned artistic achievement! *Art itself is the basic remedy for the ills these moaners decry.* Until one proves, through the creation of bold, masterful works of superior quality, that he *deserves* better fate than he now—I must even say—enjoys, his situation will remain lamentable; that is, he will lament it. The seeds of carping and moaning are planted shallow in every situation. They are irrigated by discontent and fertilized by idleness. They produce fruit which brings bitterness to the tongue and scowls to the countenance, fruit whose juices drug the soul by deadening the pains of frustration which come from lack of effort. But this fruit never heals the real wounds, never nourishes the artist's creative impulses, and is never a significant ingredient of any great work of art.

The conditions for creativity, moreover, are not brought about by the negative attitudes of the Carper-Moaner mental-

ity. One does not encourage creative activity by telling the creator that he has no time to create, that no one will accept what he creates, that his testimony or his membership in the Church is a hindrance to his artistic development. Rather, the creative artist is encouraged by discovering the potential that exists for his contributions to his culture. Our Mormon critics, commentators, and apologists would improve the situation much more if they would try to suggest this potential rather than bemoan the sad lot of the Mormon artist. On the other hand, the Mormon artist will be much more effective if he spends his time in the studio creating his art rather than adding his lamentations to the wailing already going on.

I recognize, of course, that by taking this time for my own complaint I have fallen into the same snare that I would have others avoid. But, if by describing the activities of the Carpers and Moaners, I can encourage one of them to return to the studio and get to work, this inconsistency will have been worth the embarrassment.

Proceeding now to the more difficult problem of defining some of the positive aspects of the Mormon position, I would first like to propose some bases for artistic activity, especially for art directly related to the Church by its religious nature. I have found no scriptures or doctrines which establish any basis beyond the generally accepted posture of the Church stated in the Thirteenth Article of Faith: "... If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy, we seek after these things." Beyond this we must derive aesthetic principles by extrapolation. To begin, then, let us consider D&C 25:12-13, "For my soul delighteth in the song of the heart; yea, the *song* of the righteous is a *prayer* unto me, and it shall be answered with a blessing upon their heads. Wherefore, lift up thy heart and rejoice . . ." (Italics mine.) While this passage occurs in connection with the direction to Emma Smith to make a collection of hymns, there is no indication that the Lord's approbation is limited to hymn singing. If the righteous may sing and please God, why should they not receive equal blessing for expressing their sincere feelings through the dance, or by painting, or by acting, writing, playing an instrument or designing a pleasing structure of worship. If this extension is not allowed, the man who can sing is to be envied, while those of us whose God-given abilities and inclinations lie in other di-

rections, equally sincere, equally righteous, can hope for the promised blessings only through a medium in which we are not at home. I take the admonition "lift up thy heart and rejoice" to be an instruction to participate in the outpouring of the human spirit to God. If following the instruction brings God's blessing, there is already a solid foundation for singing and for all other types of artistic activity.

FUNCTION OF THE ARTS

The function of the arts in the Restored Church is suggested by Section 82, verse 14: "For Zion must increase in beauty and in holiness; . . . yea, verily I say unto you, Zion must arise and put on her beautiful garments." Significant here is the association between beauty and holiness. The idea that the arts as the embodiment of beauty can have a profound spiritual value is one most of us have instinctively recognized. The parallel between artistic expression and "bearing one's testimony" is attractive to many artists of the Church. In the statements of artists and composers of our day as well as of the past, we can find the same deep respect for artistic expression that is here suggested within the realm of Mormon thought: that is, that art flows from deep within the wellspring of human existence. The suggestion that the arts might function parallel to the increasing of holiness in Zion seems to place the artist in a more acceptable relation to the activity of the Church than does the present commonly held idea that art serves only a propaganda function. For holiness is something that is achieved not through propagandizing but through inspired effort towards perfection, which effort is both encouraged and epitomized in the masterpieces of great art. If the "song of the heart" encourages holiness and leads towards increasing the beauty of Zion, it is no wonder that the Lord says, "It delighteth . . . my soul."

This inward nature of both prayer and the arts suggests that they are both basically human in their origin, and I suspect neither God nor the Church would want to make sincerity impossible by prescribing what one should pray or sing or paint except in the most ceremonial situations. Thus we are left to decide for ourselves artistic principles that seem logical within our culture and consistent with what we individually wish to express. I would like to point out, however, that just as the

need for prayer may be motivated by the strivings of the human spirit and the precise utterance of prayer inspired by the Holy Ghost, so may art be inspired; and the Mormon artist may properly seek the inspiration of the Spirit in his creative activities.

We move now into areas where the scriptures and policies of the Church are silent, but doctrines and postures offer parallels.

One of the strong features of Mormon theology is the idea of the "dispensation," that is, the idea that history has been punctuated with repeated heavenly affirmations of basic principles of action and belief. This concept brings the Mormon artist into direct theological contact with several periods of world history not only in the developmental, evolutionary sense that the age to age chain of their thought has provided some of the roots of our system, but also in a nonevolutionary sense that affirms certain principles as unchanging and allows certain ideas to leapfrog over the various stages of cultural-historical development.

This view of history seems to me to have tremendous implications for the artist. In the first place, the acceptance by the artist of whatever influences might come from these various periods is made legitimate in a very special sense: the patriarchs and the prophets are our brethren; they are directly inspired of God. The details of their way of life and thus the cultural systems in which they lived become significant to us. In the second place, the extension of this way of thinking to historical periods not directly involved with the dispensations, and to influences from other cultures, opens up wide vistas of style and technique. I assume that the narrowly orthodox might cringe at accepting influences from the arts of the pagans and from apostate cultures. The reluctance of some people in the Church to allow the singing of anything with Latin text, or to perform masterpieces from the vast repertoire of Catholic art is well known. Nevertheless, I maintain that generally the acceptance of such influences is desirable as well as legitimate.

It would be possible to draw some parallels in style from the various dispensations: The Adamic and Diluvian eras might be thought of as representing the primitive; Moses' and Elijah's dispensations corresponding to the pastoral; the Christian paralleling the Classic; and the Mormon embodying the Roman-

tic. It is obvious that these parallels are strained, for the classicism of the Greeks was not typically Christian, nor would most Mormons artists be content to be confined to Romanticism even though the restoration of the gospel dates from the age of Romanticism. I believe, however, that the point is quite defensible that art has taken different forms in the different dispensations and that in this, the "dispensation of the fullness of times" when "all things are to be gathered together in one," influences from all of these past forms of art are legitimate and important.

This suggests another direction, involving the tendency of Mormon thought to reconcile opposites so that they might exist in the same system. The "opposition in all things" mentioned by Lehi suggests that a dynamic balance of opposing elements makes free agency possible. The Mormon tends to accept empirical evidence, inductive and deductive processes, intuition and revelation as acceptable means of gaining knowledge even though some of these concepts are traditionally considered to be incompatible. In the artistic realm the mere acceptance of influences from the various epochs and styles suggested above thus becomes insufficient. The Mormon artist has the responsibility of bringing these styles into a system where their divergent, conflicting characteristics are balanced against each other in a single, dynamic, unified manner of expression. It seems to me that many Mormon artists have already begun working in this direction.

Another aspect of Mormon thought is the importance of authority. In ecclesiastical matters this authority is resident in the inspired utterances and directions of the prophet and the delegated responsibilities of his subordinates in the hierarchy of the priesthood. In artistic matters there has been a reluctance to look to the ecclesiastical authority for three reasons: (1) the leaders of the Church are, as mentioned above, primarily interested in other matters—proselyting, keeping the flock, etc.; (2) in their official capacities they are interested in the arts mainly as a tool; and of course, (3) since art is a personal expression, they are not called upon as officials to meddle in the arts any more than they would be expected to put their words in our mouths for our personal prayers. As a result, the Mormon artist has relied in artistic matters upon the authority of the great masters as their concepts have been handed down through

teachers and through their works themselves. While some may feel conscience about consorting with the masterpieces of apostate Christendom or (greater heresy!) of paganism, there is a universal quality about the great masterpieces which, transcending denominational boundaries, is properly sought by the LDS artist as a vitalizing force in his art and as an example of what is possible for him to achieve. This quality may be traced, in part, to the fact that man, seeking God, or trying to express his deepest convictions through art, seems to become less a Christian, a Jew, a Hindu, and to become more attuned to the universal qualities of our species. The operation of the spirit in giving inspired artistic utterance does not seem to be confined to any denomination or race. The great masterworks of any culture thus have a quality that cannot be denied as a legitimate influence for any artist, Mormon or non-Mormon.

MODERNISM A CURRENT FORCE

Conan Mathews has pointed out that the most vital force in the world of the arts at the present time is Modernism. Artists who have refused to reckon with this force have frequently found themselves second-guessing the masters of the past and reworking threadbare formulas. On the other hand, those who have tried to deal with this force imaginatively find opportunity to contribute not only to the world's store of masterpieces but also to the enthusiastic ideals of succeeding generations. Since for the Latter-day Saint of solid convictions, Mormonism exerts the same vital force both in the lives of its adherents and, prophetically at least, in the future course of history ("the stone cut out of the mountain without hands . . ."), we cannot allow it to become synonymous with artistic reaction. By exploiting this parallel between Mormonism in religion and Modernism in art, the artist has as excellent opportunity to enrich both his church and the world. It seems to me that this cross-fertilization is almost inevitable because of the "in-the-world, not-of-the-world" nature of Mormonism. I might caution, however, that the slavish following of the trends set by the avant-garde, the attempt to out-"avant" them, and the retreat into the moribund tendencies of artistic thinking already deserted by the rest of the world are all not appropriate; for all of these directions would neglect exploiting the unique advantages of Mormonism's view of history

and its synthesizing nature of thought. Moreover, I do not believe that the Mormon artist should attempt a simple eclectic combination of styles into an unintegrated stylistic hash. The problem—the challenge—to the Mormon artist is the creation of a true synthesis of these many facets of his experience into a unified, integrated expression of his culture, his thought and his deepest, most precious possession, his testimony.

These challenges cannot be met in a year; the problems cannot be solved by any one man working in isolation although one man working in isolation might conceivably make solid contributions toward this goal. Rather, the combined efforts of all artists, painters, composers, actors, writers, apologists, and historians, of the educators and the performers, as well as those who participate as actively interested observers, will be required in a unity, a synthesis no less challenging than the artistic synthesis suggested above, before the possibilities latent in our situation are fully exploited. And even then, because of the tendency of Mormon thought to bring opposition into balance in its system, new avenues should open up. The potential of the situation tempts one in his enthusiasm to issue manifestos, shout rallying cries, and form a party. Attractive as this may be to some, the artist *must* spend his energy creating the works which, in the final analysis, are the real reasons for the existence of both the artists and the systems of thought built up around them. After all, the scriptural injunction following the divine establishment of an identity between song and prayer was not to talk about singing or praying but to “lift up [the] heart and rejoice,” i.e., to express our feelings to God! Now, back to the studio!

Modern Theology and Biblical Criticism*

C. S. LEWIS**

This paper arose out of a conversation I had with the Principal¹ one night last term. A book of Alec Vidler's happened to be lying on the table and I expressed my reaction to the sort of theology it contained. My reaction was a hasty and ignorant one, produced with the freedom that comes after dinner.² One thing led to another and before we were done I was saying a good deal more than I had meant about the type of thought which, so far as I could gather, is now dominant in many theological colleges. He then said, 'I wish you would come and say all this to my young men.' He knew of course that I was extremely ignorant of the whole thing. But I think his idea was that you ought to know how a certain sort of theology strikes the outsider. Though I may have nothing but

*From C. S. Lewis, *Christian Reflections*, ed. Walter Hooper (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publisher, 1967). Used by permission of the publisher. We have retained the British spelling and punctuation of the original.

**Probably best known throughout the world as the author of *The Screwtape Letters* or the equally famous *Allegory of Love*, C. S. Lewis is accepted as an authority in both religious and literary circles. Having served first Oxford and then Cambridge universities as professor of literature and having published over forty books on religious and literary subjects, Professor Lewis is eminently prepared to write an essay like this one commenting on some of the basic assumptions and judgments of manuscript historicity. The Editorial Board of *BYU Studies* is delighted to be able to print this essay with the gracious permission of the publisher. It is one of fourteen essays contained in *Christian Reflections*, a book well worth reading.

¹The Principal of Westcott House, Cambridge, now the Bishop of Edinburgh (The Rt Rev Kenneth Carey).

²While the Bishop was out of the room, Lewis read 'The Sign at Cana' in Alec Vidler's *Windsor Sermons* (S.C.M. Press, 1958). The Bishop recalls that when he asked him what he thought about it, Lewis 'expressed himself very freely about the sermon and said that he thought that it was quite incredible that we should have had to wait nearly 2,000 years to be told by a theologian called Vidler that what the Church has always regarded as a miracle was, in fact, a parable!'

misunderstandings to lay before you, you ought to know that such misunderstandings exist. That sort of thing is easy to overlook inside one's own circle. The minds you daily meet have been conditioned by the same studies and prevalent opinions as your own. That may mislead you. For of course as priests it is the outsiders you will have to cope with. You exist in the long run for no other purpose. The proper study of shepherds is sheep, not (save accidentally) other shepherds. And woe to you if you do not evangelize. I am not trying to teach my grandmother. I am a sheep, telling shepherds what only a sheep can tell them. And now I start my bleating.

There are two sorts of outsiders: the uneducated, and those who are educated in some way but not in your way. How you are to deal with the first class, if you hold views like Loisy's or Schweitzer's or Bultmann's or Tillich's or even Alec Vidler's, I simply don't know. I see—and I'm told that you see—that it would hardly do to tell them what you really believe. A theology which denies the historicity of nearly everything in the Gospels to which Christian life and affections and thought have been fastened for nearly two millennia—which either denies the miraculous altogether or, more strangely, after swallowing the camel of the Resurrection strains at such gnats as the feeding of the multitudes—if offered to the uneducated man can produce only one or other of two effects. It will make him a Roman Catholic or an atheist. What you offer him he will not recognize as Christianity. If he holds to what he calls Christianity he will leave a church in which it is no longer taught and look for one where it is. If he agrees with your version he will no longer call himself a Christian and no longer come to church. In his crude, coarse way, he would respect you much more if you did the same. An experienced clergyman told me that most liberal priests, faced with this problem, have recalled from its grave the late medieval conception of two truths; a picture-truth which can be preached to the people, and an esoteric truth for use among the clergy. I shouldn't think you will enjoy this conception much when you have to put it into practice. I'm sure if I had to produce picture-truths to a parishioner in great anguish or under fierce temptation, and produce them with that seriousness and fervour which his condition demanded, while knowing all the time that I didn't exactly—only in some Pickwickian sense—believe them my-

self, I'd find my forehead getting red and damp and my collar getting tight. But that is your headache, not mine. You have, after all, a different sort of collar. I claim to belong to the second group of outsiders: educated, but not theologically educated. How one member of that group feels I must now try to tell you.

The undermining of the old orthodoxy has been mainly the work of divines engaged in New Testament criticism. The authority of experts in that discipline is the authority in deference to whom we are asked to give up a huge mass of beliefs shared in common by the early Church, the Fathers, the Middle Ages, the Reformers, and even the nineteenth century. I want to explain what it is that makes me sceptical about this authority. Ignorantly sceptical, as you will all too easily see. But the scepticism is the father of the ignorance. It is hard to persevere in a close study when you can work up no *prima facie* confidence in your teachers.

QUESTIONS LITERARY JUDGMENT

First then, whatever these men may be as Biblical critics, I distrust them as critics. They seem to me to lack literary judgment, to be imperceptive about the very quality of the text they are reading. It sounds a strange charge to bring against men who have been steeped in those books all their lives. But that might be just the trouble. A man who has spent his youth and manhood in the minute study of New Testament texts and of other people's studies of them, whose literary experiences of those texts lacks any standard of comparison such as can only grow from a wide and deep and genial experience of literature in general, is, I should think, very likely to miss the obvious things about them. If he tells me that something in a Gospel is legend or romance, I want to know how many legends and romances he has read, how well his palate is trained in detecting them by the flavour; not how many years he has spent on that Gospel. But I had better turn to examples.

In what is already a very old commentary I read that the Fourth Gospel is regarded by one school as a 'spiritual romance', 'a poem not a history', to be judged by the same canons as Nathan's parable, the Book of Jonah, *Paradise Lost* 'or, more

exactly, *Pilgrim's Progress*.³ After a man has said that, why need one attend to anything else he says about any book in the world? Note that he regards *Pilgrim's Progress*, a story which professes to be a dream and flaunts its allegorical nature by every single proper name it uses, as the closest parallel. Note that the whole epic panoply of Milton goes for nothing. But even if we leave out the grosser absurdities and keep to *Jonah* the insensitiveness is crass—*Jonah*, a tale with as few even pretended historical attachments as *Job*, grotesque in incident and surely not without a distinct, though of course edifying, vein of typically Jewish humour. Then turn to John. Read the dialogues: that with the Samaritan woman at the well, or that which follows the healing of the man born blind. Look at its pictures: Jesus (if I may use the word) doodling with his finger in the dust; the unforgettable $\eta\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \nu\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ (xiii, 30). I have been reading poems, romances, vision-literature, legends, myths all my life. I know what they are like. I know that not one of them is like this. Of this text there are only two possible views. Either this is reportage—though it may no doubt contain errors—pretty close up to the facts; nearly as close as Boswell. Or else, some unknown writer in the second century, without known predecessors or successors, suddenly anticipated the whole technique of modern, novelistic, realistic narrative. If it is untrue, it must be narrative of that kind. The reader who doesn't see this has simply not learned to read. I would recommend him to read Auerbach.⁴

Here, from Bultmann's *Theology of the New Testament* (p. 30) is another: 'Observe in what unassimilated fashion the prediction of the parousia (Mk. viii, 38) follows upon the prediction of the passion (viii, 31).'⁵ What can he mean? Unassimilated? Bultmann believes that predictions of the parousia are older than those of the passion. He therefore wants to believe—and no doubt does believe—that when they occur

³Lewis is quoting from an article, 'The Gospel According to St. John', by Walter Lock in *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture, including the Apocrypha*, ed. by Charles Gore, Henry Leighton Goudge, Alfred Guillaume (S.P.C.K., 1928), p. 241. Lock, in turn, is quoting from James Drummond's *An Inquiry into the Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* (Williams and Norgate, 1903).

⁴Lewis means, I think, Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, translated by Williard R. Trask (Princeton, 1953).

⁵Rudolph Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, translated by Kendrick Grobel, vol. I (S.C.M. Press, 1952), p. 30.

in the same passage some discrepancy or 'unassimilation' must be perceptible between them. But surely he foists this on the text with shocking lack of perception. Peter has confessed Jesus to be the Anointed One. That flash of glory is hardly over before the dark prophecy begins—that the Son of Man must suffer and die. Then this contrast is repeated. Peter, raised for a moment by his confession, makes his false step; the crushing rebuff 'Get thee behind me' follows. Then, across that momentary ruin which Peter (as so often) becomes, the voice of the Master, turning to the crowd, generalizes the moral. All His followers must take up the cross. This avoidance of suffering, this self-preservation, is not what life is really about. Then, more definitely still, the summons to martyrdom. You must stand to your tackling. If you disown Christ here and now, he will disown you later. Logically, emotionally, imaginatively, the sequence is perfect. Only a Bultmann could think otherwise.

Finally, from the same Bultmann: 'The personality of Jesus has no importance for the kerygma either of Paul or of John . . . Indeed the tradition of the earliest Church did not even unconsciously preserve a picture of his personality. Every attempt to reconstruct one remains a play of subjective imagination.'⁶

So there is no personality of Our Lord presented in the New Testament. Through what strange process has this learned German gone in order to make himself blind to what all men except him see? What evidence have we that he would recognize a personality if it were there? For it is Bultmann *contra mundum*. If anything whatever is common to all believers, and even to many unbelievers, it is the sense that in the Gospels they have met a personality. There are characters whom we know to be historical but of whom we do not feel that we have any personal knowledge—knowledge by acquaintance; such are Alexander, Attila, or William of Orange. There are others who make no claim to historical reality but whom, none the less, we know as we know real people: Falstaff, Uncle Toby, Mr. Pickwick. But there are only three characters who, claiming the first sort of reality, also actually have the second. And surely everyone knows who they are: Plato's Socrates, the Jesus of the Gospels, and Boswell's Johnson. Our acquaintance with

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 35.

them shows itself in a dozen ways. When we look into the Apocryphal gospels, we find ourselves constantly saying of this or that *logion*, 'No. It's a fine saying, but not His. That wasn't how He talked.'—just as we do with all pseudo-Johnsoniana. We are not in the least perturbed by the contrasts within each character: the union in Socrates of silly and scabrous titters about Greek pederasty with the highest mystical fervour and the homeliest good sense; in Johnson, of profound gravity and melancholy with that love of fun and nonsense which Boswell never understood though Fanny Burney did; in Jesus of peasant shrewdness, intolerable severity, and irresistible tenderness. So strong is the flavour of the personality that, even while He says things which, on any other assumption than that of Divine Incarnation in the fullest sense, would be appallingly arrogant, yet we—and many unbelievers too—accept Him at His own valuation when He says 'I am meek and lowly of heart.' Even those passages in the New Testament which superficially, and in intention, are most concerned with the Divine, and least with the Human Nature, bring us face to face with the personality. I am not sure that they don't do this more than any others. 'We beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of graciousness and reality . . . which we have looked upon and our hands have handled.' What is gained by trying to evade or dissipate this shattering immediacy of personal contact by talk about 'that significance which the early church found that it was impelled to attribute to the Master'? This hits us in the face. Not what they were impelled to do but what impelled them. I begin to fear that by *personality* Dr. Bultmann means what I should call impersonality: what you'd get in a D.N.B. article or an obituary or a Victorian *Life and Letters of Yeshua Bar-Yosef* in three volumes with photographs.

READING BETWEEN THE LINES?

That then is my first bleat. These men ask me to believe they can read between the lines of the old texts; the evidence is their obvious inability to read (in any sense worth discussing) the lines themselves. They claim to see fern-seed and can't see an elephant ten yards away in broad daylight.

Now for my second bleat. All theology of the liberal type involves at some point—and often involves throughout—the

claim that the real behaviour and purpose and teaching of Christ came very rapidly to be misunderstood and misrepresented by His followers, and has been recovered or exhumed only by modern scholars. Now long before I became interested in theology I had met this kind of theory elsewhere. The tradition of Jowett still dominated the study of ancient philosophy when I was reading Greats. One was brought up to believe that the real meaning of Plato had been misunderstood by Aristotle and wildly travestied by the neo-Platonists, only to be recovered by the moderns. When recovered, it turned out (most fortunately) that Plato had really all along been an English Hegelian, rather like T.H. Green. I have met it a third time in my own professional studies; every week a clever undergraduate, every quarter a dull American don, discovers for the first time what some Shakespearean play really meant. But in this third instance I am a privileged person. The revolution in thought and sentiment which has occurred in my own lifetime is so great that I belong, mentally, to Shakespeare's world far more than to that of these recent interpreters. I see—I feel it in my bones—I know beyond argument—that most of their interpretations are merely impossible; they involve a way of looking at things which was not known in 1914, much less in the Jacobean period. This daily confirms my suspicion of the same approach to Plato or the New Testament. The idea that any man or writer should be opaque to those who lived in the same culture, spoke the same language, shared the same habitual imagery and unconscious assumptions, and yet be transparent to those who have none of these advantages, is in my opinion preposterous. There is an *a priori* improbability in it which almost no argument and no evidence could counter-balance.

Thirdly, I find in these theologians a constant use of the principle that the miraculous does not occur. Thus any statement put into Our Lord's mouth by the old texts, which, if He had really made it, would constitute a prediction of the future, is taken to have been put in after the occurrence which it seemed to predict. This is very sensible if we start by knowing that inspired prediction can never occur. Similarly in general, the rejection as unhistorical of all passages which narrate miracles is sensible if we start by knowing that the miraculous in general never occurs. Now I do not here want to discuss

whether the miraculous is possible. I only want to point out that this is a purely philosophical question. Scholars, as scholars, speak on it with no more authority than anyone else. The canon 'If miraculous, unhistorical' is one they bring to their study of the texts, not one they have learned from it. If one is speaking of authority, the united authority of all the Biblical critics in the world counts here for nothing. On this they speak simply as men; men obviously influenced by, and perhaps insufficiently critical of, the spirit of the age they grew up in.

But my fourth bleat—which is also my loudest and longest—is still to come.

THE VALUE OF THEORETICAL RECONSTRUCTION

All this sort of criticism attempts to reconstruct the genesis of the texts it studies; what vanished documents each author used, when and where he wrote, with what purposes, under what influences—the whole *Sitz im Leben* of the text. This is done with immense erudition and great ingenuity. And at first sight it is very convincing. I think I should be convinced by it myself, but that I carry about with me a charm—the herb *moly*—against it. You must excuse me if I now speak for a while of myself. The value of what I say depends on its being first-hand evidence.

What forearms me against all these Reconstructions is the fact that I have seen it all from the other end of the stick. I have watched reviewers reconstructing the genesis of my own books in just this way.

Until you come to be reviewed yourself you would never believe how little of an ordinary review is taken up by criticism in the strict sense: by evaluation, praise, or censure, of the book actually written. Most of it is taken up with imaginary histories of the process by which you wrote it. The very terms which the reviewers use in praising or dispraising often imply such a history. They praise a passage as 'spontaneous' and censure another as 'laboured'; that is, they think they know that you wrote the one *currente calamo* and the other *invita Minerva*.

What the value of such reconstructions is I learned very early in my career. I had published a book of essays; and the one into which I had put most of my heart, the one I really cared about and in which I discharged a keen enthusiasm, was

on William Morris.⁷ And in almost the first review I was told that this was obviously the only one in the book in which I had felt no interest. Now don't mistake. The critic was, I now believe, quite right in thinking it the worst essay in the book; at least everyone agreed with him. Where he was totally wrong was in his imaginary history of the causes which produced its dullness.

Well, this made me prick up my ears. Since then I have watched with some care similar imaginary histories both of my own books and of books by friends whose real history I knew. Reviewers, both friendly and hostile, will dash you off such histories with great confidence; will tell you what public events had directed the author's mind to this or that, what other authors had influenced him, what his over-all intention was, what sort of audience he principally addressed, why—and when—he did everything.

Now I must first record my impression; then, distinct from it, what I can say with certainty. My impression is that in the whole of my experience not one of these guesses has on any one point been right; that the method shows a record of 100 per cent failure. You would expect that by mere chance they would hit as often as they miss. But it is my impression that they do no such thing. I can't remember a single hit. But as I have not kept a careful record my mere impression may be mistaken. What I think I can say with certainty is that they are usually wrong.

And yet they would often sound—if you didn't know the truth—extremely convincing. Many reviewers said that the Ring in Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* was suggested by the atom bomb. What could be more plausible? Here is a book published when everyone was preoccupied by that sinister invention; here in the center of the book is a weapon which it seems madness to throw away yet fatal to use. Yet in fact, the chronology of the book's composition makes the theory impossible. Only the other week a reviewer said that a fairy tale by my friend Roger Lancelyn Green was influenced by fairy tales of mine. Nothing could be more probable. I have an imaginary country with a beneficent lion in it: Green, one with a beneficent tiger. Green and I can be proved to read one another's

⁷Lewis's essay on 'William Morris' appears in *Rehabilitations and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1939).

works, to be indeed in various ways closely associated. The case for an affiliation is far stronger than many which we accept as conclusive when dead authors are concerned. But it's all untrue nevertheless. I know the genesis of that Tiger and that Lion and they are quite independent.⁸

Now this surely ought to give us pause. The reconstruction of the history of a text, when the text is ancient, sounds very convincing. But one is after all sailing by dead reckoning; the results cannot be checked by fact. In order to decide how reliable the method is, what more could you ask for than to be shown an instance where the same method is at work and we have facts to check it by? Well, that is what I have done. And we find, that when this check is available, the results are either always, or else nearly always, wrong. The 'assured results of modern scholarship', as to the way in which an old book was written, are 'assured', we may conclude, only because the men who knew the facts are dead and can't blow the gaff. The huge essays in my own field which reconstruct the history of *Piers Plowman* or *The Faerie Queen* are most unlikely to be anything but sheer illusions.⁹

Am I then venturing to compare every whipster who writes a review in a modern weekly with these great scholars who have devoted their whole lives to the detailed study of the New Testament? If the former are always wrong, does it follow that the latter must fare no better?

There are two answers to this. First, while I respect the learning of the great Biblical critics, I am not yet persuaded that their judgement is equally to be respected. But, secondly, consider with what overwhelming advantages the mere reviewers start. They reconstruct the history of a book written by someone whose mother-tongue is the same as theirs; a con-

⁸Lewis corrected this error in the following letter, 'Books for Children', in *The Times Literary Supplement* (28 November 1958), p. 689: 'Sir,—A review of Mr. R. L. Green's *Land of the Lord High Tiger* in your issue of 21 November spoke of myself (in passing) with so much kindness that I am reluctant to cavil at anything it contained: but in justice to Mr Green I must. The critic suggested that Mr Green's Tiger owed something to my fairy-tales. In reality this is not so and is chronologically impossible. The Tiger was an old inhabitant, and his land a familiar haunt, of Mr Green's imagination long before I began writing. There is a moral here for all of us as critics. I wonder how much *Quellenforschung* in our studies of older literature seems solid only because those who knew the facts are dead and cannot contradict it.'

⁹For a fuller treatment on book-reviewing, see Lewis's essay 'On Criticism' in his *Of Other Worlds: Essays and Stories*, ed. Walter Hooper, (Bles, 1966), pp. 43-58.

temporary, educated like themselves, living in something like the same mental and spiritual climate. They have everything to help them. The superiority in judgement and diligence which you are going to attribute to the Biblical critics will have to be almost superhuman if it is to offset the fact that they are everywhere faced with customs, language, race-characteristics, class-characteristics, a religious background, habits of composition, and basic assumptions, which no scholarship will ever enable any man now alive to know as surely and intimately and instinctively as the reviewer can know mine. And for the very same reason, remember, the Biblical critics, whatever reconstructions they devise, can never be crudely proved wrong. St Mark is dead. When they meet St Peter there will be more pressing matters to discuss.

You may say, of course, that such reviewers are foolish in so far as they guess how a sort of book they never wrote themselves was written by another. They assume that you wrote a story as they would try to write a story; the fact that they would so try, explains why they have not produced any stories. But are the Biblical critics in this way much better off. Dr Bultmann never wrote a gospel. Has the experience of his learned, specialized, and no doubt meritorious, life really given him any power of seeing into the minds of those long dead men who were caught up into what, on any view, must be regarded as the central religious experience of the whole human race? It is no incivility to say—he himself would admit—that he must in every way be divided from the evangelists by far more formidable barriers—spiritual as well as intellectual—than any that could exist between my reviewers and me.

TRANSITORINESS OF RESULTS OF MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

My picture of one layman's reaction—and I think it is not a rare one—would be incomplete without some account of the hopes he secretly cherishes and the naïve reflections with which he sometimes keeps his spirits up.

You must face the fact he does not expect the present school of theological thought to be everlasting. He thinks, perhaps wishfully thinks, that the whole thing may blow over. I have learned in other fields of study how transitory the 'assured results of modern scholarship' may be, how soon schol-

arship ceases to be modern. The confident treatment to which the New Testament is subjected is no longer applied to profane texts. There used to be English scholars who were prepared to cut up *Henry VI* between half a dozen authors and assign his share to each. We don't do that now. When I was a boy one would have been laughed at for supposing there had been a real Homer: the disintegrators seemed to have triumphed forever. But Homer seems to be creeping back. Even the belief of the ancient Greeks that the Mycenaeans were their ancestors and spoke Greek has been surprisingly supported. We may without disgrace believe in a historical Arthur. Everywhere, except in theology, there has been a vigorous growth of scepticism about scepticism itself. We can't keep ourselves from murmuring *multa renascentur quae jam cecidere*.

Nor can a man of my age ever forget how suddenly and completely the idealist philosophy of his youth fell. McTaggart, Green, Bosanquet, Bradley seemed enthroned forever; they went down as suddenly as the Bastille. And the interesting thing is that while I lived under that dynasty I felt various difficulties and objections which I never dared to express. They were so frightfully obvious that I felt sure they must be mere misunderstandings: the great men could not have made such very elementary mistakes as those which my objections implied. But very similar objections—though put, no doubt, far more cogently than I could have put them—were among the criticisms which finally prevailed. They would now be the stock answers to English Hegelianism. If anyone present to-night has felt the same shy and tentative doubts about the great Biblical critics, perhaps he need not feel quite certain that they are only his stupidity. They may have a future he little dreams of.

We derive a little comfort, too, from our mathematical colleagues. When a critic reconstructs the genesis of a text he usually has to use what may be called linked hypotheses. Thus Bultmann says that Peter's confession is 'an Easter-story projected backward into Jesus' life-time' (p. 26, *op. cit.*). The first hypothesis is that Peter made no such confession. Then, granting that, there is a second hypothesis as to how the false story of his having done so might have grown up. Now let us suppose—what I am far from granting—that the first hypothesis

has a probability of 90 per cent. Let us assume that the second hypothesis also has a probability of 90 per cent. But the two together don't still have 90 per cent, for the second comes in only on the assumption of the first. You have not A plus B; you have a complex AB. And the mathematicians tell me that AB has only an 81 per cent probability. I'm not good enough at arithmetic to work it out, but you see that if, in a complex reconstruction, you go on thus superinducing hypothesis, you will in the end get a complex in which, though each hypothesis by itself has in a sense a high probability, the whole has almost none.

You must not, however, paint the picture too black. We are not fundamentalists. We think that different elements in this sort of theology have different degrees of strength. The nearer it sticks to mere textual criticism, of the old sort, Lachmann's sort, the more we are disposed to believe in it. And of course we agree that passages almost verbally identical cannot be independent. It is as we glide away from this into reconstructions of a subtler and more ambitious kind that our faith in the method wavers; and our faith in Christianity is proportionately corroborated. The sort of statement that arouses our deepest scepticism is the statement that something in a Gospel cannot be historical because it shows a theology or an ecclesiology too developed for so early a date. For this implies that we know, first of all, that there was any development in the matter, and secondly, how quickly it proceeded. It even implies an extraordinary homogeneity and continuity of development: implicitly denies that anyone could greatly have anticipated anyone else. This seems to involve knowing about a number of long dead people—for the early Christians were, after all, people—things of which I believe few of us could have given an accurate account if we had lived among them; all the forward and backward surge of discussion, preaching, and individual religious experience. I could not speak with similar confidence about the circle I have chiefly lived in myself. I could not describe the history even of my own thought as confidently as these men describe the history of the early Church's mind. And I am perfectly certain no one else could. Suppose a future scholar knew that I abandoned Christianity in my teens, and that, also in my teens, I went to an atheist tutor. Would not they seem far better evidence than most of what we

have about the development of Christian theology in the first two centuries? Would he not conclude that my apostasy was due to the tutor? And then reject as 'backward projection' any story which represented me as an atheist before I went to that tutor? Yet he would be wrong. I am sorry to have become once more autobiographical. But reflection on the extreme improbability of his own life—by historical standards—seems to me a profitable exercise for everyone. It encourages a due agnosticism.

For agnosticism is, in a sense, what I am preaching. I do not wish to reduce the sceptical element in your minds. I am only suggesting that it need not be reserved exclusively for the New Testament and the Creeds. Try doubting something else.

Such scepticism might, I think, begin at the very beginning with the thought which underlies the whole demythology of our time. It was put long ago by Tyrrell. As man progresses he revolts against 'earlier and inadequate expressions of the religious idea . . . Taken literally, and not symbolically, they do not meet his need. And as long as he demands to picture to himself distinctly the term and satisfaction of that need he is doomed to doubt, for his picturings will necessarily be drawn from the world of his present experience.'¹⁰

In one way of course Tyrrell was saying nothing new. The Negative Theology of Pseudo-Dionysius had said as much, but it drew no such conclusions as Tyrrell. Perhaps this is because the older tradition found our conceptions inadequate to God whereas Tyrrell finds it inadequate to 'the religious idea'. He doesn't say whose idea. But I am afraid he means Man's idea. We, being men, know what we think: and we find the doctrines of the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Second Coming inadequate to our thoughts. But supposing these things were the expressions of God's thought?

It might still be true that 'taken literally and not symbolically' they are inadequate. From which the conclusion commonly drawn is that they must be taken symbolically, not literally; that is, wholly symbolically. All the details are equally symbolical and analogical.

But surely there is a flaw here. The argument runs like this. All the details are derived from our present experience; but the reality transcends our experience: therefore all the de-

¹⁰George Tyrrell, 'The Apocalyptic Vision of Christ' in *Christianity at the Cross-Roads* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1909), p. 125.

tails are wholly and equally symbolical. But suppose a dog were trying to form a conception of human life. All the details in its picture would be derived from canine experience. Therefore all that the dog imagined could, at best, be only analogically true of human life. The conclusion is false. If the dog visualized our scientific researchers in terms of ratting, this would be analogical; but if it thought that eating could be predicated of humans only in an analogical sense, the dog would be wrong. In fact if a dog could, *per impossible*, be plunged for a day into human life, it would be hardly more surprised by hitherto unimagined differences than by hitherto unsuspected similarities. A reverent dog would be shocked. A modernist dog, distrusting the whole experience, would ask to be taken to the vet.

But the dog can't get into human life. Consequently, though it can be sure that its best ideas of human life are full of analogy and symbol, it could never point to any one detail and say, 'This is entirely symbolic.' You cannot know that everything in the representation of a thing is symbolical unless you have independent access to the thing and can compare it with the representation. Dr. Tyrrell can tell that the story of the Ascension is inadequate to his religious idea, because he knows his own ideas and can compare it with the story. But how if we are asking about a transcendent, objective reality to which the story is our sole access? 'We know not—oh we know not.' But then we must take our ignorance seriously.

Of course if 'taken literally and not symbolically' means 'taken in terms of mere physics', then this story is not even a religious story. Motion away from the earth—which is what Ascension physically means—would not in itself be an event of spiritual significance. Therefore, you argue, the spiritual reality can have nothing but an analogical connection with the story of an ascent. For the union of God with God and of Man with God—man can have nothing to do with space. Who told you this? What you really mean is that we can't see how it could possibly have anything to do with it. That is a quite different proposition. When I know as I am known I shall be able to tell which parts of the story were purely symbolical and which, if any, were not; shall see how the transcendent reality either excludes and repels locality, or how unimaginably

it assimilates and loads it with significance. Had we not better wait?

Such are the reactions of one bleating layman to Modern Theology. It is right you should hear them. You will not perhaps hear them very often again. Your parishioners will not often speak to you quite frankly. Once the layman was anxious to hide the fact that he believed so much less than the Vicar: he now tends to hide the fact that he believes so much more. Missionary to the priests of one's own church is an embarrassing rôle; though I have a horrid feeling that if such mission work is not soon undertaken the future history of the Church of England is likely to be short.

A New Look at the Alleged Little Known Discourse by Joseph Smith

KENNETH W. GODFREY*

Only in comparatively recent times have Mormon scholars taken a real interest in the authenticity of documents purportedly written by early apostles, prophets, and other leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. One of the latest "forgeries," that can now be proved beyond reasonable doubt to be just that, is the so-called *Little Known Discourse by Joseph Smith*. Many thoughtful readers of this document have been troubled by its double standard of morality which speaks as an "unfamiliar spirit" when compared to the authentic writings of the prophet-founder of Mormonism. Supposedly given by the Prophet Joseph Smith at Nauvoo upon the subject of marriage, this sermon allegedly reflects the "law of God to Man."¹

The *Discourse* reads, "The Prostitution of the body after marriage constitutes adultery; but alienation of the mind or affection from her husband constitutes fornication in a married woman." And, "If the mind of the wife which is equally bound by the body to obey, and be in subjection in all things by the spiritual nature of that covenant [marriage], becomes alienated from her husband, she commits fornication against her husband; because the mind of the wife was bound to yield obedience and submission to her husband in all things, as well as the body, by the spiritual nature of that covenant." And again, "When a woman apostatizes in spirit from her husband she then commits fornication against the spiritual law of marriage, and in no other way can a married woman commit fornication." The *Discourse* declares that the wife is the property of the husband and should obey his will: "The wife has no right

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¹Taken from *A Little Known Discourse by Joseph Smith*, copy in possession of the author.

to teach, admonish, reprove, rebuke, or to exercise any kind of dictation whatever. He is her head and she should be guided by the head. If the wife wants to know anything, let her ask her husband at home. She, therefore, has the right of petition, and this is a right that all who are governed should possess."

Should a woman become alienated from her husband, he has the right and is justified by God in "putting her away," meaning divorcing her; but she has no right to sue for divorcement should the husband be at fault. The printed *Discourse* further states:

When the Church rebels against her lawful husband and Master, Jesus Christ, and will not submit to him in all things, she then commits fornication against him, and this is the plain sense of the matter. So, in the case of the wife, when she refuses cheerfully to submit to her husband in all things . . . When she ceases to revere her husband and believe in him, then she commits fornication against him, even as the false Church has against Christ and in no other possible way can she commit this act. It then becomes the right of her husband to write her a bill of divorcement according to the strict letter of the law of God, given by Moses, and to put her away, unless she repent.

Children born under the marriage covenant while the wife is in "rebellion" against her husband are not entitled nor qualified to enter into the congregation "of the Lord until the tenth generation."

Rather strangely the *Discourse* is relatively silent regarding the responsibilities of the husband and it is awkwardly one-sided. Such statements as those quoted above have caused not a few Mormon wives to react negatively to this speech ascribed to the prophet-founder of the LDS Church. At least a few husbands have felt alienated by the spirit as well as the content of the *Discourse*. But before commenting further let us turn our attention to another document.

In the 1840's it was reported that because of opposition on the part of a number of members of the Church, Joseph Smith assigned Udney H. Jacobs the task of searching the scriptures for passages that would sanction polygamy. The resulting tract was printed in 1842 bearing the name of Joseph Smith's printing company and is called *An Extract, From a Manuscript Entitled The Peace Maker Or The Doctrine Of*

The Millennium. In commenting on this document John D. Lee wrote:

During the winter [1842] Joseph, the Prophet, set a man by the name of Sidney [sic] Hay Jacobs to select from the Old Bible scriptures as pertained to polygamy, or celestial marriage, to write it in pamphlet form, and to advocate that doctrine. This he did as a feeler among the people, to pave the way for celestial marriage.²

That the populace was aroused by the contents of the Jacobs tract is evidenced by the fact that Joseph Smith, in an article published in the *Times and Seasons*, December 1, 1842, denied that he was in any way responsible for the contents of the *Peace Maker*. The Mormon leader wrote:

There was a book printed at my office, a short time since, written by Udney H. Jacobs, on marriage, without my knowledge; and had I been apprised of it, I should not have printed it; not that I am opposed to any man enjoying his privileges; but I do not wish to have my name associated with the authors, in such an unmeaning rigamarole of nonsense, folly, and trash.

(signed)

Joseph Smith³

Knowing about the *Times and Seasons* article, and aware that Joseph Smith's disclaimer also appeared in the other Nauvoo newspaper *The Wasp*, John D. Lee said that Smith denied his connection with the pamphlet upon realizing that "the excitement among the people" threatened to break up the Church.⁴ And since that time at least a few people have believed that Joseph Smith's denial was purely for public consumption not unlike his denials that the Church was practicing plural marriage.⁵

This past winter (1967-1968) Thomas G. Truitt of the Church Historian's Library compared the *Peace Maker* with the *Little Known Discourse by Joseph Smith* and found that the *Discourse* was remarkably like Chapter 8 of the *Peace Maker* "On the Law of Marriage." In fact page after page is

²John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled: The Life and Confessions of John D. Lee*, ed. W. W. Bishop (St. Louis: n.p., 1879), p. 146. Research discloses that Sidney Hay Jacobs and Udney Hay Jacobs are the same person.

³*Times and Seasons*, December 1, 1842.

⁴Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled*, p. 146.

⁵Kenneth W. Godfrey, *Causes of Mormon, Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839-1846* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1967), pp. 90-110.

almost word for word except for some slight changes in grammar and paragraphing. It would be almost impossible for someone to have penned one document without copying from the other and since, as will be shown later, Jacobs wrote first it would seem that some over-zealous Mormon copied large portions of his pamphlet and pawned it off on a gullible audience as the work of Joseph Smith. I have checked Truitt's work and find it accurate for the most part, and this leads me to conclude that, excluding the first page which probably comes from one version of the "White Horse Prophecy," the two documents are the product of one pen. Truitt concludes as do I, "There are a few variations from the original through errors of typing, through additions, and obvious changes; otherwise these are almost identical in wording."⁶

Because of Truitt's work it is now apparent that the *Peace Maker* and the *Little Known Discourse by Joseph Smith* are the same document or at least written by the same hand. Yet because of John D. Lee's statement involving the Prophet Joseph with the former work, the question must be asked, "Did Joseph Smith write the *Peace Maker*?" Certain documents have recently come to light that bear upon this subject.

It seems that the *Peace Maker* was written at least as early as March 19, 1840, and was "designed [not for the Mormons but] for the people of the United States." In a letter to President Martin Van Buren bearing the date March 19, 1840, Jacobs attempts to persuade the President that he had written a document that would save the United States and reelect Van Buren. Jacobs boasts that he is "thoroughly acquainted with the religious principles and minds of every sect and denomination of men in this land," and with characteristic humility continues, "And I now offer to place this almighty power for the time being at your disposal; merely by a publication of the book alluded to."⁷

It would appear that the book in reference was the *Peace Maker* when we look at an 1851 letter from Jacobs to Brigham Young:

I cannot imagine why you suspected me unless it was that *I wrote* a pamphlet some years since entitled the *Peace Maker*—you have certainly a wrong idea of that matter. I

⁶Copy of Thomas G. Truitt's comparison in possession of the author.

⁷Udney H. Jacobs to President Martin Van Buren, March 19, 1840, in the Illinois State Historical Society Library, Springfield, Illinois.

was not then a member of this Church, and that pamphlet was not written for this people but for the citizens of the United States who professed to believe the Bible. (*Italics mine.*)⁸

The wording in both letters is very similar.

In the Van Buren letter Jacobs also states:

These Mormons know but very little of me; but Sir, I know them—and I know them to be a deluded and dangerous set of fanatics, dangerous I say, as far as their influence goes. Smith has returned home and I am informed is determined to throw his weight with all his deluded followers into the scale against you . . . I do not pretend to say that every vote in the union shall be thus influenced, but I say this that by the means which I hold in my power if assisted seasonably by your aid, shall throw such weight into the right scale as shall bring the other infallibly to kick the beam.⁹

When Van Buren refused to assist him, it appears that Jacobs then contracted to have Joseph Smith's printing establishment publish his work, which was done in 1842. Though Joseph Smith disclaimed any knowledge of or association with the contents of the pamphlet, people generally have doubted his disclaimer. But in January of 1844, Udney H. Jacobs wrote the Prophet a personal letter which he begins by saying:

I hope you will not consider this letter an intrusion—I have not to be sure the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you nor do I know that I am worthy of that favor; yet I believe that I am worth saving. . . .¹⁰

Now how could Jacobs be unacquainted with Joseph Smith in 1844 if he had written a book for the Prophet in 1842, as John D. Lee claimed?

From the above evidence it seems safe to conclude that Jacobs, not Joseph Smith, wrote the *Peace Maker* and the *Little Known Discourse by Joseph Smith*. Consequently, neither of these documents should be viewed as binding upon members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. They were, in fact, written by a nonmember of the Church.

⁸Udney H. Jacobs to Honorable Brigham Young, March 5, 1851, found in the LDS Church Historian's Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁹Jacobs to Van Buren, March 19, 1840.

¹⁰Godfrey. Original located in the LDS Church Historian's Library.

Along the Old Utah Highway 91

Jeannette Morrell*

Well, now, there's Ogden, a railroad town
Where the smoke smears everything rusty brown.
Ogden's Hole it was, 'way back when,
And the hunters and trappers, them lonely men,
They cached their furs there and sometimes their food
Where Peter Skene Ogden he told 'em they should.
It couldn't 'a' looked like much of a place
With the sand and the sagebrush, and only a trace
Of old Salt Lake shinin' 'way out west
Like a piece o' shirt through a dirty vest,
But the railroads come and it built up fast;
There was plenty o' folks when they counted 'em last,
And that wouldn't set well with old Peter Skene
Who liked enough space to spit between.
And the furs ain't cached in the Hole no more:
They're cached in the windows of some big store.
Brigham City? Oh, that's the place
That was named for the Prophet Joseph.
That's a Mormon joke—not a likely joke
For the outside folks I knows of,
But President Smith and President Young
Has both had a plenty o' praises sung,
And it ain't very likely they'd quarrel up yonder
Where they got the eternal progression to ponder,
Leastways not about Brigham, a little space
That's a Canada Honker's resting place

And not much else. There's another story
 That's been told hereabouts till it's kinda hoary,
 But outside of Utah not one percentile
 Knows that in Utah, a Jew's a Gentile.
 From Brigham you take the mountain road
 Up over the Sardine pass—
 A narrow ledge with a nasty drop,
 And you daresn't hurry, you daresn't stop,
 Till you come on through and over the top
 Out onto the valley grass.
 And there's Hyrum and Mendon and Wellsville there
 And a town called Paradise—
 A little hump in the valley floor
 That nobody'd look at twice.
 All I can make out is, they named it to set there
 'Cause they figgered they'd crossed over hell to get there.
 Then Logan all peaceful and quiet and still
 With a temple set high on a grassy hill,
 And a college nested where mountains comes
 And a neat little river jest bumbles and hums.
 Brother Brigham, he sent folks from Salt Lake City
 To settle the place, and it seems right pretty
 How it's still today pretty near how they made it
 With Lombardy populars and aspens to shade it.
 Well, that's near as fur as this highway can go
 'Cause a piece down the road ya hit Idaho.

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 has also published in the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Winckelmann: For the Bicentennial of His Death

TODD A. BRITSCH*

Two hundred years have now passed since the nineteen-year-old Johann Wolfgang von Goethe heard the news that struck him "like a thunderclap from a clear sky"¹: Johann Joachim Winckelmann had been murdered in Trieste while awaiting a ship that would take him back to his adopted home in Rome. The news was particularly shocking to Goethe because he and his associates were still under the impression that Winckelmann was en route to a reunion with his old acquaintances in Germany, and that the opportunity to see such an important figure would soon be theirs. Goethe reports that he and his friends had entertained no hopes of actually speaking with Winckelmann, but that they had anticipated watching him from afar.² The enthusiasm which the young writer felt towards his older countryman did not fade with the ensuing years. Indeed, thirty-seven years after Winckelmann's death, Goethe edited a small booklet entitled *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert*, in which his praise was still very considerable.³

Goethe was not alone in his high regard. Lessing, whose famous *Laokoon* was written as a reaction to some of Winckelmann's basic theses, referred to him as one of two writers "whom I would gladly have given a few years of my life."⁴ Herder, Schelling, Schiller, Hölderlin, the Schlegels, and a

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¹Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Werke*, Vol. IX, ed. Lieselotte Blumenthal (Hamburg, 1955), p. 8. Translations, unless otherwise noted, are mine.

²*Ibid.*

³Goethe, *Werke*, Vol. XII, ed. Herbert von Einem (1953), pp. 96-129.

⁴Walther Rehm, *Götterstille und Göttertrauer: Aufsätze zur Deutsch-Antiken Begegnung* (München, 1951), p. 183.

large number of others were deeply concerned with his writings. Nor was his influence limited to Germany. Franz Schultz accurately notes that Winckelmann was "the first German since Luther who found European recognition."⁵ Mme. de Staël gives him brief but important consideration in *De L'Allemagne*, calling him "the man who caused a veritable revolution in Germany in the manner of considering the arts and, through the arts, literature. . . ."⁶ During Winckelmann's life his works were translated and published in Italy, France, and England.

The degree and extent of Winckelmann's reputation during his lifetime and the decades which followed make somewhat surprising the rather obscure place which he is now accorded in cultural history. Although it is not this paper's purpose to defend his fame against the fortunes of time, it will attempt to enumerate the thoughts which so inspired his contemporaries and the developments which helped lead to his present position. Winckelmann's contributions lie in three related areas—as a founder of the science of archaeology,⁷ as one of the first modern practitioners of art history and cultural history,⁸ and as a forerunner to the great German intellectual and literary movement which dominated Europe for the century and a half after his death.

Winckelmann's role in the establishment of a scientific approach to archaeology was in part the result of a number of fortunate circumstances. In 1754, largely because he felt it would help provide him access to the great collections of classical art in Rome, he became a convert to Roman Catholicism. The following year, with some aid from the church, he left Dresden for Rome, where he established permanent residence. During these same years the first excavations were begun in Pompeii and Herculaneum. It was natural that Winckelmann

⁵Franz Schultz, *Klassik und Romantik der Deutschen*, 2nd rev. ed. (Stuttgart, 1952), p. 125.

⁶Mme. de Staël, *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1820), X, 236.

⁷Winckelmann's contributions to the founding of scientific archaeology are widely acknowledged. Even C. W. Ceram's popularizing book, *Gods, Graves, and Scholars: The Story of Archaeology*, trans. E. B. Garside (New York, 1952), contains a chapter entitled "Winckelmann: The Birth of a Science," pp. 11-17.

⁸Gilbert Highet repeats F. Fister's observation that Winckelmann invented both the concept and the term "Kunstgeschichte" (art history), in *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influence on Western Literature* (Oxford, 1949), p. 665.

would travel to Naples to investigate the discoveries there, for his reputation as a student of classical art was already quite well established, and friends were eager to receive his evaluation of the monuments so recently found.

Yet despite his position among the classical scholars of Rome, Winckelmann was not always well received at the sites of the destroyed cities. In fact, because of professional jealousy, he was at times prohibited from even visiting the areas where digging was in progress. But through the aid of a few sympathetic admirers, he was allowed to view a few secondary works of sculpture and painting, and from these he gathered enough information to write what are now considered the first scientific reports of these discoveries.⁹ Winckelmann's articles were not different from others in factual description; several accurate papers had been published before. Winckelmann's strength lay in his ability to discern characteristics that would identify artifacts in relation to rather narrow historical periods. For example he recognized that the degree of shifting or counterbalancing of the weight of a statue tended to become more extreme in later works. Likewise he observed that definition of musculature also became more pronounced in works that were produced after the fifth century B.C. On the basis of such evidence he was able to establish a dating system that was often surprisingly accurate when compared to the fragmentary evidence with which he worked.

Winckelmann's archaeological work was not normally concerned with such striking recent discoveries. Many of his papers and catalogues were of works which had been for centuries in the possession of royalty or the church. Indeed, the two statues that he was most concerned with were the *Laocoön* and *Apollo* of Belvedere, both of which were well-known treasures of the Vatican collections. But he still attempted to view each statue, cameo, fresco, or coin from the basis of historical characteristics. His work led many others to similar procedures. Ironically, it was this very attempt to classify works according to dates and historical movements that contributed in large part to the decline of interest in Winckelmann's writings. As new techniques were developed to date ancient monuments, Winckel-

⁹Carl Justi devotes several long chapters to Winckelmann's four trips to Naples in the second and third volumes of his great biography, *Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen*, 5th ed., ed. Walther Rehm (Köln, 1956).

mann was very frequently found to be in error. For some time, scholars were unable to separate his factual inaccuracies from his contributions to the beginnings of the science.

In spite of the obvious importance of his approach to archaeology, it was actually only one facet of his major discovery as an art historian—the concept of historical style. To those accustomed to viewing art largely on the basis of cultural periods, it would probably be surprising to discover that such an approach is of rather recent origin. Modern art history had its beginnings with Vasari and his followers in the late Renaissance and Baroque years. Yet as Ernst Heidrich points out, there is little of the “historical” in the works of these writers. Their concern was almost exclusively biographical—the artist’s beginnings (usually in unfortunate circumstances), his amazing flowering, and finally his decline.¹⁰

Winckelmann’s approach differed consciously from that of his predecessors. His *magnum opus*, the *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, begins with his avowal to seek the essence of art, “in which the story of the artist has little influence.”¹¹ More important, in Winckelmann’s opinion, were historical, geographical, political, and religious forces. Thus Winckelmann attributed the static quality of Egyptian art to the monolithic nature of the country and its social institutions; yearly floods; a religion which deified the political leaders; flat, undeviating landscape; and similar influences.¹² Greek art, on the other hand, was diverse and progressive because of a moderate climate, multiple political systems, mountainous countryside, and anthropomorphic religion.¹³ As Meinecke points out, Winckelmann’s assumption of geographical influence was derived largely from Enlightenment historiography, especially that of Montesquieu.¹⁴ Winckelmann was the first, however, to apply such concepts to the field of art.

¹⁰Ernst Heidrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Methode der Kunstgeschichte* (Basel, 1917), p. 15.

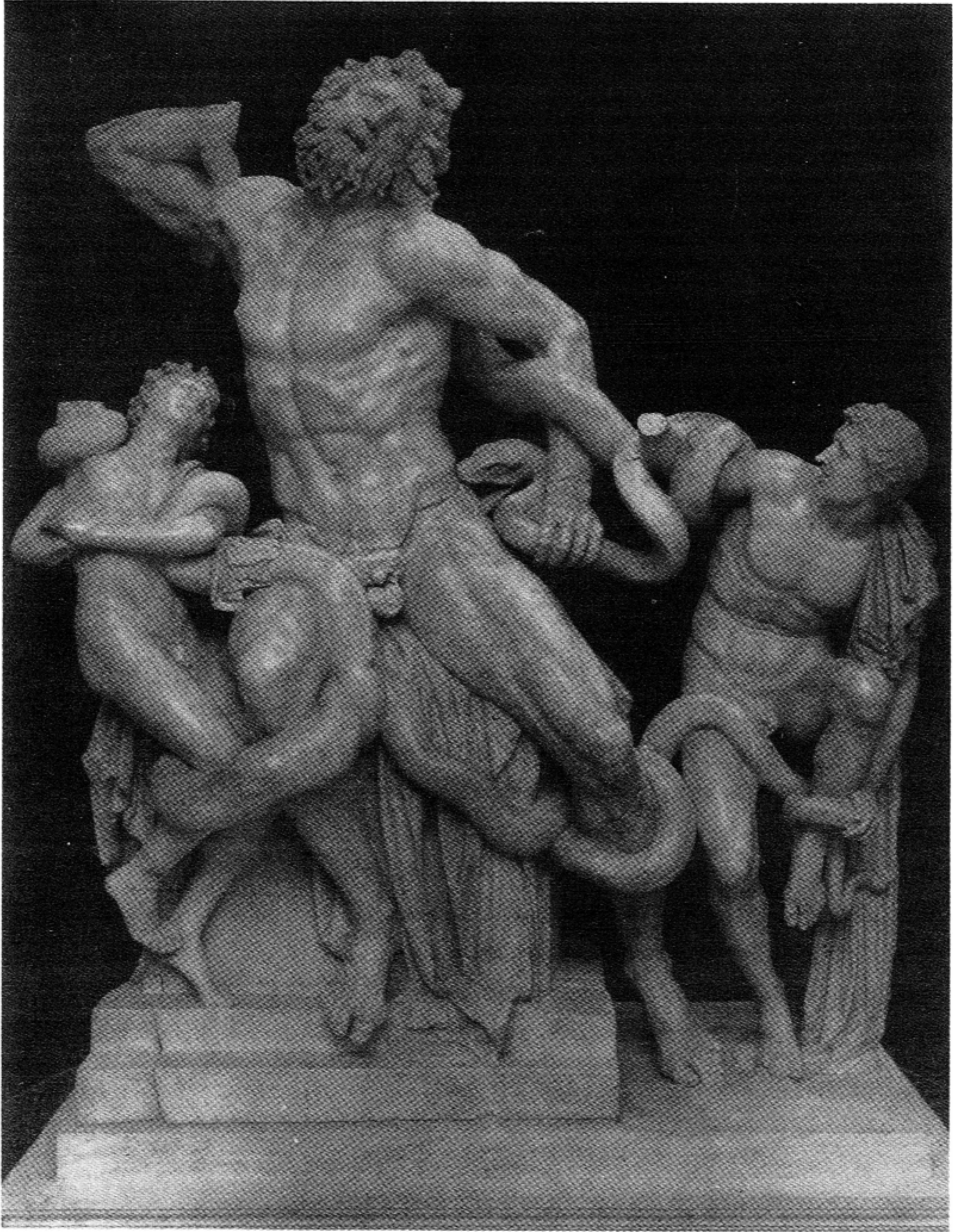
¹¹Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Werke: Einzig rechtmässige Original-Ausgabe* (Stuttgart, 1847), I, 1. There is a great need for a new scholarly edition of Winckelmann’s works. The recent publication in East Germany of Winckelmann’s *Geschichte*, ed. Wilhelm Senff (Weimar, 1964), at least makes the work available again to interested readers, but serious students will find the notes and “Nachwort” very unsatisfying.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 16, 37.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 16, 33, 35.

¹⁴Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, Vol. III of *Werke* (München, 1959), p. 292.

The Laocoön in the Vatican Museum, c. 2nd Century B.C. The legend depicted by this sculpting is in Virgil's *Aeneid*, II, 199-227. As a portent to the Trojans, two huge snakes kill Laocoön, a priest of Neptune, and his two sons while the Trojans are debating acceptance of the "Trojan Horse." Accepting proves their downfall.



Winckelmann realized early in his career that although the differences between the arts of various nations could be attributed to the influences mentioned above, this fact would not explain the obvious differences in the arts of various ages within the same area. To solve this problem he again borrowed from Enlightenment thinkers, but with a great originality of application. The concept of biological growth of nations was used by a few eighteenth-century historians to explain certain political phenomena. Winckelmann applied this idea to art and cultural development and promoted the theory of historical styles. He thought of artistic periods as following a natural cycle, which he described in four stages—inception (*Ursprung*), growth (*Wachstum*), change (*Veränderung*), and decline (*Fall*).¹⁵ On the basis of these stages he was able to differentiate four basic styles in Greek art. These he called the oldest style, the high or grand style, the beautiful style, and finally, the period of imitation.¹⁶ Winckelmann's definitions of these styles were so accurate that they correspond very well with the modern designations for the same periods—archaic, classic (Hellenic), fourth century and early Hellenistic, and late Hellenistic. There is some lack of clarity in his thought concerning causes of the cycle, but this is of lesser importance than the fact that for the first time critics were provided a concept with which both individual works as well as entire epochs could be analyzed. Perhaps the final testimony to the universal nature of this contribution is the fact that scholars daily employ the idea of historical style without knowing that Winckelmann was the first to use it in a modern manner.

Although the popularity of Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* was widespread in Germany, most Germans were probably more influenced by a little tract that was Winckelmann's first publication—the *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*. Winckelmann wrote this pamphlet in Dresden while awaiting his trip to Italy. At this time he had had a most limited experience with art works, especially those from Greece. The Dresden museums and courts had a few original works and a fair collection of plaster casts, but no masterpieces of Hellenic or Hellenistic sculpture. Thus it is all the more sur-

¹⁵Winckelmann, I, 1.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 299, 300.

prising that he not only proposed imitation of Greek art as the only method for Germany to establish a great artistic tradition, but also gave a definition of classical art which became the leading aesthetic and literary norm during a great period of German creative history. In characterizing the *Laocoön* Winckelmann said it exhibited "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur"¹⁷—a concept which finds itself repeated in the works of most of the great later eighteenth-century German writers. It would be impossible to conceive of Goethe's *Iphigenia*, Schiller's "beautiful soul" (*schöne Seele*), or Hölderlin's Diotima without this stimulus provided by Winckelmann.

In addition to providing motivation for classical literature, Winckelmann's writings aided the formation of a German culture in a second way. After the Thirty Years' War, independent creative efforts were severely limited in Germany. The country had lost a major part of its economic capacity and a large percentage of its population. It was therefore especially susceptible to the economic, military, and artistic forces of France. For almost a century—from 1650 to 1750—music was the only art in Germany which flourished largely independent of French influence. All others, especially architecture and literature, became increasingly imitative of Franco-Roman baroque. In large part this imitation resulted in poor works that had some degree of polish but little substance. Winckelmann helped the Germans develop an independent art in two ways: he was a German writer whose European reputation was sufficient to cause national pride; and he showed Germany a culture which it could adopt as a spiritual ancestor. The French had often felt a special kinship with Rome, both the republic and the empire. Now Germany looked to Greece as its model. Greek sculpture, architecture, painting, and especially literature enjoyed a great revival, and writers strove to become like Homer and Pindar. A great deal has been written concerning the positive or harmful effects of this involvement with Greece,¹⁸ but it was without question one of the most impor-

¹⁷*Ibid.*, II, 12. To modern viewers, Winckelmann's use of such terms to describe the late Hellenistic statue by Hagesandros, Polydoros, and Athanodoros would seem very strange. It should be remembered, however, that Winckelmann was writing during the most extreme period of Baroque and Rococo sculpture. Even the *Laocoön* could appear simple and quiet in comparison to statuary of that period.

¹⁸In his *Griechentum und Goethezeit: Geschichte eines Glaubens* (München, 1952), Walther Rehm insists, "The belief in that which is Greek is finally

tant aspects of German intellectual and artistic life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Probably even the theories and works of such later writers as Heine, Nietzsche, and George cannot be fully explained without reference to Winckelmann's concept of Greece.

In addition to the three areas outlined, Winckelmann made a great number of related contributions. He provided an aesthetic evaluation of line,¹⁹ developed a theory of artistic grace,²⁰ and more than anyone else was responsible for the attitudes toward fifth-century Greece that prevailed universally until rather recently. It may well be, however, that besides his archaeological inaccuracies, no other single matter has contributed more to his loss of fame than the fact that scholars are now starting to question the stereotype which attributes to Greek character almost faultless moderation, control, Stoicism, and noble self-sufficiency. To Winckelmann, more than any other, we owe this evaluation. Whether or not he is proved to be wrong in this respect, the artistic and scholarly worlds have reaped great harvests from the conception of Greece which Winckelmann helped to form.

only a simile for the belief in that which is most purely human and therefore also for the belief in that which is German." (p. 17) Eliza M. Butler's *The Tyranny of Greece Over Germany* (Boston, 1958) was written to support her thesis that the Greek influence in Germany stifled the Germans' natural creativity. Many others have taken positions somewhere between these two.

¹⁹Winckelmann, II, 14, 42, 62; I, 24 ff.

²⁰*Ibid.*, II, 320-324.

In Memoriam
P. A. Christensen
1888-1968



M. B. BRADY

What matters most with P. A. Christensen is that his reach should be felt as well as his grasp, that his classes—even at their most successful—should be remembered as a means, not as an end in themselves. For P. A. Christensen gave his students the most valuable education one ever gets, an exposure to a certain intellectual habit and attitude of mind. He had the enduring desire to see things accurately, and he taught his students “to see life steadily and to see it whole,” without bitterness or cynicism, without prejudices or preconceptions. I believe that his students recognize their debt to him not so much perhaps by the impressions made in the moments of illumination in individual classes as by the way in which their minds turn again and again with growing understanding and gratitude to an inspiration which the passage of time can do nothing to dim. P. A. Christensen wanted to know the truth, and he was honest in his quest of it. He saw the tragedy and the evil of life as well as its beauty and splendor. But if his eyes were open always to the darker aspects of human existence, they were open also to those aspects of life in which a growing good resides.

Troilus and Cressida

An Oil Painting

by

Benjamin West

A NOTE ON "TROILUS AND CRESSIDA"

FRANCIS R. MAGLEBY*

Benjamin West (1738-1820) was an unsung innovator of the neoclassic style of painting. At the age of twenty-one he went to Rome to study art, and like other Americans of that time, Franklin and Jefferson to name just two, he was inspired by the democratic ideals of classical Greece and Rome. Caught up in the classical concept of ideal beauty, West turned to the image and subject of the classics and the world of antiquity for his paintings. It is interesting to note that he was painting in the neoclassic style twenty years before David and Ingres, the French painters often given major credit for the classic revival in painting.

West left Rome and went to London to live and paint. He was so successful there that he attracted many young American painters to his studio to study with him. The result was that neoclassic realism approached a national style in America during the late eighteenth century with neoclassic themes appearing in paintings by Copley, Trumbull, Stuart, Peale, and others.

Although West was an innovator in turning to the classic subject, he retained the painting techniques of the eighteenth-century masters. "Troilus and Cressida" shows that he was an excellent craftsman and understood the grand manner of that century which is characterized by rich, transparent color.

There is added interest in West as a painter for Mormons since Joseph Smith arranged to have an exhibition of his paintings in Nauvoo. It is unique that a frontier town would have an exhibition of paintings by the leading artist of the day.

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As Things Stand at the Moment

HUGH NIBLEY*

The most widely syndicated article on the "Joseph Smith Papyri" to appear to date is a typical performance of Mr. Wallace Turner which first appeared in the *New York Times* of July 15, 1968. It is one of those high-flown insinuating reports breathing an aloof superiority, studiously evasive of anything specific. First we are told that there has been "bitter wrangling among the intellectuals of the Mormon world." If an intellectual is anybody willing to argue, what is meant by the "Mormon world"? If the Church is meant, why not say Church? "The attack," Mr. Turner continues, "has come from within the Mormon community." Again, why "community" instead of "Church"? Because, to be sure, there has been no attack and no wrangling whatever within the Church. Later on Mr. Turner mentions "two heretics notorious to the church establishment" (a term dear to the heart of Mr. Turner), unaware that there are no heretics in a church where every member is supposed to have his own personal, nontransferrable testimony, and that to be a heretic in any church one must be a member: the two in question are not members of the Mormon Church and were not members at the time they are supposed to have attacked from "within the community." A favorite means of lending authority to attacks on the Mormon Church has ever been the announcement that the attacker was himself once a good and active Mormon. But since the only qualification for such a title is one's demonstrated capacity to remain true and faithful to the end, no backslider can claim it. Mr. Turner's problem is to tell the world that the question of the papyri has split the Mormons, without actually saying so—an assignment for which he is peculiarly well-fitted.

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"There is no question," writes the reporter, "that Smith worked from these papyri; the question is whether his writings based on them were actual translations or pure fabrications." We know that he worked *with* the papyri, but what can working *from* them possibly mean? Or what can be meant by "his writings *based* on them"? Were they actual translations? Then why not say so? How could a very meaningful text be both derived from and based on something that makes no sense at all? A vivid flashback to 1912 is the skillfully garbled statement that Joseph Smith in the Pearl of Great Price presents "hand-drawn copies of three groups of hieroglyphs together with his translation of them." There were not three groups of hieroglyphs and no translations of hieroglyphs. Later we are told that the Prophet "also had work papers, in which it seemed that sections of the Book of Abraham were attributed to specific symbols." Again the escape word is "seemed." "Also" work papers? What were the other papers? If the "work papers" were Smith's, why are none of them in his handwriting? Again, we learn that the eleven newly-found documents were "involved in the production of the Book of Abraham." Just how is one to understand "involved"? Some of the eleven documents have no visible relationship whatever to the Book of Abraham, and what the connection of the others is remains to be determined. Joseph Smith, according to the two "heretics" as quoted by Mr. Turner, "apparently translated many English words from each Egyptian character. . . ." But there is no place for an equivocal "apparently" in the vaunted rigor of their demonstration; "apparently" leaves the door open to the many objections that arise and the swarm of questions that must be answered before the pair can announce for the final time their longed-for "Fall of the Book of Abraham."

One "threat to the Mormons of these findings," according to Mr. Turner, who obligingly does the Mormons' thinking for them, is that they "could turn sociological by undermining the scriptural basis for the Mormons' discrimination against Negroes." The scriptural basis of Mormon belief rests wholly on inspired English translations of the scriptures—not a single original version of any holy book is known to exist anywhere in the world today, and scholars have never been able to agree on what the ancient texts they do possess are trying to convey. In such a state of things nothing can take the place of an in-

spired translation as far as the LDS members are concerned, and no study of Egyptian or any other ancient texts could ever "undermine the scriptural basis" for any Mormon belief.

Whatever translation comes by the gift and power of God is certainly no translation in the ordinary sense, and Joseph Smith never put forth the translation of the Book of Abraham as an exercise in conventional scholarship. But when Mr. Turner concludes his article with our statement that "Today nobody claims that Joseph Smith got his information through ordinary channels," he uses it as a punch line to make it sound like a declaration that the Mormons have abandoned a previously held belief, than which nothing could be farther from the mark. In every case in which he has produced a translation, Joseph Smith has made it clear that his inspiration is by no means bound to any ancient text, but is free to take wings at any time. To insist, as the critics do, that "translation" may be understood only in the sense in which they choose to understand it, while the Prophet clearly demonstrates that he intends it to be taken in a very different sense, is to make up the rules of the game one is playing as well as being the umpire. To stick to the same specifications would brand either Pope's or Chapman's or Rouse's *Iliad*, or all three of them, fraudulent, so wide is their range.

BOOK OF ABRAHAM MAKES GOOD SENSE

We agree with Mr. Turner that there is a significant parallel between the case of the Book of Abraham and that of the Book of Mormon. Since the beginning the world has been asked to dismiss both books as impostures not because of what is in them, but because of the strange way in which each was supposed to have been produced. It is as if someone pretending to be a cook but without credentials or experience were to turn out a banquet worthy of the *cordon bleu* only to be condemned unanimously by the cooking profession because he had not cooked according to their rules. Whether the "Sensen" Papyrus or the Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar (hereafter cited as EAG) makes sense or not, the Book of Abraham makes very good sense, and like the Book of Mormon can thoroughly be tested in the light of a wealth of ancient documents. We have more than enough viable material to put the Prophet to the test where he specifically claims revelation,

without having to rummage in dubious papers which were never meant to be included among inspired writings.

Year in and year out one must repeat the old refrain that the arguments of the world against the inspired scriptures of the Latter-day Saints collapse because they rest on a completely false idea of the Mormon conception of revelation. Can a book with a misspelled word in it possibly be the product of divine revelation? If not, says the Mormon, there never was a divinely inspired book. Can a man who makes mistakes and learns by trial and error like other people possibly be a prophet? If not, we reply, then no man ever was a prophet. Can one who doubts and speculates and meditates about a thing later receive revelation about it? He is more apt to receive revelation, we say, than one who does not. We know that Joseph Smith studied reports about the ancient civilizations of central America and speculated about them with lively interest—but *that was after the Book of Mormon appeared*. There is every indication that the free-wheeling conjectures of the EAG were made after the Book of Abraham was completed, so that even the irrelevant argument of the book's dubious documentary background remains unfounded.

Two basic questions that confront us in evaluating the Pearl of Great Price are (1) Did the Egyptians really have something? and (2) Did Joseph Smith really have something on the Egyptians? Until recently both propositions have been relegated to the limbo of superstitious nonsense by all respectable scholars. But of recent years proposition No. 1 has come in for some serious rethinking by quite sober Egyptologists and other scientists, who tell us that the Egyptians may really have had something after all. And what they had turns out to be something that suspiciously resembles what Joseph Smith said they had. Which puts us in the way of answering our second question, which is not whether Smith was inspired or not, but whether his writings may be checked against those of the real world of Abraham. The real work has not even begun.

From the beginning there has been considerable misunderstanding about the exact nature of the Joseph Smith papyri. If the Mormons really believed them to be the very handwriting of the Patriarch Abraham, they would have made a good deal of that in their preaching and missionary work, they

would have made frantic efforts to keep them in their possession, they would have guarded them like the golden plates, and they most certainly would have done everything to get them back from Emma and William Smith. But the saints never played up the idea of having autographic writings of Abraham, preferring to understand the term "writings of Abraham" in the broad and familiar sense in which the term is applied to other scriptures, like the writings of Moses, John, or Ether, none of which pretend to be autographic.¹ In 1912 their spokesmen were quite outspoken: "There is no evidence that Abraham himself wrote in his own hand any part of the papyri found with the mummies, certainly not the hypocephali."² They looked at the Church historian's statement that "As the work proceeded he [Joseph Smith] became convinced that one of the rolls of papyrus contained a copy of a book written by Abraham,"³ and made capital of the idea that Abraham was the very scribe who wrote the papyri, for that made their debunking assignment very easy, in view of the late provenance of the documents.⁴

But the Mormons have never displayed any particular reverence or awe for the facsimiles. Whereas the editing of the standard works has ever been an object of meticulous care, even a cursory examination of successive reproductions of the plates of the Book of Abraham shows the work to be amazingly slapdash and slipshod, as if a mere approximation of the general idea were quite enough to satisfy the Brethren.⁵ Though the explanations that accompany the facsimiles have the authority of inspiration, we are explicitly told that the ancient drawings themselves were nothing but purely human attempts to

¹Hugh Nibley, "A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price," *The Improvement Era*, Vol. 71 (February, 1968), pp. 20-21.

²Osborn J. P. Widtsoe, "The Unfair Fairness of Rev. Spalding," *The Improvement Era*, Vol. 16 (April, 1913), p. 600.

³J. M. Sjodahl, "A Final Word," *The Improvement Era*, Vol. 16 (September, 1913), p. 1102. "Some of the Latter-day Saints seem to have believed that the papyri in question represented the actual autographic work of Abraham and Joseph—that the hand of Abraham had pressed the very papyrus handled by Joseph Smith. Such a conclusion, however, does not seem to be involved in the text of Smith's account, and need not be considered authoritative." See Robert C. Webb, "A Critical Examination of the Facsimiles in the Book of Abraham," *The Improvement Era*, Vol. 16 (March, 1913), p. 440.

⁴Pointed out by Widtsoe, *The Improvement Era*, Vol. 16, p. 599, and Robert C. Webb, "Truth Seeking: Its Symptoms and After Effects," *The Improvement Era*, Vol. 16 (September, 1913), p. 1090.

⁵See our comments in "A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price," *The Improvement Era*, Vol. 71 (April, 1968), p. 65.

illustrate what Abraham was talking about: ". . . and that you may have an understanding of these things, I have given you the fashion of them in the figures in the beginning. . . ." No claim of inspiration is made for the drawings, which used the peculiar conventions and symbols of one particular culture: ". . . as understood by the Egyptians . . . but in this case, in relation to this subject, the Egyptians meant it to signify," etc. Even the cosmic splendors of Facsimile No. 2 purport to be nothing but the conventional treatment of certain themes in the traditional symbolic idiom of a people denied the priesthood. There is nothing particularly holy about them.

BY THE HAND OF ABRAHAM

When the Book of Abraham was first published, being personally edited by Joseph Smith, it was designated by him as "A translation of some ancient Records, from the Catacombs of Egypt, *purporting* to be the writings of Abraham, while he was in Egypt, *called* the Book of Abraham, written by his own hand, upon papyrus."⁶ Note that Smith himself designates the writings only as "some ancient Records," then he tells us what they are purported to be, and finally gives us the *title* of the document. Here "written by his own hand" is not Joseph Smith's verdict but part of the original title of the document translated. Such long explanatory titles are characteristic of Egyptian writings.⁷

Two important and peculiar aspects of ancient authorship must be considered when we are told that a writing is by the hand of Abraham or anybody else. One is that according to Egyptian and Hebrew thinking any copy of a book originally written by Abraham would be regarded and designated as the very work of his hand forever after, no matter how many reproductions had been made and handed down through the years. The other is that no matter who did the writing originally, if it was Abraham who commissioned or directed the work, he would take the credit for the actual writing of the document, whether he penned it or not.

⁶*Times and Seasons*, Vol. 3 (March 25, 1842), p. 704.

⁷Thus a work we happen to be studying at the moment has the title: "Translation of the Secrets of the Ritual for repelling the Raging One, made in the Temple of Osiris of Abydos, to keep Seth away from Osiris. This book will protect against the enemies of Osiris for seven days, and is beneficial to whoever recites it," in S. Schott, *Urkunden Mythologischen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1929), p. 61.

As to the first point, when a holy book (usually a leather roll) grew old and worn out from handling, it was not destroyed but *renewed*. Important writings were immortal—for the Egyptians they were “the divine words,” for the Jews the very letters were holy and indestructible, being the word of God. The wearing out of a particular copy of scripture therefore in no way brought the life of the book to a close—it could not perish. In Egypt it was simply renewed (*ma.w, sma.w*) “fairer than before,” and so continued its life to the next renewal. Thus we are told at the beginning of what some have claimed to be the oldest writing in the world, “His Majesty wrote this book down anew. . . His Majesty discovered it as a work of the Ancestors, but eaten by worms . . . So His Majesty wrote it down from the beginning, so that it is more beautiful than it was before.”⁸ It is not a case of the old book’s being replaced by a new one, but of the original book itself continuing its existence in a rejuvenated state. No people were more hypnotized by the idea of a renewal of lives than the Egyptians—not a succession of lives or a line of descent, but the actual revival and rejuvenation of a single life.

Even the copyist who puts his name in a colophon does so not so much as publicity for himself as to vouch for the faithful transmission of the original book; his being “trustworthy(*iqr*) of fingers,” i.e., a reliable copyist, is the reader’s assurance that he has the original text before him. An Egyptian document, J. Spiegel observes, is like the print of an etching, which is not only a work of art in its own right but “can lay claim equally well to being the original . . . regardless of whether the individual copies turn out well or ill.” Because he thinks in terms of types, according to Spiegel, for the Egyptian “*there is no essential difference between an original and a copy*. For as they understand it, all pictures are but reproductions of an ideal original.”⁹ Being itself but a copy of “an ideal original,” the first writing of a document enjoys no special superiority over later copies.⁹ Thus an Egyptian who handed us a writing or drawing of Abraham’s would be nonplussed if we asked him whether Abraham really made it. Who else?

⁸K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegypt. Mysteryenspielen* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 20.

⁹J. Spiegel, in *Mitteilungen Des Deutschen Instituts Fur Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, Vol. 9 (1940), p. 160.

This concept was equally at home in Israel. An interesting passage from the Book of Jubilees recounts that Joseph while living in Egypt used to read to his sons "the words which his father Jacob used to read from among the words of Abraham." (39.6) Here is a clear statement that "the words of Abraham" were handed down in written form from generation to generation, and were the subject of serious study in Joseph's Egyptian family circle. The same source informs us that when Joseph died and was buried in Canaan, "he gave all his books and the books of the fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve and *renew* them for his children until this day." (45:15) Here "the books of the fathers" including "the words of Abraham" have been preserved for later generations by a process of renewal.

In this there is no thought of the making of a new book by a new hand. It was a strict rule in Israel that no one, not even the most learned rabbi, should ever write down so much as a single letter of the Bible from memory: always the text must be copied letter by letter from another text that had been copied in the same way, thereby eliminating the danger of any man's adding, subtracting, or changing so much as a single jot in the text. It was not a rewriting but a process as mechanical as photography, an exact visual reproduction, so that no matter how many times the book had been passed from hand to hand, it was always the one original text that was before one. To make the illusion complete, the old worn-out copy was never kept around—the renewed book *was* the original; the old one was not reused, cut up, burned or even buried, for a writing containing the ineffable name of God could not be destroyed. It simply disappeared without trace; with the completion of the process of rejuvenation, the old corruptible shell ceased to exist. It was quietly and unobtrusively walled up in a sacred building, in a *geniza* whose very existence was ignored by the congregation.¹⁰ Thus the holy book continued its life, ageless and unchangeable, through the centuries, with never a thought of its being anything but the sacred original.

But "written by his own hand"? This brings us to the other interesting concept. Let us recall that that supposedly oldest of Egyptians writings, the so-called Shabako Stone, begins with

¹⁰*Juedisches Lexikon* (Berlin, 1928), Vol. 2, p. 1014; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 5, pp. 612f.

the announcement that "His Majesty wrote this book down anew. . . ." This, Professor Sethe obligingly explains, is "normal Egyptian usage to express the idea that the King ordered a copy to be made."¹¹ Yet it clearly states that the king himself wrote it. Thus when the son of King Snefru says of his own inscription at Medum, "It was he who made his gods in [such] a writing [that] it cannot be effaced," the statement is so straightforward that even such a student as W. S. Smith takes it to mean that the prince himself actually did the writing. And what could be more natural than for a professional scribe to make an inscription: "It was her husband, the Scribe of the Royal Scroll, Nebwy, who made this inscription"? Or when a noble announces that he made his father's tomb, why should we not take him at his word? It depends on how the word is to be understood. Professor Wilson in all these cases holds that the person who claims to have done the work does so "in the sense that he commissioned and paid for it."¹² The noble who has writing or carving done is always given full credit for its actual execution; such claims of zealous craftsmanship "have loftily ignored the artists," writes Wilson. "It was the noble who 'made' or 'decorated' his tomb," though one noble of the old kingdom breaks down enough to show us how these claims were understood: "I made this for my old father . . . I had the sculptor Itju make (it)."¹³ Dr. Wilson cites a number of cases in which men claim to have "made" their father's tombs, one of them specifically stating that he did so "while his arm was still strong"—with his own hand!¹⁴

Credit for actually writing the inscription of the famous Metternich Stele is claimed by "the prophetess of Nebwen, Nest-Amun, daughter of the Prophet of Nebwen and Scribe of the Inundation, 'Ankh-Psametik,' " who states that she "*renewed (sma.w) this book* [there it is again!] after she had found it removed from the house of Osiris-Mnevis, so that her name might be preserved. . . ."¹⁵ The inscription then shifts to the masculine gender as if the scribe were really a man, leading to considerable dispute among the experts as to just who

¹¹Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 20.

¹²Discussed by J. S. Wilson in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 6 (1947), pp. 239f.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 243.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 240.

¹⁵C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstele* (Copenhagen, 1956), p. 48 (Spruch viii).

gets the credit. Certain it is that the lady boasts of having given an ancient book a new lease on life, even though her hand may never have touched a pen.¹⁶

Nest-Amun hoped to preserve her name by attaching it to a book, and in a very recent study M. A. Korostovstev notes that "for an Egyptian to attach his name to a written work was an infallible means of passing it down through the centuries."¹⁷ That may be one reason why Abraham chose the peculiar Egyptian medium he did for the transmission of his record—or at least why it has reached us only in this form. Indeed Theodor Böhl observed recently that the one chance the original Patriarchal literature would ever have of surviving would be to have it written down on Egyptian papyrus.¹⁸ Scribes liked to have their names preserved, too, and the practice of adding copyists' names in colophons, Korostovstev points out, could easily lead in later times to attributing the wrong authorship to a work. But whoever is credited with the authorship of a book remains its unique author, alone responsible for its existence in whatever form.

So when we read "The Book of Abraham, written by his own hand upon papyrus," we are to understand, as the Mormons always have, that this book no matter how often "renewed" is still the writing of Abraham and no one else; for he commissioned it or "according to the accepted Egyptian expression" wrote it himself—with his own hand. And when Abraham tells us, "That you may have an understanding of these gods, I have given you the fashion of them in the figures at the beginning," we do not need to imagine the patriarch himself personally drawing the very sketches we have before us. In fact, the remark may well be the insertion of a later scribe. To the Egyptian or Hebrew mind the sketches could be twenty-seventh hand and still be the authentic originals, as long as Abraham originally ordered them and put his name to them. Still less are we to see in these helpful little diagrams anything pretending to be a supernatural or sacrosanct performance.

The publication of the original Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri if it has done nothing else has put an end to one of the

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁷M. A. Korostovtsev, in *Revue d'Égyptologie*, Vol. 19 (1967), p. 191.

¹⁸Th. Böhl, in *Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux Jaarbericht*, Vol. 17 (1963), pp. 134f.

most ridiculous games ever played. In this game the experts were wildly cheered as they scored point after point against Joseph Smith (they being both the judges and the score keepers), with the strict understanding that under no circumstances could the Prophet be permitted ever to score a point against them. Indeed our non-Mormon friends still feel morally and intellectually obligated never to admit even for the sake of argument that Joseph Smith could possibly be right in the sense in which he claimed to be right. It is an unsailable axiom of the learned that no matter how long the game goes on or how many matches are played, Smith's score must always be zero. While the Mormons have freely if not enthusiastically acknowledged the fallibility of the Prophet and actually conceded points to the opposition, there has never been any thought of the challengers' ever conceding a point to them. It was not just an absurdly one-sided game; it was no game at all, though the players went on solemnly pretending to be testing and exploring a proposition that they would not even consider.

Tennis, Anyone?

But now original Egyptian documents invite us to a more serious game. The scholars no longer dodge the issues or flaunt their credentials. Our first article to take serious issue with the experts on tangible grounds (*The Improvement Era*, September, 1968) met with immediate and gratifying response. The letters have not been complimentary, but they have been better than that—constructive. Those who promptly batted our balls back across the net have not been carping or picayune in their objections, but eminently reasonable and well informed. After the giants of 1912 passed away, the field was left to zealous amateurs whose antics have been dictated by hysterical partisanship and an uncontrollable desire to shine (with what a splash some of them now announce that they have actually got their names into the *New York Times*!); such human weakness is pardonable if they only wouldn't carry it so far—throwing confetti, leaping over the net, and forming a victory parade every time their team scores a point, or with equal fervor blowing the whistle, calling a fault, halting play and declaring the game forfeit every time they think their opponents have muffed a play. After that it is a relief

to be dealing with sensible people. Let us see how the game goes now.

It began with Joseph Smith serving the ball: Here are things, he said referring to the papyri, which go back to Abraham.

The opposition returned the ball: Nothing of the sort! These are perfectly ordinary funerary motifs for which thousands of identical examples could be supplied.

We return it to them: You are overlooking a number of oddities in the papyri which definitely are not ordinary.

And they return it to us: There are all sorts of irregularities in Egyptian drawings; funerary papyri are full of such peculiarities.

And we: That fact does not impugn the oddities in these particular documents, but rather substantiates them. These are not exactly like any other documents, though that was precisely your contention.

And they: No. That was the contention of the scholars of 1912; you are fighting a straw man. Students today do not take such extreme views.

We: True enough, but the public and the Mormons do not know that. The men of 1912 are straw men only if we have revived them. But we have not done that; that is the work of busy propagandists in our midst who still have most people believing that the men of 1912 spoke the final word. We cannot be beating a dead horse if the horse is far from dead.

They: But you say the experts deliberately overlooked important oddities like the clothing and hand position of the figure on the couch. Professor Parker mentioned the hands, so you are wrong.

We: He mentioned them only to deny that they exist. He will not even consider the hands as such, and that is the only mention they ever get. As to the clothing, the question is not who drew it but the mere fact that it is there. We find it strange that none of the experts ever mentioned that undeniable and striking fact.

They: You have your silences too. You mention only three hypotheses to account for the irregularities in the papyri. You have not considered all the possibilities.

We: We did not say that only three hypotheses were possible, but only that three and no more were put forth by the experts. We have always shared Popper's opinion that "there is always an infinity of logically possible solutions to every problem." If you have another theory, it's your serve.

They: So it is. Here goes: "One thing we learn from the original papyri that no one would have guessed before 1967 is that the Pearl of Great Price woodcuts *include restorations*." The irregularities in the facsimiles about which you make such a fuss are largely the result of Mormon attempts to restore the damaged papyri.

We: We grant your first proposition, but the second remains to be demonstrated.

They: Who else would restore them but the Mormons? There is evidence for that in the pencilled sketching that is still to be seen on the backing of the No. 1 papyrus. We believe that was done by the Mormons and not by later owners.

We: Why would the Mormons make a reconstruction that differs drastically from the official Mormon version?

They: We can explain that. Since "the Mormon connections of the papyrus were always known to its successive owners," *any* later attempt to restore it would have followed the Pearl of Great Price. But this pencilled doodling does not follow it; therefore it is not later but earlier, representing "a first attempt at restoration, rejected as unsatisfactory."

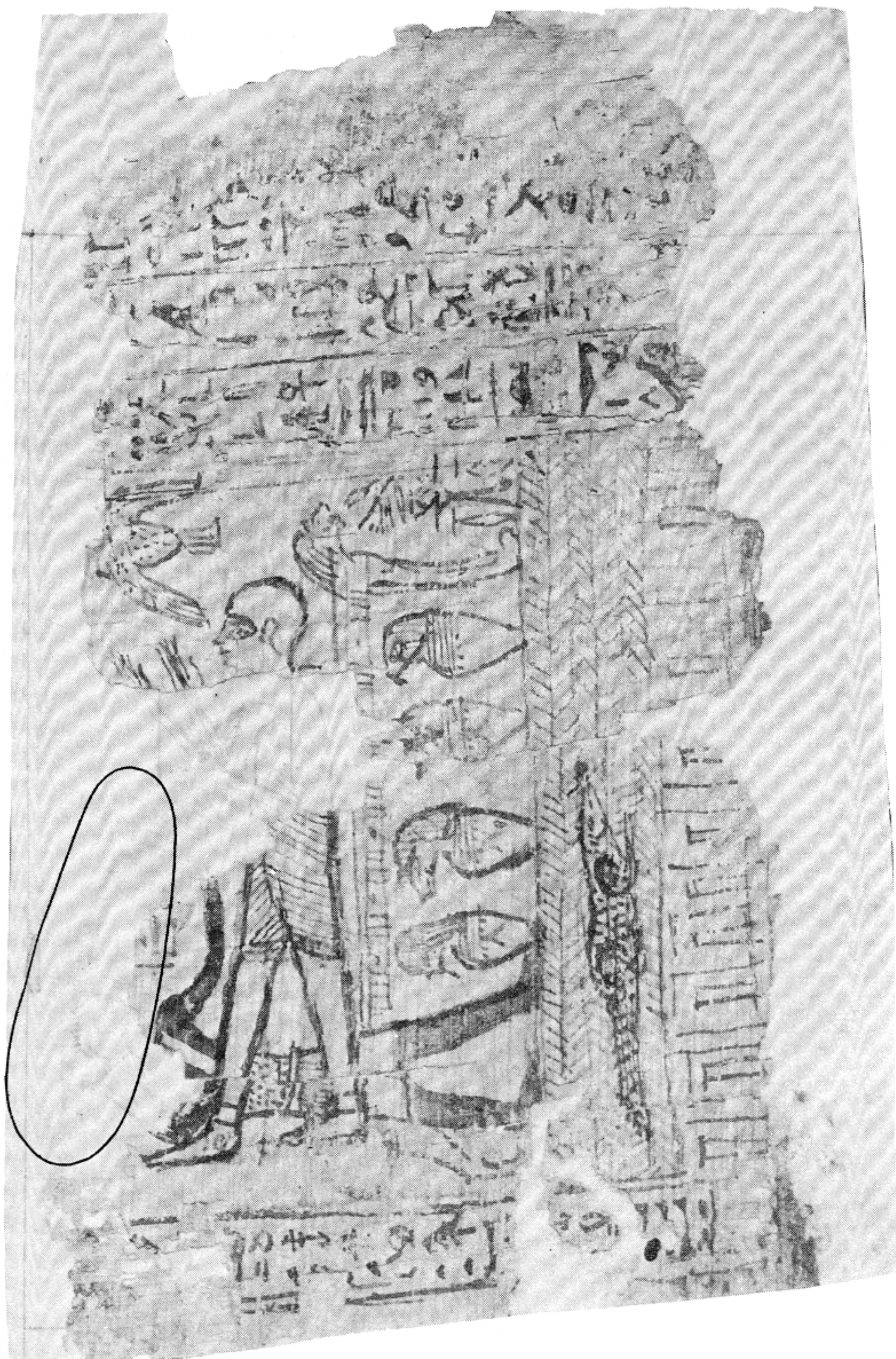
We: I am afraid you knocked that one clear out of the court. Your suggestion that any non-Mormon owner would have followed the Pearl of Great Price just like any Mormon is indeed refreshing: since when have non-Mormons felt bound by Mormon opinion or obligated to make a reconstruction that would vindicate the Mormon scripture? You say the drawing was "rejected as unsatisfactory" right at the beginning—which means that it was allowed to stand untouched from ten to twenty years, a constant reminder of the ineptness of the Brethren and a constant refutation of their later official reconstruction, when it would have been the easiest thing in the world—and perfectly legal—to retouch or erase it: it wasn't even drawn on the papyrus and made no pretense to being ancient. And the Mormons were not only crazy enough to let this highly unacceptable performance stand as it was, but their

friends and enemies were blind enough never to notice it, either to explain it or to make fun of it.

As is well known (from the labors of Robert Eisler and others), the first and most urgent thing to be done whenever the official version of a document, sacred or otherwise, is decided on is to destroy all other versions. Yet you want us to believe that the Mormons saw no advantage to removing, replacing, or even retouching this incriminating document. Or if you insist that the Mormons had such perfect integrity as to leave this foolish and unfortunate drawing untouched by pencil or eraser, and resisted every temptation to draw a single line more on that empty backing for twenty years, then the wholesale restorations that you suggest for the rest of the papyri are entirely out of the question. That the space on the modern paper backing, which had no claim to sanctity, was never used for any more speculative sketching after that first awkward and highly unsatisfactory attempt is a strong indication that its inviting surface was not available until later. The pattern of the exposed patches of glue on the backing still remains to be explained: the mere presence of those ugly patches, where the mounting was otherwise so very neatly done, casts serious doubt on your theory that the surviving parts of the Facsimile No. 1 papyrus are all that the Mormons ever saw of it. We simply cannot believe that in years of busy speculation and study in which they were concerned with everything else, the saints never so much as breathed on that first unfortunate, discredited, embarrassing, profane, and highly unwelcome bit of sketching. It is both interesting and reassuring to find such a naive suggestion coming from so distinguished a source.

They: Speaking of naive suggestions, when you used that portrait of Lucy Mack Smith to guarantee the integrity of Facsimile No. 1 "before it was damaged," why didn't you call attention to the numbers indicating some of the figures in the pictures? The numbers weren't part of the original papyrus, you know.

We: We completely overlooked the numbers until after the article went to press. Only then did we get our first good look at the picture. So you win a point. We now assume that the artists consulted the Hedlock reproduction. But in examining the portrait closely we discovered something of importance that is not discernible in *The Improvement Era* reproduction,



Facsimile No. 1 from the papyrus fragments given the Church by the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. The glue line (circled) does not show up on the photography as plainly as on the original.

something that is *not* in the Hedlock drawing. The artist has drawn a jagged line right across the top of the facsimile, cutting off the top both of the priest's head and of the bird's head but leaving the rest, including the knife in the priest's hand, untouched. The area above the jagged line is of a slightly



An enlarged reproduction of the replica of Facsimile No. 1 in the background of the painting of Lucy Mack Smith, taken from the photograph of that painting in the Church Historian's Office.

lighter shade than that below, and in the original may be of a different color. It seems to mark the limit of the papyrus, i.e., of the damage to the thing, at some time *after* the Mormons had acquired it. It is nearly all there. In other things also the painter of Mrs. Smith's portrait departs from the Hedlock engraving.

They: What about the wrinkling? It seems to us that some of the wrinkles supposedly in the papyrus extend right out beyond and include the picture frame.

We: The paint could have run where the artists made extra-heavy vertical markings (providing he used water colors), or else the wrinkles could belong to the big portrait itself, of

which we have only a photograph. But the picture frame is clearly a frame, closely resembling the one in which other papyri are still mounted, and most of the wrinkling is definitely confined within its borders as if it really belonged to the papyri.

They: If the papyrus was intact almost to the top, how does it happen that the short inscription above the priest's arm was never produced in any of the engravings? It would have been, had it been there, "since Joseph Smith had no objection to having hieroglyphics reproduced."

We: He also had no objection to supplying missing parts of inscriptions; why has he not done so here, especially since the inscription was a very short one, and it is still perfectly obvious that there was an inscription there? You see it works both ways, but you miss the main point, which is that *all* hieroglyphs have been deliberately omitted from this particular plate. There is clear evidence that the whole inscription on the right was folded under when the thing was mounted. In view of the avoidance of all the hieroglyphs, the omission of the shortest one of all can hardly be viewed as proof that it was not there. And speaking of arguments of silence, while you claim that the pencilled sketching on the backing shows that the parts supplied were missing from the beginning, you never bother to explain why the bird's head was not drawn in at the same time, though you say that was also missing.

WHAT KIND OF HEAD?

They: There was no missing head. The head is still there; there is still "clearly a human head in the original (the beard, hair-line, nose still show, and the official center location of the head over the wing is also evidence)."

We: "*Clearly* a human head?" But of the thousands of people who have looked at it, it took a shrewd and determined observer to detect that. The most characteristic feature of the *ba*-birds we remember to have seen is the large soulful eye. But here is no eye, no brow, no nose (if that is a nose, anything is!), no mouth, no chin, no neck, no ear. With the hair-line intact the face should be virtually complete, but after looking up a lot of human-headed birds for comparison this still continues to tax the imagination. The other heads are quite different.

They: If Hedlock was copying an Egyptian bird's head he would hardly have done such a poor job of it.

We: Rather say if he was inventing one, being an expert draftsman, he would have done a far better job. But if bad drawing is an argument against an Egyptian bird's head, what does it do to your much worse drawn human head?

They: The artist knew that the viewer would expect a human head; he did not have to lean over backwards to indicate one—the merest dubbing would do the trick. Deveria expected a human head and was disturbed at not finding one. So are we.

We: Deveria expected a human head, but the good Professor Parker did not: *He* saw not your clearly drawn human head, and he had excellent reason for seeing a bird's head instead. Take the large sampling of lion-couch scenes in Budge's *Osiris*, for example: what do you find there? Men lying on lion couches and flying birds all over the place, but not a single human-headed bird. You must admit that statistics are overwhelmingly in favor of giving the bird a bird's head.

They: Oh, but there are some lion-couch scenes with human-headed birds flying overhead.

We: Yes, and in every such case the bird is holding either life-symbols or breath-feathers in each outstretched claw. This bird does not even have claws: in other lion-couch scenes (e.g., Denderah) the flying bird is shown without claws, but the human-headed bird—never—which makes this one of the rarest objects in all of Egyptian funerary art. Admittedly it is a bad bird's head and an even worse human head. So where does that leave us? I would say with a fifth hypothesis, one that we have been plugging all along: it is the poor Egyptian artist who is in trouble—out of his depth with this strange assignment.

They: Let's turn to Facsimile No. 2, where we have much clearer evidence of restoration. In the Church Historian's Office among the papers of the EAG is a rather well-done pen-and-ink sketch of the facsimile made by some Mormon at an early date. This, we believe, is the way the hypocephalus looked when it came into Joseph Smith's hands; and in it there are certain parts missing and we are shown exactly what they are. Now these parts are *not* missing in the official engraving of the hypocephalus, Facsimile No. 2, which can

only mean that they have been later supplied. You will notice that a large part of the inscription around the rim is missing, and this has been filled in with hieratic characters from other papyri definitely known to have been in the possession of Joseph Smith. So there you have it.

We: Since the restored portions of the rim with their crude repetitions (hardly an attempt to be subtle) are not a subject of inspired commentary, we don't think that is too important.

They: But two of the most important figures *are* the subject of "inspired commentary," namely Figures 1 and 3. They are both entirely missing in the EAG drawing and have both been supplied from other figures contained in papyri in Joseph Smith's possession. Look at the head of Figure 1: it is "absolutely identical" with that of Figure 2!

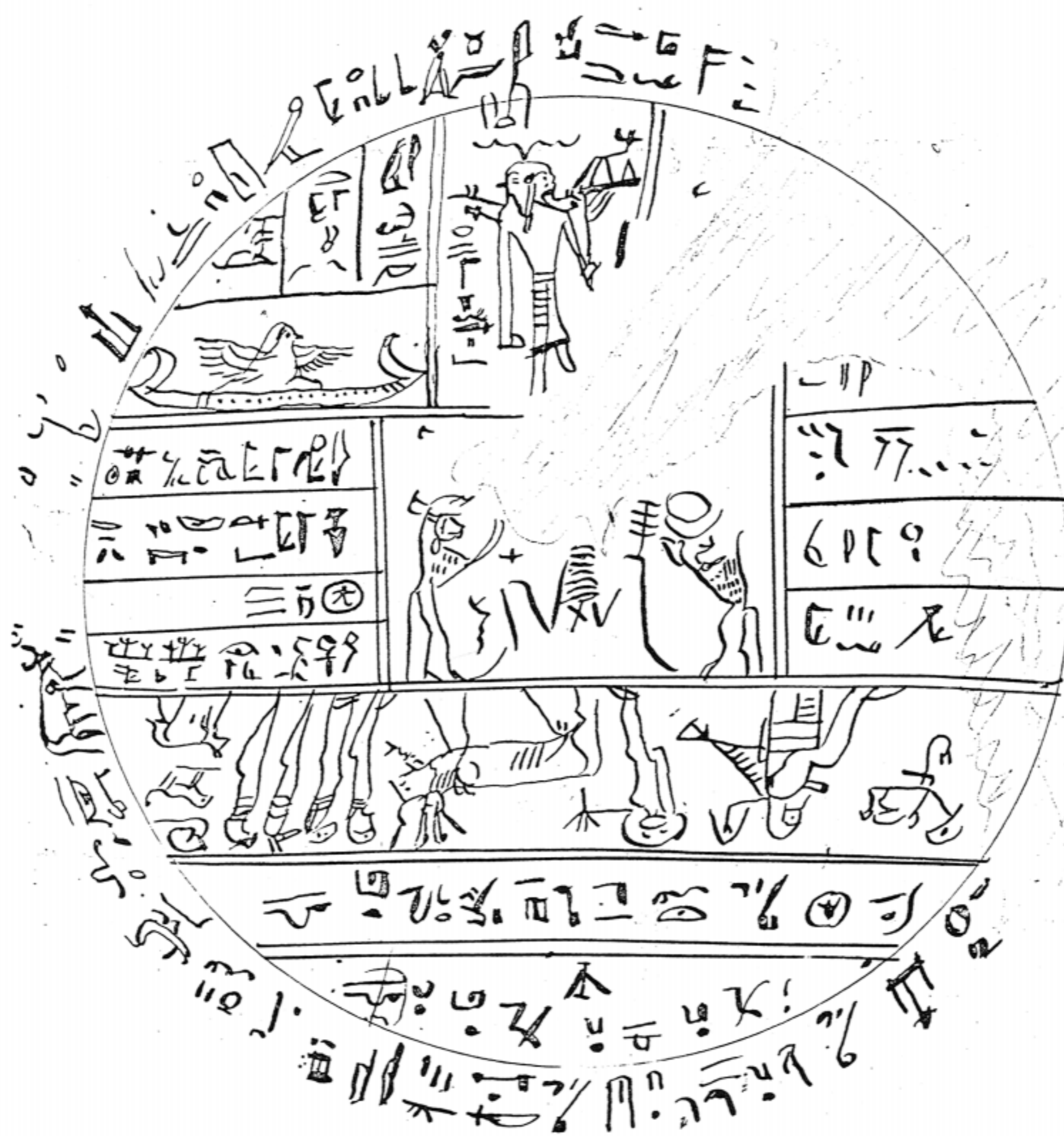
We: Absolutely? It seems to us that in the first Hedlock engraving the two (or should we say four?) heads have a number of points in which they differ—the eyes, the vertical line, the beards.

They: These are very minor differences you must admit. But note how far out of line the two heads of Figure 1 are—that is a clear indication that they have been dubbed in.

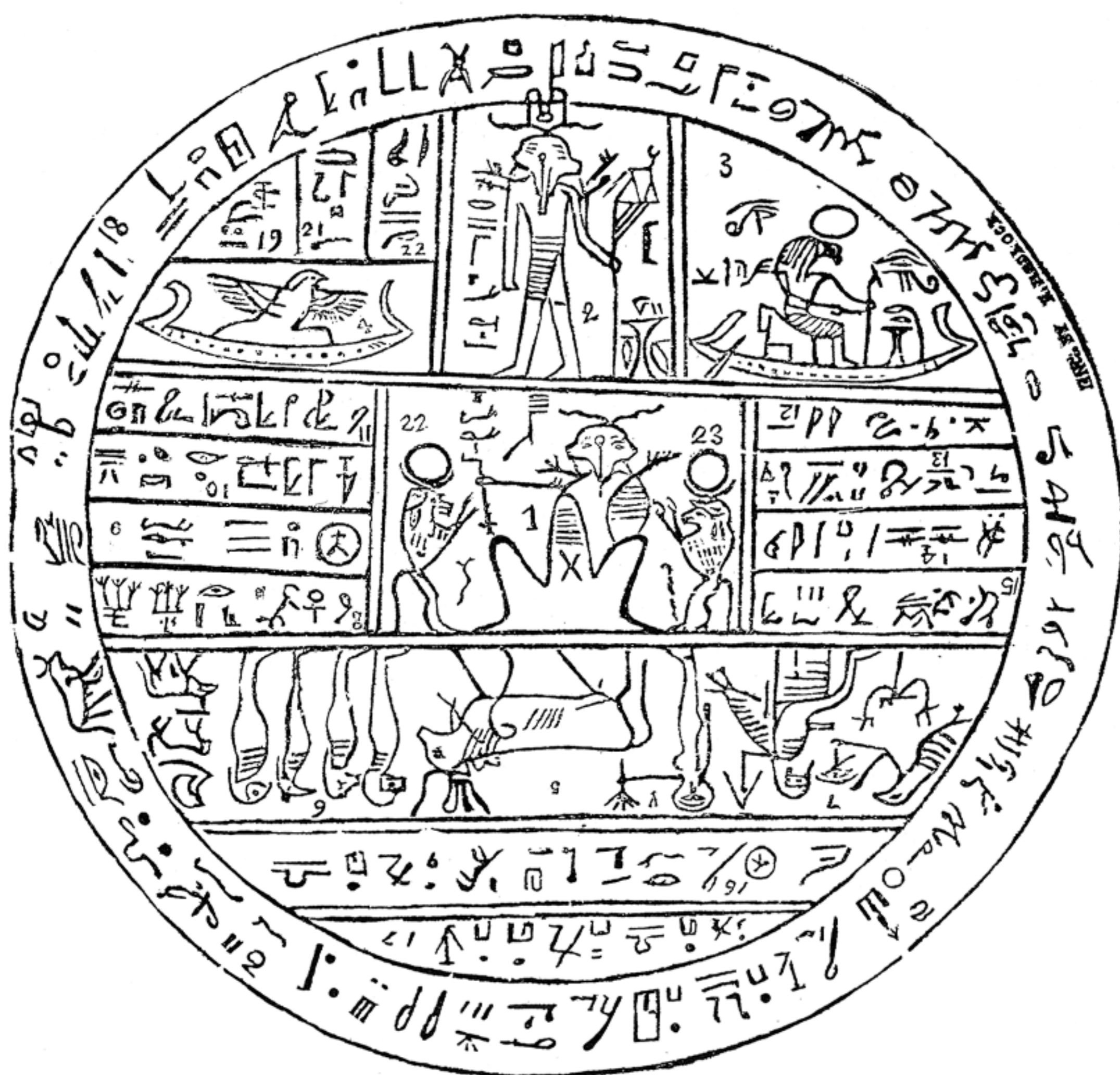
We: But consider that these two figures were drawn at the same time by the same hand, side by side on the same piece of paper. Why should the artist indicate all those minor differences if they did not exist?

They: To make it appear that the heads were different, of course—that he was not just copying.

We: But in that case he would have gone much further and made them really different. The Egyptians themselves, you know, were anything but averse to repetition in their funerary designs. As to the heads of Figure 2 being out of line, is it not more likely that that indicates not that they were being faked but that some of the papyrus had become loose and been awkwardly replaced? If, as you maintain, it was simply a matter of copying borrowed heads onto the neatly symmetrical trunk of Figure 1, which still sits dead center in the panel, nothing could be easier than to put it on *straight*. But Hedlock did not do that; he was struggling with something that definitely was out of line. The phenomenon occurs a number of times in Facsimile No. 2.



A partially completed copy of Facsimile No. 2 found among the papers with the Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar in the Church Historian's Office.



The Hedlock woodcut of Facsimile No. 2 reproduced from *Times and Seasons*, Vol. 3, (March 25, 1842).

They: But look at Figure 3. This is no case of shifting pieces of papyrus. The whole thing is completely missing in the EAG drawing, and is replaced by borrowing the boat shown in the framed papyrus from the Book of the Dead.

We: Granted. But the same boat with the same figure in it appears just in that spot, and *only* in that spot, in a number of other hypocephali. Remember, some fifty-odd other round hypocephali enable us to judge pretty well how good a job of reconstructing the Mormons did. In some cases it was altogether too good, that is, Facsimile No. 2 comes nearer to the other "normal" hypocephali than the battered EAG version does, and this indicated to us at least that the thing was in a better condition when Hedlock made his engraving than when the EAG copy was made, so that the latter cannot be used as a measure of the extent of reconstruction in the former.

They: But in the corresponding boat in the other hypocephali there are other occupants of the boat that are missing in Figure 3.

We: The occupants of the boat vary, and all of them are missing in one drawing or another, with one exception: the *khpr-r* beetle which is interchangeable on the hypocephali with the solar disk on the head of the enthroned figure. Since no two of the Figure 3 boats are exactly alike we can be satisfied that Hedlock has got all the essentials.

They: But Miss Elisabeth Thompson says the boats should always be prow to prow.

We: Not these boats. Look at the British Museum Hypocephalus No. 8445 where the stern of the boat and the figure in it fit right up against the panel, exactly as in our Figure 3.

They: But there are two boats there, one above the other.

We: In many hypocephali there is only one—which shows that we must always allow for differences.

They: But your Figure 3 is most obviously identical with the boat shown in the Joseph Smith framed papyrus.

We: Of course, it is the same boat! But was it necessarily taken from there? Note that there are certain hieroglyphs behind the seated figure in the boat which do *not* appear in our framed papyrus, but *do* appear on some of the other hypocephali, e.g., the Florence and Meux hypocephali.

They: But since the other hypocephali of which you make so much all have a central figure with four ram's heads, is it



A Henry Meux hypocephalus from Thebes, reproduced from *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. 14 (December 4, 1883).

not far more likely that it was such a figure and not a repeat of Figure 2 that was out of line?

We: More likely, yes. But if there is anything a study of hypocephali should teach us, it is to look out for exceptions *and* repetitions—we find them everywhere. Thus the ram's-horn headdress of Figure 1 is unusual—the four-headed ram usually wears a magnificent and complex crown, but in some instances (e.g., British Museum No. 8446) he wears only the plain ram's horns. That could be an authentic crown. On the other hand there was plenty of room above the body of Figure 1 to have included the headdress of Figure 2 if Hedlock was borrowing the whole head. Yet he avoided that crown, which would have been incorrect (i.e., not justified by any example known to us), in favor of a correct one. Incidentally, there is *not* room above the body of Figure 1 for the very high and ornate crown worn by the four-headed ram.

They: But there is no other instance in which a two-headed figure sits in the center of the circle.

We: None that we know of. But there are hypocephali in which the central figure is missing entirely, others in which it has only a single instead of a double body, in which it holds only one scepter instead of two, and/or holds only simple *was* scepters instead of the usual threefold *ankh-was-djed* scepter, or in which it holds no scepter at all.

They: Speaking of scepters, the EAG drawing definitely has the edge over the Hedlock.

We: In quality, but not in quantity. Hedlock had more to look at, though he muffed it. In the EAG drawing the remains of one of the scepters is clearly shown as the four horizontal lines of the *Djed*-symbol on a staff. These lines so closely resembled the horizontal strokes on the body of Figure 1 immediately adjacent to them, that Hedlock ended up making them look like another body—perhaps. On the other side, however, the *was*-scepter is clearly visible, which is lacking (all but the bottom stroke) in the EAG copy. This awkward attempt to give meaning to the triple scepter (than which no figure could look more meaningless to a layman) could be fairly called an attempt at restoration—not an invention but a fixing up of something that was there. The feet of Figure 2, on the other hand, facing as they do in the wrong direction, we agree to call a restoration. Still, Hedlock drew the jackel-staff cor-

rectly, completing it right down to the ground; while the EAG shows a shorter but equally practical and plausible staff. It is Hedlock who gets it right. Note how neatly and correctly (according to all the other hypocephali) Hedlock joins the four panels right in the middle of what is only a great blank space for the EAG artist.

They: Any clever draftsman could have figured that out.

We: Not necessarily. The EAG artist was at sea: he continued the right-hand boundary of the central panel up well beyond the point of juncture and drew the right-hand border of panel two at an impossible angle. As he saw it, the base-line that runs beneath the two ships and Figure 2 does not run straight across. That is, with those parts missing he was not at all sure how the original looked, but Hedlock draws everything in with deft confidence, exactly as it should be according to the evidence of all the other hypocephali. Again, the EAG artist did not see and recognize the headdress of Figure 2, which is correctly represented by Hedlock. The EAG drawing shows only one serpent beside Figure 1, while Hedlock and all the other hypocephali show two, one on either side. In the middle of the body of Figure 2 the EAG artist has drawn a rather noncommittal tau-cross, while Mr. Hedlock has put a bold and uncompromising crisscross, which, according to the other document, is as it should be. Hedlock shows hieroglyphs to the left of the head of Figure 1, which are entirely missing from the EAG drawing but vindicated by other hypocephali, e.g., the Leyden Hypocephalus. In the EAG picture what looks like a *htp* hieroglyph is just touching the shoulder of Figure 2. This is not matched by any like protrusion from the other shoulder. The Hedlock engraving, on the other hand, shows odd wing-like protrusions, two of them on either shoulder. According to your theory these can only be later additions; yet just such queer double "wings" appear on the shoulder of the corresponding figure in a British Museum Hypocephalus, No. 8445a. Then again, the EAG artist can't make heads or tails of whatever it is facing the seated Figure 7. The other hypocephali tell us that it is a serpent presenting the *wdjat* eye, and Mr. Hedlock clearly shows such a presentation.

They: We grant you that, but the figure in your facsimile looks more like a bird than a snake.

We: Sure enough, and in some hypocephali (e.g., from the Louvre, Florence, British Museum No. 8445a) the creature has a bird's head just like this one. If this is a mere reconstruction, how does it happen that the Mormon engraver hit upon the right figure—which was also the most unlikely figure imaginable? Either he was indeed inspired or he had more of the hypocephalus before his eyes than the other artist did. Here is another case, even clearer: Mr. Hedlock shows the sun-moon crowns of the two baboons intact and resting squarely atop the animals' heads which, according to many other hypocephali, is exactly where they belong. But the EAG artist does not know what to do with them: the one on the right is so completely destroyed that he cannot even make it out, while he places the one on the left in the baboon's upraised hands instead of on his head.

This dislocation of the sun-moon symbol as well as the disruption of the crown of Figure 2 in the EAG copy is an important point, for it shows that pieces of the papyrus were loose and shifting around. It may account for some aspects of our Figure 1.

They: But can you deny that both figures have essentially the same head?

We: Why shouldn't they have since according to the Prophet's explanation they perform practically identical functions? May we call your attention to a transposition of heads and bodies between these two figures in *other* hypocephali? In the Nash Hypocephalus the head of our Figure 2, with its double human face and double feather-crown, is placed on the body of our Figure 1, the double seated figure holding the two scepters. In a hypocephalus from the Myers collection two *identical* standing figures seem to be taking the place of our Figures 1 and 2. In a Berlin hypocephalus (No. 7792), Figure 1 has a single body, like Figure 2, instead of his usual double body. In some cases Figure 1 appears without Figure 2; in others the reverse is true. If the figures are thus transposable, and if Figure 2 can borrow the body of Figure 1, why can't Figure 1 borrow the head of Figure 2 in our version? Such identity would be in keeping both with Egyptian practice and with Smith's interpretations.

So the game goes on. These are only some of the issues arising from one short, mangled (only half of it was published)

installment representing a first tentative approach to the subject. The ball goes back and forth—sometimes “they” make a point, and sometimes “we” do, but the final score is far in the future. The first thing everybody asked when the discovery of the papyri was announced was either “Does this prove the Book of Abraham?” or “Doesn’t this show that Joseph Smith was wrong?” Does a falling apple prove Newton’s laws? Only to people with an awful lot of training and preparation, and no longer to many of them. The scholar is not alive today who can tell us all there is to be known about the facsimiles, and until we know that the game must still go on. As things stand at the moment, but only at the moment, we may venture a few observations:

(1) There are many questions raised by the finding of the Joseph Smith Egyptian papyri—not just one question. The Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar cannot be used as a close check on the Book of Abraham until a great deal more is known about both documents. We do not yet know just what the EAG is or in what light Joseph Smith regarded it.

(2) The dating of these particular papyri is of no conclusive significance as far as possible relationship to Abraham is concerned.

(3) The facsimiles were originally intended as visual aids for an unspecified audience. Nothing supernatural, inspired, or sacrosanct is claimed for them. The Latter-day Saints made no special efforts to retain them in their possession, and after they were lost were careless and indifferent in the manner of their reproduction.

(4) The Hedlock engraving when compared with an early sketch showing parts of Facsimile No. 2 to be missing shows definite signs of attempted restoration.

(5) The restoration was not as extensive as the other sketch would indicate, and no clear instances of such have been demonstrated on Facsimile No. 1.

(6) The restorations on Facsimile No. 2 are limited to the filling in of gaps, not the alteration of existing symbols. They were not made with an eye to supporting Smith’s interpretations, e.g., two heads do not express the idea of a universal God better than four heads; a clothed sacrificial victim is no more

convincing than an unclothed one; a priest with a mask is no more authentic than one without a mask, etc.

(7) The only restorations that might affect the interpretations, Figures 1 and 3, are paradoxical, in that the one is astonishingly fitting, not only to the interpretation given but in the light of comparison with other hypocephali, while the other is so far out of line that it is hard to see in it the faking of a skillful artist.

(8) In many details Hedlock shows a better knowledge of the hypocephalus than the artist who is supposed to furnish the evidence for the state of the thing when Hedlock made his copy. Hence the latter is not a reliable control.

As the game progresses our ideas about the Pearl of Great Price are bound to change, even as our ideas about the Book of Mormon have changed through the years as new evidence has steadily been brought to light. Throughout the Doctrine and Covenants the saints are constantly reminded of two things: (1) of what they have received, and (2) of what they are expected to seek after. The seeking part is the proper sphere of schools and universities, and in the matter of the facsimiles to the Book of Abraham in particular we have all been invited to seek. It is time we were getting down to business.

ADDENDUM (SHOWING THAT THE GAME NEVER ENDS)

Since the above sport sheet went to press Professor Klaus Baer's invaluable study, the first thorough and complete examination and translation of a Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyrus so far undertaken, has appeared in the pages of *Dialogue* (III, Autumn 1968, pp. 109-134). The many questions this work raises, far from bringing the game to a close, have merely stepped up the tempo as it becomes possible, thanks to Dr. Baer's efforts, for contestants on both sides of the net to become more familiar with the real nature of the game. So here is a bit of overtime:

They: Joseph Smith thought that this papyrus (the *Sn-sn*) contained the Book of Abraham.

We: Reading Joseph Smith's mind has always been the last and usually the first resort in refuting his claims. By what divination do you know what he thought?

They: By no divination. Here are the characters from the papyrus on the left hand and set over against them on the right are lengthy passages from the Book of Abraham. What more do you want?

We: A lot of information, such as, who juxtaposed the texts in this amusing way?

They: Who else but Smith? He owned the papyrus and wrote the "translation."

We: But the exercise is in the hands of a number of different people, and none of it seems to be in Smith's hand. The English text appears here in its final unaltered state. Do you mean to say that this actually represents Smith's first attempt at "translating" it? Here there are no signs of speculation and head scratching, as in the other sign list.

They: This doesn't have to be the first attempt of all. It could be later copy.

We: A later copy of what? If all that was wanted was to produce a copy, why doesn't one person copy the thing through? Instead of that there are a few lines of translation in one hand, and then a few in another, and so on. Surely each copyist would not become exhausted at the end of half-a-dozen lines of English or less.

They: They would if the few lines meant a slow and exhaustive effort by the one who was dictating.

We: Such an effort would necessarily show in the state of the text. But this is a completely finished text without changes or corrections. Therefore it does not represent the first appearance of the translation, but the use of the completed text in some sort of special exercise. This matching-up business does *not* represent the process by which the text was produced.

They: But would Smith's followers have the kind of imagination that would match up the Egyptian and English texts in such a fantastic way?

We: Not imagination—lack of imagination! The matching is quite impossible.

They: But you have been saying all along that these writings may represent Smith's own private speculations.

We: And we still do! For all we know they *may* represent anything. That is just the point: we simply do not know, and until we do our work is not done. Your reading of Joseph Smith's mind settles nothing.

They: But how about the facsimiles? The many irregularities they contain certainly indicate Mormon manipulation, since an Egyptian copyist would have done things differently.

We: Would he? The original papyrus shows that some of worst mistakes are not Mormon but Egyptian. You accept the "small offering stand" as Egyptian, though it is found in no parallel instances; you say frankly "I know of no representations of Osiris on a couch with both hands in front of his face"; you attribute a human head to a legless bird, a thing so far as we have been able to discover without parallel in the funerary art. These undoubtedly Egyptian touches are not conventional by any means, yet you continue to abuse the principle by attributing every oddity to Mormon "restorations" until proved otherwise.

They: Do we go so far?

We: Well, you do go so far as to assume without question that the priest in Facsimile No. 1 should have a jackal's mask. And you are quite right—he *should* have, and the human head is an error. But whose error?

They: Whose could it be but Smith's?

We: Smith didn't need an unmasked priest—a mask would have been just as impressive perhaps. But let us call your attention to at least three Ptolemaic lion-couch scenes closely paralleling this one in which the artist has deliberately drawn the embalming priest without a jackal-mask.

They: Deliberately?

We: Yes. In one case the mask has been carefully erased, and in the other two it was carefully not drawn in; in all three scenes all the other figures are entirely complete and intact—only the jackal's mask of the priest is missing.¹⁹ We do not at present know why the Egyptians preferred here to dispense with the mask, but it is at least conceivable that the artist of Facsimile No. 1 had his reasons too. It will not do to attribute to the Mormons everything that puzzles us.

They (by letter): You admit that the sketch of Facsimile No. 1 in the Lucy Mack Smith portrait has the Hedlock numbers on it; yet you think it significant that it may indicate the actual state of preservation of the papyrus at the time the portrait was made. How do you reconcile the two propositions?

¹⁹*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 17 (1931), Plates lvi, lvii.

We: Well, naturally the artist would not keep his model sitting and suffering while he sketched in the little picture on the wall; with plenty of Hedlock reproductions going around he could easily fill in that part at his leisure—so he did. But at the same time he made an undeniable effort to indicate that the framed thing on the wall really was the original. Better photographs accent the wrinkling and the frame, and it still remains unthinkable that the old lady should have displayed a mere printed copy—the only “original” Hedlock would be a wood-block! So the jagged line along the top may be significant. Incidentally, you people brush aside valuable contemporary testimony as of no significance when it does not suit your purposes. The contemporary record both by its assertions and its silences is quite unsuspecting of the sort of manipulating you see everywhere.

They: After all, “the case at issue is: what *are* the facsimiles?”

We: Agreed. And after reading your latest and best account (the article which called forth this addendum), we still do not know the answer. Your notes are immensely valuable and must supply the standard handbook for which all of us were hoping. But they tell us what the Egyptologists think, and not what the Egyptians thought. What do *you* say Facsimile No. 1 is, for example?

They: It “shows the resurrection of Osiris (who is also the deceased owner of the papyrus) and the conception of Horus.”

We: There you have it. Former Egyptologists said that it could not possibly represent Abraham because it was supposed to be Osiris, but now you tell us that it can be both Osiris and a human being at once; again, they said it could not be a sacrificial scene because it was an embalming or resurrection scene, but now you tell us that it can be *both* a resurrection scene and a conception. This all shows what we mean when we repeatedly affirm that we cannot answer the question, “What are the facsimiles?” until we know *everything there is to know* about them.

They: Yes, but we know a great deal about them that does not fit in with Joseph Smith’s ideas.

We: If you will excuse us for saying so, the only point you have made so far against Joseph Smith has been by a

bit of sleight-of-hand—not intentional, we are sure, but quite effective. The secret of successful conjuring tricks, as everybody knows, is to occupy the attention of the audience with an absorbing display of colorful skill while manipulating the essential properties of the trick unobtrusively on the side. Thus while lost in admiration, as we have often been, of your mastery of a formidably difficult idiom, we run the risk of overlooking the casual manner in which the real trick is pulled off—that having nothing whatever to do with the translation of Egyptian. You open your article by observing in passing that “Joseph Smith thought that his papyrus contained the Book of Abraham,” and you end it with an even more casual subordinate clause about “the document that Joseph Smith considered to be a ‘roll’ which ‘contained the writings of Abraham.’ ” But how do you know what Joseph Smith “thought” and what he “considered”? This of course is the crux of the whole matter, but you do not discuss it—you merely state it as your opening and closing shots. You quote his very words as if he meant them to apply to the Breathing document; but how do you know he did?

By way of answer you have gone to all the trouble of placing the “Sen-sen” symbols and the Book of Abraham side by side, and thereby presented us with the most effective possible refutation of your settled belief that Smith thought he was translating this particular document. Neither he nor anyone else could have thought it. You say that other people in his day tried to interpret Egyptian that way, but you are wrong; this translation of two or three short strokes and a dot with a 200 or 500-word history is not just exaggerated Kircherism—Horapollo, Kircher, Leibniz, *et al.*, based their interpretations, however fantastic, on rational and allegorical principles; but no conceivable amount of rationalizing can match up the two columns here: this goes completely out of bounds. Long before anyone suspected the real meaning of the hieratic symbols in the EAG, students were pointing out to each other that the column on the right could by no effort of the imagination be viewed as a *translation* of the column on the left. You can see it, and I can see it, and Mr. Heward can see it, and any ten-year-old child can see it. But Joseph Smith, who was clever enough to make up the story of the Book of Abraham in the first place, was too dense to see that the

story—*his* story—was not *really* a translation of a page of senseless squiggles! Yet unless he believed that there is no case against him. We still suspect that there is a relationship between the two documents, but we don't know what it is.

On October 12, 1968, two graduate students in Near Eastern studies at the University of Utah, R. Crapo and J. A. Tvednes, presented an interesting hypothesis to explain the relationship between the Breathing Certificate and the Book of Abraham. We have it only second hand and await their publication, but it seems that the idea is that if one takes the actual meaning of the hieratic signs in the order in which they occur, they can be roughly matched up with certain general themes of the Book of Abraham which occur *in the same order*. This indicates to Crapo and Tvednes that what we have here is a mnemonic device to aid in an oral recitation. This would make the "Sen-sen" papyrus a sort of prompter's sheet. True, the document tells a connected and consistent story, but then it would have to do that in order to serve as an effective aid to memory by itself being easily memorized.

Far-fetched as it may seem, there are many ancient examples of this sort of thing, the best-known of which is the alphabet itself. By merely reciting the oldest alphabet one intoned a little sermonette on man's earthly calling, "a mnemonic device which helped the rapid spread of the West Semitic system of writing."²⁰ The classic example of a work which condenses the meaning of whole chapters into a single letter is the *Sefer Yetzirah*, "the oldest and most respected book of Jewish Mysteries," whose authorship is persistently attributed to Abraham. We are now being advised that "if we are to understand the Jewish authors correctly, we must examine their work carefully to see whether they contain a *gematria*," that is, condensed and hidden code-writing, which turns up in the most surprising places.²¹

The condensing of matter on prompting sheets is a very old practice. Sethe suggested that the Memphite dramatic text was really an abbreviated directive, in which, though the text seems quite complete, the full content of the speeches and the action is merely hinted at.²² Heinrich Schäfer noted that

²⁰H. Tur-Sinai, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 41 (1951), p. 288f., 296.

²¹Rosh-Pinnah, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 57 (1967), p. 214.

²²K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1928), p. 18.

the famous Stele C14 in the Louvre “consists of sentences which read like the headings of chapters,” though they also make a connected text.²³ We could, and in time probably will, furnish many examples of this sort of thing. In a preliminary statement in *Dialogue* it was suggested that the hieratic symbols placed over against the long sections of the Book of Abraham might be viewed not as texts but as topic headings. We still don’t know what the connection is, but one thing is certain—that the relationship between the two texts was never meant to be that of a direct translation. If it were we can be sure that Joseph Smith would have published the Egyptian text along with the facsimiles and the translation.

²³H. Schäfer, in *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Vol. 52 (1914), p. 17.

Book Reviews

Sterling M. McMurrin. *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion*. University of Utah Press, 1965. 151 pp. \$1.95 paperback.

(Reviewed by Truman G. Madsen, professor of philosophy at Brigham Young University. The author of *How to Stop Forgetting and Start Remembering* (1961) and *Eternal Man* (1966), Dr. Madsen has also published in *The Improvement Era*, *The Instructor*, *Dialogue*, and *BYU Studies*.)

It may or may not have been calculated, but there is an awesome appropriateness in the Michelangelo segment—the hand of God extended toward the hand of Adam—which appears on the cover of Sterling McMurrin's *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion*. For the central conclusion of this essay is that in Mormonism "there is not a total disparity of the Divine and human natures." (p. 23) Christendom owns the painting but firmly disowns the thesis. Official theology insists on an "infinite qualitative distinction" between divine and human, a mysterious chasm that is only the more mysterious in the "bridging" supposed to have been achieved by Christ. Powerful religious motives have no doubt contributed to this dualism. But McMurrin's task is to trace the technical philosophical involvements and offshoots of the conception, comparing them at crucial points with the Mormon view.

It has been observed that any author is easy once you master the center of his vision. Already by selection I am presuming on McMurrin's. And since both Mormon and non-Mormon readers are likely to find this a difficult book, it may be helpful to recall the author's intent before asking, as a reviewer should, how his performance measures up to it.

Several years ago McMurrin announced a long-range project: five pieces on Mormonism. In print so far are two: one on the philosophical foundations, the other, the present volume, on theological distinctions. "I have composed a comparative commentary," he says in his latest foreward. And once again

he defines his role as a describer who seeks neither to justify nor to criticize. Still anticipated are pieces on Mormon religion, the Mormon Church, and the Mormon. Even this categorical breakdown has a certain freshness, and it is quite irrelevant to say, as some will, that the topics are inseparable. Clarity can result from careful, if temporary, disentangling of threads.

McMurrin has kept reminding his critics (on all sides) that he is attempting to speak with a measured neutrality. He is not a philosophical evangelist, and he is outside what it is elsewhere fashionable to call "the circle of faith." Is he therefore unreliable? Not so. His role allows and even forces upon him a psychic stance that permits neither the enchantment nor the indifference of distance. And he is more reliable in the execution of his task than most reviewers allow.

But let us note two important and significant exceptions to his descriptive enterprise, one where he is critic and one where he is justifier. The first has to do with a certain undergirding polemic on the nature of man.

McMurrin has long been convinced that the original sin of Christendom was the intrusion of a non-Christian doctrine, that is, the doctrine of original sin. And that though Mormonism in its early days avoided this error, now, under the impact of an increasingly pessimistic and even nihilistic culture, it is in danger of slipping into it.

In his Reynolds lecture he warned against the "twin evils" of authoritarianism and irrationalism which often grow out of radical disparagements of the nature of man. (I remember him saying that if the existentialists' talk of the "abyss of life" could move a scientific naturalist to tears, the more was the pity.) He has stoutly maintained that the bleakness of life is no argument for the ultimate depravity or "finitude" or "total self-estrangement" of man. In an earlier piece on the "Promethean religion" of one of his mentors, W. P. Montague, McMurrin, with inbuilt approval, described the view that God needs man (much but perhaps not *as much?*) as man needs God. This courageous, life-affirming, bold and adventurous approach to religion is altogether rare in the midst of contemporary trends. But McMurrin continues to find and admire similar facets in the authentic Mormon heritage.

By describing he is therefore also prescribing, hoping to immunize Mormons against the "fallout" of neoorthodox,

existential, and Catholic pessimism. Here he is critic. And it seems to me that this implicit criticism shows through much of what he has written and said in recent years, including the present volume. I, for one, applaud the motive.

There are two supplemental additions in perspective concerning man's fall and self-sufficiency. Regarding involvement in the fall, Mormonism, as McMurrin astutely shows, renounces the metaphysical explanations that impute stain or guilt through Adam. The second Article of Faith is, for Mormons, an article of fact. But there is a unique note in the Mormon outlook which Roberts saw fit to add to the third edition of *The Gospel*:

The whole purpose of God with reference to man's earth-life being made known to men in the spirit world, and the spirits of men accepting the plan marked out for their progress, makes them parties to that plan—to the Fall as well as to the rest of it . . . it is questionable if it can be said with the strictest accuracy that man's agency was not involved in the Fall. (p. v)

What then of man's freedom or power to avoid sin or to achieve salvation? There is a line in the fifth Lecture on Faith (part of the Kirtland period) which McMurrin might well have cited. After describing the mastery of Christ's life in keeping the law and remaining without sin, it says, "showing thereby that it is in the power of man to keep the law and remain also without sin."

But if one may theoretically imitate the behavior patterns of Christ and "remain without sin," he still falls short of his destiny. The Christ of Mormonism points to higher objectives: to receive his power as he received the Eternal Father's, thus to become like both in nature. This is a higher order of existence than the much-praised salvation or beatific vision described in other traditions. Question: Is this essentially a matter of growth or a matter of transformation: the coming to fruit of latent possibilities by obedience to the law without, or the healing and removing of a sinful overlay by reception of divine powers within? Mormon theologians say it is both. McMurrin's emphasis on Christ's major role in achieving the resurrection should not (and does not in the writers I have in mind) obscure Christ's added role in achieving the kind or degree of resurrection. That depends upon the measure of His trans-

formation which brings us back to sin and sinfulness, to what Joseph Smith called "losing the very desire for sin."

If I am not mistaken that is the point, replete and complete, of the Book of Mormon. Indeed it is the point of the much-disputed passage on the "natural man" in Mosiah. (Those who read Calvinism into or out of that passage either lack the Mormon bent or conceptual imagination, or both.) It is the presupposition of the doctrines of begetting and becoming that permeate Sections 84, 88, 93 of the Doctrine and Covenants. And it is the nerve of meaning and power not just of so-called Mormon legalism but also of its ritualism, its ordinances and temple worship.

These elements may come to focus in McMurrin's later piece on the "Mormon Religion." If so, it is to be hoped his discussion will be enriched by the remarkable but neglected *4th Yearbook Study Course* for the seventies. Here B. H. Roberts (who incidentally found the clearest statement of the atonement, especially the balancing of justice and mercy, in the Book of Mormon) presents the cumulative outlooks both of orthodox Christendom and of Mormonism on soteriology. And he laces his treatment with copious references to Henry Drummond and "spiritual biogenesis." McMurrin thinks Mormon theologians have yet to clarify the idea of spiritual death. But the other side of that question is of spiritual life. Roberts is clear as were his predecessors in saying that life can only come from life. At this level the core of Mormonism may be called Christogenesis.

McMurrin's second, and explicit, digression relates to the nature of God. It is the final section of the volume, a separate lecture that is uncharacteristic of him for he has typically undertaken both in his lectures and writing to represent the position of the subject-author.

Here in "Theses on the Idea That God Is a Person" he is both descriptive and argumentative. But his readers may easily miss his point. The chapter is not, on the one hand, a philosophical defense of the Mormon God, or if so only indirectly. It is a carefully constructed analysis of the futility of much classical effort to make theological and religious sense out of a combined Greek absolutism and Hebrew-Christian personalism. What emerges is this: that absolutism cannot logically be combined with personalism, or to put it positively, that per-

sonalism inevitably means "finitism"—the recognition that the very nature of personality is such that it involves being this and not that, being conscious, willing, moving, feeling, therefore not "absolute" in the traditional sense. Further, unless we can affirm the reality of such a person, and do so in a way that avoids "the veneer of their [the theologians'] life-destroying intellect," (p. 123) then what we call Christianity in the Western world is simply false. And, for McMurrin, one cannot legitimately go on to the razzle-dazzle of self-deception that says "anyway it is symbolically true." A correlate of this conclusion is that those who are defending absolutism and impersonalistic conceptions of God are not defending Christianity at all.

On the other hand, McMurrin is not withdrawing the question of God in favor of a leap of faith or sheer subjectivity. He is convinced (it is his positivistic bias which is shared, though not under that *rubric*, by many a Mormon) that the question, if it can be settled at all, is to be settled through experience, not speculation or dogmatic biblicizing. What sort of experience? He says "perhaps mystical experience" and leaves (or more likely postpones) the question of whether he reduces Mormon revelation-experience to something mystical or something empirical. Will his absolutist critics then say that he simply has a life-preference, a temperamental bias, likely conditioned by his association with the Southern California personalists? If so, they will be evading a sympathetic, but profoundly uncompromising argument.

Aside from these two central backgrounds of the book, what of the substantive comparative chapters themselves? For this reviewer they are sensitive, cogent, and articulate. Moreover, some of the general misgivings I have become, on closer analysis, recommendations.

First, McMurrin's continuing outline and summation of historical alternatives, enlightening as it is, leaves out major contemporary philosophical and theological options. But perhaps this is a strength and a service since many of these "trends" (e.g., secular theology, Christian atheism, offshoots of existential outlooks, and the so-called "new Catholicism" in the work of men like Kuhn, Gogarten, and Congar,) are faddish and may have little lasting import.

Second, because of McMurrin's heavy emphasis on philosophy (which one might assume would have been restricted to the first monograph) he sometimes goes too lightly on theology. Yet his double interest and double competence in historical philosophy and philosophy of religion is as rare as it is valuable on the present scene. Few Mormons may realize how this historical-classic approach puts him in an academic no-man's-land in a day when philosophy is often just bits and pieces of linguistic analysis, and when theology is looking, perhaps desperately, for "relevance" at the sacrifice of all traditional perspective.

Third, McMurrin's admitted biases toward naturalistic humanism with a "positivistic flavor" (see his response to reviewers in *Dialogue*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 136, 19) may seem to some to dominate or to threaten to dominate what he calls his "Mormon attachments" so that he finds things in Mormonism that aren't there, or fails to find things that are. But again, that is (if I may be playful with the phrase) a fortunate windfall, for these are the very biases which have been prevalent (sometimes precariously) in the philosophical and theological world for the past three centuries. It is in that sense both accurate and appropriate to emphasize those perpetual notes in the Mormon outlook that make the supernatural an extension and refinement of the natural.

Suppose, in contrast, McMurrin had come to his task with the extreme mystical leanings of a W. T. Stace, or the anti-cultural theology of a Barth and Brunner, or the new-absolutist inclinations of the latest Thomists. Some elements of each of these parallel Mormonism, if one is careful about his definitions. But viewed through such spectacles alone, Mormonism would emerge a travesty. Even if one wants to say defensively that McMurrin's theological portrait is only "one side" of Mormonism, it is still very much worthwhile to have that portrait presented against the canvas of tradition. And whatever other sides there are must be consistent with it.

In summary, there is room, much room, for this kind of book; it points to the pressing need to concern ourselves less with the making of schools within the culture and more with the building of skills to reach beyond it so that we may hold up the clean linen of Mormon distinctions in the variety of lights and to the variety of eyes that are in the real world. Such

a task might well take precedence over (though, realistically, it is not likely to replace) the breeding and brooding of infighters which often proceed under the name of scholarship.

Here, in short, is a man of superb erudition in our Greco-Roman heritage and, though few of his reviewers seem to have noticed, not a little expertise in world religions. He has much to teach both Mormons and non-Mormons about the similarities and differences of their religious faiths. That leads to a final footnote for the easily intimidated. Philosophy and theology are languages, hard enough to read and harder still to speak. But it is a great mistake to suppose that only a few specialists do so and that the rest of us are in a different world. All of us, however amateurish may be our professions, are making our decisions and living our lives under the meaning-frameworks to which philosophers have given technical names. Rarely do we sit down to analyze where these frameworks lead in their bearings, implications and applications. Some say "Well, let the world learn *our* outlook through *our* language." But we don't know what they are *hearing* and therefore don't really know what we are saying until we understand *both* languages. There is no dearth of spokesmen for Mormonism, but there is a dearth of those who can speak on the very boundaries and peripheries where this kind of communication breaks down. McMurrin has put himself there, and there is where he is apparently highly motivated to stay. To say we don't care about the cultivation of this unusual language is to say we don't care about communicating, but that is to say we don't care about people. And how can any Mormon, any genuine Mormon, say that?

Spencer J. Palmer, editor. *The New Religions of Korea*. (Transactions of the Korean Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XLIII) Seoul, 1967. pp. 211.

(Reviewed by Paul Hyer, professor of history at Brigham Young University. Dr. Hyer has been a researcher on China and Mongolia in Taiwan and Japan. He has published in *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, *China Quarterly*, *Mongolian Society Bulletin*, and *BYU Studies*.)

This is a pioneer work on an important aspect of modern Korean history and gives new insights into the nation's social

institutions, national character, and intellectual development as well as religious life. It is a composite of writings by three Koreans and two Americans, each of them well prepared by academic discipline and first-hand experience in Korea to write on modern or contemporary religious phenomenon there. Professors Choi Syn-duk and Choi Jai-sok, who write on the Tong-il movement and the Sindonae religious community respectively, are both sociologists; Professor Felix Moos, writing on the nationalistic Ch'ondogyo sect, is an anthropologist; and Professor Lee Kang-o, who analyzed the Jingsan-gyu sect, has a background in philosophy and folklore. Professor Spencer Palmer, the editor, fittingly, is a historian with broad perspective, long residence in Korea, and research and publications in the area of Korean religious and philosophical development. Besides bringing the essays together, he has written an excellent introduction coordinating the individual studies and placing them in proper context. The studies are especially impressive because of the insights given into such areas as the nature of religious syncretism in Korea; the direction which new religious developments take in Korea with the disintegration of traditional society and religions; Korean nativistic or revitalization surges in response to the impact of modernization and the relationship of religion to society, politics, nationalism, and so forth. In discussing Korea's new religions, the authors find a number of common tendencies, like claims to divine revelation, visions, or some less concrete inspiration, in their origin. The new sects usually claim miraculous powers of healing and are close to the common people with their hopes, fears, and changing attitudes. They are usually concerned with meeting man's physical and material needs here and now, but geographical and family considerations are less important than traditionally.

Professor Moos gives insight into how the new religions innovate and provide an indigenous Korean source through which Western influence may be filtered to provide cultural revitalization. The extensive cataloging of the many branches of Jingsan-gyo, their historical development, ritual, and doctrines in great depth by Lee Kang-o is very impressive. The critical, objective approach of Choi Jai-sok and his application of the latest sociological techniques to a study of an important religious community in Sindonae are most commendable, particularly the interview and questionnaire approach with a sta-

tistical quantification of data. One of the most interesting essays is that of Benjamin Weems, who has a career in government to draw upon. His emphasis is on politics and nationalism as they relate to the important Ch'ondogyo cult. The main criticism of this essay is its brevity compared to the other studies. Choi Syn-duk's study of the Tong-il movement is a well-organized summary. The source of information is not clear, but the summary seems to draw on firsthand knowledge from when Professor Choi was earlier a member of the movement. This volume has demonstrated a large, fertile and almost untouched field of study in contemporary Korea which furnishes a challenge to all fields of the social sciences.

The challenge of the Korean scholars conveying their thoughts in English has been well met, but there are more than the average number of typographical errors in printing. It seems to this reviewer that it would have been well in a publication of this sort to include a theoretical discussion from the point of view of anthropology or the sociology of religion which would give a framework or basis for added insight into the religious phenomena presented. References to revitalization, anomic, nativistic, and other such behavior or activity are apparent, but the conceptual scheme is lacking.

Hyrum L. Andrus. *Doctrinal Commentary on the Pearl of Great Price*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1967. 522 pp. \$4.95.

(Reviewed by Ellis T. Rasmussen, associate professor of Old Testament languages and literature at Brigham Young University. Dr. Rasmussen is the author of *Patriarchs of the Old Testament* (1964) and *An Introduction to the Old Testament and Its Teachings, A Syllabus*, Pt. I, 1966; Pt. II, 1967.)

Hyrum L. Andrus himself says, "It requires experience for man to comprehend any given state of existence."¹ This is certainly true. To comprehend some of the facets and functions of many institutions of heaven and earth with which his commentary deals, one would need a background of a broad variety of experience, spiritually and intellectually. Dr. Andrus has done well with all resources and experience at his com-

¹P. 267 of the book reviewed. All reference notes are to page numbers in *Doctrinal Commentary on the Pearl of Great Price* unless otherwise identified.

mand; but if a reader finds himself feeling less experienced in things paradisiacal and celestial, he may, like this reviewer, have to return and reread some of the more esoteric portions. Careful study will reward the conscientious reader, however, and no one should abandon any difficult chapter or section after only one or two attempts to understand all that is in it.

The book needs a broader title if it is to be descriptive of the content; this book is something more than a "doctrinal commentary on the Pearl of Great Price." Of course it could hardly be entitled "Elucidations upon a Series of Related Theological Themes Selected as Major Religio-Philosophical Contributions of the Pearl of Great Price, with Complementary Concepts from Related Prophetic Sources"! But that would somewhat roundly describe it.

Among Dr. Andrus' major contributions in this work are his perceptive analyses and his logical syntheses. He has drawn together concepts and made many meaningful summations which have not been so drawn before. The reader must, therefore, often set aside his own preconceptions or biases in order to evaluate honestly new concepts under slightly adapted old terminology, old concepts under new and specific terms, and new concepts under new nomenclature.

Among the contributions of the commentary is a quite generous provision of quoted materials from primary documents and materials not readily available elsewhere. Naturally this feature means that the composition of the book entailed collection and collation of materials from many sources in addition to, and outside of, the Pearl of Great Price proper.

For example, as present interest heightens with regard to the nature of Joseph Smith's translation of the Egyptian papyri (some of which have recently been rediscovered and made available), Dr. Andrus' assertion that the prophet "literally translated an alphabet to the Book of Abraham" will bear further investigation.² The hypothesis that "Abraham understood the Adamic language, and that he may have used it in making his record" will deserve consideration.³ That the inscriptions on the papyri are not exactly like all other Egyptian inscriptions and are not translated like the common run of hieroglyphic idiograms and "alphabets" no one who studies

²P. 25.

³P. 27.

them and their translations will doubt. It is to be hoped that future projects shall prosper to the degree that "truth shall spring out of the earth and righteousness shall look down from heaven."⁴

In the second chapter information from the Book of Moses is effectively aligned and supplemented by the biblical books of Moses and by Joseph Smith's inspired revision of it. Some important theological items from divine revelations to Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Joseph Smith are conveniently and appreciatively presented. In this and the succeeding chapter concerning the nature of the Godhead, Dr. Andrus makes his best contributions in definitions of terms and delineations of functions pertaining to Deity. The importance of understanding such things he emphasizes in a paraphrase of a saying of Jesus: "This is what it means to possess eternal life—to know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent."⁵

A brief, one-page section on "Christ and the Holy Ghost" presents some concise summations on the relationship of the Holy Ghost as the minister of Christ and as an aspect of "the Spirit of Christ" more clearly than most commentaries on the infinitely difficult concept of the *oneness* of the Godhead.⁶

On the confusing matter of the sequence of the creative processes of God depicted differently in Genesis 1, Genesis 2, the Book of Abraham, the Book of Moses, and in other revelation-materials, the procedure as outlined in the account by Abraham is selected as most defensible. From man's primeval state as "intelligence" (not *an intelligence* as the popular misconception states it according to Dr. Andrus⁷) on through his existence as a spirit, later embodied, disembodied, and finally redeemed, man's career is traced. Less familiar to most readers will be the earth's program of development seen by Dr. Andrus as first created as a "physical-spiritual" entity in a "paradisiacal-celestial" state, then sanctified or "brought fully

⁴P. 2. Psalm 85, a supplication of the "Sons of Korah" for the future prosperity of Israel's land, is cited by Dr. Andrus as it has been cited by other writers as a prophecy for our times.

⁵P. 52; cf. John 17:3. Another example of a clarification of a divine concept left none too clear by the scriptures may be seen on p. 229, concerning the relationship of "the will of the Son" to "the will of the Father."

⁶See, e.g., p. 89.

⁷P. 116, paragraph 2. Note that the first paragraph on the page has been revised in the second printing of the 1967 edition. The revisions concern the nature of the eternal "inherent life" within the spirit.

into the presence of God" until the time when it "fell" into its present temporal state.

This sampling of notable contributions must conclude with a mere list of half a dozen others suggestive of the scope of the book. These include dissertations on the role and programs of Satan, the nature of "spiritual death," the need for and nature of "infinite atonement," the "great celestial system of eternity" called Zion with its "divine patriarchal order," subversive causes of past and present social degeneration, ramifications of the restoration of promises made to the fathers in the hearts of the children, and the infinite scope of God's projects in the universe.

There are, inevitably, some needs, lacks, and oversights. An example of the latter would be a footnote on a quotation from Joseph Smith's inspired version of Exodus 34:28-35 intended to make the point that "Moses received a lesser law" on the second set of stone tablets. Support for the idea is sought in Chapter Three of II Corinthians, which is only incidentally pertinent, while the clearest statement of the point is not cited though it is found in the first two verses of the very chapter of Exodus quoted!⁸

Sometimes the lucidity of the usually apt synthesis leaves something to be desired by the uninitiated, as might be seen in a summation of the concept of the *oneness* of Father and Son: "Christ's union with the Father is ideal in individualism."⁹ Sometimes the rationale behind a bit of exegesis is not clear; take for example the identification of the speaker in the revelation to Moses (recorded in Moses 1) as the Christ.¹⁰

"New meanings for old phrases" may be illustrated by the interpretation of the phrase "called by prophecy" to relate it to the concept of "foreordination."¹¹ Since a "prophet" for God is one who speaks for God, it may well be that to be "called by prophecy"—as we believe one must be in order to preach the gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof—means that one is called by one who has the authority to speak for God. This should be evaluated in cases such as the

⁸Viz. the Inspired Version of Exodus 34:1-2.

⁹P. 75.

¹⁰Pp. 70-71. Note it is not the conclusion, but the rationale behind it here that is called into question.

¹¹See pp. 123-4.

calling of a Primary teacher, a Sunday School teacher, an elders' president, a missionary, etc.

The reader may be surprised to find that God's "Sabbath" after six periods of creative work may be seen not as a day of rest (though the Hebrew word *sabbath* means *rest* or *cessation*) but as a day of planting and placing of plants, animals and man upon the earth.¹²

The book cannot cover everything, and so the reader must not expect to find correlation of geological observations with scripture, nor to learn who "begot" Adam's body,¹³ nor to get all of the ramifications of race and priesthood restrictions and civil and political rights.¹⁴

In the area of technicalities, it should be observed that the assertion is made in a footnote¹⁵ that a change has been made in the reading of Revelations 1:6 in the Inspired Version of the Bible as issued by the Reorganized Church; but whether an *alteration* was made or whether the copy from which the printed edition was made *lacked* a note which the Bernhisel Manuscript has is controversial. Another quotation from the Inspired Version fails to make a proper point when the passage from John 1:1-4, 14 first identifies the *gospel* as "the word" and then goes on to say "the same word was made flesh and dwelt among us. . . ."

A careful, intelligent study of Dr. Andrus' commentary will reward the most critical reader. Its most valuable contributions are found in the area of an understanding of the nature of the relationships of the Godhead to man and the universe. "To this end," says Dr. Andrus, "the Pearl of Great Price makes many vital and important contributions."¹⁶

¹²P. 171. The basis of the idea is found in D&C 77:12.

¹³Pp. 179-180. There is, of course, only *one* "Only Begotten Son" of the Father.

¹⁴Pp. 402-406. Pertinent information to be found in Alma 13:3-8 is not here cited, though it was cited on another point earlier on p. 133. It would be useful here also.

¹⁵P. 499.

¹⁶P. 510.

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