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From the Editor



Welcome to this first issue of volume 53 of *BYU Studies Quarterly*, opening the fifty-sixth year of this remarkable academic periodical. I am proud to say that there is truly no other journal like this one. Each issue contains an array of groundbreaking studies from all corners of higher education that are of particular relevance to Latter-day Saints. Here readers can find the intellect engaged with revealed truth and scholarly pursuits enlightened by the hope of faith. In this day of increasing academic specialization, few general journals have survived. But for Latter-day Saints, the goal is to be instructed in truths of all kinds (D&C 88:78–79), and that’s what *BYU Studies* is all about.

Leading off this issue are three articles that I find most interesting. They come from a conference on Enoch and the Temple that was cosponsored by *BYU Studies* in February 2013 at Utah State University and Brigham Young University. The keynote speaker at that conference was world-renowned biblical scholar George Nickelsburg. He and I have talked often not only about his landmark commentary on *1 Enoch* but also about his passion for family history and genealogy. His paper addresses for the first time the question: What does the book of *1 Enoch* tell us about the temple? A lot, it turns out. Enoch’s commissioning, being visited by three angels who took him by the hand, and ascension into the heavenly sanctuary shine in a new light when examined with temple themes in mind. Nickelsburg’s translation of *1 Enoch* is both elegant and inspiring. His lecture can be viewed on the web at <http://www.templestudies.org/home/2013-enoch-and-the-temple-conference/conference-videos/>.

Also coming from that Temple Studies conference, a paper by David Larsen asks the question: Did any ancient people think that an entire city or temple community could ascend to heaven as a group, or was this idea simply a Zion-building impulse of the Prophet Joseph Smith? The question is interesting because the Bible simply says that “Enoch walked with God, and he was not; for God took him” (Gen. 5:24), while Moses 7:69 reads, “Enoch *and all his people* walked with God” and “Zion was not, for God received it up into his own bosom.” David, a newly minted PhD, offers several examples of closely knit ancient communities that sought to ascend together into God’s presence.

Carrying the Enoch conference theme further, Jeffrey M. Bradshaw gives an answer to yet another question: What is it that ties together the stories about Adam, Eve, Enoch, and Noah in the Book of Moses? The answer, unexpectedly, has to do again with temple motifs, all of which culminate with Enoch in Moses 6–7. I find Jeff’s insights beautifully compelling, especially when I remember that the idea of a temple ceremony was just a glimmer in the Prophet’s eye in December 1830, when he revealed those two Enoch chapters.

Later in this issue, Mauro Properzi statistically analyzes 344 printed articles about Mitt Romney, the Mormons, and the Mormon Moment in Italy during 2012. A native Italian and bright scholar, Mauro concludes that although changing gradually, the Italian media’s perception of Mormonism has become measurably more correct.

The team of Sloan, Merrill, and Merrill has assembled biostatistical data about gender ratios in various LDS age groups in seven regions around the world, wondering at what ages females outnumber males in the Church, and how that ratio compares with the world’s male:female ratio. Factors that affect shifts in this important ratio are identified but still await further exploration.

The article by Lynn D. Wardle, a widely known family law scholar, presents for the first time a comprehensive history of statements by LDS Church leaders about elective abortion. Church leaders have consistently taught that abortion should be illegal “in most but not all cases,” and a relatively high number (61 percent) of Mormons concur. Wardle credits this cohesive result mainly to the united, consistent, kind, and reasoned statements of Church leaders.

Typical of most issues of *BYU Studies Quarterly*, this issue also contains a large number of reviews readers won’t want to miss. Beyond perceptive reviews of scholarly books, we also review films, stage productions, and art exhibits of particular interest to Latter-day Saints.

Books reviewed here include Brian Hales's monumental three-volume study of Joseph Smith and polygamy. I highly recommend this work. Typical of the wide variety of books, films, and other media reviewed by BYU Studies, readers will not want to miss the review by John Stohlton of the *Mormon Yankees*, by Eric Samuelsen of peculiar portrayals of Mormons on stage and screen, by Randall Balmer (an Episcopal priest and professor at Dartmouth College) of David F. Holland's *Sacred Borders*, and several others.

The review essay by Kirsti Ringger advances an original argument that in order to understand abjection in modern art, which is admittedly often distasteful, one needs to ask, Where have artists, from the Middle Ages to modernity, tried to find reality? In the general or the particular? In the ideal or the mundane? In the attractive or repulsive? While modern trends have gone with a vengeance toward the latter, art exhibitions need not embrace this modern "pre-language" mode but must use words to help viewers "get" the forces behind deconstruction and abjection in art.

Finally, BYU Studies could not have hoped to invite a more knowledgeable scholar to review John Dinger's new critical text of the Book of Mormon than Royal Skousen. For a quarter century, I have closely followed Skousen's extensive work on the text of the Book of Mormon. Nothing short of intense personal labor goes into the production of a fully accurate publication that analytically presents original handwritten manuscripts on printed pages, and strict precision is critically required in textual work.

As editor of this long-time voice for the community of LDS scholars, I am deeply grateful to the many authors, editorial board members, peer reviewers, editorial staff, and others who work tirelessly, often as volunteers, to bring this publication out every quarter on schedule. And all of us are, in turn, most gratified when readers find the contents of this journal useful, reliable, well articulated, and insightful on significant subjects pertaining to the work of God at home and abroad. Recent comments from readers have included "consistently wonderful work," "particularly outstanding," and, "As I read, I felt peaceful feelings in the heart, which deepened my love for the Savior, and my testimony of the restoration." May every page of this journal serve you well and, on occasion, even exceed your expectations.

John W. Welch

The Temple According to 1 Enoch

George W. E. Nickelsburg

What does the Book of Enoch say or not say about the temple, and to which Book of Enoch do I refer? Is it the text called *1 Enoch*, or the one known as *2 Enoch*, or the so-called *3 Enoch*?¹ And all of them discuss or, better, visualize the temple. I restrict myself here to *1 Enoch*.²

First Enoch is a collection of five tractates—we might call them booklets—composed in the Aramaic language between the fourth century BCE and the turn of the era and ascribed to the ancient patriarch Enoch, the head of the seventh generation after creation (Gen. 5:18–24). As a whole, it is extant only in an ancient Ethiopic translation of a Greek

1. *2 Enoch* and *3 Enoch* are modern designations. For the texts, see Francis I. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (Garden City; Doubleday, 1983–85) 1:91–221 (hereafter cited as *OTP*); and Philip S. Alexander, “3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *OTP*, 1:223–315.

2. For the text of *1 Enoch*, see George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: The Hermeneia Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012). For the translation and extensive commentary, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001); and George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 37–82* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011). For summary discussions of the respective parts of *1 Enoch*, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, 2d ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005) 44–46; 47–53; 83–86; 110–15; 248–56. My discussion of *1 Enoch* here is based on my commentary, which in turn draws heavily on the work of many scholars, who are cited in the commentary. For simplicity, I cite the commentary.

translation of the Aramaic original. The first of the Enochic tractates is the Book of the Watchers (chaps. 1–36). It recounts, principally, the rebellion of the angels (called Watchers) and its consequences. The second is the Book of Parables (chaps. 37–71). It builds on the Book of the Watchers but focuses primarily on the persecution of the righteous and chosen and the great judgment that will befall their persecutors, the kings and the mighty, and that will vindicate the righteous and the chosen. The Book of Luminaries (chaps. 72–82) describes in great detail the created order that governs the movements of the sun and the moon and the functioning of the meteorological elements. The fourth book (chaps. 83–90) recounts two dream visions. The first of these foretells the Flood (chaps. 83–84); the second, the Animal Vision (chaps. 85–90), is an allegorical account of human history from creation to the end-time. The fifth and last of the main sections of *1 Enoch* is the patriarch's Epistle (chaps. 92–105), addressed to the generation that will follow him. It is mainly a collection of Woes and Exhortations that center on the suffering of the righteous during the author's time and their future vindication in and after the great judgment. Together, these five books along with three additional chapters that wrap up the Book of Enoch constitute a text that is roughly the length of the book of Isaiah.

The Book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1–36)

The Book of the Watchers is itself a composite text.³ Its earliest part (chaps. 6–11) is an account of the rebellion of the Watchers that expands Genesis 6:1–4 and transforms the account of the Flood and the post-diluvian world (Gen. 6–9) into a description of God's eschatological judgment and the newly created earth that will follow it. Following this account, Enoch narrates how in a dream vision he ascended to heaven and progressed through the heavenly temple to the divine throne room, where he was commissioned as the prophet who would proclaim doom for the rebel Watchers (*1 Enoch* 12–16). It is this part, in chapters 14 and 15, that concerns us here.⁴

The Hebrew scriptures provide several descriptions of Israel's sanctuary: the tabernacle in Exodus 25–27; Solomon's temple in 1 Kings 6–7; and the future temple in Ezekiel 40–48. In the first two of these, God commands Moses and then Solomon to construct the sanctuary

3. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 83–86.

4. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 2, 57–75.

variously of goats' hair, wood, stone, and metal. Ezekiel, for his part, is taken in a vision from his Babylonian exile to Mount Zion in the land of Israel. Here an angel, yardstick in hand, escorts the prophet through the architectural components of the postexilic temple, which are named and their material presumed. Then the Deity prescribes the rubrics of the sacrificial cult, and the angel leads Ezekiel back out of the temple and explains how it is to function in the land of Israel.

This account, composed in the voice of Enoch in the early third century BCE, is both reminiscent of Ezekiel's late fifth-century vision and differs from it. Enoch arrives at the temple in a vision. Because God is king, the heavenly structure is a palace, but because the king is God, the palace is, by definition, a temple. Enoch recounts how he moves through the temple in a vision. But there is no accompanying angel, and the divine oracle is quite different, as we shall see. The vision is similar to all three biblical accounts in that it describes the architectural components of the temple. But here the similarities end, and not surprisingly. Heaven is not the place for stone and metal, wood and goats' hair. Instead, what Enoch sees and experiences is unimaginable for the earthbound.

The wall that encloses the temple is constructed of hailstones and is encircled by a belt of fire. The temple itself is built of hailstones, its lining and its floor are of snow, and its ceiling of lightning flashes. The throne room is a roaring inferno. In the heavenly temple, one finds the coexistence of mutually exclusive snow and fire. This is no architect's walking tour; what Enoch sees fills him with sheer terror, and he shakes in his sandals. The repetitions in the following account are intended to replicate Enoch's experience for the reader.

14:8 In the vision it was shown to me thus:

Look, clouds in the vision were summoning me, and mists were
crying out to me;
and shooting stars and lightning flashes were hastening me and
speeding me along,
and winds in my vision made me fly up and lifted me upward
and brought me to heaven.

9 And I went in until I drew near to a wall built of hailstones;
and tongues of fire were encircling them all around,
and they began to frighten me.

10 And I went into the tongues of fire, and I drew near to a great house
built of hailstones;
and the walls of this house were like stone slabs,
and they were all of snow, and the floor was of snow.

- 11 And the ceiling was like shooting stars and lightning flashes;
and among them were fiery cherubim, and their heaven was water,
- 12 and a flaming fire encircled all their walls, and the doors blazed
with fire.
- 13 And I went into that house—hot as fire and cold as snow,
and no delight of life was in it.
Fear enveloped me, and trembling seized me,
- 14 and I was quaking and trembling, and I fell upon my face.
And I saw in my vision,
- 15 And look, another open door before me:
and a house greater than the former one,
and it was all built of tongues of fire.
- 16 All of it so excelled in glory and splendor and majesty
that I am unable to describe for you its glory and majesty.
- 17 Its floor was of fire,
and its upper part was flashes of lightning and shooting stars,
and its ceiling was a flaming fire.
- 18 And I was looking and I saw a lofty throne;
and its appearance was like ice,
and its wheels were like the shining sun,
and †the voice (*or* sound) of†⁵ the cherubim,
- 19 and from beneath the throne issued rivers of flaming fire.
And I was unable to see.
- 20 The Great Glory sat upon it;
his apparel was like the appearance of the sun
and whiter than much snow.
- 21 No angel could enter into this house and look at his face because of
the splendor and glory,
and no human could look at him.
- 22 Flaming fire encircled him and a great fire stood by him,
and none of those about him approached him.
Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him,
but he needed no counselor; his every word was deed.
- 23 And the holy ones of the watchers who approached him did not
depart by night,
nor <by day> did they leave him.

5. Words enclosed between †† are presumed to be corrupt.

And so in a vision that Enoch experiences in a dream, he finds himself in the heavenly realm where he has run a fiery gauntlet—spiced with hail and snow—and where he now finds himself facing the “Great Glory.” The Deity is seated on a high throne of icy appearance. Underneath it rivers of flaming fire pour out, and around it stand one hundred million court attendants. Little wonder that Enoch falls on his face, shaking from head to foot and feeling hot as fire and cold as ice. We have come a long way from the wilderness tabernacle and Solomon’s temple and even the massive splendor of Ezekiel’s temple of the future.

As with Ezekiel’s vision, Enoch’s vision climaxes with a divine oracle, but one that appears to be of a very different sort from Ezekiel’s. His narrative continues:

- 24 Until now I had been on my face, prostrate and trembling.
And the Lord called me with his mouth and said to me, “Come here, Enoch, and hear my word(s).” 25/ And one of the holy ones came to me and raised me up and stood me (on my feet) and brought me up to the door. But I had my face bowed down.
- 15:1 But he answered and said to me—and I heard his voice—
“Fear not, Enoch, righteous man and scribe of truth;
come here, and hear my voice.
- 2 Go and say to the watchers of heaven, who sent you to petition in their behalf,
‘You should petition in behalf of humans,
and not humans in behalf of you.
- 3 Why have you forsaken the high heaven, the eternal sanctuary;
and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men;
and taken for yourselves wives, and done as the sons of earth;
and begotten for yourselves sons, giants?
- 4 You were holy ones and spirits, living forever.
With the blood of women you have defiled yourselves,
and with the blood of flesh you have begotten,
and with the blood of men you have lusted,
and you have done as they do—
flesh and blood, who die and perish.”

The book of Ezekiel is framed by two visions. In the first (chaps. 1–10), the chariot throne of God descends, the Deity commissions Ezekiel as a prophet of doom against Israel, in part for the cultic abominations that took place in the Jerusalem temple, and then the glory of the Lord leaves

the temple. In the concluding oracle (chaps. 40–48), Ezekiel hears the voice of the Lord prescribe the rituals to be performed in the postexilic temple, and he anticipates the glory of the Lord returning to that temple.

Here Enoch is commissioned as a prophet who is to speak doom against the priests of the heavenly temple who have polluted themselves through bloody intercourse with human women. In general, the issue is the same: pollution of the holy. But there are important differences. First, there are no prescriptions for proper cultic activity as there are in Ezekiel. Second, the priests are heavenly beings who have engaged in forbidden contact with earthly women. Third, their defilement explicitly involves blood pollution.

This last point suggests that the author, while speaking of heavenly priests, actually has in mind earthly priests. Two texts from the Second Temple period speak precisely to this issue. According to the Damascus Document, found among the Dead Sea texts and probably dating from around 100 BCE or a bit earlier, in a critique of the Jerusalem priesthood, we are told, “And they also defiled the temple for they did not keep apart in accordance with the law, but instead lay with her who sees the blood of her menstrual flow” (CD 5.6–7).⁶ Similarly, the Psalms of Solomon, a text from the first century BCE, states:⁷

They plundered the sanctuary of God,
as if there were no heir to redeem (it).
They trod upon the altar of the Lord, (coming) from all uncleanness;
and with menstrual blood they defiled the sacrifices as (if these
were) polluted flesh. (8:11–12)

Biblical law forbids intercourse between a man and a menstruating woman, who is considered to be cultically unclean. Such uncleanness, transferred to the male, was a critical issue for priests, who would carry this uncleanness into the holy realm of the temple. The crucial issue seems to have been when a woman’s menstrual period began and when it concluded, something that is discussed in some detail in the later law code of the Mishnah (*Niddah* 1:1). On the basis of these parallels in the *Damascus Document* and the eighth *Psalms of Solomon*, I conclude that while speaking about priests in the heavenly realm, the text in *1 Enoch* 15:3–4 is alluding to perceived practice in the Jerusalem temple.

6. Florentino García Martínez, trans., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, 2d ed. (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 36.

7. On this text, see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 238–44.

There is another reason why I think this is the case. The account of Enoch's heavenly ascent is prefaced with these words: "I went off and sat by the waters of Dan in the land of Dan, which is south of Hermon, to the west. I recited (to God) the memorandum (of the watchers' petition for mercy) until I fell asleep" (13:7). That is, the location in which Enoch receives his dream-vision is the site of Jeroboam's separatist, idolatrous sanctuary in north Israel.⁸ Different from Isaiah 6, where the feet of the enthroned Deity rest in the Jerusalem temple, here Enoch's vertical trip takes him up to the heavenly throne room, which is located not over Jerusalem, but above an alternative holy place in the area of Dan's temple, which was set at the foot of Mount Hermon—and not Mount Zion. Elsewhere in the Book of the Watchers, Mount Zion is considered to be "the holy mountain" (26:2), but for the author of the present part of the book, the cult in Zion's temple is polluted, and Enoch must travel to Dan and Hermon to find access to the heavenly sanctuary, where he hears what I take to be a critique of the Jerusalem temple.

The Animal Vision

In chapters 85–90, Enoch recounts an allegorical dream-vision that depicts human history from Adam to the end-time.⁹ The patriarchs are symbolized by bulls, the Israelites by sheep, their gentile oppressors by predatory animals and birds, and the seven archangels by men clothed in white. This section dates from around 163 BCE and perhaps in an earlier form from around 200 BCE, a few decades after the completion of the Book of the Watchers on which it is partly based. The main part of the vision takes a dim view of Israelite history, which is portrayed as continued rebellion and apostasy (the sheep are blind and wander from the right path) that is punished by gentile oppression. In the course of his exposition, Enoch tells us that before the Flood three angels descended from heaven and "took me by my hand and raised me from the generations of the earth, and lifted me up onto a high place, and they showed me a tower high above the earth" (87:4; compare Gen. 5:24). As we shall see, the high tower symbolizes a temple, in this case the heavenly temple. Here Enoch remains until the end-time, witnessing the interaction between God and the archangels (89:59–90:31).

8. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 237–47.

9. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 364–408, esp. 394–95, 404–5. In summary, see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 83–86.

In addition to this heavenly sanctuary, from time to time we hear of the various Israelite sanctuaries. Moses builds the tabernacle, which is called a house (89:36). Then, concerning Solomon's temple:

That house became large and broad [perhaps an allusion to Israel's expansion under Solomon's reign]. And a large and high tower was built upon that house for the Lord of the sheep. That house was low, but the tower was raised up and was high. And the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower, and they spread a full table before him. (89:50)

So much more the tragedy that God's sheep

abandoned the house of the Lord and his tower, they went astray in everything, and their eyes were blinded (89:54)

and that Israel's enemies

burnt down that tower and demolished that house (89:66–67).

The vision continues with reference to Zerubbabel's postexilic temple:

And they began again to build as before and they raised up that tower and it was called the high tower. And they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure. And besides all these things, the eyes of the sheep were blind, and they did not see. (89:73–74)

This passage is in three respects a striking foil to the vision's depiction of Solomon's temple. First, the tower is only "called" a high tower. That is, it is not really a temple. Second, the Lord of the sheep does not stand on the tower; different from Solomon's temple, this is not the abode of the Deity. Third, the table that is placed before the tower (not before the Lord) contains polluted food. That is, the sacrificial cult of the Second Temple is polluted from the time of its construction (and this continues right up to the beginning of the end-time, compare 90:6). The wording here is reminiscent of Malachi's critique of the temple cult: "Where is my fear says the Lord of hosts to you, O priests, who despise my name? You say, 'How have we despised your name?' By offering polluted food (*lit.* bread) upon my altar. And you say, 'How have we polluted it?' By thinking that the Lord's table may be despised. When you offer blind animals in sacrifice, is that no evil?" (Mal 1:6–8). Malachi's oracle is a stinging indictment of the Jerusalem priests, their personal lives, and the corrupt and polluted cult over which they preside. Enoch's echoing of Malachi's words calls to mind the broader context of the prophet's rebuke of the priesthood.

The Animal Vision closes with a look to the future. After the great judgment, the seer states:

I stood up to see, until that old house was folded up—and they removed all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of that house were folded up with it. . . . And I saw until the Lord of the sheep brought a new house, larger and higher than the first one, and he erected it on the site of the first one that had been rolled up. . . . And all the sheep were within it. . . . And the eyes of all were opened, and they saw good things; and there was none among them that did not see. And I saw how that house was large and broad and very full. (90:28–29, 35–36)

Enoch learns that in the end-time there will be no temple in the holy city. Instead, the Lord of the sheep folds up the city—and evidently the Second Temple with it—and creates a new Jerusalem that is large and broad and high. It is large and broad enough to be the home of all Israel. That the house is also “higher” than the first and that there is no mention of the high tower seems to indicate that there will be no temple in the new Jerusalem; the city itself takes on the characteristic of the temple. As the context of this passage tells us, all of Israel is purified, so there is no need of an atoning cult.

That there will be no temple in the new Jerusalem is reminiscent of the end of the Book of Revelation, which was written roughly three hundred years later. According to Revelation, “I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband; and I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, ‘Behold the dwelling of God is with men. He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people’” (21:2–3, RSV). And furthermore, “I saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb” (21:22, RSV). The Animal Vision differs from Revelation in that it does not tell us that the Deity will dwell with his people. Evidently God remains in the high tower that is the heavenly temple.

To summarize, this visionary account of human history takes note of the three Israelite sanctuaries: the tabernacle, Solomon’s temple and its destruction, and the Second Temple. Of these, Solomon’s temple was the dwelling of God and the place of a legitimate cult, but it was destroyed when the people had abandoned it. The priesthood of the Second Temple never restored the right cult; it was one element in Israel’s blindness. In the end-time, God builds a new Jerusalem, but there is no temple as such.

The Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1–10; 91:11–17)

In the so-called Apocalypse of Weeks, which is part of Enoch's Epistle (the last section of *1 Enoch*), the seer recounts the content of a heavenly vision that sketches human history from Enoch's time to the end-time, ordering key events in Israelite history in a series of heptads, traditionally translated "weeks."¹⁰ Of importance for our present purpose are its references to the Israelite sanctuaries. In this respect and in its repeated mention of Israel's wickedness, it parallels the Animal Vision and is possibly a summary of the Animal Vision or a common source. First we hear of the tabernacle (93:6), and then of Solomon's temple, "the temple of the glorious kingdom" (93:7). However, as all Israel goes astray (see 89:54), the temple is burned and the chosen people are dispersed (93:8). Then,

After this, in the seventh week, there will arise a perverse generation,
and many will be its deeds,
and all its deeds will be perverse. (93:9)

And that's it. As in the Animal Vision, postexilic Israel is a sinful people. As to the temple that the Animal Vision describes as polluted, this passage in the Apocalypse of Weeks simply ignores its existence. However, a few lines later we are told that a righteous generation will "uproot the foundations of violence and the structure of deceit." The architectural language here may be an allusion to the Second Temple. But if this is the case, it is the source of violence and deceit (false teaching or cultic activity). In either case, thereafter, in the eighth week, "the temple of the kingdom of the Great One will be built in the greatness of its glory for all the generations of eternity" (91:13). Thus the Apocalypse of Weeks differs from the Animal Vision in that it posits the existence of a glorious eschatological temple that will vastly surpass Solomon's "temple of the glorious kingdom," not least because it will endure "for all the generations of eternity." Of that temple we learn of nothing except its glory and its eternal existence.

Now to summarize what we have learned thus far about attitudes toward the temple in *1 Enoch*. First, the real temple is the heavenly temple. In the Book of the Watchers, Enoch is taken into heaven to its temple, where he is commissioned as the prophet who will speak doom to the fallen watchers. (Contrast the calls of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, which take place on earth, in the Jerusalem temple, at an unidentified place

10. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 434–50. On the reordering of the chapters (verses in chap. 91 before those in chap. 93), see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 438.

in Jerusalem, and by the Babylonian River Chebar, respectively.) Not surprisingly, the structure of the heavenly temple is qualitatively different from the Israelite shrines. In the Animal Vision, Enoch also ascends to the heavenly temple and witnesses the activity of the archangels, but there is no description of the temple. Secondly, implied in the Book of the Watchers, and explicit in the Animal Vision and (perhaps by its absence) in the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Second Temple is roundly condemned for its polluted cult. Third, the historical surveys in the Animal Vision and the Apocalypse of Weeks anticipate the future glory of the new Jerusalem. The latter mentions the eschatological temple, while the former makes no reference to the temple (“high tower,” of the Solomonic temple), but applies its characteristic (highness) to the city itself. In any case, the significance of the sanctuary—both positive and negative—is indicated by the fact that, explicitly or implicitly, the Animal Vision and the Apocalypse of Weeks refer to the tabernacle, the first and second temples, and the eschatological temple. Finally, as to temple ritual, we learn little. With reference to the heavenly temple, the Book of the Watchers’ account of Enoch’s ascent mentions only the fact that the Deity has a large entourage that guards the throne, and the Animal Vision describes how an angelic scribe records human activity and that of the angelic princes who have been set over the nations. As to the Jerusalem temple, purity is central. According to the Book of the Watchers, the priests have defiled themselves by sexual contact with women in a state of ritual impurity (an issue also in the Psalms of Solomon and the Qumran Damascus Document). The Animal Vision states simply that the sacrificial meat is impure. The parallel in Malachi may indicate that the offering of blemished animals was one issue.

The Book of Parables (1 Enoch 36–71)

The Book of Parables was composed around the turn of the era—in the late first century BCE or the early first century CE.¹¹ As such, it is the latest major section of 1 Enoch. It is also the longest (thirty percent of the whole text). It is extant only in the ancient Ethiopic version, although some New Testament authors probably knew parts of it in a Greek or Aramaic version. No fragments of it have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The title “Parables” is a bit deceiving, especially to a reader

11. On the Parables as a whole, see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 3–331. For a summary, see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 248–56.

of the New Testament. In *1 Enoch*, both in this section, in the Book of the Watchers (1:2, 3), and in the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1, 3), the term “parable” refers not to a symbolic story or saying, but to a revelatory discourse. “Parables” announce events relating to the judgment to be carried out at the end-time. As for the Book of Parables, it is almost from start to finish Enoch’s narrative of his tour through the heavenly realm: the heavenly sanctuary and its environs, the place of the luminaries, and some undefined springboards from which he visits or views the places of eternal punishment or reward.

There are three points worth noting upfront about the Book of Parables as it relates to our topic. First, this section of *1 Enoch* makes no reference or allusion to any of the Israelite sanctuaries—the tabernacle, the First Temple, or the Second Temple. This is noteworthy since this section was composed in the heyday of Herod’s monumental and glorious temple in Jerusalem. Second, the narrator makes no reference to the architecture of the heavenly temple. This, too, is noteworthy, since the text is, in part, an expansion of parts of the Book of the Watchers, including Enoch’s ascent to the dwelling of God.¹² Only in the very last chapter, which has been tacked on to the Parables by an editor, do we find a description of the fiery residence of the Deity. Instead, Enoch describes how, as he stood in the heavenly palace or perhaps moved from place to place within it, he saw the heavenly inhabitants, whom he identifies by name and function, and how he witnessed their deeds and listened to their words. So, there is no description of the temple, only of its inhabitants and what they are doing. These heavenly beings are so innumerable and are of so many sorts that the principal title of the Deity is “The Lord of Spirits.” Third and finally, among these heavenly beings, the chief and central one is known variously as: the Righteous One, the Chosen One, the Anointed One, and the Son of Man. He is the champion of God’s people, who are called the righteous and the chosen, and in the end-time he will be the executor of the divine judgment against their oppressors, the kings and the mighty.

The Parables begin with a superscription and introduction (chap. 37), which are then followed by an oracle that introduces the first Parable (chap. 37, prefacing chaps. 38–44). Enoch is then taken to heaven (39:3), where he sees first the dwellings of the righteous dead in the company of the angels (39:4–5). “In that place” he sees the Chosen One dwelling “beneath the wings of the Lord of Spirits” (39:6–8). I take this to mean that Enoch is already in the heavenly temple in the presence of God.

12. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 55–56.

Here he hears the righteous and chosen blessing and praising the name of the Lord of Spirits. This motif, which will be repeated many times, highlights one of the major activities in the heavenly temple. It is the place where the Deity is blessed and praised and exalted and glorified (a recurrent set of verbs in these chapters); the singing of liturgy is a chief element in the ritual in the heavenly temple. This point is emphasized in the following verses:

For a long time my eyes looked at that place,
and I *blessed* him and *praised* him, saying,
“*Blessed* is he, and may he be *blessed* from the beginning and forever.
In his presence there is no limit.
He knew before the age was created what would be forever,
and for all the generations that will be.” (39:10–11, emphasis added)

This language echoes the wording of a number of Jewish prayers contemporary with the Parables. Thus, in the minds of the audience of this text (for I assume the text was read orally to an apocalyptic community rather than simply by an individual to himself), the heavenly temple was a place where the praise of God was uttered *in words that were also performed on earth*.

Next Enoch hears the chorus of “those who sleep not”—that is, the Watchers—who “*stand in the presence of your glory*, and they bless and praise and exalt, saying:

‘Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Spirits,
he fills the earth with Spirits.’” (v. 12)

These words are, of course, a slight paraphrase of the *Trisagion* that was sung by the Seraphim and heard by Isaiah in the Jerusalem temple (Isa. 6:3). They were probably also part of the earthly liturgy familiar to the Parables’ audience. The praise of the Watchers continues, echoing Enoch’s previous words of praise, “*Blessed* are you and *blessed* is the name of the Lord forever” (v. 13). As if we have not yet figured out that Enoch is witnessing events in the heavenly temple, he goes on, echoing his account in the Book of the Watchers: “And after this I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand—they were innumerable and incalculable—who were standing *in the presence of the glory of the Lord of Spirits*” (40:1).

But there is more. Enoch sees four figures flanking the divine throne (chap. 40). They correspond to the four figures that bear God’s throne in Ezekiel 1 (v. 5), and here they are the four archangels, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel. Their functions in the presence of the Lord are: to

bless the Lord of Spirits; to bless the Chosen One and the chosen ones; to intercede for those who dwell on the earth; and, related to that, to ward off the “satans,” who accuse those who dwell on the earth. So the heavenly liturgy includes not only praise but also intercession, a function that will return in the second Parable (chap. 47).

At this point, the narrative in the second Parable describes how Enoch moves out to view aspects of the cosmos (chaps. 41–44).

The second Parable (chaps. 46–57) brings us back to the heavenly throne room after, once again, an introductory oracle (chap. 45). Here, echoing language from Daniel 7, Enoch sees the white-haired Deity,

And with him was another, whose face was like the appearance of a man; and his face was full of graciousness like one of the holy angels. (46:1)

As an accompanying angel explains to Enoch, this is the Chosen One, the Son of Man, and his function is recounted at length (46:2–8). He will crush the kings and the mighty, the oppressors of his clients, the righteous and chosen.

Enoch focuses again on the activity that is taking place in the divine throne room (chap. 47). Here, “the holy ones who dwell in the heights of heaven” and are uniting in one voice to glorify, praise, and bless the Lord of Spirits also intercede by bringing the petitions of the righteous before the throne of God. The white-haired Deity takes his seat on his throne and has the books of the living opened before him. Judgment is to take place; the murdered righteous are to be vindicated.

What follows is a second account of the function of the Chosen One; this one—different from chapter 46—describes less his judgment of the kings and the mighty as such, and more his vindication of the righteous and chosen. This scene appears also to take place in the heavenly throne room, where the springs of righteousness and wisdom flow (chaps. 48–49). In the remainder of this parable, Enoch recounts his visions of the activity that will take place on the earth in the end-time (chaps. 50–56).

Enoch’s third Parable is the longest of the three mainly because it contains a long section of astronomical and meteorological material (chaps. 59 and 60:11–23), as well a great deal of text about Noah and the Flood (60:1–11, 23, and 65:1–69:1), which was added later. Here I focus on three chapters that relate to the heavenly temple, namely chapters 61 to 63. Chapter 61 is clearly set in the heavenly throne room. Here the Lord of Spirits seats the Chosen One on the divine throne for the purpose of judging the angels, and the heavenly choruses resound with appropriate praise.

- 61:6 And all who are in the heights of heaven received a command,
and power and one voice and one light like fire were given to him.
- 7 And that one, before anything, they blessed with (their) voice,
and they exalted and glorified with wisdom;
and they were wise in speech and in the spirit of life.
- 8 And the Lord of Spirits seated the Chosen One upon the throne of
glory
and he will judge all the works of the holy ones in the heights of
heaven,
and in the balance he will weigh their deeds.
- 9 And when he will lift up his face
to judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of
the Lord of Spirits,
and their paths according to the way of the righteous judgment
of the Lord of Spirits,
they will all speak with one voice,
and bless and glorify and exalt
and sanctify the name of the Lord of Spirits.
- 10 And all the host of heaven will cry out and all the holy ones in the
heights,
and the host of the Lord—the Cherubin, the Seraphin, and the
Ophannin,
and all the angels of power and all the angels of the dominions,
and the Chosen One and the other host who are on the dry land
(and) over the water on that day.
- 11 And they will raise one voice,
and they will bless and glorify and exalt
with the spirit of faithfulness and with the spirit of wisdom,
and with (a spirit of) long suffering and with the spirit of mercy,
and with the spirit of judgment and peace and with the spirit of
goodness.

I have emphasized that the praise of God is really the major activity in the heavenly throne room. The verbs “bless, glorify, exalt” recur, and “sanctify” may imply the singing of the *Trisagion*. Furthermore, we hear the names of the various types of angels whose voices fill the heavenly throne room. There are: the holy ones (perhaps a general term), the hosts of the Lord (an allusion to the title “Lord of hosts”), the Cherubin, the Seraphin, and the Ofannin, the angels of power, the angels of the dominions, the angels who are on the land and over the water, those that sleep not (the Watchers), and the spirits of light. Now, in spite of

the numerous types of angels that are mentioned, we are told four times that they utter their praise “with one voice.” Of course, we have no score of their music, so we do not know if they sing in unison or in harmony. But the impression one gets is that of a huge chorus. For myself, I think of the redundant, cascading, undulating cadences of the angelic chorus in the heavenly prologue of Boito’s opera *Mefistofele*. Or perhaps we might imagine one of those thousand-voice choirs that occasionally sing Handel’s *Messiah*, pouring forth its “Hallelujah Chorus.”

The parallels between the liturgical content in the Parables and liturgical material in Judaism contemporary with it raises the question about the relationship between heavenly scenes and the Parables’ presumed audience. The Parables’ language is surely evocative. The audience is reminded of its earthly liturgical settings. Do the snippets of liturgical phraseology suggest that the heavenly choruses engage in the same kind of liturgy the audience participates in? With the recitation of the Parables’ narrative, is the audience imaginatively drawn up into the heavenly temple? Are the liturgical phrases in the Parables cues for the audience to actually utter prayers that contain this phraseology? Do they recite the *Trisagion* as the reader recites the part of the narrative that describes the heavenly chorus doing the same? In its texture and content, with accumulating lists of angelic groups and repeated verbs that describe their praise, the scene in chapter 61 is reminiscent of the so-called *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* found in numerous copies at Qumran.¹³ I do not see any direct literary relationship between these texts, but they do attest a common tendency for people in a liturgical context to connect themselves with worship in the heavenly temple. In modern liturgies, the *Trisagion* is often prefaced with the words “so with the church on earth and the hosts in heaven we join their unending hymn”—and then “Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of your glory. . . .”

The chapters that follow also bear on our topic. Chapters 62–63 describe a scene that complements chapter 61. Here the Chosen One is, again, seated on the throne of glory, where he judges and condemns the kings and the mighty, the violent oppressors of the righteous and chosen. Echoing chapter 61, these enemies of the righteous and chosen (and opponents of the Lord of Spirits) utter anguished words of repentance and pour forth the praise they should have offered to God. What is not clear is where this scene is set. The throne of glory suggests the divine throne room, but it seems unlikely that these wicked characters have been granted access to God’s throne room. Perhaps the throne of glory

13. García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 419–31.

has descended to earth, as is the case in Ezekiel (chap. 1) and in the Animal Vision (1 *Enoch* 90:20). In any case, the Chosen One's session on the throne of glory associates him with the heavenly temple, reiterating what has been affirmed in chapter 61. The conclusion of this scene, separated by a long literary interpolation, occurs in 69:27–29, where the Son of Man is again seated on the throne of his glory for the purpose of judgment.

Chapter 71 of the Parables, the final one in the book, is also relevant to our topic, although it is almost certainly an addition to the book. It differs from the body of the Book of Parables and is heavily dependent on chapter 14 in the Book of the Watchers—the long passage I quoted above. Here, in this last chapter of the Parables, Enoch also narrates his ascent to heaven, where he sees angels walking on fire and where he finds a house built of hailstones mortared by flames. The four archangels exit the house along with the Deity. Not surprisingly, Enoch is totally overwhelmed—although he has shown almost no such emotion elsewhere in the Parables. The Deity and the angels approach him, and he is commissioned as the Son of Man, who is this time the eternal companion of the righteous. Thus, once again the Son of Man is associated with the heavenly temple, only, to our great surprise, he is identified as Enoch himself. That is, Enoch finds out that the character he has witnessed throughout his vision is Enoch himself.

Summary and Conclusion

The Second Temple was central to Jewish religious and social life. It was the place where humans met their God. They joined in liturgies of praise and offered sacrifices that atoned for sin and that embodied thanksgiving for divine blessing. There Torah was studied and expounded. There was a body of literature that governed much of this activity—both in the Mosaic Torah and in its exposition, and there was oral tradition on the matter. Nonetheless, there exist also the remnants of a body of literature from the Second Temple period that takes a dim view of the activity in the precincts of the Jerusalem temple. Ritual purity, especially as it pertained to sacrifice, was a principal issue. Some of the texts found at Qumran deal with this matter, and the authors of some of these texts saw the community at Qumran as an ersatz for the temple. At least for the time being, the community and its activity filled the gap left by a polluted Jerusalem temple.

Along with that literature, which was generated at Qumran or in some satellite groups, are the texts that are gathered in what we call 1 *Enoch*, some of which also originated in a group or groups related in some way to the community at Qumran. In the Book of the Watchers, this critique of the temple priesthood is embodied in an account

of Enoch's ascent to the fiery and fearful heavenly temple. The Animal Vision also spotlights what it considers to be a polluted Second Temple sacrificial cult, and the Apocalypse of Weeks even ignores the existence of the Second Temple, or at best alludes to it without mentioning it as such. For the authors of these texts, the problem will be solved at the end-time in the eradication of evil.

Like the Book of the Watchers, the Book of Parables recounts Enoch's ascent to the heavenly temple, but focuses on the activity—pre-eminently the liturgical activity—in that temple. It emphasizes Enoch's vision of the angelic entourage and the liturgies that they sing, which have counterparts in the earthly places of worship. We learn nothing about the author's attitude toward the Second Temple. Perhaps he expresses a negative view toward the temple on Mount Zion simply by ignoring it. Alternatively, this silence may be a function of his pressing, obsessive concern. He lives in a time of bloody oppression and he assures his people that the time is coming when the Son of Man, who is hidden in the heavenly realm, evidently the heavenly temple, will appear to vindicate his own and crush their oppressors.

With respect to the topic of temple, what is perhaps most striking in *1 Enoch*? Maybe two things. First, for the authors of the Book of the Watchers, the Animal Vision, and the Apocalypse of Weeks, who are concerned about a dysfunctional Jerusalem cult, the resolution of the problem lies in the approaching eschaton. Second, for the author of the Parables, as well as the Book of the Watchers and the Animal Vision, the real action is already taking place in the real temple, which is the *heavenly* temple. There, variously, God is enthroned, and the Son of Man is being prepared to enact divine judgment so that God's will may be done on earth as it is in heaven.

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Enoch and the City of Zion

Can an Entire Community Ascend to Heaven?

David J. Larsen

The work of scholars such as George Nickelsburg and Hugh Nibley has opened our eyes to ancient traditions regarding the figure of Enoch, so that we, as Latter-day Saints, have come to realize what a wealth of knowledge the Prophet Joseph Smith provided when he produced his inspired renderings of the first several chapters in Genesis, including the greatly expanded story of Enoch. One of the most significant additions to the biblical record in Joseph's revelation on Enoch is not only that Enoch was taken up alive into heaven, as the Genesis passage implies, but also that the entire city of Enoch was eventually received up into heaven as well. Whereas the idea of Enoch, as an individual, ascending to heaven is common in the ancient religious literature regarding the patriarch, parallels to the notion of his entire community being translated and taken up as well are not so apparent.

In this article, I will explore the notion of communal ascent to heaven in ancient Jewish and Christian literature and seek to answer the questions, Can an entire community ascend to heaven? and Do we see this theme in ancient texts, or is this a complete innovation on the part of Joseph Smith as he sought to unite his followers around an inspiring and unifying goal? To arrive at the answers to these questions, I will analyze a number of ancient Jewish and Christian religious texts that feature the ascent to heaven motif and suggest that not only did their authors envision an individual ascent, but they also imagined groups or communities raised up to the celestial realm.

In chapter 7 of the Book of Moses in the Pearl of Great Price, Joseph Smith provides us with an extensive account of how Enoch built a city

“called the City of Holiness, even ZION” (Moses 7:19). We are then told that “Zion, in process of time, was taken up into heaven” (Moses 7:21). Similarly, Moses 7:69 states, “And Enoch and all his people walked with God, and he dwelt in the midst of Zion; and it came to pass that Zion was not, for God received it up into his own bosom; and from thence went forth the saying, ZION IS FLED.” Because we are informed that God came and dwelled in Zion, it is probably safe to assume that Enoch’s city had a temple. This was the belief of Brigham Young, who stated: “I will not say but what Enoch had Temples and officiated therein, but we have no account of it.”¹

One of the most intriguing elements of Joseph Smith’s inspired translation of Genesis is that this concept of communal ascent is not limited to Enoch’s city of Zion. Once Zion had been elevated to the Lord’s presence, this established a pattern for others to follow. With Enoch’s Zion removed from the world, the “residue” of the people left behind continued to increase in wickedness—a downward spiral that ultimately ended with the coming of the Great Flood to cleanse the earth of their iniquity. Moses 7:27 informs us that the more righteous living between the time of Enoch and Noah were removed from this dismal situation: “and the Holy Ghost fell on many, and they were caught up by the powers of heaven into Zion.”

In an interesting New Testament parallel, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews mentions the translation of Enoch in his discussion of the faith of the ancients. He then goes on to mention how Abraham, while he was wandering in the land of promise, living in tents, “waited for the city which has foundations, whose builder and maker is God” (Heb. 11:10, NKJV). The text goes on to imply that all of the patriarchs were seeking to reach, or return to, a country or a city—a heavenly city (Heb. 11:13–16). Hebrews 12:22 associates this city with Mount Zion.

The author contrasts the experience of the Israelites under Moses and how they were not able to even touch Mount Sinai with that of the followers of Jesus Christ, who were given full access to Mount Zion. Speaking to a community of Christian believers, the author declares, “But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, . . . and to an innumerable company of angels, To the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven” (Heb. 12:22–23, KJV).

1. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints’ Book Depot, 1854–86), 18:303, January 1, 1877.

Aquila Lee argues that “the idea about Mt. Zion as ‘heavenly Jerusalem’ was taken up by the early church when they read Ps 2 together with Ps 110 as applying to Jesus.”² Psalm 110:4 is, of course, one of only two passages in the Hebrew Bible that make mention of Melchizedek. Lee observes that the early Christian church understood Psalm 110:1 to refer to Jesus, who had taken up his throne on Mount Zion (Ps. 2:6) at God’s right hand. Psalm 110:4 was understood to declare that Jesus’s priesthood was related to the priesthood of Melchizedek. This is the connection that the author of Hebrews makes—that Jesus’s priesthood is the priesthood of Melchizedek.

In a similar vein, Joseph Smith, in his inspired expansion of the Melchizedek pericope in Genesis 14, depicts the priesthood of Melchizedek as following the order of the priesthood of Enoch, which, in turn, is derived from the order of the priesthood of the Son of God (Gen. 14:27–28, JST). Furthermore, the text says that men who came “up unto this [priesthood] order of God, were translated and taken up into heaven.” Melchizedek, we are told, “was a priest of this order” and was able to obtain peace in the city he ruled, the city of Salem. As a result, the text says, “his people wrought righteousness, and obtained heaven, and sought for the city of Enoch which God had before taken, separating it from the earth, having reserved it unto the latter days, or the end of the world; And hath said, and sworn with an oath, that the heavens and the earth should come together” (Gen 14:32–35, JST).

The idea of Melchizedek (if not his city with him) being taken up into heaven is not unknown in the ancient literature. Jim Davila has noted that in *2 Enoch* (71–72) we find the unusual tale of Melchizedek being “taken away to paradise during the Flood so that he may serve later as a high priest.”³ Additionally, in the Qumran texts known as 11QMelchizedek and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, Melchizedek appears to be depicted as a high priest who serves in the heavenly temple.⁴ Davila describes the trajectory of the figure of Melchizedek

2. Aquila H. Lee, *From Messiah to Preexistent Son* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 258.

3. James R. Davila, “Heavenly Ascents in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:465. Melchizedek, in this account, is the son of Noah’s brother, Nir.

4. See Davila, “Heavenly Ascents,” 464.

in ancient literature as moving “from Melchizedek the priest-king to Melchizedek the god.”⁵

This is the trajectory that Joseph Smith elaborates in his grand revelation on the kingdoms of heaven recorded in Doctrine and Covenants 76. Regarding those who are destined for celestial glory, it says, “They are they into whose hands the Father has given all things—They are they who are priests and kings, who have received of his fulness, and of his glory; And are priests of the Most High, after the order of Melchizedek, which was after the order of Enoch, which was after the order of the Only Begotten Son. Wherefore, as it is written, they are gods, even the sons of God” (D&C 76:55–58).

Although these parallels are interesting, we are still not seeing in the ancient texts the idea of entire communities being taken up into heaven, as described in Joseph Smith’s revelations. There are numerous biblical and pseudepigraphal texts that relate the ascensions of great biblical heroes such as Abraham, Jacob, Levi, Moses, Isaiah, Jesus, and Paul. However, these are all narratives of the ascension of a single exceptional individual allowed to partake in, generally, a single exceptional experience. For example, Moses, when he ascended Mount Sinai into the presence of God, left the general body of the Israelites down at the bottom of the mountain and even left the seventy specially chosen elders at the halfway point before ascending to the heights.

The motif of the ascent of the community to the heavenly realm, although perhaps not as well known as the great stories of individual ascenders, is not as difficult to find as it may initially appear. Hugh Nibley, in his book *Enoch the Prophet*, pulls from Adolph Jellinek’s collection of Jewish traditions, *Bet ha-Midrash*, a story of more than eight hundred thousand men who followed Enoch and refused to leave him as he was about to be taken up into heaven riding a chariot of fire. Although the text does not explicitly depict this large company ascending into heaven together with Enoch, it does state that when the kings of the land came to find these thousands of followers of Enoch, they were not found and were thought to be dead.⁶

5. James R. Davila, “Melchizedek: King, Priest, and God,” in *The Seductiveness of Jewish Myth: Challenge or Response*, ed. S. Daniel Breslauer (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 224.

6. Hugh Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS), 252–53.

Another account that is very similar to the story of Enoch and the City of Zion, but which involves the ascension of a different group, is the early Jewish story entitled “The History of the Rechabites.” This document tells of a man named Zosimus, who was taken up into Paradise, where he encountered a group of luminous beings called the “Blessed Ones.” These Blessed Ones, to whom Zosimus also refers as “earthly angels,” were surprised to see him in their midst and expressed that they did not expect to meet mortals until the end of the world. They asked Zosimus all about the happenings on Earth and then proceeded to recount their own history and how they came to live in Paradise. They declared that they were originally from Earth, where they were known as the “sons of Rechab.” Because they would not obey the wicked King Jehoiakim’s request that they renounce their covenants and abandon the Lord, they were imprisoned. They were then miraculously freed from prison by angels who came from heaven in a brilliant light and were lifted up to dwell in Paradise. They lived there as mortals but were without sin, purified and spotless, cleansed from all corruption. They lived in the light of God and had a shining appearance. Angels came among them and told them of the righteousness and wickedness of the world, which caused them to grieve over those who were lost to sin. Regarding their sinless and harmonious state, they explained, “Among us there is no sickness, pain, fatigue to our bodies, mutilation, weariness, or temptations; not even Satan’s power can touch us, for there is not among us rage, jealousy, evil desire, or hateful thoughts. But (we experience only) quietness and gladness; and (exhibit) love and affection toward God and each other.”⁷

The parallels here between the story of the Rechabites and the account of Enoch’s people in the Book of Moses are numerous. Although there is no apparent connection to Enoch in the Rechabite story, the mere existence of a tradition in which a group of people is taken up as mortals to live in Paradise and reside there in an altered, purified state until the end times is very significant.

7. “The History of the Rechabites,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), 2:453, 454, 458. There are several versions of this history, but the earliest English translation came long after Joseph Smith’s work on the Book of Moses. On the origins of this text, see John W. Welch, “The Narrative of Zosimus (History of the Rechabites) and the Book of Mormon,” in *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited*, ed. Noel Reynolds (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997), 323–74, an expanded and updated version of “The Narrative of Zosimus and the Book of Mormon,” *BYU Studies* 22 (1982): 311–32.

Although other such accounts that parallel the Book of Moses narrative may exist, the remainder of this article will focus not on attempting to identify further parallels of this nature but on highlighting examples in early Jewish and early Christian literature that depict this motif in a different way. Although they do not feature Enoch or his city explicitly, there is a recurring theme in some of the texts that corresponds to the idea of a priestly figure who leads a community of priests in an ascension into the heavenly realm. In fact, this concept has become so apparent to me in the research I have done that I must limit my analysis here to just a few representative examples.

We observed that the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of Christians gaining access to the heavenly city, which was also referred to as Mount Zion. Hebrews is structured around the ideas of Jesus Christ's high priesthood after the order of Melchizedek, his ascension into heaven, and his enthronement in the celestial sanctuary. The author of the epistle treats at length the notion that the followers of Christ, because of his exaltation, are, in like manner, now able to enter the heavenly sanctuary.⁸ The exact function and use of the epistle have long been debated by scholars. Harold Attridge believed it to have been presented as an "oratorical" performance.⁹

8. Although one could argue that there is an apparent discrepancy in this paper between the type of experience described for Enoch (and others—for example, the Rechabites), which may be seen as a more temporary transfiguration, and that described in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which may be seen as a more permanent transition into exaltation, I do not find these traditions to be incompatible. The intent of this paper is to compare traditions that utilize similar themes relating to the idea of communal ascent to heaven—the ultimate goal of the ascent is not of particular relevance here. In the end, I would suggest that the ultimate goal of the various ascents described is similar—whether, like the city of Enoch, the community expects to return to the world and inherit it in its paradisiacal (and eventually celestial) state, or if such a return is not directly delineated, the result is the same in the end. To use an example that I see as similar, the temporary transfiguration of Christ on the mountain height was, if anything, a preview of his anticipated exaltation and heavenly enthronement. The ritual ascent described in Hebrews was merely a temporary, terrestrial preview of the glory they hoped to eventually share in heaven with Christ.

9. Harold Attridge, "Paraenesis in a Homily (λόγος παρακλήσεως): The Possible Location of, and Socialization in, the 'Epistle to the Hebrews,'" *Semeia* 50 (1990): 217. As George Nickelsburg has argued, it is very possible that the Enochic Book of Parables was originally meant to be an oral performance, an idea that he discusses in depth in the second volume of his commentary on *1 Enoch*, in the section entitled "Orality and Performance." George W. E.

Scott Mackie refers to it as a “mystical drama.”¹⁰ Similarly, a number of scholars in recent years, including Crispin Fletcher-Louis, John Dunnill, Luke Timothy Johnson, and Silviu Bunta, have described Hebrews as a symbolic, participatory liturgy that moves worshippers from the profane to the sacred sphere.¹¹ In other words, the epistle, or at least parts of it, was plausibly meant to have been performed, or acted out—with a series of events set in the heavenly temple, which would be dramatically brought to life through the use of visually oriented literary practices such as dramatized “narrative with speaking actors,” visual imagery, cues, and commands—including directions to “behold,” “gaze upon,” “draw near,” and “enter.”¹² Scott Mackie has attempted a reconstruction of this dramatic portrayal, which he understands to be a “divine adoption ceremony.” He outlines the following elements in Hebrews:

1. Depiction of Jesus’s ascent to heaven and entry into the celestial temple—“a great high priest, that is passed into the heavens” (4:14)—Christ entered “into heaven itself” (9:24).
2. “Dramatic [re]enactment of the Son’s exaltation (chs. 1 and 2)” —“Now see Jesus crowned with glory and honor” (2:9)¹³ —“Sit on my right hand” (1:13).
3. Declaration of familial relationship between Father and Son (“naming ritual”) —“Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee” (1:5; 2:12–13).

Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 37–82* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 36–38.

10. Scott D. Mackie, “Heavenly Sanctuary Mysticism in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 62 (April 2011): 78.

11. See Scott D. Mackie, *Eschatology and Exhortation in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 170–71; John Dunnill, *Covenant and Sacrifice in the Letter to the Hebrews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 261; Luke Timothy Johnson, “The Scriptural World of Hebrews,” *Interpretation* 57 (July 2003): 238; Crispin Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), xii; and Silviu Bunta, “The Convergence of Adamic and Merkabah Traditions in the Christology of Hebrews,” paper presented at the 2010 SBL Annual Meeting, Atlanta, November 21, 2010.

12. Scott D. Mackie, “Ancient Jewish Mystical Motifs in Hebrews’ Theology of Access and Entry Exhortations,” *New Testament Studies* 58 (January 2012): 98 n. 33; Mackie, “Heavenly Sanctuary Mysticism,” 78.

13. Translation of Hebrews 2:9 is Mackie’s.

4. Son confers family membership on community (they are his siblings)—“Behold I and the children which God hath given me”—“bringing many sons unto glory”—“not ashamed to call them brethren” (2:10–15).
5. Community is provided access to the heavenly temple by Jesus, their High Priest—they are exhorted to boldly “enter” the heavenly sanctuary and “draw near” to God’s throne (4:14–16; 10:19–25).¹⁴

Upon entry into the heavens, the Christian community hears the declaration, “Ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, To the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, And to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant” (Heb. 12:22–24).

According to Mackie, all of this would have been performed by actors or described in a way that the participants could vividly imagine themselves as being in the heavenly temple and visualize Christ on his throne and so on. I would also note here that Hebrews 6:13–18 indicates that the participants were the recipients of promises, or covenants, from God that are associated with the Abrahamic covenant. The confirmation of the divine oath with these “heirs of promise” served to give them hope. Verse 18 indicates that those who have received this covenant have “fled” in order to “take hold upon the hope set before” them. There is, perhaps, a comparison that we can make here between the idea that this community has “fled” and the statement in Moses 7:69, “ZION IS FLED.” Importantly, the “church” that can be found in this city on Mount Zion is actually the Church of the Firstborns, plural, in the Greek. Verses 19–20 of Hebrews 6 tell of the hope that the community holds dear: “We have this hope as an anchor for the soul, firm and secure. It enters the inner sanctuary behind the curtain [veil], where our forerunner, Jesus, has entered on our behalf. He has become a high priest forever, in the order of Melchizedek” (NIV).

Summarizing his findings regarding this ritualized ascent, Mackie concludes, “Hebrews depicts Jesus’ exaltation as involving an ascent, as he ‘passed through the heavens’ (4:14; see also 1:6; 7:26) and ‘entered into heaven itself’ (9:24). He is also said to be ‘leading . . . many children’

14. Mackie, “Ancient Jewish Mystical Motifs,” 98–99 n. 34. See also Mackie, *Eschatology and Exhortation*.

into the same 'glory' he possesses (2:10). Most importantly, the two key entry exhortations, 4:14–16 and 10:19–23, both commend an act of entry that follows and imitates Jesus' own heavenly ascent (4:14) and passage 'through the curtain' (10:20). Therefore, a mystical, heavenly ascent of the whole community would appear to be envisaged.¹⁵ Indeed, Jesus himself declares as much in John 14:2.¹⁶ He says, "In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you." As Andrew Louth has argued, those Christians who embark on the mystical journey to reach God do so not individually, but as a community—as the body of Christ.¹⁷

A number of scholars have picked up on the similarity between the Epistle to the Hebrews and a collection of hymns found among the Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and also at the Jewish fortress of Masada. This collection is known as the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, or the Angelic Liturgy, and consists of thirteen songs meant to be sung or recited on each of the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year. Although the texts are highly fragmentary, which makes their full content and purpose difficult to establish, they appear to have been designed to take worshippers on a tour through the celestial realms, introducing them to the angelic priesthood and the songs they sing in praise of God, guiding them through the heavenly temple, and depicting a vision of the glorious throne of God.

Carol Newsom, one of the foremost authorities on the Songs, suggests that "the recitation of these Sabbath songs was a major vehicle for the experience of communion with the angels"¹⁸ and "is intended as a communal experience of the human worshipping community" that gives the participants "a sense of being in the heavenly sanctuary and in the presence of angelic priests and worshippers."¹⁹ Davila argues that "these songs were meant for liturgical use" and refers to them as part of "a weekly cultic drama."²⁰ Crispin Fletcher-Louis sees the Songs as

15. Mackie, "Heavenly Sanctuary Mysticism," 98.

16. My thanks to John W. Welch for bringing this to my attention.

17. Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 199–200.

18. Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*, Harvard Semitic Studies, vol. 27 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 17–18.

19. Newsom, *Songs*, 17.

20. James R. Davila, "Exploring the Mystical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 443.

a “conductor’s score” for not merely a descriptive heavenly tour but a more concrete ritualized heavenly ascent. What we see in these texts should be considered the ritual ascension of the human community to heaven, where they experience a vision of God’s throne and are temporarily transformed into an angelified or deified state.²¹ Scott Mackie and Philip Alexander specifically refer to the Songs as implying a “communal heavenly ascent.” I will not go into an in-depth description of the content of the Songs but quote here from Alexander’s analysis:

The communal chanting of these numinous hymns on successive Sabbaths was apparently deemed sufficient to carry the earthly worshippers up to the courts of the celestial Temple, through the nave and into the sanctuary, and to set them before the throne of God. . . . *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* implies a communal ascent: if one makes the ascent then one does so in a group. . . . *The Self-Glorification Hymn* (another similar text from the Dead Sea Scrolls), however, seems to imply that some individuals within the community, like Enoch and Levi and other great spiritual heroes of the past, had made the ascent on their own. Such individual ascent was probably the exception, rather than the rule.²²

Alexander goes on to suggest that the leader of this liturgy, much like Enoch, would likely have already made the ascent himself and would thus be qualified to lead his congregation into the celestial realm. We can see the parallel here between Enoch and Melchizedek of the Joseph Smith revelations, Jesus in Hebrews, and the leader of the Sabbath Songs: in each the leader gains access to the heavenly temple through his faithfulness and is then able to lead his followers in that same path of ascent. Another common element is that of the priesthood, and specifically the priesthood of Melchizedek. The name Melchizedek is arguably found two or three times in the Songs, where he is likely depicted, as Davila argues, “as continuing his priestly duties in the heavenly temple after his apotheosis.”²³

21. Crispin Fletcher-Louis, “Heavenly Ascent and Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 367–99.

22. Philip Alexander, “Qumran and the Genealogy of Western Mysticism,” in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005*, ed. Esther Chazon, Betsy Halpern-Amaru, and Ruth A. Clemens (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 226–27.

23. Davila, “Heavenly Ascents,” 464.

I have found a related pattern of themes in my own research on other Qumran texts, including a collection of poetic compositions or songs known as the Hodayot, or “Thanksgiving Psalms,” and the scroll labeled 4Q381, a collection of noncanonical psalms. I will briefly outline the pattern that I have been able to piece together, drawing on an array of different texts within these collections. When these themes are brought together, the following picture begins to emerge:

- a. An individual, often the leader of the group or community, recounts how he has been taken up into heaven to stand in the divine council;
- b. He is taught the heavenly “mysteries,” often by God himself;
- c. He is appointed to be a teacher and is called to teach the mysteries to others;
- d. Those who follow his teachings are then permitted to participate in a heavenly ascent or vision.

I will cite here examples from the pertinent Qumran texts to demonstrate each of these points. Regarding the first, we find in numerous places of 1QHodayot^a the speaker thanking God for delivering him from suffering and for having “raised” him “to the eternal height,” or heavenly realm.

I thank you, Lord, that you have redeemed my life from the pit, and that from Sheol-Abaddon you have lifted me up to an eternal height, so that I walk about on a limitless plain. I know that there is hope for one whom you have formed from the dust for an eternal council . . . that he might take his place with the host of the holy ones and enter into community with the congregation of the children of heaven (1QHa XI, 20–23).²⁴

The second point, regarding the idea that the individual is, while in the heavenly realm, taught the “mysteries” of heaven, can be seen in column XII of 1QHodayot^a. In this passage, the speaker proclaims to God, “You have illumined my face for your covenant. . . . I seek you, and as sure as dawn, you appear to me” (lines 6–7).²⁵ He later goes on to say, “For you have made me understand your wonderful mysteries” (lines 28–29).²⁶ In another place, he exclaims, “I thank [you, O Lord], that you have

24. Based on the translation by Carol Newsom in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XL: 1QHodayot^a*, ed. Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), 155.

25. Translation by Newsom in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XL*, 165.

26. Translation by Newsom in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XL*, 166.

instructed me in your truth, and made known to me your wondrous mysteries.”²⁷

We can glimpse the motif of the individual being called to teach the mysteries in 1QHodayot^a XII, 28–29. There, the speaker states that after God had taught him the “wondrous mysteries” and “shown” himself to him, God then “illuminated the faces of many” through him. In column X, line 15, the text reads: “But you have made me a banner for the elect of righteousness and an expert interpreter [or mediator of knowledge] of wonderful mysteries.”²⁸ Samuel Thomas notes that we see in these texts that “the protagonist is called upon to translate or interpret his own experience to those under his tutelage.”²⁹

1QHodayot^a XII is an example of the fourth motif mentioned, in which the teacher’s disciples are permitted to ascend to heaven to have a similar experience to that of the teacher. In line 25 of column XII, the speaker makes reference to a group of people who follow him and tells the Lord that these have “gathered together for your covenant” and that he has “examined” them. He goes on to declare that “those who walk in the way of your heart listen to me; they are drawing themselves up before you in the council of the holy ones.”³⁰

The presence of these themes in a variety of documents leads us to speculate that the concept of communal ascent to heaven was widespread at Qumran. The fact that the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice were also found at Masada indicates that this phenomenon was not limited to a group of sectarians living at Qumran. As a number of scholars have argued,³¹ I believe that some of these texts, or similar ones, originated with, or were used by, the priesthood at the Jerusalem Temple. Generally speaking, the stories and texts that I have analyzed in this article are about the temple and about the priesthood. The temple, the holy mountain, or

27. Translation of 1QHodayot^a XV:29–30 by Newsom in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert XL*, 214.

28. Translation by Newsom in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert XL*, 142.

29. Samuel I. Thomas, *The “Mysteries” of Qumran: Mystery, Secrecy, and Esotericism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 209.

30. Based on the translation by Newsom in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert XL*, 166.

31. See, for example, Philip S. Alexander, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts*, JSPSupp 61, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 7 (London: Continuum, 2006), 129; Israel Knohl, “Between Voice and Silence: The Relationship between Prayer and Temple Cult,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 115, no. 1 (1996): 17–30.

the holy city, is the place for ascension into heaven, whether it be literal or ritual. When there was corruption in the earthly temple, people—such as the Qumran community and the early Christians—were striving for the heavenly temple located in the heavenly city. They were trying to ascend to that heavenly community, to attain the paradisiacal home, as Enoch did, and enjoy the glory of living in the presence of God. In Hebrews, all of the patriarchs were seeking to reach that city, and Jesus made it possible for all Christians to make it there. For the Qumran community, their religious practices gave them the experience of being there, praising God among the angels. For Joseph Smith, Enoch and his people set the pattern for others to follow.

I close by returning to Joseph Smith's revelation regarding Melchizedek: "His people wrought righteousness, and obtained heaven, and sought for the city of Enoch which God had before taken, separating it from the earth, having reserved it unto the latter days, or the end of the world; And hath said, and sworn with an oath, that the heavens and the earth should come together" (Gen. 14:34–35, JST).

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BOOK OF ENOCH IN ETHIOPIAN (c. 1450–1500), folio 2, © The Remnant Trust, Inc. The *Book of Enoch* (or *1 Enoch*) is an important collection of ancient Jewish writings regarding Enoch composed between the late fourth century BCE and the turn of the era. It was preserved as a canonical work by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, but parts of it have also been found in Hebrew among the Dead Sea Scrolls. It was known to New Testament authors, it is quoted in Jude 1:14–15, and it was accepted by some of the early Church Fathers as scripture. The five books that make up *1 Enoch* are considered different compositions that were later redacted into one book, and each can be given its own date. These five books give accounts of Enoch's journeys to the throne of God in the celestial temple, his prophetic commission to pronounce judgment on fallen angels who have corrupted mankind, and revelations regarding the Creation, God's plans for mankind, his vision of the coming of the Son of Man (Chosen One, Righteous One) as an agent of God's judgment, the New Jerusalem, and the final judgment of the world. In addition to *1 Enoch*, other lesser-known ancient Enoch books (2 and 3 *Enoch*, the *Book of the Giants*) add to our understanding of the importance of Enoch among some Jews and Christians and also provide fascinating resonances with LDS scripture.

The LDS Story of Enoch as the Culminating Episode of a Temple Text

Jeffrey M. Bradshaw

In this article, I will suggest how the LDS story of Enoch might be understood as the culminating episode in a temple text cycle woven through the Book of Moses. I will begin by giving a brief summary of “temple theology” and what is meant by the term “temple text.” Distinctive aspects of LDS temple teachings will be outlined. I will then outline how the Book of Moses reflects elements of temple architecture, furnishings, and ritual in the story of the Creation and the Fall. Like other scripture-based temple texts, the general structure of the second half of the Book of Moses follows a pattern exemplifying faithfulness and unfaithfulness to a specific sequence of covenants that is familiar to members of the LDS Church who have received the temple endowment. I argue that the story of Enoch and his people provides a vivid demonstration of the final steps on the path that leads back to God and up to exaltation.

Temple Theology

The term “temple theology” has its roots in the writings of Margaret Barker.¹ Over the course of the last twenty-five years, she has argued that Christianity arose not as a strange aberration of the Judaism of Jesus’s time but rather as a legitimate heir of the theology and ordinances of Solomon’s Temple. The loss of much of the original Jewish temple tradition would have been part of a deliberate program by later kings

1. See Margaret Barker, *Temple Theology* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2004), for a convenient summary of her approach to temple studies.

and religious leaders to undermine the earlier teachings. To accomplish these goals, some writings previously considered to be scripture are thought to have been suppressed and some of those that remained to have been changed to be consistent with a different brand of orthodoxy. While scholars differ in their understanding of details about the nature and extent of these changes and how and when they might have taken place,² most agree that essential light can be shed on questions about the origins and beliefs of Judaism and Christianity by focusing on the recovery of early temple teachings and on the extracanonical writings that, in some cases, seem to preserve them. Thus, John W. Welch describes the relevance of temple theology for Christianity in that it contextualizes and situates “images and practices that go hand in hand with the faith . . . [of] the temple that stands behind so many biblical texts.”³

Temple theology can be understood by comparing it to other brands of theology.⁴ What one might call philosophical theology, on one hand, has throughout its history wrestled with timeless questions of being, existence, and the attributes of God using the powerful tools of formal logic; and natural theology, on the other hand, has worked inductively from scientific observation of the world, relying on the tools of analogy and teleology. By way of contrast, temple theology approaches God through an understanding of “signs, symbols, and patterns (semiotics), . . . relationships, shared emotions and communications, . . . places of contact, . . . ritual instruction, and . . . human responses of thanks, praise, and covenant, binding man to God for purposes of protection, healing, blessing, and ultimate exaltation.” Temple theology also focuses on the priests’ beliefs about themselves and what their rituals meant, on Wisdom and creation, and on Moses and Israel’s history as God’s chosen people. Thus, it strives to “project the fullness of the past . . . to give bearings in answering the so-called terrible questions of where we came from, why we are here, and where we are going: things as they were, as they are, and as they will be.”

2. See, for example, William J. Hamblin, “Vindicating Josiah,” *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 4 (2013): 165–76; George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Review of *The Older Testament*, by Margaret Barker,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 109, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 335–37.

3. John W. Welch, “The Temple, the Sermon on the Mount, and the Gospel of Matthew,” in *Mormonism and the Temple: Examining an Ancient Religious Tradition*, ed. Gary N. Anderson (Logan, Utah: Academy for Temple Studies, 2013), 63.

4. See Welch, “The Temple, the Sermon on the Mount, and the Gospel of Matthew,” 62–63, citing Barker, *Temple Theology*, 14, 35, 11. All quotations in this paragraph are from Welch.

It explores attempts at emulating God's character, being "interested as much in the God of nature as in the nature of God," and it examines ceremonies of transformation that "take participants from one state, pass them through a liminal state, and then elevate them to a higher realm. . . . In sum, temple theology thrives on principles, practices, and models (temples are templates that orient us as humans in relation to the cardinal directions in heaven and on earth, and thus guide us in the beginning of an eternal quest)." Finally, a text can be seen as a "temple text" if it "contains the most sacred teachings of the plan of salvation that are not to be shared indiscriminately, and that ordains or otherwise conveys divine powers through ceremonial or symbolic means, together with commandments received by sacred oaths that allow the recipient to stand ritually in the presence of God."⁵ With this background, as will be seen, temple theology and temple studies are naturally relevant to the Book of Moses.

Temple Theology in a Latter-day Saint Context

It is easy to see why temple theology holds a natural appeal for many LDS scholars. It affirms Joseph Smith's belief that the "many errors" present in the Bible as we now have it are due, at least in part, to the corruptions and omissions of "ignorant translators, careless transcribers, or designing and corrupt priests."⁶ In addition, it is consistent with prominent LDS teachings about the loss and restoration of the knowledge and priesthood authority necessary to administer temple ordinances.

That said, areas of difference with some parts of temple theology sometimes surface in relation to certain beliefs of Latter-day Saints regarding primeval stories that seem to have formed an integral part of some ancient temple liturgies. For example, some scholars of temple theology regard the stories of the divine-human mating of the watchers in *1 Enoch* as an etiological account about the origin of all evil that predates Genesis and as a possible basis for the liturgy of Solomon's temple.⁷ In

5. John W. Welch, "The Temple in the Book of Mormon: The Temples at the Cities of Nephi, Zarahemla, and Bountiful," in *Temples of the Ancient World*, ed. Donald W. Parry (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994), 300–301.

6. Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 6:57 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

7. Scholars who are sympathetic to the possibility that the *1 Enoch* story of the watchers formed part of the ritual of the First Temple include, among others, Margaret Barker, Robert Murray, John C. Reeves, and Jonathan Smith. For example, Murray recognizes in the *Book of the Watchers* elements of a

addition, they regard the introduction of evil into the world as a tragic development. However, these ideas are inconsistent with LDS beliefs. The Latter-day Saints incorporate a version of the story of Adam and Eve as part of temple liturgy.⁸ Like some early Christians, they see the mismatched marriages of Genesis 6:1–4 as involving only mortals, not immortals.⁹ They regard the story of Enoch's generation not as a means

creation myth that is older than Genesis 1, with “roots reaching back to ancient Mesopotamian wisdom” and containing “mythical notes of a kind which were severely controlled, by being deprived of all indications of their ritual *Sitz im Leben*, in the post-exilic revision of the older religion.” In particular, he stresses the *1 Enoch* themes of “cosmic order (2:1–5:3) contrasted with human disorder and rebellion (5:4–9)” and “the changing of the old temple calendar by the post-exilic establishment in Jerusalem” that “gave rise to the literature insisting on the old solar calendar.” Those responsible for these changes “are nothing less than the counterparts on earth of the rebellious ‘watchers’ in heaven.” Robert Murray, *The Cosmic Covenant: Biblical Themes of Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation* (Piscataway, N.J.: Georgias Press, 2007), 7–8. Why then does the current Hebrew Bible feature the story of Adam and Eve as the origin of sin rather than the story of the rebel angels? According to Murray, it was part of a deliberate didactic program by the authors-redactors who wanted to “teach future generations that sin is our human responsibility and all we have to do is obey God, who has graciously revealed his commandments. To ascribe any causality of evil to supernatural beings would have been to undermine this luminously simple catechetical programme.” Murray, *Cosmic Covenant*, 15.

Other scholars have argued for a view of the *Book of the Watchers* that is more in line with traditional Jewish and Christian theology. For example, in an erudite and nuanced work on “imperialism and Jewish society” that contains arguments on this “complicated, controversial, and poorly understood” issue, Seth Schwartz differs with views that argue for the primacy of *1 Enoch* over Genesis. He reads the “*Book of Watchers* as a dramatic expansion of the biblical Flood story, in which the entire mythological narrative is compressed into the few generations between the descent of the sons of the gods and Noah, with the Flood serving as the final act of the drama.” Minimizing the idea that political developments were the motivation behind the authoring of this account to the same degree they were in the more *historical* apocalypses (for example, Daniel 7–12), Schwartz notes: “It is only in the first and last chapters of *1 Enoch* that the compiler of the collection made an explicit link between the book's expanded Enoch story and the ‘present.’” Seth Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 BCE to 640 CE* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 75, 79.

8. James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 83–84.

9. For a sampling of early Christian, Islamic, and LDS views on this subject, see, for example, Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and David J. Larsen, *In God's Image and Likeness 2: Enoch, Noah, and the Tower of Babel* (Salt Lake City: Eborn, 2014), 201.

of explaining the origin of evil in the world but as merely paradigmatic—in other words, as an example of the way that evil operates time after time in every generation.¹⁰

For Latter-day Saints, the events that brought “opposition” into the world (2 Ne. 2:11) came through the exercise of choice by Adam and Eve and were, in fact, a “necessary evil.”¹¹ Mormons believe that sin is an individual responsibility, not the result of evil forces beyond their control. Their scriptures teach that the purpose of earth life is to “prove” mankind “to see if they will do all things whatsoever the Lord their God shall command them” (Abr. 3:25). Through reliance on the enabling grace and power of the Atonement of Jesus Christ (2 Ne. 25:23), the means to overcome sin and death is provided and the way is opened for human salvation and exaltation. The test provided by this temporary earthly probation requires a fallen world, one that the devil himself helped institute through his temptation in the Garden of Eden. In his efforts to thwart Adam and Eve’s progression, Satan had unwittingly advanced God’s own plan.

Happily, Latter-day Saints, like many of their fellow Christians, know that the story of the Fall “is not an account of sin alone but a drama about becoming a being who fully reflects God’s very own image. *Genesis is not only about the origins of sin; it is also about the foundations of human perfection.* The work that God has begun in creation, he will bring to completion.”¹² Indeed, the Book of Moses avers that, after the killing of Abel by Cain, “the Gospel began to be preached, from the beginning, being declared by holy angels sent forth from the presence of God, and by his own voice, and by the gift of the Holy Ghost. And thus all things were

10. Suter sees the paradigmatic approach as being inherent in the *Damascus Document* of the Dead Sea Scrolls, “where the story of the Watchers functions at the beginning of a list of great sinners, who go astray individually by walking ‘in the stubbornness of their hearts’ or through ‘thoughts of a guilty inclination and lascivious eyes’ (García Martínez 1996). The approach in the book of Jude in the New Testament is similar. The implication involved in the use of lists of sinners is that each generation goes astray in the same manner, pointing toward a paradigmatic use of the myth.” David W. Suter, “Theodicy and the Problem of the ‘Intimate Enemy,’” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 333.

11. See Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and Ronan J. Head, “Mormonism’s Satan and the Tree of Life,” *Element: A Journal of Mormon Philosophy and Theology* 4, no. 2 (2008): 1–52, especially 1–3.

12. Gary A. Anderson, *The Genesis of Perfection: Adam and Eve in Jewish and Christian Imagination* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 8; emphasis in original. See also Moses 1:39.

confirmed unto Adam, by an holy ordinance” (Moses 5:58–59). Adam’s acceptance of the ordinance of baptism of the water and the Spirit is explicitly described in the Book of Moses (Moses 6:64–66), as are allusions to subsequent priesthood ordinances that were intended to lead them—and their posterity—to the glorious end of the pathway of exaltation. Thus, we are told that Adam was “after the order of him who was without beginning of days,” and that he was “one” in God, “a son of God.” Through this same process—having received every priesthood ordinance and covenant and also having successfully completed the probationary tests of earth life—all may become sons of God (Moses 6:67–68).

Within the LDS temple endowment, a narrative relating to selected events of the primeval history provides the context for the presentation of divine laws and the making of covenants that are designed to bring mankind back into the presence of God.¹³ Because the Book of Moses, in which the greatest portion of Joseph Smith’s revelations on Enoch are found, is the most detailed account of the first chapters of human history found in LDS scripture, it is already obvious to endowed members of the Church that the Book of Moses is a temple text *par excellence*, containing a pattern that interleaves sacred history with covenant-making themes. What may be new to them, however, is that the temple themes in the Book of Moses extend beyond the first part of this story that contains the fall of Adam and Eve. There is a part two of the temple story related in the Book of Moses that culminates with the translation of Enoch and his city. An examination of the layout of the Garden of Eden and its correlation to the architecture and furniture of Israelite temples will aid in understanding this two-part skeletal structure of the Book of Moses.

The Two-Part General Structure of the Book of Moses

Several scholars have identified parallels between the layout of the Garden of Eden and that of Israelite sanctuaries.¹⁴ For example, Donald W. Parry

13. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, 83–84.

14. For example, T. Desmond Alexander, *From Eden to the New Jerusalem: An Introduction to Biblical Theology* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Kregel, 2008), 20–23; Gregory K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church’s Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God*, ed. Donald A. Carson, *New Studies in Biblical Theology* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 66–80; Gordon J. Wenham, “Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story,” in *I Studied Inscriptions from before the Flood: Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches*

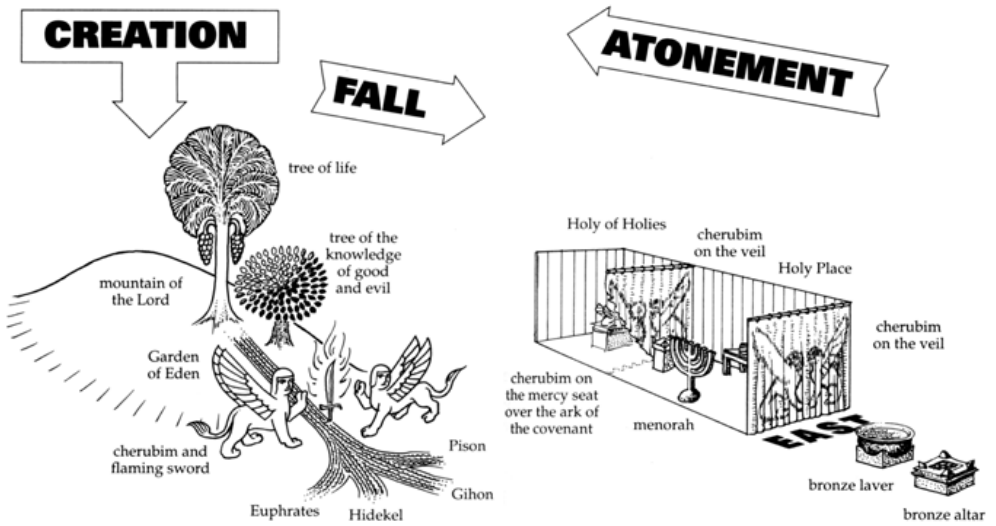


FIGURE 1. Sacred topography of Eden and the temple. Illustration by Michael P. Lyon. Courtesy Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship.

has argued that the Garden of Eden, a holy place, can be seen as a “natural temple” that foreshadowed the configuration of the “heavenly temple” intended as the ultimate destination of this creation.¹⁵ Parry describes the correspondence between Israelite temple ritual and Adam and Eve’s journey through the Garden of Eden as follows (see fig. 1): “Once a year on *Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement, Adam’s eastward expulsion from

to *Genesis 1–11*, ed. Richard S. Hess and David Toshio Tsumura, *Sources for Biblical and Theological Study* vol. 4 (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 399–404; John M. Lundquist, “What Is Reality?” in *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley*, ed. John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990); Donald W. Parry, “Garden of Eden: Prototype Sanctuary,” in *Temples of the Ancient World*, ed. Donald W. Parry (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994), 126–51; Jay A. Parry and Donald W. Parry, “The Temple in Heaven: Its Description and Significance,” in Parry, *Temples of the Ancient World*, 515–32; Terje Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden: Genesis 2–3 and Symbolism of the Eden Garden in Biblical Hebrew Literature* (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2000), 112–16, 308–9; Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and David Rolph Seely, *My Father’s House: Temple Worship and Symbolism in the New Testament* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1994), 17–19; Jeff Morrow, “Creation as Temple-Building and Work as Liturgy in Genesis 1–3,” *Journal of the Orthodox Center for the Advancement of Biblical Studies* (JOCABS) 2, no. 1 (2009): 1–13.

15. Parry, “Garden of Eden,” 126, 137; see also Lundquist, “What Is Reality?”; Stordalen, *Echoes*, 112–16, 308–9; Alexander, *From Eden*, 20–23.

the Garden is reversed when the high priest travels west past the consuming fire of sacrifice and the purifying water of the laver, through the veil woven with images of cherubim. Thus, he returns to the original point of creation, where he pours out the atoning blood of the sacrifice, reestablishing the covenant relationship with God.”¹⁶

In modern temples, the posterity of Adam and Eve likewise trace the footsteps of their first parents—first as they are sent away from Eden and later in their subsequent journey of return and reunion (compare John 16:28). About the journey made within the temple, Nibley comments, “Properly speaking, one did not go ‘through’ the temple—in one door and out another—for one enters and leaves by the same door, but by moving in opposite directions. . . . The Two Ways of Light and Darkness are but one way after all, as the wise Heraclitus said: ‘The up-road and the down-road are one’; which one depends on the way we are facing.”¹⁷

In Moses 2–4 is found the story of the “down-road,” while chapters 5–8 follow the journey of Adam and Eve and the righteous branches of their posterity along the “up-road.”¹⁸ In Moses 4:31, the “up-road” is called the “way of the tree of life”¹⁹—signifying the path that leads to the presence of God and the sweet fruit held in reserve for the righteous in the day of resurrection. The down-road and the up-road are prefigured in the prophetic experience of Moses in Moses 1 (fig. 2), serving as a prologue to the Book of Moses as a whole.

Consigning the specific details of the full pattern to allusions or omitting them altogether, Moses 1 epitomizes the down-road and up-road that was to be followed by Adam and Eve and their descendants. The account fits squarely the pattern of the heavenly ascent literature—not as a description of the sort of figurative journey that is experienced in temple ordinances, but as an actual encounter with God in the heavenly temple. Elsewhere I have detailed the resemblances between the spirit world prologue, the fall to earth, the personal encounter with Satan, and the journey of heavenly ascent found both in Moses 1 and also the pseudepigraphal *Apocalypse of Abraham*.²⁰ Significantly, each of these

16. Parry, “Garden of Eden,” 135.

17. Hugh W. Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 442–43.

18. See Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, *In God’s Image and Likeness 1: Creation, Fall, and the Story of Adam and Eve*, updated ed. (Salt Lake City: Eborn, 2014), 328–51.

19. See Bradshaw, *In God’s Image* 1, 282.

20. See Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Book of Moses* (Salt Lake City: Eborn, 2010), 26–50.

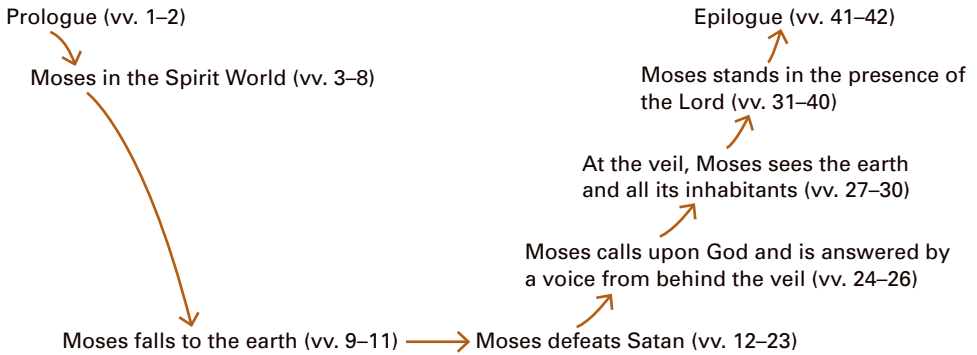


FIGURE 2. The Down-Road and the Up-Road in Moses 1.

two accounts also concludes with a vision of the Creation, the Garden of Eden, and the Fall given to the prophet/protagonist.

The prologue proper that precedes in time the stories of the Creation and of the descent of Adam and Eve is given as a flashback in Moses 4:1–4. There the deliberations of the heavenly council that resulted in the acclamation of the “Beloved Son” as the Redeemer and the expulsion of Lucifer from heaven are detailed. The notice given to the reader that the latter “became Satan, yea, even the devil, the father of all lies, to deceive and to blind men, and to lead them captive at his will, even as many as would not hearken unto my voice” (Moses 4:4) should be read as an “announcement of plot”²¹ for the account of the Fall that immediately follows.

Moses 2–4: The Down-Road

Moses 2: Creation. The Latter-day Saints have four basic Creation stories—found in Genesis, Moses, Abraham, and the temple. In contrast to versions of the Creation story that emphasize the planning of the heavenly council or the work involved in setting the physical processes in motion, the companion accounts of Genesis and the Book of Moses provide a structure and a vocabulary that seem deliberately designed to relate the creation of the cosmos to temple symbolism.²²

21. See Laurence Turner, *Announcements of Plot in Genesis*, ed. David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* (Sheffield, England: JSOT, 1990).

22. See, for example, Mark S. Smith, *The Priestly Vision of Genesis 1* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010); John H. Walton, *The Lost World of Genesis One: Ancient*

Louis Ginzberg's reconstruction of ancient Jewish sources is consistent with this overall idea,²³ as well as with the proposal that Genesis 1 may have been used as part of Israelite temple liturgy (fig. 3).²⁴

God told [the angels]: On the first day of creation, I shall make the heavens and stretch them out; so will Israel raise up the Tabernacle as the dwelling-place of My glory. On the second day, I shall put a division between the terrestrial waters and the heavenly waters; so will [my servant Moses] hang up a veil in the Tabernacle to divide the Holy Place and the Most Holy. On the third day, I shall make the earth to put forth grass and herb; so will he, in obedience to My commands, . . . prepare

Cosmology and the Origins Debate (Downers Grove, Ill.: Intervarsity Press Academic, 2009); "Genesis," in *Zondervan Illustrated Bible Backgrounds Commentary*, Vol. 1: *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*, ed. John H. Walton (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2009), 10–31; William P. Brown, *The Seven Pillars of Creation: The Bible, Science, and the Ecology of Wonder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 33–77; Jon D. Levenson, "The Temple and the World," *Journal of Religion* 64, no. 3 (1984), 275–98. See also Bradshaw, *In God's Image* 1, 146–49.

23. Louis Ginzberg, ed., *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909–1938; repr., Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 1:51. See also Brown, *Seven Pillars*, 40–41; Peter J. Kearney, "Creation and Liturgy: The P Redaction of Exodus 25–40," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 89, no. 3 (1977); and Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "The Cosmology of P and Theological Anthropology in the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira," <http://www.marquette.edu/maqom/Sirach1.pdf>, 10–11. According to Walton, "the courtyard represented the cosmic spheres outside of the organized cosmos (sea and pillars). The antechamber held the representations of lights and food. The veil separated the heavens and earth—the place of God's presence from the place of human habitation." Walton, *Lost World*, 82. Note that in this conception of creation, the focus is not on the origins of the raw materials used to make the universe but rather their fashioning into a structure providing a useful purpose. The ancient world viewed the cosmos more like a company or kingdom that comes into existence at the moment it is organized, not when the physical structures or the people who participate in them were created materially (*Lost World*, 26, 35, 43–44, 53). This view of creation as organization is consistent with the teachings of Joseph Smith. "Conference Minutes," *Times and Seasons* 5 (August 15, 1844): 614–15.

24. For example, Moshe Weinfeld, "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord: The Problem of Sitz im Leben of Genesis 1:1–2:3," in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, ed. André Caquot and Mathias Delcor, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* (Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker, 1981), 508–10; Stephen D. Ricks, "Liturgy and Cosmogony: The Ritual Use of Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East," in *Temples of the Ancient World*, ed. Donald W. Parry (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994); Kearney, "Creation"; Morrow, "Creation." See Exodus 40:17–21; 12:8; 25:30–40; 37:17–24.

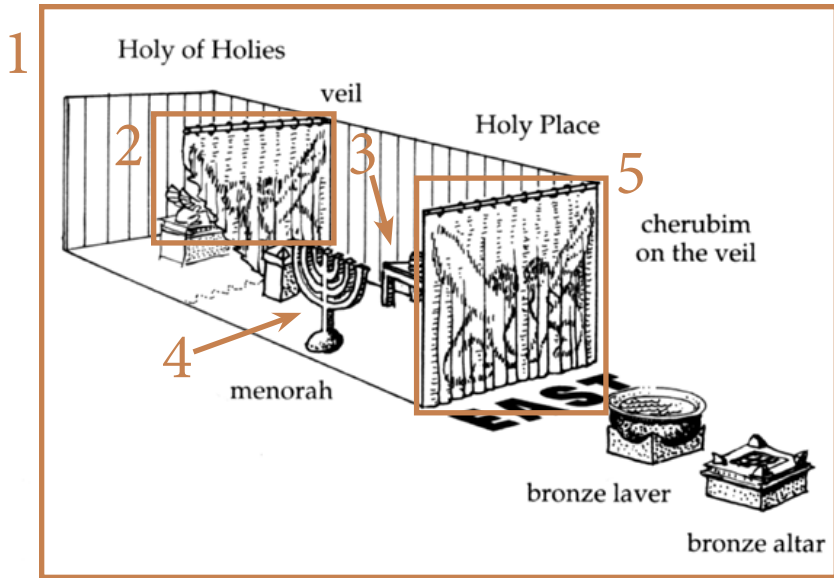


FIGURE 3. Sacred topography of the temple, with details of the days of Creation. Illustration by Michael P. Lyon. Courtesy Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship.

showbread before Me. On the fourth day, I shall make the luminaries; so will he make a golden candlestick [*menorah*] for Me. On the fifth day, I shall create the birds; so will he fashion the cherubim with outstretched wings. On the sixth day, I shall create man; so will Israel set aside a man of the sons of Aaron as high priest for My service.²⁵

Carrying this idea forward to a later epoch, Exodus 40:33 describes how Moses completed the tabernacle. The Hebrew text exactly parallels the account of how God finished Creation.²⁶ Referring to the day the

25. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 1:51.

26. Moses 3:1. See Levenson, “Temple and World,” 287; Arie C. Leder, “The Coherence of Exodus: Narrative Unity and Meaning,” *Calvin Theological Journal* 36 (2001): 267; and Morrow, “Creation.” Polen states, “The purpose of the Exodus from Egypt is not so that the Israelites could enter into the Promised Land, as many other biblical passages have it. Rather it is theocentric: so that God might abide with Israel. . . . This limns a narrative arc whose apogee is reached not in the entry into Canaan at the end of Deuteronomy and the beginning of Joshua, but in the dedication day of the tabernacle (Leviticus 9–10) when God’s Glory—manifest Presence—makes an eruptive appearance to the people (Leviticus 9:23–24).” Nehemia Polen, “Leviticus and Hebrews . . . and Leviticus,” in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology*, ed. Richard

tabernacle was raised in the wilderness, *Genesis Rabbah* comments, “It is as if, on that day, I actually created the world.”²⁷ In other words, we are meant to understand that “the Temple is a microcosm of creation, the creation a macro-temple.”²⁸ Or, in the words of Hugh Nibley, the temple is a “scale model . . . [of] the universe,” a place for taking bearings on the cosmos and finding one’s place within it.²⁹

Moses 3–4: The Garden of Eden and the Fall of Adam. The movements of Adam and Eve between different areas of the Eden temple are best understood through a top-down view. The inward/outward movement in figure 4 corresponds to the upward/downward orientation of figure 1. Consistent with some strands of Jewish tradition and the views of Ephrem the Syrian, a fourth-century Christian, the tree of knowledge is pictured “as a sanctuary curtain hiding the Holy of Holies, which is the Tree of Life higher up.”³⁰

Western art typically portrays Adam and Eve as naked in the Garden of Eden, and dressed in “coats of skin” after the Fall. However, the Eastern Orthodox tradition depicts the sequence of their change of clothing

Bauckham and others (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009), 216. Scott Hahn notes the same correspondences to the creation of the cosmos in the building of Solomon’s Temple. Scott W. Hahn, “Christ, Kingdom, and Creation: Davidic Christology and Ecclesiology in Luke–Acts,” *Letter and Spirit: The Hermeneutic of Continuity: Christ, Kingdom, and Creation* 3 (2007): 124–25; compare Morrow, “Creation”; Levenson, “Temple and World,” 283–84; Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 62–65; and Weinfeld, “Sabbath,” 506, 508.

27. Jacob Neusner, ed., *Parashiyyot One through Thirty-Three on Genesis 1:1 to 8:14*, vol. 1 of *Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis*, a New American Translation, 3 vols., Brown Judaic Studies, vol. 104 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1985), 3:9 (p. 35).

28. Hahn, “Christ, Kingdom,” 125.

29. Hugh W. Nibley, “The Meaning of the Temple,” in *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present*, ed. Don E. Norton, The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 12 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 14–15; compare “The Greatness of Egypt” in *Eloquent Witness: Nibley on Himself, Others, and the Temple*, ed. Stephen D. Ricks, The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 17 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2008), 301.

30. Sebastian Brock, “Introduction,” in St. Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns on Paradise*, trans. Sebastian Brock (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1990), 52. For more on this topic, see Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, “The Tree of Knowledge as the Veil of the Sanctuary,” in *Ascending the Mountain of the Lord: Temple, Praise, and Worship in the Old Testament*, ed. David Rolph Seely, Jeffrey R. Chadwick, and Matthew J. Grey (Provo: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2013), 49–65.

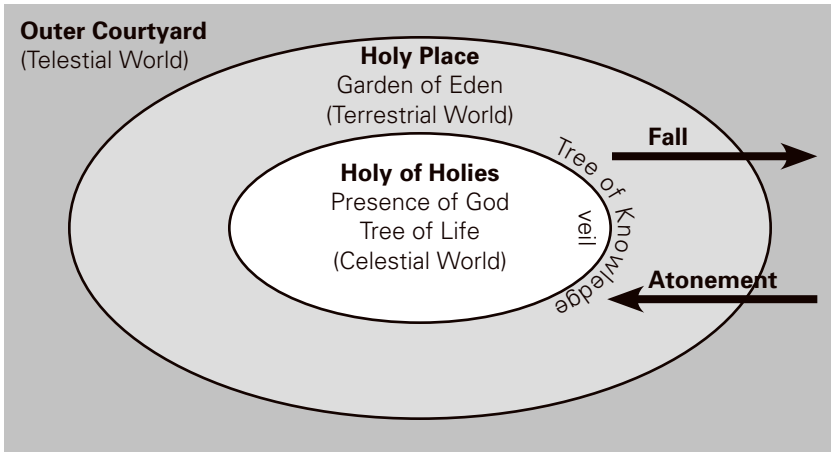


FIGURE 4. Top-down view of the sacred precincts of the Eden temple.

in reverse manner. How can that be? The Eastern Church remembers the accounts that portray Adam as a king and priest in Eden, so naturally he is shown there in his regal robes.³¹ Moreover, Orthodox readers

31. Anderson, *Genesis of Perfection*, 119; compare Alexander, *From Eden*, 76–78. See a Muslim parallel in Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas Al-Anbiya*, Islamic Art and Architecture Series, ed. Abbas Daneshvari, Robert Hillenbrand, and Bernard O’Kane (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda, 1999), b&w plate 2. The idea of Adam as priest and king is consistent with the Prophet Joseph Smith’s teachings that Adam obtained the First Presidency and its keys (that is, the keys necessary to direct the kingdom of God on the earth) “before the world was formed.” Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: Grandin, 1991), 8. Similarly, the *Book of the Cave of Treasures* records that immediately following his creation, “Adam was arrayed in the apparel of sovereignty, and there was the crown of glory set upon his head, there was he made king, and priest, and prophet, there did God make him to sit upon his honorable throne, and there did God give him dominion over all creatures and things.” E. A. Wallis Budge, trans., *Book of the Cave of Treasures* (1927; repr. London: Religious Tract Society, 2006), 53.

As a prelude to his investiture, a medieval Ethiopian Christian text portrays Adam in the Garden of Eden being commanded by God to enact a series of covenantal gestures in order to “become associated with the *Surafel* (i.e., the Seraphim) in the mysteries.” Afterward, God arrayed him in glorious clothing from head to foot. Bakhayla Mikaël, *The Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth and Other Works of Bakhayla Mikaël (Zosimas)* (Oxford, England:

interpret the “skins” that the couple wore after their expulsion from the Garden as being their own now fully human flesh. Anderson interprets this symbolism to mean that “Adam has exchanged an angelic constitution for a mortal one”³²—in LDS parlance, they have lost their terrestrial glory and are now in a telestial state.

Recalling the parallels between the layout of the Garden of Eden and Israelite houses of God, Gary A. Anderson points out that

the vestments of the priest matched exactly those particular areas of the Temple to which he had access. . . . Each time the high priest moved from one gradient of holiness to another, he had to remove one set of clothes and put on another to mark the change:

(a) Outside the Tabernacle priests wear ordinary clothes. (b) When on duty in the Tabernacle, they wear four pieces of clothing whose material and quality of workmanship match that of the fabrics found on the outer walls of the courtyard (see Exodus 28). (c) The High Priest wears those four pieces plus four additional ones—these added garments match the fabric of the Holy Chamber where he must go daily to tend the incense altar.

In Eden a similar set of vestments is found, again each set suited to its particular space. (a) Adam and Eve were, at creation, vested like priests and granted access to most of Eden. (b) Had they been found worthy, an even more glorious set of garments would have been theirs (and according to St. Ephrem, they would have entered even holier ground). (c) But having [transgressed], they were stripped of their angelic garments and

Oxford University Press, 1934; repr. Berwick, Maine: Ibis, 2004), 21–22; compare Muhammad ibn Abd Allah al-Kisa'i, *Tales of the Prophets (Qisas Al-Anbiya)*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston Jr., Great Books of the Islamic World, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Chicago: KAZI, 1997), 28–29. In this sense, Adam and Eve, “though naked, [were] still clothed.” St. Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns of Praise*, 71.

32. Anderson, *Genesis of Perfection*, 127. Thus, in a sense, Adam and Eve could be seen as having received two “garments of skin”: the first when they were clothed with mortal flesh, and the second when they were clothed by God in coats of animal skin. Confusion in many commentaries may have resulted from the conflation of these two events. Moreover, rabbinical wordplay equated the coats of skin (*cor*) with garments of light (*ur*). Neusner, *Parashiyot One through Thirty-Three*, which, notes Nibley, has also led to “a great deal of controversy.” Hugh W. Nibley, *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present*, ed. Don E. Norton, The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 12 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 124. See also Stephen D. Ricks, “The Garment of Adam in Jewish, Muslim, and Christian Tradition,” in *Temples of the Ancient World*, ed. Donald W. Parry (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994), 706–8; John A. Tvedtnes, “Priestly Clothing in Bible Times,” in *Temples of the Ancient World*, 651–54.

put on mortal flesh. Thus, when their feet met ordinary earth—the realm of the animals—their constitution had become “fleshly,” or mortal.³³

According to Brock, the imagery of clothing in the story of Adam and Eve is “a means of linking together in a dynamic fashion the whole of salvation history; it is a means of indicating the interrelatedness between every stage in this continuing working out of divine Providence.” This imagery also makes clear the place of each individual Christian’s priesthood ordinances “within the divine economy as a whole.”³⁴

Moses 5–8: The Up-Road

Covenant Making and Covenant Breaking. The stories in the second half of the Book of Moses also illustrate temple elements, as might be recognized by endowed Latter-day Saints. Discussing LDS temple ordinances is a sensitive matter, since endowed Church members agree to keep certain things they learn in the temple confidential. However, the general topic of the temple covenants is not subject to this restriction. For example, in 1977, Elder Ezra Taft Benson, then a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, outlined these covenants to a general audience as including “the law of obedience and sacrifice, the law of the gospel, the law of chastity, and the law of consecration.”³⁵

33. Anderson, *Genesis of Perfection*, 122–23. Tests of knowledge seem to have been part of this movement from one area of the temple to another. See Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Oath and Covenant of the Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Eborn, 2012), 36–41; Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and Ronan J. Head, “The Investiture Panel at Mari and Rituals of Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East,” *Studies in the Bible and Antiquity* 4 (2012): 11, 20–22; John A. Widtsoe, “Temple Worship,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 12 (April 1921): 49–64, reprinted in *The House of the Lord*, ed. Harvard S. Heath (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 185–97.

34. Brock, in *Hymns of Praise*, 66–67. For more detail on the theme of changes of clothing in the story of Adam and Eve, see Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Book of Moses*, 149–56.

35. Ezra Taft Benson, “A Vision and a Hope for the Youth of Zion,” a speech given at Brigham Young University on April 12, 1977, <http://speeches.byu.edu/reader/reader.php?id=6162>. Besides the statements by President Benson cited in this chapter, other summaries of the temple covenants by General Authorities can be found in James E. Faust, “Who Shall Ascend into the Hill of the Lord?” *Ensign* 31 (August 2001): 4; Bruce R. McConkie, “Obedience, Consecration, and Sacrifice,” *Ensign* 5, no. 5 (May 1975); Gordon B. Hinckley, *Teachings of Gordon B. Hinckley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 147; Talmage, *House of the Lord*, 84; Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 163;

Mark Johnson has argued that temple covenant-making themes in former times influenced both the structure and the content of the material included in the Book of Moses.³⁶ He observed that the author frequently “stops the historic portions of the story and weaves into the narrative framework ritual acts such as sacrifice, . . . ordinances such as baptism, washings, and the gift of the Holy Ghost; and oaths and covenants, such as obedience to marital obligations and oaths of property consecration.” For example, Johnson goes on to suggest that while the account of Enoch and his city of Zion was being read, members of the attending congregation might have been “put under oath to be a chosen, covenant people and to keep all things in common, with all their property belonging to the Lord.”

Another incident of a scriptural account that seems to conform with a pattern of covenant-making can be found in Welch’s analysis of the Sermon on the Mount, in which the commandments “are not only the same as the main commandments always issued at the temple, but they appear largely in the same order.”³⁷ In a similar vein, biblical scholar David Noel Freedman highlighted an opposite pattern of covenant-breaking in the “Primary History” of the Old Testament. He concluded that the biblical record was deliberately structured to reveal a sequence where each of the commandments was broken in specific order one by one.³⁸

Figure 5 illustrates the progressive separation of the “two ways” due to analogous sequences of covenant keeping *and* covenant breaking highlighted in the Book of Moses.³⁹ An interesting aspect of looking at the history of Adam through Enoch as a temple text is that—like the

Robert D. Hales, *Return: Four Phases of Our Mortal Journey Home* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2010), 4–5.

36. Mark J. Johnson, “The Lost Prologue: Moses Chapter One and the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible as Ancient Text,” unpublished paper in author’s possession.

37. Welch, “Temple in the Book of Mormon,” 373. For more extensive discussions, see John W. Welch, *The Sermon at the Temple and the Sermon on the Mount* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990), and John W. Welch, *The Sermon on the Mount in the Light of the Temple* (Farnham, Eng.: Ashgate, 2009).

38. David Noel Freedman, “The Nine Commandments,” a paper presented at the 36th Annual Convention of the Association of Jewish Libraries, La Jolla, Calif., June 24–27, 2001, p. 1. For a full exposition of the argument, see David Noel Freedman, *The Nine Commandments: Uncovering the Hidden Pattern of Crime and Punishment in the Hebrew Bible* (Des Moines, Iowa: Anchor Bible, 2000).

39. Specifics about these sequences are discussed in greater detail in Bradshaw, *In God’s Image* 1, 342–51.

The Way of Life	The Way of Death
Obedience (Moses 5:1–6)	Defiance (Moses 5:13–14)
Sacrifice (Moses 5:4–8, 20)	Perversion of Sacrifice (Moses 5:18–19, 21)
The Gospel (Moses 5:58–59; 8:19)	Works of Darkness (Moses 5:29–31, 47–57; 8:26)
Chastity (Moses 6:5–23; 8:13)	Licentiousness (Moses 6:15; 8:14–21)
Consecration (Moses 7:18)	Violence and Corruption (Moses 5:31–33, 50; 6:15; 8:28)
Endless Life (Moses 7:23, 69; 8:27)	Untimely Death (Moses 8:30)

FIGURE 5. The keeping and breaking of temple covenants in the Book of Moses.

Sermon on the Mount, the Sermon at the Nephite temple, and the biblical text of the Primary History—the series of covenant-related themes unfolds in what appears to be a definite order of progression. Also, the ultimate consequences of covenant keeping as well as those of covenant breaking are fully illustrated at the conclusion of the account: in the final two chapters of the Book of Moses, Enoch and his people receive the blessing of an endless life as they are taken up to the bosom of God (Moses 7:69), while the wicked experience untimely death in the destruction of the great Flood (Moses 8:30).⁴⁰

Moses 5a: Obedience vs. Defiance. Figure 6 depicts Adam and Eve receiving the “first commandments” (Alma 12:31) that were given before the Fall. Gary Anderson points out an interesting divergence between the Genesis story and the two-panel version of this drawing: “Whereas Genesis 2 recounts that Adam was created first (Gen. 2:4–7), given a commandment (Gen. 2:16–17), and only then received a spouse (Gen. 2:19–24), the *Hortus Deliciarum* has it that Adam was created, then Eve was drawn from his rib, and finally both were given a commandment.”⁴¹

40. In the Book of Moses, Enoch’s people are translated, so that they will never taste of death, but nowhere is it explicitly asserted that they received eternal life and exaltation at that time, in the full sense of D&C 132:29 and Moses 1:39. Of course, the endless life of Enoch’s people and the untimely death of the wicked in the Flood prefigure the ultimate fates of eternal life or spiritual death for the most righteous and most wicked of God’s children.

41. Anderson, *Genesis of Perfection*, 83; compare Gary A. Anderson, “The Original Form of the Life of Adam and Eve: A Proposal,” in *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, ed. Gary A. Anderson, Michael E. Stone, and Johannes Tromp (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 216–17.



FIGURE 6. God Instructing Adam and Eve, *Hortus Deliciarum*, late twelfth century.

God gestures toward the tree of knowledge in warning as he takes Adam by the wrist.⁴² At the same time, Eve raises her arm in what seems a gesture of consent to God's commandment.⁴³ LDS scripture recounts that God gave Adam and Eve a set of "second commandments" (Alma 12:37) after the Fall, which included a covenant of obedience. This idea recalls a Christian tradition that God made a covenant with Adam "ere he came out of the garden, [when he was] by the tree whereof Eve took [the fruit] and gave it him to eat."⁴⁴ The law of sacrifice, a companion to the law of obedience, was also given to Adam and Eve at this time, before they came to live in the mortal world.⁴⁵

Moses 5:1–6 highlights the obedience of Adam and Eve to these "second commandments" (Alma 12:37) by enumerating their faithfulness to each of them. Adam, with his fellow-laborer Eve, began to "till the earth, and to have dominion over all the beasts of the field, and to eat his bread by the sweat of his brow" (Moses 5:1; compare similar tilling by King Benjamin and his people following their covenant-making, Mosiah 6:6–7). Eve fulfilled the commission she had received in the Garden of Eden and "bare . . . sons and daughters, and they began to multiply and to replenish the earth" (Moses 5:2), and "Adam was obedient unto the commandments of the Lord" in obeying the law of sacrifice and offering "the firstlings of their flocks" (Moses 5:5).

42. See Bradshaw, *In God's Image* 1, 681–86.

43. Stephen D. Ricks, "Oaths and Oath Taking in the Old Testament," in *The Temple in Time and Eternity*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1999), 49–50. See also Bradshaw, *In God's Image* 1, 330, figure 5-3; Bradshaw and Head, "Investiture Panel," 33–34.

44. Solomon Caesar Malan, ed., *The Book of Adam and Eve: Also Called the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan: A Book of the Early Eastern Church. Translated from the Ethiopic, with Notes from the Kufale, Talmud, Midrashim, and Other Eastern Works* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1882; repr., San Diego: Book Tree, 2005), 1:3:7 (p. 4), brackets in the original.

45. See, for example, Bradshaw, *In God's Image* 1, 649–50.

Later, in defiant counterpoint, Satan came among the children of Adam and Eve demanding their obedience, “and he commanded them, saying: Believe it not; and they believed it not.” From that point on, many of them openly demonstrated that they “loved Satan more than God,” becoming “carnal, sensual, and devilish” (Moses 5:13).

Moses 5b: Sacrifice vs. Perversion of Sacrifice. Once Adam and Eve had passed their initial test of obedience to the laws they had been given in the Garden of Eden, God, seeing that it was “expedient that man should know concerning the things whereof he had appointed unto them[,] . . . sent angels to converse with them . . . [and] made known unto them the plan of redemption” (Alma 12:28–30). To Adam was explained that the law of sacrifice “is a similitude of the sacrifice of the Only Begotten of the Father, which is full of grace and truth” (Moses 5:7).

Abel followed the pattern of his father in perfect obedience to God and offered a lamb in sacrifice (Moses 5:20). By way of contrast, Cain, at the command of Satan, “offered the fruit of the ground as a sacrifice, which was not symbolic of Christ’s great act of redemption.”⁴⁶ Speaking of the reason Cain’s sacrifice was rejected, Joseph Smith explained that “ordinances must be kept in the very way God has appointed,”⁴⁷ in this case by “the shedding of blood . . . [as] a type, by which man was to discern the great Sacrifice which God had prepared.”⁴⁸

Moses 5c: The Gospel vs. Works of Darkness. Moses 5:58 tells how through Adam’s effort “the Gospel began to be preached, from the beginning.”⁴⁹ Adam and Eve were tutored by holy messengers (Moses 5:7–8, 58; see also D&C 29:42), and he and Eve in turn “made all things known unto their sons and their daughters” (Moses 5:12). The mention of the Holy Ghost falling upon Adam (Moses 5:9) carries with it the implication that he had at that point already received the ordinance of baptism (Moses 6:64), something that might have logically occurred soon after the angel’s explanation of the meaning of the law of sacrifice (Moses 5:6–8). The ordinance of baptism was followed by additional

46. Hyrum L. Andrus, *Doctrinal Commentary on the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), 387. See Moses 5:19, 21.

47. *History of the Church*, 4:209.

48. *The Evening and the Morning Star* 2, no. 18 (March 1834): 143.

49. Note that the term “Gospel” is mentioned in only two places in the Book of Moses: in 5:58–59, just preceding the description of the righteous family line of Adam in chapter 6; and, on the other hand, in 8:19, just prior to Noah’s encounter with the self-designated “sons of God” who were involved in marriages outside the covenant.

instruction concerning the plan of salvation given “by holy angels . . . and by [God’s] own voice, and by the gift of the Holy Ghost” (Moses 5:58; compare Moses 6:52–64). It is implied that bestowals of divine knowledge, the making of additional covenants, and the conferral of priesthood accompanied these teachings (Moses 6:67–68).

The Book of Moses records that, despite Adam’s efforts to the contrary, “works of darkness began to prevail among all the sons of men” (Moses 5:55). Rejecting the covenants, the ordinances, and the universal scope of the brotherhood of the gospel, they reveled in the exclusive nature of their “secret combination,” by whose dark arts “they knew every man his brother” (Moses 5:51), and they engaged in “wars and bloodshed[,] . . . seeking for power” (Moses 6:15).

Moses 6: Chastity vs. Licentiousness. The law of chastity is not mentioned specifically in the Book of Moses, but it does value the paradigm of orderly family lines in contrast to problems engendered by marrying outside the covenant. Moses 6:5–23 describes the ideal family order established by Adam and Eve. A celestial marriage order can also be inferred from Moses 8:13, where Noah and his righteous sons are mentioned. The patriarchal order of the priesthood, “which was in the beginning” and “shall be in the end of the world also” (Moses 6:7; compare D&C 107:40–41 and Abr. 1:26), is depicted as presiding over a worthy succession of generations, beginning with Seth, who was in the likeness and image of Adam (Moses 6:10), just as Adam and Eve had been made in the image and likeness of God (Moses 6:9, 22).

In what may be contrasted with the righteous conduct of “preachers of righteousness” in Moses 6:23, extracanonical traditions speak of all manner of “fornication . . . spread by the sons of Cain.”⁵⁰ In the Book of Moses, the apogee of wickedness was reached in the days of Noah (Moses 8:13–21). Both the disregard of God’s law by the granddaughters of Noah who “sold themselves”⁵¹ in marriage outside the covenant and

50. Michael E. Stone, “Question,” in *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 119; see also 121.

51. Moses 8:15. A similar phrase occurs in 2 Kings 17:17, where the Israelites are accused of having “sold themselves to do evil in the sight of the Lord” (compare 1 Kgs. 21:20). The Hebrew term *wayyitmakkeru* is used here in the sense of selling oneself into slavery. Compare the Qumran *Book of the Giants* where the *gibborim* are condemned for their “prostitution in the land.” Florentino Garcia Martinez, “The Book of Giants (4Q203),” trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, ed. Florentino Garcia Martinez (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1996), 8:6–9 (p. 260).

the subversion of the established marriage selection process⁵² by the “children of men” are summed up by the term “licentiousness” (from Latin *licentia* = “freedom,” in a derogatory sense). As for the mismatched wives, Nibley claims that the “daughters who had been initiated into a spiritual order, departed from it and broke their vows, mingling with those who observed only a carnal law.”⁵³ Additionally, the so-called “sons of God”⁵⁴ in Moses 8:21 (a self-designation made in sarcasm by way of counterpoint to Noah’s description of them as the “children of men” in the preceding verse) were under condemnation. Though the Hebrew expression that equates to “took them wives” (Moses 8:14) is the normal one for legal marriage, the words “even as they chose” (or, in Westermann’s translation, “just as their fancy chose”)⁵⁵ would not have been as innocuous to ancient readers as they seem to modern ones. The choice of a mate is portrayed as a process of eyeing the “many beauties who take [one’s] fancy” rather than “discovery of a counterpart, which leads to living as one in marriage.”⁵⁶ The Hebrew expression underlying the phrase “the sons of men saw that those daughters were fair” deliberately parallels the temptation in Eden: “The woman saw that the tree . . . became pleasant to the eyes.”⁵⁷ The words describe a strong intensity of desire fueled by appetite, which Alter renders in his translation as “lust to the eyes.”⁵⁸ In both cases, God’s law is subordinated to the appeal of

52. Meir Zlotowitz and Nosson Scherman, eds., *Bereishis/Genesis: A New Translation with a Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources*, ed. Rabbi Nosson Scherman and Rabbi Meir Zlotowitz, 2d ed., 2 vols., Artscroll Tanach Series (Brooklyn: Mesorah Publications, 1986), 1:182 n. 2.

53. Hugh W. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), 180.

54. Satan made the same duplicitous self-assertion as these men in Moses 5:13, saying: “I am also a son of God.”

55. Claus Westermann, ed., *Genesis 1–11: A Continental Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 364. Normally, ancient marriages were negotiated with the father of the bride and were not necessarily arranged according to the preferences of the bride or groom.

56. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 371; compare Moses 3:22–24. Leon Kass notes, “It would be characteristic of heroes (like Cain’s Lamech) to find and seize the beautiful daughters, almost as trophies.” Leon R. Kass, *The Beginning of Wisdom: Reading Genesis* (New York: Free Press, Simon and Schuster, 2003), 157.

57. Robert Alter, ed., *The Five Books of Moses: A Translation with Commentary* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004), 28 n. 2. See Moses 4:12; 8:14.

58. Alter, *Five Books of Moses*, 24.

the senses.⁵⁹ Draper and his coauthors observe that the words “eating and drinking, and marrying and giving in marriage” “convey a sense of both normalcy and prosperity,”⁶⁰ conditions of the mindset of the worldly in the time of Noah that Jesus said would recur in the last days (Matt. 24:37–39). The wining, dining, courtships, and weddings continue right up to the great cataclysm of the Flood “while superficially all seems well. To the unobservant, it’s party time.”⁶¹

Moses 7–8: Consecration vs. Corruption and Violence. Moses 7 describes how Enoch succeeded in bringing a whole people to dwell “in righteousness” (Moses 7:18). In Zion, the “City of Holiness” (Moses 7:19), the people “were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them” (Moses 7:18). As the result of living this culminating temple principle, Enoch’s people realized the promise of being “received . . . into [God’s] own bosom” (Moses 7:69).

Just as the life of Enoch can be regarded as a type of the spirit of consecration, so Lamech, who also lived in the seventh generation from Adam, serves as a scriptural example of its antitype. While Enoch and his people covenanted with the Lord to form an order of righteousness to ensure that there would be “no poor among them” (Moses 7:18), Lamech, along with others members of his “secret combination” (Moses 5:51), “entered into a covenant with Satan” (Moses 5:49) to enable the unchecked growth of his predatory order.⁶² Lamech’s “secret works” contributed to the rapid erosion of the unity of the human family, resulting in a terrifying chaos where “a man’s hand was against his own brother, in administering death” and “seeking for power” (Moses 6:15).

The meanings of the terms *corruption* and *violence*, as used by God to describe the state of the earth in Moses 8:28, are instructive. The core

59. Nahum M. Sarna, ed., *Genesis*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 25.

60. Richard D. Draper, S. Kent Brown, and Michael D. Rhodes, *The Pearl of Great Price: A Verse-by-Verse Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 168.

61. Frederick Dale Bruner, *The Churchbook: Matthew 13–28*, rev. and exp., Matthew: A Commentary, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), 2:524.

62. In describing the motive for Lamech’s murder of his conspiratorial brother, Moses 5:50 shows how the sin of greed that impelled Cain’s slaying of Abel was now taken to a whole new level: “Wherefore Lamech, being angry, slew him, not like unto Cain, his brother Abel, for the sake of getting gain, but he slew him for the oath’s sake.” For more discussion of this topic, see Bradshaw, *In God’s Image* 1, 395–99.

idea of being “corrupt” (Hebrew *sahath*) in all its occurrences in the story of Noah is that of being “ruined” or “spoiled”⁶³—in other words completely beyond redemption. Like the recalcitrant clay in the hands of the potter of Jeremiah 18:3–4, the people could no longer be formed to good use. The Hebrew term *hamas* (violence) relates to “‘falsehood,’ ‘deceit,’ or ‘bloodshed.’ It means, in general, the flagrant subversion of the ordered processes of law.”⁶⁴ We are presented with a picture of humankind, unredeemable and lawless, generating an ever-increasing legacy of ruin and anarchy. This description is in stark contrast to the just conduct of Noah (Moses 7:27).

Having witnessed the culmination of these bloody scenes of corruption and violence, God concluded to “destroy all flesh from off the earth” (Moses 8:28, 30). Thus, the successive breaking of each of the covenants triggered the same sort of three-strikes-and-you’re-out consequence that David Noel Freedman described in his analysis of the Primary History of the Old Testament.

Transgressing vs. Transcending the Divine-Human Boundary

Building on the prior discussion, I will now describe in more detail ways in which the LDS Enoch story fittingly serves as the culminating episode of a temple cycle, namely in his transcending the boundary between the divine and the human.

In a seminal article relating to the story of Noah, Genesis scholar Ronald Hendel makes the case that one of the most prominent themes

63. Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1–17* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1990), 278.

64. Sarna, *Genesis*, 51; compare Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis, Part Two: From Noah to Abraham*, trans. Israel Abrahams, 1st English ed. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1949, repr. 1997), 52–53. Leon Kass graphically describes the scene: “Self-conscious men . . . betake themselves to war and to beautiful (but not good) women, seeking recognition for their superhuman prowess. Whether from rage over mortality, from jealousy and resentment, or from a desire to gain favor from beautiful women, or to avenge the stealing of their wives and daughters, proud men are moved to the love of glory, won in bloody battle with one another. The world erupts into violence, the war of each against all. What ensues is what [English philosopher Thomas] Hobbes would later call ‘the state of nature,’ that is, the state characterized by absence of clear juridical power and authority, in which the life of man is nasty, brutish, and—through violence—short. Bloody destruction covers the earth.” Kass, *Beginning of Wisdom*, 162.

in the first eleven chapters of the Bible is “a series of . . . transgressions of boundaries” that had been set up in the beginning to separate mankind from the dwelling place of Divinity.⁶⁵ Likewise, Robert Oden highlights the “human aspirations to divine status” as an underlying theme in all these stories, and the fact that such status “is ultimately denied them.”⁶⁶ This general thesis is useful as far as it goes. In the transgression of Adam and Eve and in the stories of the rebellion of Cain, of Lamech, of the “sons of God” who married the “daughters of men,” and of the builders of the Tower of Babel, one cannot fail to observe the common thread of a God who places strict boundaries between the human and the divine.

Surprisingly, however, a significant and opposite theme has been largely neglected by scholars: namely, the fact that within some of these same chapters God is also portrayed as having sought to *erase* the divine-human boundary for a righteous few, drawing them into his very presence. The prime examples of this motif are, of course, Enoch and Noah, the protagonists of Moses 7–8. Of them, it is explicitly said that they “walked with God”⁶⁷—meaning, according to some, that these two patriarchs attained “eternal life” while still in mortality.⁶⁸ Indeed, Enoch and Noah, whose names are mentioned together three times in modern

65. Ronald S. Hendel, “Of Demigods and the Deluge: Toward an Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 106 (1987): 23. Compare the discussion by Hendel of Genesis 6:1–4 in *The HarperCollins Study Bible, Fully Revised and Updated*, rev. ed., ed. Harold W. Attridge and others (New York: HarperOne, 2006), 13, where he specifically includes the eating of the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden, the mating of the sons of God with the daughters of men, and the building of the Tower of Babel as examples of such transgressions in Genesis 1–11.

66. Robert A. Oden Jr., “Divine Aspirations in Atrahasis and in Genesis 1–11,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 93 (January 1981): 211, 215.

67. Regarding the application of this phrase to Enoch and his people, see Genesis 5:24; Doctrine and Covenants 107:49; Moses 6:34, 39; 7:69. Regarding Noah and his sons, see Moses 8:27. The only other scriptural occurrence of walking “with” God is found in a description of those who have been declared worthy of exaltation (Rev. 3:4): “They shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy.” In addition, Abraham is commanded by the Lord to “walk before me” in Genesis 17:1, and Isaac speaks of “The Lord, before whom I walk” in Genesis 24:40. See also Genesis 3:8; 48:15; Leviticus 26:12; Deuteronomy 23:14; 1 Samuel 2:30; 1 Kings 11:38; 2 Chronicles 7:17; Psalms 56:13; 89:15; 116:9; Micah 6:8; 1 Nephi 16:3; Mosiah 2:27; 4:26; 18:29; Alma 1:1; 45:24; 53:21; 63:2; Helaman 15:5; Ether 6:17, 30; Doctrine and Covenants 5:21; 11:12; 18:31; 20:69; 21:4; 46:7; 68:28; 90:24; Moses 5:26.

68. See, for example, Kraeling, cited in Elizabeth A. Harper, “Glad Tidings of Comfort and Rest—Part 1: An Exegetical Study of Genesis 5:29. First Draft

scripture (Moses 8:2; Moses 8:19; JST Gen. 9:21–24), are the only two included in the genealogical list of the patriarchs whose deaths are not mentioned.⁶⁹ Both “found life amid the curse of death,”⁷⁰ both were rescued from death by the hand of God,⁷¹ and each in his turn was a savior to many others.⁷²

Enoch’s Prophetic Commission

The Book of Moses gives a compelling account of how Enoch was given “power from on high” in his call to the ministry, to borrow the words of Luke 24:49. Joseph Smith’s account of Enoch’s prophetic commission begins as follows: “And it came to pass that Enoch journeyed in the land, among the people; and as he journeyed, the Spirit of God descended out of heaven, and abode upon him. And he heard a voice from heaven, saying: Enoch, my son, prophesy unto this people” (Moses 6:26–27).

The closest biblical parallel to the wording of these opening verses is not found in the call of any Old Testament prophet but rather in John the Evangelist’s description of events following Jesus’s baptism. Though a superficial study might explain similar imagery in Moses 6:26–27 and the baptism of Jesus as an obvious case of Joseph Smith’s borrowing from the New Testament, an article by Samuel Zinner argues for the likelihood that the ideas behind the baptismal passages “arose in an Enochic matrix.”⁷³

Next, Enoch was told, “Open thy mouth, and it shall be filled” (Moses 6:32). A parallel to this is with Moses, who was told that the Lord would “be with” his mouth and teach him what to say (Ex. 4:12). Similarly, in

Paper Prepared as Part of Initial Research into a Doctorate on the Flood Narrative,” <http://www.eharper.nildram.co.uk/pdf/name.pdf>, 14 n. 23.

69. John H. Sailhamer, “Genesis,” in *The Expositor’s Bible Commentary*, ed. Frank E. Gaebelin (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1990), 71. In the case of Noah, however, his death is later noted in Genesis 9:29.

70. Sailhamer, “Genesis,” 74.

71. Sailhamer, “Genesis,” 75.

72. Enoch, in establishing a city so righteous that it could be received into God’s “own bosom” (Moses 7:69), and Noah, in making an ark that saved specimens of living creatures and a remnant of mankind from the Flood.

73. Samuel Zinner, “Underemphasized Parallels between the Account of Jesus’ Baptism in the Gospel of the Hebrews/Ebionites and the Letter to the Hebrews and an Overlooked Influence from 1 Enoch 96:3: ‘And a Bright Light Shall Enlighten You, and the Voice of Rest You Shall Hear from Heaven,’” unpublished paper in author’s possession.

2 *Enoch* 39:5, Enoch avers, “It is not from my own lips that I am reporting to you today, but from the lips of the Lord I have been sent to you.”⁷⁴

After the opening of Enoch’s mouth, the Book of Moses says that his eyes were washed and “opened,” actions with unmistakable temple connotations: “And the Lord spake unto Enoch, and said unto him: Anoint thine eyes with clay, and wash them, and thou shalt see.”⁷⁵ And he did so. And he beheld the spirits that God had created; and he beheld also things which were not visible to the natural eye; and from thenceforth came the saying abroad in the land: A seer hath the Lord raised up unto his people” (Moses 6:35–36).

As a sign of their prophetic callings, the lips of Isaiah (Isa. 6:5–7) and Jeremiah (Jer. 1:9) were touched to prepare them for their roles as divine spokesmen. However, in the case of both the Book of Moses and 1 *Enoch*, Enoch’s eyes “were opened by God” to enable “the vision of the Holy One and of heaven.”⁷⁶ The words of a divinely given song⁷⁷ recorded in Joseph Smith’s Revelation Book 2 stand in agreement with 1 *Enoch*: “[God] touched [Enoch’s] eyes and he saw heaven.”⁷⁸ This divine action would have had special meaning to Joseph Smith, who alluded elsewhere to instances in which God touched his own eyes before he received a heavenly vision.⁷⁹

74. F. I. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 39:5 (longer recension), 162.

75. Compare John 9:6–7.

76. George W. E. Nickelsburg, ed., 1 *Enoch* 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 *Enoch*, Chapters 1–36; 81–108, Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 1:2, 137.

77. Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Manuscript Revelation Books*, facsimile edition, first volume of the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, ed. Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2009), 508–9, spelling and punctuation modernized. Compare Abraham 3:11–12. The preface to the entry in the revelation book says that it was “sung by the gift of tongues and translated.” An expanded and versified version of this song that omits the weeping of Enoch was published in *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (May 1833): 192.

78. Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Manuscript Revelation Books*, facsimile edition, 508–9, spelling and punctuation modernized. “With finger end God touchd his eyes.” *Evening and Morning Star* 1 (May 1833): 192.

79. Joseph Smith’s eyes were reportedly touched at the beginning of the First Vision (see Charles Lowell Walker, *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, ed. A. Karl Larson and Katharine Miles Larson, 2 vols. [Logan, Utah: Utah State

It is beyond the scope of this article on temple matters to explore Enoch's subsequent fulfillment of his prophetic commission in detail, including the many interesting resemblances between the Book of Moses and the fragmentary *Book of the Giants*, found at Qumran in 1948.⁸⁰ However, it can be noted here that Enoch's teachings in Moses 6 recapitulate the events of Moses 2–5, beginning with the Creation (Moses 6:43–44), the Fall (Moses 6:45–49), and the plan of salvation effected through the Son of Man (Moses 6:50–57).

Given the explicit title of God the Father as “Man of Holiness” (Moses 6:57; 7:35), the title “Son of Man” (which is a notable feature of the *Book of Parables* in *1 Enoch*⁸¹ and also appears in marked density

University Press, 1980], February 2, 1893, 2:755–56), and perhaps also prior to receiving D&C 76 (see D&C 76:19–20 and Joseph Smith Jr. [or W. W. Phelps], “A Vision,” *Times and Seasons* 4 [February 1, 1843]: 82, stanzas 15–16, reprinted in Larry E. Dahl, “The Vision of the Glories,” in *The Doctrine and Covenants*, ed. Robert L. Millet and Kent P. Jackson, Studies in Scripture [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989], 297).

80. These resemblances range from general themes in the story line (secret works, murders, visions, earthly and heavenly books of remembrance that evoke fear and trembling, moral corruption, hope held out for repentance, and the eventual defeat of Enoch's adversaries in battle, ending with their utter destruction and imprisonment) to specific occurrences of rare expressions in corresponding contexts (the reference to the “wild man,” the name and parallel role of Mahijah/Mahujah, and the “roar of the wild beasts”). Note that these similarities with the *Book of the Giants* are not drawn at will from a large corpus of Enoch manuscripts but rather are concentrated in a scant three pages of Qumran fragments. For recent scholarship on these similarities with the Book of Moses, see Bradshaw and Larsen, *In God's Image* 2, 41–49.

Pioneering insights on Enochic parallels can be found in the writings of Hugh W. Nibley. He wrote a series of magazine articles on resemblances between ancient Enoch writings and the Book of Moses for the Church's *Ensign* magazine in 1975–1977, receiving Milik's English translation of the *Book of the Giants* only days before the publication deadline for the last article in the series. As a result, of the more than 300 pages he devoted to Enoch in the volume that gathered his writings on the subject, only a few pages were dedicated to the Aramaic “Enoch” fragments. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 276–81. Regrettably, after he completed his initial research at that time, Nibley turned his attention to other subjects and never again took up a sustained study of Enoch.

81. George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, eds., *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 37–82*, Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 46:2–4, (p. 153); 48:2 (166); 60:10 (233); 62:5, 7, 9, 14 (254); 63:11 (255); 69:26–27, 29 (311); 70:1 (315); and 71:14, 17 (320).

throughout the Book of Moses vision of Enoch)⁸² is perfectly intelligible within LDS theology, which embraces divine judgment and human deification as the ultimate boundary crossing between the human and the divine. In addition to “Son of Man,” the titles “Chosen One,”⁸³ “Anointed One,”⁸⁴ and “Righteous One”⁸⁵ also appear prominently both in *1 Enoch* and the LDS Enoch story. After considering the sometimes contentious debate among scholars about the single or multiple referent(s) of these titles and their relationship to other texts, Nickelsburg and VanderKam conclude that the author of *1 Enoch*—as also does the author of the Book of Moses—“saw the . . . traditional figures as having a *single referent* and applied the various designations and characteristics as seemed appropriate to him.”⁸⁶

Consistent with texts found at Nag Hammadi,⁸⁷ Joseph Smith’s Enoch straightforwardly equates the filial relationship between God and his Only Begotten Son in the New Testament to the Enochic notion of the perfect Man and the Son of Man as follows: “Man of Holiness is [God’s] name, and the name of his Only Begotten is the Son of Man, even Jesus Christ, a righteous Judge, who shall come in the meridian of time” (Moses 6:57). The single specific description of the role of the Son of Man given in this verse from the Book of Moses as a “righteous Judge”⁸⁸ is also highly characteristic of the *Book of the Parables* within

82. Moses 7:24, 47, 54, 56, 59, and 65.

83. Moses 7:39. Compare Moses 4:2. See Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 39:6 (p. 111); 40:5 (130); 45:3–4 (148); 49:2, 4 (166); 51:5a, 3 (180); 52:6, 9 (187); 53:6 (194); 55:4 (198); 61:5, 8, 10 (243, 247); and 62:1 (254).

84. That is, Messiah. See Moses 7:53. See Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 48:10 (166) and 52:4 (187).

85. Moses 6:57; 7:45, 47, 67. See Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 38:2 (95) and 53:6 (194). The term also appears by implication in 39:6 (111); 46:3 (153); 49:2 (166); and 62:2–3 (254).

86. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 119, emphasis added. The entire discussion is found on pages 113–23. For additional discussion of the “Son of Man” title from an LDS perspective, see S. Kent Brown, “Man and Son of Man: Issues of Theology and Christology,” in *The Pearl of Great Price: Revelations from God*, ed. H. Donl Peterson and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1989). For more on the debate surrounding this title, see Bradshaw and Larsen, *In God’s Image* 2, 191, endnote M7–16.

87. See Brown, “Man and Son of Man,” 68–69.

88. Compare John 5:27: “And [the Father] hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of man.” For a comparison of the claims of Jesus in this verse to related ideas in the Old Testament (Moses,

1 *Enoch*, where the primary role of the Son of Man is also that of a judge.⁸⁹ Reviewing the passages in 1 *Enoch*, Nickelsburg and VanderKam conclude: “If the central message of the *Parables* is the coming of the final judgment,⁹⁰ the Son of Man/Chosen One takes center stage as the agent of this judgment.”⁹¹ The purpose of this judgment is to allow mankind to enter into the presence of God.

In Moses 6, Enoch’s teachings about the Son of Man culminate in a discussion of the ordinances, with specific details given about Adam’s baptism (Moses 6:64–66) and a brief mention of the highest priesthood order by which Adam became a son of God (Moses 6:67–68), in likeness of the Son of Man himself.⁹²

As reflected elsewhere in LDS teachings, the highest order of the priesthood is known by different names. For example, in the Doctrine and Covenants we read about “they who are priests and kings, who have received of his fulness, and of his glory” (D&C 76:56). They are described in relation to variously named orders as being “after the order of Melchizedek, which was after the order of Enoch, which was after the order of the Only Begotten Son” (D&C 76:57).⁹³ Moses 6:67–68 makes it clear that to receive the fulness of the priesthood is to become “a son of God” “after the order of him who was without beginning of days or end of years.”⁹⁴ Margaret Barker describes how the concept of becoming a son of God can well relate both to ordinances in the earthly temple and to actual ascents to the heavenly temple:

Daniel) and the pseudepigraphal literature, see Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 2 vols. (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2003), 1:651–52.

89. For example, Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, 69:27 (311): “and the whole judgment was given to the Son of Man.”

90. See Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, 49–50.

91. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, 119.

92. One is reminded of the surprise ending at the close of the *Book of Parables* in 1 *Enoch* where, after witnessing glorious visions of the Son of Man, Enoch is declared to be himself the Son of Man—or perhaps, more consistent with LDS theology, a Son of Man.

93. Compare Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), June 26, 1874, 17:113.

94. See also Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Oath*, 53–65; Bruce R. McConkie, *The Mortal Messiah: From Bethlehem to Calvary*, 4 vols., The Messiah Series (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979–1981), 1:229; “The Ten Blessings of the Priesthood,” *Ensign* 7 (November 1977): 33.

The high priests and kings of ancient Jerusalem entered the holy of holies and then emerged as messengers, angels of the Lord. They had been raised up, that is, resurrected; they were sons of God, that is, angels; and they were anointed ones, that is, messiahs. . . .

Human beings could become angels, and then continue to live in the material world. This transformation did not just happen after physical death; it marked the passage from the life in the material world to the life of eternity.⁹⁵

Significantly, the last verse of Moses 6 includes the words “and thus may all become my sons.” This statement presages the translation of Enoch and his people, reported in Moses 7.⁹⁶

The Exaltation of Enoch and His People

The Bible simply says that “Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him” (Gen. 5:24). However, Moses 7 gives a detailed account of *how* and *why* this happened—not only to Enoch but also to a city of his followers. Enoch’s adoption as a son of God, with a right to God’s throne (see Moses 7:59),⁹⁷ is described in verses 2–3:

As I was journeying, and stood upon the place Mahujah, and cried unto the Lord, there came a voice out of heaven, saying—Turn ye, and get ye upon the mount Simeon.⁹⁸

And it came to pass that I turned and went up on the mount; and as I stood upon the mount, I beheld the heavens open, and I was clothed upon with glory.

95. Margaret Barker, *Christmas: The Original Story* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2008), 5, 12. Compare William J. Hamblin, “The Sôd of Yhwh and the Endowment,” *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 4 (2013): 147, 151.

96. Compare Moses 7:1: “Many have believed and become the sons of God.”

97. Compare P. Alexander, “3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 3 *Enoch* 10:1, 3 (263–64).

98. The original manuscript of this verse reads: “As I was journeying and stood in the place, Mahujah and I cried unto the Lord. There came a voice out of heaven, saying—Turn ye, and get ye upon the mount Simeon.” Scott H. Faulring, Kent P. Jackson, and Robert J. Matthews, eds. *Joseph Smith’s New Translation of the Bible: Original Manuscripts* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2004), 103, punctuation and spelling modernized. Emendation of the text in later manuscripts gave the false impression that “Mahujah” was a place name rather than an alternate spelling of the personal name “Mahijah.”

The pseudepigraphal books of 2 and 3 *Enoch* also purport to describe the process by which Enoch was “clothed upon with glory” in some detail. As a prelude to Enoch’s introduction to the secrets of creation, both accounts describe a “two-step initiatory procedure” whereby “the patriarch was first initiated by angel(s) and after this by the Lord”⁹⁹ himself. In 2 *Enoch*, God commanded his angels to “extract Enoch from (his) earthly clothing. And anoint him with my delightful oil, and put him into the clothes of my glory.”¹⁰⁰ Philip S. Alexander speaks of this event as an “ontological transformation which blurred the distinction between human and divine,” amounting to “deification.”¹⁰¹ In the Book of Moses, Moses underwent a similar transformation (see Moses 1:2, 11, 13–15, 18, 25, 31). He explained that if he had seen God without such a change, he would have “withered and died in his presence; but his glory was upon me; and . . . I was transfigured before him” (Moses 1:11). After Enoch was changed, he is said to have resembled God so exactly that he was mistaken for him.¹⁰² Summarizing the ancient Jewish literature relevant to this passage, Charles Mopsik concludes that the exaltation of Enoch is not meant to be seen as a unique event. Rather, he writes that the “enthronement of Enoch is a prelude to the transfiguration of the righteous—and at their head the

99. Andrei A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 102.

100. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 22:8 [J] (138). See also John J. Collins, “The Angelic Life,” in *Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity*, ed. Turid Karlsen Seim and Jorunn Okland, Ekstasis: Religious Experience from Antiquity to the Middle Ages (Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 239.

101. Philip S. Alexander, “From Son of Adam to Second God: Transformations of the Biblical Enoch,” in *Biblical Figures outside the Bible*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998), 103, 105.

102. Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 16:2–3 (268). Compare a similar confusion in identity between God and the newly created Adam in Neusner, *Parashiyyot One through Thirty-Three*, 8:10 (82–83). See also Philip B. Munoa, *Four Powers in Heaven: The Interpretation of Daniel 7 in the Testament of Abraham*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe and James H. Charlesworth, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 101. See more generally Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 43 (1992): 1–31.

Messiah—in the world to come, a transfiguration that is the restoration of the figure of the perfect Man.”¹⁰³

In LDS theology, such a transfiguration is not the result of an arbitrary, capricious act of God but rather a sign of love and trust made in response to individuals’ demonstration of their determination to serve God “at all hazard.”¹⁰⁴ Only such individuals will be privileged to hear the solemn oath from the Father himself that they shall obtain the fullness of the joys of the celestial kingdom forever and ever (2 Ne. 31:20).¹⁰⁵ For example, although Abraham previously had received the blessings of patriarchal marriage and then had been made a king and a priest under the hands of Melchizedek (Gen. 14:17–24; JST Gen. 14:25–40), Abraham’s “election sure” came only afterward, when he demonstrated his willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac.¹⁰⁶

This total dedication of oneself to the interests of God and fellow man, the complete emptying of selfishness from the heart and the concomitant replenishment of the soul with pure love in sympathetic union with the Divine, is the essence of the final and most challenging of the temple covenants, the law of consecration—the giving of oneself and one’s all to the purposes of God and the blessing of humankind, in similitude of the great Redeemer. According to Terryl and Fiona Givens,

103. Charles Mopsik, ed., *Le Livre hébreu d’Hénoch ou Livre des Palais*, Les Dix Paroles (Lagrasse, France: Éditions Verdier, 1989), 214. Regarding arguments by scholars discounting the possibility that the Enoch Son of Man and the Jesus/Pauline Son of Man concepts grew out of the same soil, see the discussion in Bradshaw and Larsen, *In God’s Image* 2, 190–91 endnote M7–14.

104. History, 1838–1856, volume C-1 [2 November 1838–31 July 1842], addenda p. 9 (June 27, 1839), CHL, available at Church Historian’s Press, The Joseph Smith Papers, <http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/history-1838-1856-volume-c-1-2-november-1838-31-july-1842?p=544>.

105. See also Smith, *Teachings*, 150. For extensive discussions of this and related topics, see Bruce R. McConkie, *Doctrinal New Testament Commentary*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1973), 3:325–50; McConkie, *The Promised Messiah: The First Coming of Christ*, The Messiah Series, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), 1:570–95.

106. See Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 305 n. 29. After emphasizing Abraham’s status as a “friend” of God after demonstrating his willingness to sacrifice Isaac, E. Douglas Clark summarizes scriptures and teachings of Joseph Smith confirming Abraham’s “election sure,” which occurred at that time. E. Douglas Clark, *The Blessings of Abraham: Becoming a Zion People* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2005), 217–18.

the experience of Enoch as part of his grand vision in Moses 7 is a compelling demonstration “of what the actual process of acquiring the divine nature requires. . . . Enoch is raised to a perspective from which he sees the world through God’s eyes.”¹⁰⁷ Moses 7:41 reads, “And it came to pass that the Lord spake unto Enoch, and told Enoch all the doings of the children of men; wherefore Enoch knew, and looked upon their wickedness, and their misery, and wept and stretched forth his arms, and his heart swelled wide as eternity; and his bowels yearned; and all eternity shook.”

Here is imagery that foreshadows the Atonement of Jesus Christ as described in a later revelation of Joseph Smith: “He that ascended up on high, as also he descended below all things, in that he comprehended all things, that he might be in all and through all things, the light of truth” (D&C 88:6). When an agonized Joseph Smith pleaded for an end to his sufferings in Liberty Jail, he was gently rebuked in a reminder of the agonies of his Lord: “The Son of Man hath descended below them all. Art thou greater than he?” (D&C 122:8). Here the heights of greatness are equated with the utter depths of lowliness and sorrow (compare Matt. 18:4; 23:11). Since Christ was “made perfect” “by the things which he suffered” (Heb. 5:8, 9), so Enoch “could not be made perfect” “without sufferings.”¹⁰⁸

107. Terryl L. Givens and Fiona Givens, *The God Who Weeps: How Mormonism Makes Sense of Life* (Salt Lake City: Ensign Peak, 2012), 105. Similarly, Eliza R. Snow wrote that Enoch became “assimilated to the character—the likeness of the great ‘I AM.’” Eliza Roxcy Snow, “Time and Change,” in *Eliza R. Snow: The Complete Poetry*, ed. Jill Mulvay Derr and Karen Lynn Davidson (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 144, lines 156–57.

108. See JST Hebrews 11:40 in Scott H. Faulring, Kent P. Jackson, and Robert J. Matthews, eds., *Joseph Smith’s New Translation of the Bible: Original Manuscripts* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2004), 545: “Without sufferings they could not be made perfect.” Compare JST Hebrews 11:35: “Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain *the first resurrection*.” Faulring, Jackson, and Matthews, *Joseph Smith’s New Translation*, 545). In a later epistle, Joseph Smith explicitly connected Hebrews 11:40 to the ordinances of the temple: “As Paul says concerning the fathers—that they without us cannot be made perfect—neither can we without our dead be made perfect” (D&C 128:15). These essential earthly ordinances specifically constitute a representation of the “ultimate glorification” (Harold W. Attridge and Helmut Koester, eds., *Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Hermeneia—a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible* [Philadelphia,

Remarkably, Enoch succeeded in bringing a whole people to be sufficiently “pure in heart” (D&C 97:21) to live the law of consecration fully. In Zion, the “City of Holiness” (Moses 7:19), the people “were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them” (Moses 7:18). In the end, “Enoch and all his people walked with God, and he dwelt in the midst of Zion; and it came to pass that Zion was not, for God received it up into his own bosom; and from thence went forth the saying, ZION IS FLED” (Moses 7:69).¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

The brief and tentative arguments outlined in this article call for more careful and sustained examination of the entire Book of Moses as a temple text. For Latter-day Saints who, like Hugh Nibley, believe that the essential elements of the LDS temple ordinances “are as old as the human race,”¹¹⁰ the presence of such a cycle in the Book of Moses raises the question of whether an earlier version of a work containing stories similar to this book of scripture could have been “ritually understood and transmitted”¹¹¹ as part of an ancient temple liturgy. Even for those who believe the LDS temple rituals to be of more recent origin, a demonstration that certain elements of temple worship in the Book of Moses corresponding to Mormon rituals and lacking explicit precedent in the

Pa.: Fortress, 1989], 352) that comes to the faithful when they meet God face to face in heaven. Luke Timothy Johnson, *Hebrews: A Commentary*, ed. C. Clifton Black and John T. Carroll, The New Testament Library (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 309–10, concurs with this general line of thinking, stating “that ‘perfection’ means precisely that access to God’s presence made possible through the great high priest Jesus [Hebrews 2:10; 5:9; 7:19, 28; 9:9; 10:1, 14].”

109. Jed L. Woodworth, “Extra-Biblical Enoch Texts in Early American Culture,” in *Archive of Restoration Culture: Summer Fellows’ Papers 1997–1999*, ed. Richard Lyman Bushman (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2000), 192, sees this idea as one of the most significant differences between Joseph Smith’s Enoch and the pseudepigraphal *1 Enoch*: “Enoch in the book of Moses walks with God not alone, but with all the redeemed prodigals.” Regarding ancient precedents for this idea, see David J. Larsen, “Enoch and the City of Zion: Can an Entire Community Ascend to Heaven?” in this issue, and Bradshaw and Larsen, *In God’s Image* 2, 159–61; 193–194, endnote M7–23; and 459–64.

110. Nibley, *Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri*, xxviii.

111. Welch, *Sermon at the Temple and Sermon on the Mount*, 83.

Bible may prove valuable as a partial explanation of how Joseph Smith received his tutoring in temple and priesthood themes.

In any case, there are increasing numbers of reasons to be convinced that the Book of Moses and others of Joseph Smith's early revelations¹¹² presuppose a detailed understanding of the covenants and sequences of blessings associated with current forms of LDS temple worship. The Book of Moses was revealed to Joseph Smith in 1830, more than a decade before he began to teach them in ritual plainness to the Saints in Nauvoo. It seems that he knew early on much more about these matters than he taught publicly, problematizing the view that the temple endowment was simply an invention of the final few years of his life.

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112. For example, D&C 84. See Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Oath*.

Walking Out in All Weather

Sky darkens but you detour from
the familiar—a route so level you can read
while you walk if that seems a better reach
toward some new solace.

Wordsworth first after all these years,
then Stafford, for old friendly lines
with their *something different being true*.
It's as though secreted between stanzas will be
a passageway you missed, and you should take it.

The detour path thick with green
winds until you lose direction,
end at a leafless, misshapen tree.
Here you sit against the trunk
wondering if insects killed it and will be carried home
in seams and cuffs.
Somewhere in this small volume,
Stories and Storms, you remember how
shadows once dull turned into many hues.

Now from an overgrown side lane: the bright,
bright bounce of light off an old Datsun
mirror as you start again, sun cracking thick cloud
for only an instant, and wind starting up,
forcing you to lower your head, lean forward,
eyes watering.

And instead of turning home
you stick it out into rising dust
for another mile, as though to postpone
for the length of this struggle
some darker thing from moving forward.

—Dixie Partridge

Mitt Romney and “I Mormoni”

A 2012 Analysis of Italy’s Print Media

Mauro Properzi

Many Americans have encountered the expression “Mormon Moment” at some point, whether in newspapers, on television, or on the Internet. It is a catchphrase that nicely captures a period of time characterized by visible public interest and fascination with Mormonism as manifested in increased media attention through focused articles, interviews, and other media. As Matthew Bowman, a scholar of Mormonism, indicated, this expression was first employed in a *Newsweek* article dated September 2001, which highlighted the fact that the Salt Lake City Winter Olympics (to follow in 2002) would give the Utah-based church an unprecedented opportunity for greater publicity through increased national and international media attention.¹ Yet the “Mormon Moment” that many have heard about is a different one, largely encompassing the more recent years 2011 and 2012. Indeed, when one looks at the relatively short history of Mormonism, which spans less than two centuries, several Mormon moments can be identified, thus making the most recent moment only one of many, although a very significant one to be sure.²

1. “Matthew Bowman on the Mormon Moment We’re In,” Pjc Media: Judaism Reflected & Refracted, December 5, 2012, retrieved March 28, 2013, from <http://www.pjcmedia.org/archives/matthew-bowman/>; Kenneth L. Woodward, “A Mormon Moment: America’s Biggest Homegrown Religion Is Looking More Christian, but It’s Still a Different World,” *Newsweek*, September 10, 2001, 44–51.

2. Matthew Bowman, “Our Latest Mormon Moment,” *History News Network*, June 11, 2012, retrieved March 28, 2013, from <http://www.hnn.us/articles/146699.html>.

At the root of the most recent Mormon Moment's uniqueness lay Mitt Romney's candidacy for the presidency of the United States, his subsequent winning of the Republican nomination, and his campaign, ultimately unsuccessful, against President Barack Obama. Indeed, as a Latter-day Saint (Mormon) who has publicly recognized the significance of his faith, Mitt Romney has brought extraordinary attention to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). His Mormonism has been discussed, questioned, debated, and examined in its theological and political implications, even though it may have been less of a "problem" in the 2012 campaign than in his previous 2008 run for the Republican nomination.³ Yet there was more to the Mormon Moment than Mitt Romney's political campaign. Other high-profile Mormons—whether in politics, sports, or entertainment—have contributed to increase Mormonism's visibility, and the record-breaking Broadway musical *The Book of Mormon* has brought attention to the LDS Church in its own irreverent and sarcastic way.⁴ For its part, the LDS Church continues in its commitment to public relations, with the "I'm a Mormon" advertising campaign as only the latest development in this direction. In short, following the media's recent interest in the faith, it would seem unlikely that many Americans could still be unaware of Mormonism and of its basic tenets, but awareness and in-depth understanding are quite different matters.⁵

Obviously, Mitt Romney's loss in the 2012 presidential election has led many to wonder about the continuing status of this Mormon Moment. Is it to be declared officially closed, as some have indicated,

3. Joanna Brooks, "'Mitt Romney's Style'—a Virtually Religion Free 2012 Contest?" *Religion Dispatches*, October 29, 2012, http://www.religiondispatches.org/dispatches/joannabrooks/6552/%E2%80%9Cmitt_romney_style%E2%80%9D%E2%80%94a_virtually_religion_free_2012_contest/ (retrieved March 28, 2013); Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "Romney's Mormon Faith Likely a Factor in Primaries, Not in a General Election," November 23, 2011, <http://www.pewforum.org/Politics-and-Elections/Romneys-Mormon-Faith-Likely-a-Factor-in-Primaries-Not-in-a-General-Election.aspx> (retrieved March 28, 2013).

4. Misha Berson, "Mormons View 'Book of Mormon' More as Opportunity than Offense," *Seattle Times*, January 7, 2013, http://seattletimes.com/html/entertainment/2020067792_mormono6m.html (retrieved March 28, 2013).

5. Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "Americans Learned Little about the Mormon Faith, but Some Attitudes Have Softened," December 14, 2012, <http://www.pewforum.org/Christian/Mormon/attitudes-toward-mormon-faith.aspx> (retrieved March 28, 2013).

or has it only experienced a temporary reduction in intensity?⁶ Time will tell what the long-term effects of the 2012 Mormon Moment will be on the U.S. public perception of the LDS Church, a question which undoubtedly will receive its due attention in future scholarly analyses. In fact, a growing body of literature is shedding much-needed light on the media's coverage of the LDS Church in America, both in the present and in the past.⁷ Yet is this exclusive geographical focus sufficient in the context of a faith that is becoming increasingly international? As Princeton historian Neil Young indicated, "[Joanna] Brooks also noted to me that whatever public visibility the LDS Church has enjoyed in the U.S. of late needs to be considered within the faith's 'new global reach' that is spreading Mormonism through countries around the world. Indeed, to think of an American 'Mormon moment' is to lose sight of the much more significant international developments the LDS Church is carrying out through its proselytizing efforts and its institutional expansion."⁸ Furthermore, any election to the presidency of the United States is certainly noteworthy news in most corners of the globe, thus legitimating the exploration of possible public perception effects for Mitt Romney's religion in different countries. Did other parts of the world also experience smaller-scale Mormon Moments?

My present task is to address this very question in a specific geographical context, namely my native country of Italy. More precisely, I am interested in examining the Italian media's portrayal of Mormonism,

6. David Mason, "'Mormon Moment': RIP," *Washington Post*, November 7, 2012, retrieved March 28, 2013, from http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/guest-voices/post/mormon-moment-rip/2012/11/07/de77bcca-2915-11e2-bab2-eda299503684_blog.html; Mandy Morgan, "Experts Consider Whether 'Mormon Moment' Over or Not," *Deseret News*, November 12, 2012, retrieved March 28, 2013, from <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/865566563/Experts-consider-whether-Mormon-moment-over-or-not.html>; and Neil J. Young, "Is the Mormon Moment Over?" *Huffington Post*, November 20, 2012, retrieved March 28, 2013, from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/neil-j-young/is-the-mormon-moment-over_b_2160270.html.

7. Sherry Baker and Daniel Stout, "Mormons and the Media, 1898–2003: A Selected, Annotated, and Indexed Bibliography (with Suggestions for Future Research)," *BYU Studies* 42, nos. 3–4 (2003): 125–89; Sherry Baker and Joel Campbell, "Mitt Romney's Religion: A Five Factor Model for Analysis of Media Representation of Mormon Identity," *Journal of Media and Religion* 9, no. 2 (2010): 99–121; and J. B. Haws, *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

8. Young, "Is the Mormon Moment Over?"

both in connection with Romney's candidacy and in broader contexts, by answering three primary questions, namely: (1) How did Mitt Romney's Mormonism affect the media's portrayal of his candidacy? (2) What historical, social, and theological images of the LDS Church emerged from these accounts? and (3) How did reports on the Italian LDS Church shape the broader treatment of Mormonism? I examine these questions both quantitatively and qualitatively in a specific time frame by exploring Italian news media between January and October 2012. Following a description of the study's methodology, I proceed with a general overview of my findings before moving to a more focused examination of each core question in light of the gathered data. A summative section then concludes the analysis through some final reflections and with questions for further research.

Methodology

To examine the Italian media's portrayal of Mormonism, I have conducted a content analysis of printed and online news material produced in Italy between January 1 and October 31, 2012, stopping about one week before the presidential elections in the United States. To be sure, a broader examination of all media, including radio and television programs, would have provided a more accurate picture of Italian public perceptions of Mormonism, but access to audio/visual data from Italy was complicated by the fact that I reside in the United States. Indeed, the whole process of data gathering was made possible by the invaluable assistance of the public relations office of the LDS Church in Italy, which kindly shared with me a considerable amount of information. The office has a contract with the media monitoring agency *Eco della Stampa*, one of the largest and oldest in Italy since it was established in Milan in 1901, through which it regularly receives data on Mormonism in the media. The PR office gave me access to all this data, thus enabling me to analyze it and categorize it according to my research questions.

Eco della Stampa scans newspapers, magazines, and news websites for the Church on a daily basis in order to identify those articles that contain one of three possible key words: "Mormone," "Mormoni," and "Chiesa di Gesù Cristo dei Santi degli Ultimi Giorni" ("Mormon," "Mormons," and "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints"). Then, the agency sends digital copies of all the identified articles to the Church's PR office in Italy, which in turn forwarded those articles dated January through October to me. In this way, I was able to examine a list of over four hundred articles that contained at least one of the three selected

keywords. Some of these articles, however, were "doubles," meaning that their content matched exactly the content of some other article previously examined. In some cases, these articles came from various local newspapers owned by a single national publisher or from web and print versions of the same newspaper, and in other cases different newspapers or news websites reported the same article that had first been issued by a major Italian news agency like ANSA. Once these "repeats" were accounted for, my best estimation resulted in 344 original articles to subject to further examination.

Prior to examining the selected articles, I had listed seventeen distinct categories to be used as an instrument of classification (see table 1). These categories variously articulate the three core questions of my analysis, thus providing an initial visual indication of the possible directions of responses. Since these categories address more than one question, they are not mutually exclusive, meaning that a single article could fit several categories at the same time. I then tabulated each article according to these categories while also selecting specific quotations that would be especially illustrative in my attempt to answer the three research questions previously listed.

Finally, in relation to methodology and to the objectives of this study, some brief clarifications are in order. First, my research questions are worded in such a way as to lead to a broad overview of the Italian media's portrayal of Mormonism rather than to an in-depth examination with a narrower focus. Furthermore, and notwithstanding my desire to be as objective as possible, I must recognize that some of my personal hermeneutical assumptions are likely to emerge as I attempt to interpret the texts under examination. Lastly, given some recent studies indicating that relatively few Italians regularly read books or newspapers, one may wonder about the significance of these findings (emerging exclusively from print and online media) in shaping the Italian public perception of Mormonism.⁹ This is a valid concern, but it looks beyond the scope of this analysis. The objective of the present analysis is to describe and interpret what print and online media in Italy have recently communicated about

9. "Readers of daily newspapers are about one third of the population; . . . it should be noted that one fourth of these newspapers are sport-only papers like *Gazzetta dello Sport*, *Corriere dello Sport*, and *Tuttosport*." Tullio De Mauro, *La Cultura degli Italiani* (Rome: Edizioni Laterza, 2010), 239.

This is my own translation from the Italian original text. All other translations of Italian articles quoted in this paper are my own work.

TABLE 1. Summative Content Classification of Articles Examined

Category of Classification	Number of Articles
Chiesa di Gesù Cristo dei Santi degli Ultimi Giorni	76
Mormone or Mormoni	334
Positive appraisal of Romney because of his faith	9
Negative appraisal of Romney because of his faith	38
Ambiguous or divided appraisal of Romney because of his faith	28
Only “Mormon” ascription to Romney’s name	84
Mormonism described (beliefs, practices, history, and operation)	79
Central beliefs described	39
Controversial beliefs described	38
Positive evaluation of Mormonism	23
Negative evaluation of Mormonism	48
Ambiguous or divided evaluation of Mormonism	34
Doctrinal errors, misunderstandings, labels	36
General reference to LDS Church in Italy (history, buildings, members)	20
Reference to “Intesa” between Italian government and the Church	19
Reference to the building of the Rome temple	3
Reference to contract between FamilySearch and Italian National Archives	3

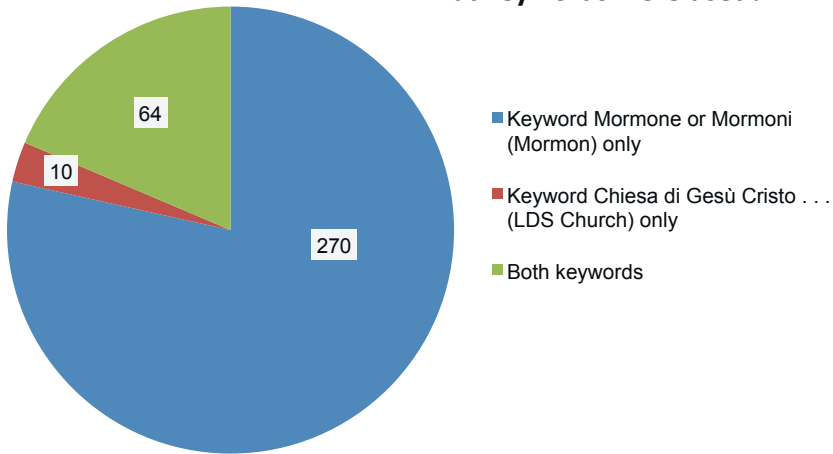
Note: The total number of articles examined was 344, including both print and online news sources. The articles dated from January 1, 2012, to October 31, 2012.

the LDS Church, with particular focus on the message. The separate question of how much this message was absorbed, retained, or ignored by the Italian “receivers” is not presently addressed.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 outlines the quantitative summative findings from all articles examined. As already indicated, most articles were “counted” or included in more than one single category because many categories did not represent mutually exclusive concepts. Hence, the sum total of all numbers adds to more than the 344 articles analyzed.

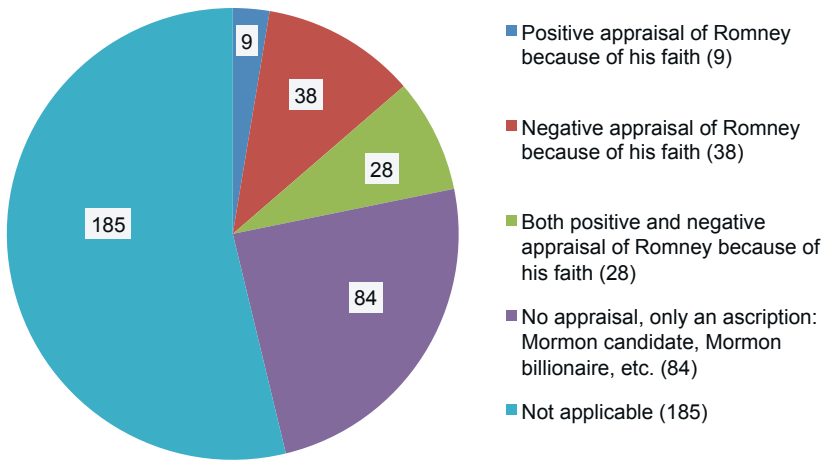
The first two categories, which have reference to the name used by the Italian media when identifying the LDS Church, provide some

FIGURE 1. What Keywords Were Used?

interesting findings. However, they are not necessarily relevant in addressing any of the three questions that are central to my analysis. My main reason for including this classification was the easiness of access to this information and my own personal curiosity about the nomenclature used by the media. For this reason, while I present a chart summarizing these findings at this point (fig. 1), I have relegated a more in-depth description, with associated examples and a brief reflection, to the appendix.

Question 1: How did Mitt Romney's Mormonism influence the Italian media's portrayal of his candidacy?

To measure how strongly the Italian media defines Mitt Romney by his Mormonism, I would probably need to include a comparison of articles that mention Romney's Mormonism with articles on him that do not mention it. However, since I did not have access to the latter information, I could only examine the connection between Romney and his faith as expressed by those articles on Romney that mention his Mormonism. For this purpose, I employed four mutually exclusive categories of classification that had a direct correlation with this question. First of all, through a simple calculation, it was possible to determine how many of the articles examined actually dealt with Mitt Romney. As illustrated in figure 2, the total was 159, which corresponds to 46.2 percent of all 344 articles. Among these 84, or 24.4 percent of the total, did not articulate Romney's connection with Mormonism beyond simple

FIGURE 2. Appraisal of Romney Because of His Mormonism

ascriptions like “the Mormon candidate” or “the Mormon billionaire.”¹⁰ In other words, only 75 articles, 21.8 percent of the total and 47.1 percent of the articles with reference to Mitt Romney, articulated any description or evaluation of Romney’s Mormonism.

How did these descriptions and evaluations reflect on the character and portrayed image of the Republican candidate? Only 28 articles, or a little more than a third (37.3 percent) of the articles addressing Romney’s Mormonism, either were completely descriptive and nonevaluative or expressed both positive and negative evaluations at the same time. In these cases it was difficult to determine whether these articles portrayed Romney’s faith as a liability or as an advantage to his public image, because writers purposely avoided judgment or equally identified both attractive and unattractive elements in Romney’s religion. However, 47 articles, or 62.6 percent of the articles addressing Romney’s faith

10. Massimo Introvigne distinguishes between “ascriptions” and “labels” in reference to religious affiliations by emphasizing the neutral nature of the former and the negative nature of the latter. Massimo Introvigne, “The Mormon Factor in the Romney Presidential Campaign: European Perspectives,” *International Journal of Mormon Studies* 2 (2009): 98–107. I am purposefully using the term ascription in this context, because the articles included in this total did not imply any specific evaluation of the title “Mormon.” Massimo Introvigne is the author of “Old Wine in New Bottles: The Story behind Fundamentalist Anti-Mormonism,” *BYU Studies* 35, no. 3 (1995–96): 45–73; and *Les Mormons* (Brepols, 1991), discussed in *BYU Studies* 33, no. 2 (1993): 366–67.

beyond a simple ascription, expressed either positive or negative evaluations of him in direct relation to his faith. Obviously, with no access to writers' background knowledge and to their motivations, determining the exact direction of influence is almost impossible. Therefore, it is possible that in some cases the perspective on Romney was positive or negative because of prior opinions about the LDS Church, whereas in other cases Mormonism may have been judged positively or negatively because of prior opinions about Romney.

Only nine of the articles (12 percent of those that explicitly address Romney's religion) draw a positive or favorable connection between him and his faith. These connections are usually implicit, and they emerge from some Mormon practices and philosophies that possibly facilitated the development of specific character traits in the Republican candidate. For example, one writer draws a connection between Romney's generosity in charitable contributions and the LDS Church's requirement for the regular payment of tithing.¹¹ Another underlines the service he has performed in the Church, whether as a missionary or as a bishop, which is likely to have enhanced his work ethic and altruism.¹² A third writer indicates that Romney's love for his family is a "Mormon" characteristic with solid roots in the candidate's own ancestry of Mormon pioneers.¹³ The best example of a positive connection between Romney and his faith is probably found in an interview with a man from Turin, who, as a young man, had participated in a study abroad program in the United States. Specifically, while in America, he lived for some time with the Romneys in Michigan (Mitt's parents and their family), an experience he still remembers with fondness.¹⁴ In a recent interview, he expresses his unequivocal support for the Republican candidate and also states that "the Romney family is always very attentive to the needs of the poor, not just because of their character but because of their faith. Mormons help people a lot."¹⁵

11. G. Meroni, "Romney? Ricco ma generoso," *Vita.it*, February 2, 2012.

12. F. Sasso, "Contro Obama, Romney 'arruola' Gesù," *Il Secolo XIX*, August 31, 2012, 7.

13. N. Sipos, "Candidato formato famiglia," *Chi Magazine*, March 21, 2012, 42–48; N. Sipos, "Benvenuti a casa Romney," *Chi Magazine*, September 12, 2012, 80–84.

14. A. Rossi, "Io, il fratello torinese di Mitt Romney," *La Stampa*, March 19, 2012, 54.

15. "Il 'fratello' Italiano di Romney: 'Finalmente é venuto fuori il vero Mitt,'" *Tiscali.it*, October 5, 2012a.

Yet about half of the articles—38 to be precise, or 50.6 percent—that draw a connection between Mitt Romney and his religion do so in a clearly negative direction. Some articles criticize both Romney's and the LDS Church's wealth by implicitly or even explicitly associating the drive for success and its accompanying wealth with corruption or other moral failures.¹⁶ Given Italy's well-known political scandals, often involving billionaire and past Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, some reporters obviously sing a resonating tune to their readers when they identify the dangers of a rich man aspiring to political power. Other articles embrace the fears of a Mormon conspiracy by underlining the historical Mormon search for the U.S. presidency, with Mitt Romney as the latest representative following his father and Mormonism's founder, Joseph Smith. These articles often include references to such speculative and historically questionable statements as the White Horse prophecy,¹⁷ implying that Mormonism is dangerous because it purportedly seeks power both politically and economically.¹⁸

Other articles focus their criticism more pointedly at the Republican candidate's service in the LDS Church, particularly as a bishop. For example, it is claimed that Romney pressured a single mother to give up her baby for adoption rather than raising the child without a father. The point being made was that he clearly overstepped his bounds as a

16. M. Chierici, "Romney, un Mormone a Washington?" *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, October 16, 2012, 22; A. Mucci, "Se l'impero entra alla Casa Bianca," *Europa*, July 28, 2012, 5; A. Mucci, "Quel tesoretto dei Mormoni (e di Romney)," *Il Mondo*, September 14, 2012, 22–24.

17. This prophecy, purportedly uttered by Joseph Smith, claims that the U.S. Constitution would one day "hang by a thread" and that it would be saved in part by a white horse, usually interpreted to mean the Mormons. The LDS Church has reiterated that this "prophecy" is not embraced as Church doctrine, being only a matter of speculation. Newsroom of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Church Statement on 'White Horse Prophecy' and Political Neutrality," January 6, 2010, <http://www.mormonnewsroom.org/blog/2010/01/church-statement-on-white-horse-prophecy-and-political-neutrality.html>. See also Don L. Penrod, "Edwin Rushton as the Source of the White Horse Prophecy," *BYU Studies* 49, no. 3 (2010): 75–131.

18. A. Aquaro, "I temuti Mormoni," *La Repubblica*, August 28, 2012, 17; D. Fabbri, "La profezia Mormone che imbarazza il 'cavallo bianco' Romney," *Unimondo.org*, July 2, 2012; S. Kramar, "'Romney President': lo dice la profezia," *Il Giornale*, February 2, 2012, 15; "L'ombra Mormone sugli USA," *Lettera43.it*, April 28, 2012; F. Rampini, "Romney l'ex vescovo miliardario che vuole l'America," *La Repubblica*, July 13, 2012, 48–52.

clergy member and that he abused his authority, but Romney's church is depicted as equally guilty since, it is claimed, it had provided the mistaken ideology that ultimately lies behind the action.¹⁹ One writer quotes both Romney and an LDS Apostle as they similarly emphasize the importance of faith vis-à-vis secularism in America. Again, both are judged to be intolerant, because they purportedly represent dangerous theocratic ideals.²⁰ Therefore, most articles do not allude to a primary target in their criticism of Romney and of his LDS religion: both are problematic, both are judged negatively, and both are viewed as representing the same actions and ideas, which are subject to condemnation.

In some cases, however, the rejection of the candidate Romney explicitly appears to follow the authors' hostile perspective on Mormonism. For example, during Romney's first failed run for the Republican nomination, Jacob Weisberg made the following controversial statement: "I wouldn't vote for someone who truly believed in the founding whoppers of Mormonism. . . . Romney has every right to believe in con men, but I want to know if he does, and if so, I don't want him running the country."²¹ Six years later, an Italian writer echoed the same sentiment on the website Agoravox, which is described as participatory journalism, powered by citizens. After asking the rhetorical question "How can you trust someone who believes in such absurdities as what Mormons believe?" he concludes with the indicting statement, "We cannot be Mormons; . . . we are children of Greece and that Hellenistic culture which has taught us to think and reflect."²² An even better illustration of how a core prejudice against Mormonism, based on much distorted information, can lead to an utter rejection of a Mormon candidate is worth quoting at length:

How will the U.S. change if Mitt Romney becomes president? Mormons who ride their bikes in Italy are young men with short hair, shirt, and tie, well trained in the shyness that is recommended for missionaries around the world numbering more than 30,000. As soon as a baby

19. F. Rampini, "Colpo grosso di Mitt il capo dei vescovi USA 'benedirà' la sua corsa," *La Repubblica*, August 27, 2012, 15; "Romney Mormone. Elettori diffidenti," *La Sicilia*, October 25, 2012, 24.

20. "USA, anche i Mormoni attaccano il secolarismo," *Uaar.it*, April 7, 2012.

21. Jacob Weisberg, "Romney's Religion," *Slate*, December 20, 2006, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/the_big_idea/2006/12/romneys_religion.html.

22. A. D'Antrassi, "Può un Mormone diventare veramente presidente degli Stati Uniti?" *Agoravox.it*, February 18, 2012.

boy is born, the Mormon family puts aside money so that when he grows older he can go to faraway lands to preach the updated Bible of the prophet Joseph Smith. Mandatory paramilitary service: that is what this is. The mission will often include strange endeavors: missionaries will ask European dioceses, which have no funds, to microfilm records that collect the names of the faithful, from the 1800s to today. They will take home copies and then rebaptize them in the temple to make of Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and Hindus, dead or alive, Mormons. Then they gather their information in antiatomic bunkers in Granite Mountain, Salt Lake City. . . . The capital of Utah is not only a rich business center, it is the capital of a state where religion administers people's lives. The Church takes care of everything: babysitter, schools, sports. . . . The gospel teaches pragmatism, especially the rejection of worldly temptations. In Utah, it is risky to smoke, and alcohol is prohibited, even though some authorized stores (well hidden) open bottles of California wine sold at very high prices. . . . Young Romney also served as a missionary in sweet France, a special destination because he was the son of the Mormon governor of Michigan. He is driven by a faith that encourages careers in corporate and fiscal paradises. The religion does not consider it sin, because profit is a blessed gift of God and taxes represent the violence of those who limit the freedom of believers. . . . Best wishes Obama.²³

There is no question that the author sees Romney's Mormonism as the obvious liability that makes him ineligible.

In conclusion, my analysis confirms that the Italian media often used Romney's Mormonism to shape his public image during his 2012 run to the U.S. presidency. On the one hand, more than half of the articles on Romney only ascribed to him the title "Mormon" without delving into any description of the term's meaning. On the other hand, of the remaining articles, which described and evaluated Mormonism to some degree, about half clearly made it a liability for the Republican candidate's image. Finally, only one in ten articles that drew any connection between Romney and his faith did so positively, thus suggesting that Romney's religion functioned as a detriment to his public image in Italy.²⁴ Whether these numbers are to be considered positive or negative

23. M. Chierici, "Romney, un Mormone a Washington?" *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, October 16, 2012, 22.

24. As one observer indicates, similar findings would likely emerge from studies in other European countries where very high percentages of citizens would have voted for President Obama over his Republican counterpart. Robert Bennett, "Religion and Politics in Europe vs. America," *Deseret News*,

obviously depends on the evaluator's expectations and on her views of Romney and Mormonism. Still, most impartial observers would conclude that if negative evaluations are largely built on incorrect information, findings of this nature become problematic. I will revisit the issue of accuracy of information in the next section of my examination, where my focus shifts from the image of Romney in the Italian media to the wider issue of the image of Mormonism in Italy.

Question 2: What historical, social, and theological images of the Latter-day Saint Church emerged from these accounts?

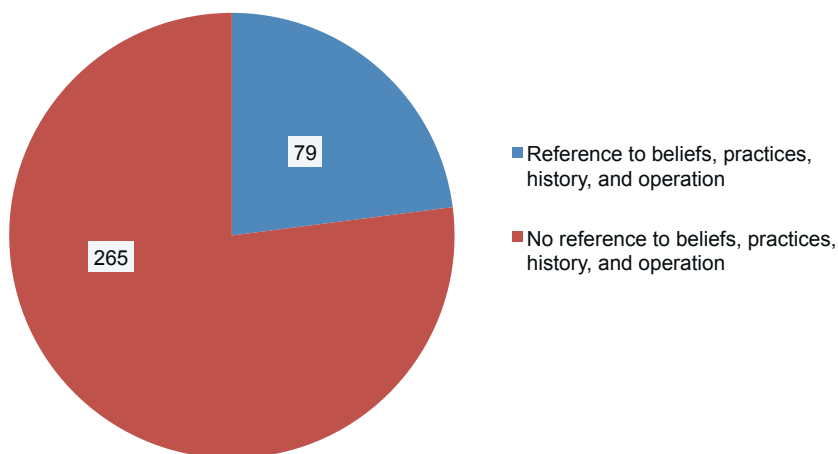
Although the United States presidential election was one of the key events of 2012, I expected the Italian media to address Mormonism also in contexts unrelated to Mitt Romney. Thus, my second question is specifically aimed at addressing the historical, social, and theological image of Mormonism that the Italian media presented in the year 2012. To facilitate my analysis, I have broken down this question into five smaller subquestions in order to provide a more clear and complete picture when suggesting an answer. They are:

1. How often is Mormonism described in terms of beliefs, practices, history, and so forth?
2. When beliefs are described, are they central beliefs of the faith or secondary/controversial beliefs?
3. How often and in what way is Mormonism evaluated?
4. How prevalent are doctrinal errors, false labels, and other misunderstandings?
5. What are the most common areas of error or of distorted perspective?

I will proceed to address each of these questions before summing up my findings to address the broader key question.

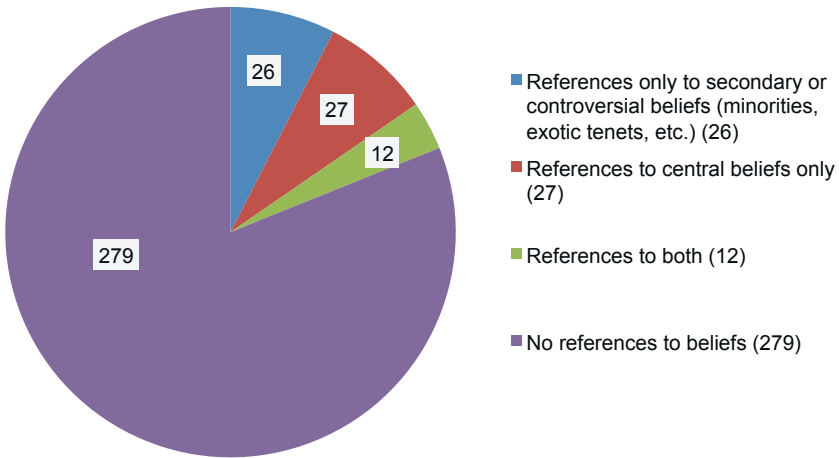
Only 79 articles out of a total of 344 had any reference to Mormon history, beliefs, and practices (fig. 3), with the great majority of them (65) providing some degree of description of LDS beliefs. Articles addressing Mitt Romney's run for the U.S. presidency as well as articles with a very different focus were included in this count. When I pose the question

October 29, 2012. Yet Europeans' usual preference for Democratic candidates may have at least as much to do with political ideology as it does with the religious beliefs of Republican nominees.

FIGURE 3. Was Mormonism “Described”?

of which LDS beliefs are described in these articles, I am interested in determining whether the beliefs identified would be considered central to the faith by a practicing Latter-day Saint or whether they would be considered secondary. For this purpose, a central belief would be one that is regularly discussed in official church settings, such as Sunday meetings, official magazines, general conference speeches, or LDS missionary discussions. Secondary beliefs, by contrast, would be those that do not receive much focus in current Church instructions, manuals, or authoritative sermons. These are not necessarily false or repudiated beliefs, neither are they inevitably controversial, but they generally tend to receive greater attention among “external” observers because they are unique or more interesting, or because they focus on emotionally charged issues. Yet most Mormons would not primarily define their faith by these tenets. In this context, I have taken the liberty of making this classification between primary and secondary beliefs by using my own discernment as a practicing Latter-day Saint. Although some may disagree with aspects of my categories, I am confident most practicing Mormons would come to similar conclusions.

Of the 65 articles describing Mormon beliefs, 26 articles (40 percent) referred to secondary/controversial beliefs only, 27 (42 percent) described central beliefs only, and 12 (18 percent) addressed both (fig. 4). Most of the secondary beliefs identified had to do with the LDS Church’s approach throughout its history to the rights of women and minorities, including African Americans and homosexuals. Yet this classification

FIGURE 4. Which Mormon Beliefs Are Described?

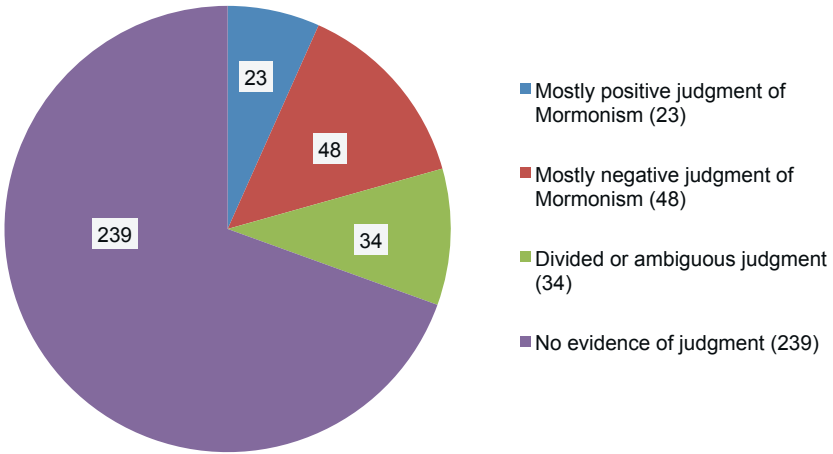
was determined as much by the breadth of the perspective as by the topic. Thus, if an article focused solely on the historical fact that the LDS Church has always denied the priesthood to women, pointing only to discrimination and rejection, the article was classified as focusing on secondary/controversial beliefs only. Instead, if in addition to this fact the article also mentioned the Mormon belief in the complementarity of the genders, the ideal of equality in the home, and the role of the Relief Society (the LDS Church's organization for women), I classified it as dealing with a central belief. Whether Mormons live up to this ideal is obviously a different matter, but an article describing LDS beliefs about women only in terms of what they cannot do—namely, holding the priesthood—would fit the category of secondary beliefs because, although correct, the concept provides a partial picture or a caricature. Finally, an article including central and secondary beliefs would be an article that mentions, for example, both the LDS belief in the Book of Mormon (central) and the belief that the Garden of Eden was located in what is now Missouri (secondary at best).

The resulting picture is somewhat encouraging, since about the same number of articles presented Mormon beliefs as strange and condemnable as the articles that presented them as peculiar but mostly harmless. Italian Latter-day Saints can find reason for optimism in this finding by noticing that at least half of the accounts describing their church's beliefs attempt to maintain some kind of balance and fairness. It is further interesting to notice that many of the articles that focused

on central beliefs contained interviews with Italian or U.S. Mormons who were asked to speak about their faith. It is also of interest that several articles dealing with secondary or controversial beliefs used quotations from LDS bloggers or ex-Mormon bloggers who underlined their rejection of some mainstream LDS perspectives (on women or homosexuals, for example). What these dynamics indicate, I believe, is that the debates internal to the LDS Church concerning its present beliefs and theological directions are as much a complicating issue in the definition of Mormonism (from inside out) as are the different areas of focus and attention emerging from those external to the faith who want to describe it (from outside in).

My objective with the third question was to explore the issue of judgment or evaluation of Mormonism inclusive of but also beyond the articles concerned primarily with Mitt Romney. I discovered that 105 articles (30.5 percent of all 344) provided some evidence of judgment or evaluation of the faith, a number larger than the total number of articles (79) that provided a description of Mormonism's history, beliefs, and practices. In other words, whether positive or negative, 26 articles evaluated without describing or judged without providing solid justification for their judgment. Of the total number of evaluative articles, almost a fourth—23 (or 22 percent)—expressed a mostly positive evaluation of Mormonism, whereas a little fewer than half—48 (or 46 percent)—expressed a mostly negative evaluation of the faith. The rest of the articles—34 (or 32 percent)—presented an evaluation that was divided, ambiguous, or evenly split, thus being neither primarily positive nor primarily negative (fig. 5). Admittedly, this particular classification was especially difficult to standardize in a very predictable or purely objective manner, and an element of personal bias was probably unavoidable. However, I hope to have made bias negligible by erring on the side of positivity. In other words, if a positive evaluation was not countered by strong negativity but only by minor and measured criticism, the article remained categorized as “positive.”

Positive evaluations usually focused on the actions and lifestyles of Latter-day Saints rather than on Mormon beliefs per se, even though actions and beliefs are usually interlinked. For example, a reporter interviewed the Tuscan host of a group of four hundred young Latter-day Saints from Italy, who participated in a summer program called “Especially for Youth.” She expressed her praise with the following words: “I am not just happy but enthusiastic about the behavior of these youth. The word exemplary would not do justice to their upbringing. They are truly a model of sobriety and respect that should be envied. I hope to be

FIGURE 5. How Was Mormonism Evaluated?

able to host them again, this time with their families.”²⁵ Other articles highlighted the fact that Mormon missionaries and members devote hours of service to the community, while a few others informed readers of community-focused events hosted in LDS churches, such as blood drives, English classes, and cultural events.²⁶ In the realm of interreligious cooperation, it is also of interest to note that when some Catholic media reported on various interviews with San Francisco Archbishop Cordileone, they included his praise for Latter-day Saints, particularly in consequence of their efforts to promote religious freedom and the traditional family.²⁷ On a somewhat humorous note, an article advocating

25. G. Capecchi, “I Mormoni abbracciano la maremma la carica dei 500 a Principina,” *Corriere di Maremma*, July 27, 2012, 11.

26. “Appuntamento a Torino per l’armonia e il pluralismo religioso,” *Comunicati.net*, February 2, 2012; “L’esercito dei ‘volontari della pala’ per ripulire le città,” *Corriere di Romagna*, February 5, 2012, 5; R. Della Maggesa, “Il ‘buon mercato’ sotto piazza Cavour. Dove la spesa è gratis,” *La Nazione—Ed. La Spezia*, April 1, 2012, 2–3; A. Goio, “Alla stessa mensa,” *Vita Trentina*, May 16, 2012; “Donare il sangue: Incontro,” *La Sesia*, January 27, 2012, 38; “C’è un corso per tutti,” *L’Unione Sarda*, September 3, 2012, 15; V. Medagliani, “Pregare a modo proprio,” *BJ Business Liguria Journal*, April 1, 2012, 26–31; G. Tomasin, “Cittaviva, 140 volontari per tenere aperti i musei,” *Il Piccolo*, March 18, 2012, 34.

27. Michael Drake, “Intervista a mons. Cordileone nuovo arcivescovo di San Francisco,” *Corrispondenzaromana.it*, July 30, 2012; B. Frigerio, “Obama viola la costituzione ma l’America ha a cuore i temi etici,” *Tempi.it*, February 15, 2012.

the use of helmets when riding bicycles commends Mormon missionaries for being the only ones in Italy who do so.²⁸

On the negative side of the evaluative equation, a prominent object of severe criticism was the LDS practice of baptism for the dead. Several articles highlighted the discovery that some Jewish victims of the Shoah, including the parents of Simon Wiesenthal, had been baptized posthumously in Mormon temples. Notwithstanding the apology issued by the LDS Church and the fact that these baptisms were performed by a Church member in defiance of Church policy, which has forbidden the baptism of Holocaust victims since 1995, the voice of condemnation toward the Church was univocal. Indeed, the insensitive and offensive nature of this act was usually portrayed as only the latest Mormon blunder in connection with a practice that many consider highly controversial.²⁹ As a side note on temple baptisms, one newspaper reported that a Mormon sued the Church for feeling pressured to perform two hundred baptisms and consequently injuring his back after so many immersions.³⁰ Other negative evaluations usually centered on the LDS Church's policies concerning gender, race, or sexual orientation, whether in the past or in the present.³¹ For example, a Sicilian politician responded to an article claiming that Sicily is not a safe place for gays by denying the accusation and adding that there are no Mormons in Sicily.

28. R. Damiani, "Subito un casco anche per chi usa la bicicletta. Si salvano vite, non ha piu senso perdere tempo," *Il Resto del Carlino*—Ed. Pesaro/Fossombrone, August 1, 2012.

29. "Mitt Romney e la salvezza delle anime," *Agoravox.it*, February 17, 2012; D. Fabbri, "I battesimi postumi imbarazzano Mitt," *Il Riformista*, February 17, 2012, 6; "I Mormoni e il battesimo postumo," *L'Osservatore Romano*, February 18, 2012, 6; "L'ultima frontiera delle conversioni coatte," *Paperblog.com*, February 16, 2012; F. Rampini, "Battesimi agli ebrei la chiesa Mormone imbarazza Romney," *La Repubblica*, February 16, 2012, 38; "Anna Frank è stata battezzata Mormona," *Rivistastudio.com*, February 22, 2012.

30. "In breve—USA, troppi battesimi fa causa ai Mormoni," *La Provincia*—CR, August 27, 2012, 6.

31. A. Mollica, "La pelle di Gesù. Un problema per Romney?" *Giornalettismo.com*, July 28, 2012; J. Horowitz, "Il Sogno dei Mormoni," trans. Fabrizio Saulini, *Internazionale.it*, June 4, 2012; G. Dell'Arti, "Che cosa significa votare Mitt Romney," *Il Foglio*, September 3, 2012, 1; A. Lombardy, "Ry Cooder," *Il Venerdì (La Repubblica)*, August 10, 2012, 122–23; F. Rampini, "Battesimi agli ebrei la chiesa Mormone imbarazza Romney," *La Repubblica*, February 16, 2012, 38; "USA, i Boy Scout confermano discriminazione contro i gay," *Uaar.it*, July 19, 2012.

Although this later statement is incorrect, the clear implication of the response is that Mormonism supposedly oppresses minority groups.³²

Some interesting findings also emerge from the category of mixed or ambiguous judgment. A good example of a divided evaluation of Mormonism is Rupert Murdoch's unequivocal condemnation of Scientology followed by the comment, "Mormonism is a mysterious enigma but Mormons are not evil."³³ A different example of ambiguous judgment appears in articles that report on some Latter-day Saints' participation in a gay pride parade in Salt Lake City. These Mormons are openly praised for their intellectual "dynamism" vis-à-vis the majority of their coreligionists, but the overall evaluation of Mormonism remains ambiguous.³⁴ A similar pattern is evident in other articles reporting on "progressive" Mormons and on their websites, such as the Feminist Mormon Housewives and Joanna Brooks blogs. On the one hand, these particular Latter-day Saints are usually described favorably, and their status as Mormons facilitates a positive evaluation of the LDS Church by underlining the presence of more liberal perspectives within Mormonism. On the other hand, judgment turns out to be more ambiguous when reporters, or the bloggers themselves, claim that their views are in the minority within the Church or when they criticize some traditional Mormon perspectives.³⁵

My last two questions are closely interlinked since they deal, respectively, with the quantity and the quality of doctrinal and historical errors. Of the 79 articles that provided some description of Mormonism, 43 (about 54 percent) contained no recognizable mistake or misunderstanding about the faith (fig. 6). However, 36 articles contained incorrect information, faulty descriptions, or questionable labels that an average Latter-day Saint would recognize as problematic. Specifically, I was able to identify four areas or topics where misunderstandings were common, namely, plural marriage, the church, the temple, and minorities. I identified at least 15 articles with misleading statements on plural marriage,

32. "Irispress guida Frommer's avverte gli americani: 'Sicilia pericolosa per i gay, promosse Roma e Milano,'" *Irispress.it*, June 19, 2012.

33. "Murdoch si sfoga su Twitter: Scientology È un 'culto inquietante,'" *Larena.it*, July 2, 2012.

34. "I Mormoni vanno al gay pride," *Giornalettismo.com*, June 5, 2012.

35. A. Alberti, "(In)certi giorni," *Marie Claire Magazine*, May 1, 2012, 376–77; S. Gandolf, "E' nata una femminista. Lo 'scatto' di Elisabeth, neo mamma Mormone," *Corriere.it*, April 2, 2012; C. Spadoni, "Cosa (non) sapete dei Mormoni?" *Marieclaire.it*, April 26, 2012.

FIGURE 6. How Prevalent Are Doctrinal Errors, Misunderstandings, and Labels?

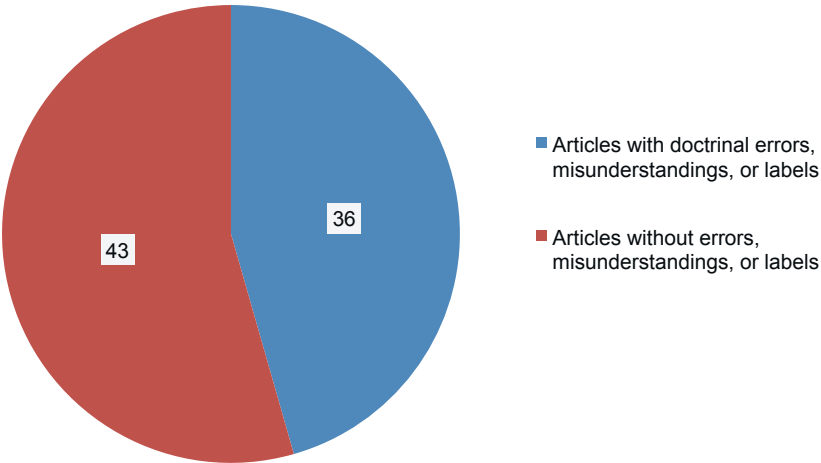
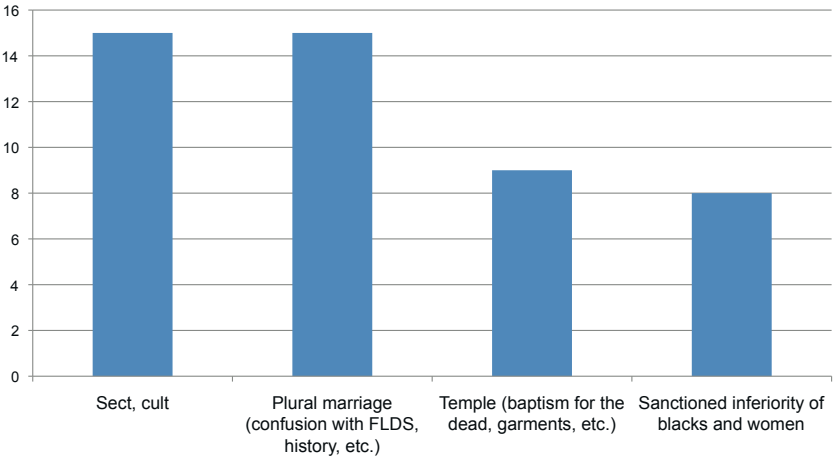


FIGURE 7. What Are the Most Common Areas of Misunderstanding?



15 that identified the LDS Church as a sect or cult, 9 with questionable descriptions of temple practices, and 8 with claims indicating that the LDS Church has sanctioned the inferiority of blacks and women (fig. 7). While a few other topics also gave rise to problematic descriptions, the ones I just listed were undoubtedly the most common. It should also be noted that some particular articles contained more than a single error,

as evidenced by the fact that the total number of faulty claims exceeds the total number of articles with questionable information.

Plural marriage, and its present status within the LDS Church, is still a subject on which the Italian media presents a confusing picture. While many articles recognize that the Church ceased to sanction the practice more than a century ago and that immediate excommunication is applied to any member who is guilty of polyandry, some still fail to distinguish mainstream Mormonism from the break-offs that have historically emerged from it. This is especially true in the case of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whose members openly advocate and practice plural marriage. Although the two churches have a similar name and they clearly share a common historical foundation, they are completely separate religious entities that are not in communion with each other. Thus, articles become misleading when they almost exclusively display pictures of Fundamentalist LDS, whose attire often resembles an Amish dress style, while focusing on mainstream Mormonism in the text.³⁶ Similarly, an article that mixes stories of ex-Fundamentalists who have escaped the oppression of their splinter group with stories of ex-Mormons who have left the LDS Church for a variety of reasons suggests a connection between the two groups that is unwarranted.³⁷ Perhaps the ultimate example of lingering historical and theological confusion is found in an article by Vittorio Zucconi, a prominent Italian journalist, who errs three times in the same sentence by stating first that George Romney, Mitt's father, was an ex-Mormon; second, that George was a fan of plural marriage; and third, that the practice of polygamy was encouraged in the LDS Church until 1971.³⁸

In turning to the category of misleading labels, I must clarify that several articles simply reported that many Americans do not recognize Mormonism as a Christian church. Thus, when they use the term cult or sect, they claim to do so to be descriptive of public opinion. However, since these articles do not usually provide a Mormon counter to this claim, the implied denial of legitimate religious status was sufficient reason for me to

36. W. Kirn, "Confessioni di un ex Mormone," *Il Sole 24 Ore*, October 24, 2012, 81–90; A. Scarpa, "Scusate, ci siamo persi a Durango" *Vanity Fair*, October 17, 2012, 294–98; S. Sinclair, "Questa è la nostra vita," *Vanity Fair*, September 12, 2012, 2–5.

37. G. Privitera, "Da quella vita noi siamo scappate," *Vanity Fair*, September 12, 2012, 152–58.

38. V. Zucconi, "Tutte le donne del presidente," *La Repubblica delle Donne (La Repubblica)*, September 22, 2012, 114–22.

include them in the list of articles that contain misunderstandings.³⁹ As far as temple rituals are concerned, a few articles describe LDS baptisms for the dead as a forceful practice aimed at obtaining converts and at inflating membership numbers.⁴⁰ However, Mormon doctrine claims that the efficacy of the baptism is dependent upon the departed soul's acceptance of the vicarious ritual. Thus, the choice of the departed remains unknown, and deceased individuals are never included in membership numbers that are published by the Church. Another common misleading statement about the temple is the use of the term "magic underwear" to refer to the undergarments Mormons regularly wear after their first visit to the temple.⁴¹ While some Latter-day Saints may believe that these clothes possess physical protective power, the standard interpretation of their purpose has more to do with ongoing remembrance of one's commitments than with magical repulsion of evil and danger.

Finally, some articles with misleading information focus on the LDS Church's stand on women or minorities. These articles claim that Mormons have "sanctioned" women and blacks to be inferior, but they never provide actual quotations to support this conclusion. A few articles underline that these prejudicial policies have now been abandoned, but one is still left to wonder about what exact historical statements have been used to make these human hierarchies supposedly "official," particularly in relation to women.⁴² Indeed, many articles that touch on the subject of women or minorities do not pinpoint any nuanced aspects of the Church's position but choose to focus on the theme of "rejection" or

39. M. D'Eramo, "Ombre Americane" *Il Manifesto*, September 1, 2012; M. Molinari, "L'edizione—Romney: cambiamo l'America," *La Stampa*, August 31, 2012, 12; M. Molinari, "Romney: un manager per l'America," *La Stampa*, August 31, 2012, 12; G. Trotta, "La grande notte di Romney: 'O la va o la spacca,'" *Il Secolo d'Italia*, August 31, 2012, 8.

40. M. Chierici, "Romney, un Mormone a Washington?" *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, October 16, 2012, 22; "L'ultima frontiera delle conversioni coatte," *Paperblog.com*, February 16, 2012; "Anna Frank è stata battezzata Mormona," *Rivistastudio.com*, February 22, 2012.

41. "Mitt Romney e la salvezza dell'anima," *Agoravox.it*, February 17, 2012; "La macchina del fango," *Il Sole 24 Ore.*, October 1, 2012, 20.

42. "Che cosa significa votare Mitt Romney," *Il Foglio*, September 3, 2012, 1; F. Rampini, "Battesimi agli ebrei la chiesa Mormone imbarazza Romney," *La Repubblica*, February 16, 2012, 38; F. Rampini, "Romney, l'ex vescovo miliardario che vuole l'America," *Il Venerdì—La Repubblica*, July 13, 2012, 48–52; M. Ventura, "Che America sarebbe con un mormone alla Casa Bianca," *Panorama*, March 5, 2012, 78–80.

even "hatred." Obviously, all Mormon beliefs can be criticized by any observer, including alleged prejudice, but there is clearly no semblance of fairness in an account claiming that the Christus statue in one of the Mormon Visitors' Centers in Salt Lake City points to the racist nature of the LDS Church because it is white in color, or in another report stating that Mormon men used to beat, rape, and burn their wives in the mouth with cattle branding irons.⁴³ At the same time, I found several inconsequential mistakes in descriptions of Mormon beliefs and practices that are understandable misconceptions among external observers of the faith.

Having addressed the five explorative questions, I can now return to the larger question with which this specific section is concerned: What image of the LDS Church emerges from recent Italian media accounts of it? The picture is somewhat mixed, with both praise and criticism, although the latter, intermingled with suspicion, is certainly more prominent. Obviously, different observers will offer various perspectives when determining how many negative evaluations of Mormonism or incorrect descriptions of its beliefs ultimately lead to a false understanding of the LDS Church. The only (perhaps banal) conclusion I can offer is that communication on the real nature of Mormonism to the Italian public certainly retains much room for improvement. My hunch is that the U.S. media's depiction of the faith is a degree more accurate than the Italian media's portrayal, although I do not have comparative data to support this conclusion. Perhaps Mormonism in Italy also suffers from the perception of being an American phenomenon, thus subject to the same suspicion that other things American are likely to encounter, in some circles at least. At the same time, recent events are bringing the Italian LDS Church a little more to the forefront of public attention, and perhaps it will not be too many years before Italians will recognize the faith in its localized form. It is then to this last issue, namely the analysis of Italian Mormonism as it appears in the Italian media, that I now turn my attention.

Question 3: How did reports on the Italian LDS Church frame the Italian media's broader treatment of Mormonism?

Before looking at specific ways in which reports about Italian Mormonism shape the overall portrayal of the LDS Church, I must address the

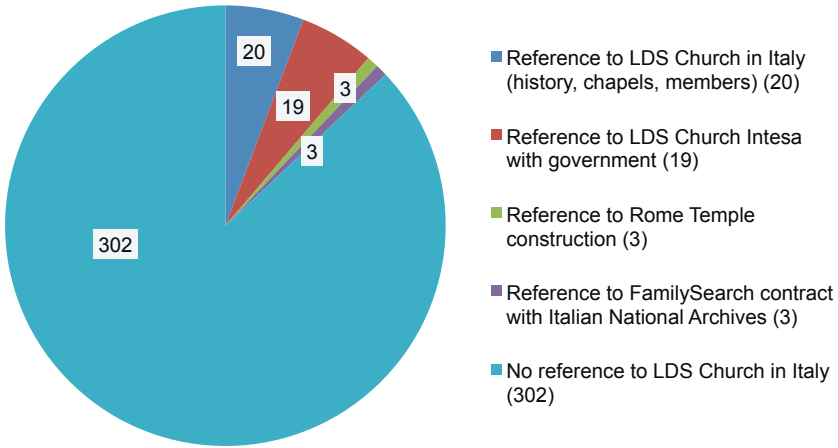
43. "La pelle di Gesù. Un problema per Romney?" *Giornaletismo.com*, July 28, 2012; R. Hofstadter, "Lo stile paranoico nella politica Americana," *Rivista di Politica*, March 1, 2012.

preliminary question on the frequency of these reports, which the data indicate is relatively slight. Indeed, out of 344 articles examined, 302 (about 88 percent) make no reference to the LDS Church in Italy at all. This leaves only 42 articles that address Italian Mormonism to some degree. As I further examined these particular articles, I was especially interested in assessing the relative weight of three significant events that have recently taken place, or are in process, in the context of Italian Mormonism. The first historic event was the signing into law of the “Intesa” between the LDS Church and the Italian government in the summer of 2012. This agreement makes the LDS Church a partner of the state, thus equating it to Catholicism and to other major churches in receiving full recognition in all its interactions with the Italian government. A second historic event, which is presently in process, is the construction in the Rome metropolitan area of the first LDS temple in Italy, which is scheduled for completion in 2015. The third key event of 2012 was the signing of a contract between FamilySearch (the genealogical organization operated by the LDS Church) and the Italian National Archives, which allows FamilySearch to digitize all the records of the Italian archives. It is quite evident that all three events represent major developments for Mormonism’s presence in Italy. Did the Italian media reflect this significance? (fig. 8).

Of the three events, the Intesa between the Italian government and the LDS Church was certainly the one that received the most coverage by the Italian media. I found 19 references to it, most of which only listed it as new legislation without any further elaboration. However, a few articles commented on the implications of this agreement, which the government also signed with a few other religions at the same time.⁴⁴ On the other hand, the ongoing construction of the Rome temple was not the focus of much attention at all, since I identified only three references to it. Three is also the number of articles addressing the contract between the Italian National Archives and FamilySearch.⁴⁵ It may be surprising to see such a low number of articles mentioning these

44. “In discussione alla camera l’intesa dei Mormoni,” *Buonanotizia.org*, June 18, 2012; “Senato: Definitiva approvazione intese con tre confessioni religiose,” *Buonanotizia.org*, July 20, 2012; S. Ceccanti, “Un passo in avanti verso la libertà religiosa,” *L’Unità*, August 9, 2012, 15; F. Giansoldati, “Buddisti, mormoni e ortodossi ammessi all’otto per mille,” *Il Messaggero*, September 14, 2012, 17.

45. E. Rosaspina, “I Mormoni costruiscono online l’archivio degli antenati in Italia,” *Corriere della Sera*, October 26, 2012, 31; S. Sansonetti and R. Gaggiardini, “Mormoni pronti a schedare l’Italia,” *Italia Oggi*, October 25, 2012, 12.

FIGURE 8. How Visible Is the Italian LDS Church?

historical events of Italian Mormonism; however, I should provide some qualifications to place these findings in their proper perspective. First, since the groundbreaking for the Rome temple took place in 2010 and completion is expected in 2015, the year 2012 fits in the middle of the interim period of construction, which does not usually attract much media attention. Second, all three references to the contract between FamilySearch and the National Archives appeared in late October, thus closely approaching the end date of my survey. It is likely that the time frame of my analysis simply did not allow the event sufficient time to receive significant media attention. Only an examination of articles from November and December 2012 could establish whether this was indeed the case.

At any rate, the 42 articles identified included 20 references to Italian Mormonism that were unrelated to these historical events. Usually the focus was either a description of activities that had taken place in local congregations or interviews with a handful of selected local members. As already alluded to in a previous section, those articles that reported on Italian Latter-day Saints were generally positive in their overall evaluations of the faith. For example, one article interviewed two Italian LDS families who are well known among Latter-day Saints in northern Italy; it was published in the prominent weekly periodical *Panorama*, which is listed as the top-selling news magazine in Italy. Despite sarcastic remarks about the high number of children in the families, their conservative dress, and their dietary practices, the article

shows that Mormons, even though strange in some of their practices, are good and decent people.⁴⁶ The only article that was unambiguously negative reported that an unnamed political candidate claimed a group of Mormons had offered 700 votes in exchange for 5,000 Euros.⁴⁷ Sergio Zicari, the LDS Church representative responsible for communications with the press, immediately responded with a written message that both expressed dismay for the defamatory accusation and issued an invitation to the reporter for further dialogue.⁴⁸ I do not know if this meeting ever took place, but I have been told by the Church's Italian public relations office that individual contact with reporters, as would be expected, tends to facilitate understanding and better relationships with the media. It is also of note that local media reported extensively on the construction of the new church building in the city of Pordenone.⁴⁹

In conclusion, the articles that focused exclusively on Italian Mormonism were, as a whole, more positive in their evaluation of the faith than the many others that approached Mormonism in its American setting, whether in relation to Mitt Romney or not. What I gather from this evidence is a confirmation of the fact that a phenomenon studied from a distance and in a foreign setting is likely to give rise to more suspicion and prejudice than when the same phenomenon is observed locally. Thus, although only 12 percent of the articles described Mormonism in its Italian setting, the mostly positive portrait of Italian Mormons demonstrates that this is probably the most effective direction of development for the public relations of the Italian LDS Church. To be sure, the present cumulative prevalence of negative evaluations of Mormonism that I found in my analysis of Italian media in 2012 is not counter-balanced by the infrequent positive picture of Italian Mormonism. Still, I believe that Mormons in Italy have reason to be moderately optimistic about the future.

46. C. Abbate, "I comandamenti di una famiglia tipo," *Panorama*, March 7, 2012, 82–84.

47. "Il nostro voto non è in vendita, così ci offendete," *Corriere del Giorno di Puglia e Lucania*, April 19, 2012, 17.

48. "Il nostro voto non è in vendita, così ci offendete," 17.

49. C. Benotti, "Mormoni, nuovo tempio da tre milioni di Euro," *Messaggero Veneto—Ed. Pordenone*, May 13, 2012; V. Silvestrini, "Mormoni, con la decima è nata una nuova chiesa," *Il Gazzettino—Ed. Pordenone*, May 23, 2012, 8.

Conclusion

The purpose of the present analysis has been to identify the key contours of the Italian media's treatment of Mormonism within the January to October 2012 time frame. I have achieved this objective by focusing my examination on 344 media articles that contained at least one of three possible keywords, "Mormon," "Mormons," and "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." I subsequently classified these articles according to specific categories of content and proceeded to examine the data in light of three specific questions that inform the larger issue of the Italian media's treatment of Mormonism.

Massimo Introvigne, an Italian sociologist of new religions, wrote the following conclusion to his own analysis of the Italian media's portrayal of Mormonism in connection with Mitt Romney's failed run to the Republican nomination in the 2008 presidential elections:

The fact that most scholars of religion do know the basic facts about Mormons and polygamy does not easily translate into general or media awareness. Ultimately, scholarly articles, press releases by the LDS Church, and even *Big Love* (as far as parts of it are not lost in translation) will not change this situation. Only a significant presence of main-line Latter-day Saints in Italian and Central and Southern European social, cultural, and religious life will make the general public familiar with what 21st-century Mormonism is really all about. And perhaps persuade the media that it is not that unusual for a male Mormon politician to have only one wife.⁵⁰

I can only concur with Introvigne's key point, but I also see evidence of improvement where no "significant presence" has yet been achieved. For example, Introvigne found that almost 90 percent of the web articles he examined in 2008 contained historical or doctrinal errors in relation to the subject of plural marriage. Yet my own study showed that only 20 percent of the 2012 articles that discussed Mormon beliefs contained faulty information on the connection between the LDS Church and polygamy. Notwithstanding the obvious differences in the methodology, breadth, and depth of our two studies, a quick comparison between them indicates the Italian media perception of Mormonism has likely moved in the direction of more correct understanding.

50. Introvigne, "Mormon Factor in the Romney Presidential Campaign," 98–107.

Obviously, more studies are needed, both in the specific Italian context and in other international contexts, to address broader and deeper questions regarding the world's perception of Mormonism and the role of the media in shaping it. Then, with more data and with studies available from a variety of international contexts, future research could move in the direction of comparison between American and international media approaches to Mormonism. Similarities and differences would likely emerge, with great potential for analysis of several interesting questions in areas as varied as ecclesiology, missiology, and inculturation. For the time being, the year 2012 and Mitt Romney in particular have helped to put Mormonism on the Italian media's map. As an Italian Latter-day Saint, I cannot help but hope for more similar years in the future to further bring the Church out of obscurity and into the limelight.

Mauro Properzi is a native of Gorizia, Italy. He received his bachelor's degree in social work from BYU (with a minor in psychology), a master's of theological studies from Harvard Divinity School, a master's degree in psychology and religion from Cambridge University, a PhD in Mormon studies from Durham University in the U.K., and a postdoctoral certificate in interfaith dialogue from the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome, Italy. He has taught in the Philosophy Department of Utah Valley University, and since fall 2011 he has been employed full time at Brigham Young University, where he teaches classes on world religions and Christianity. His main research interests include LDS–Catholic dialogue, the theology of religions, moral theology/ethics, and Mormon studies. He has published in the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, the *Journal of Mormon History*, and *Issues in Religion and Psychotherapy*.

His heartfelt gratitude goes to three undergraduate research assistants at Brigham Young University—Giulia Cacciatore, Giuseppe Vinci, and Christian Maynes—for their invaluable help in reviewing, categorizing, and referencing the high volume of articles examined in this study. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Mormon Media Studies Symposium at BYU. Special thanks also go to those in attendance at the symposium, especially the conference organizer, Sherry Baker, for suggestions that improved the quality of this analysis.

Appendix

My analysis clearly shows that the Italian media does not generally use the full name of the LDS Church when writing about its members or about its beliefs. In fact, 270 articles, or 78 percent of all the sources examined, use only the more commonly recognized term Mormon, in both singular and plural forms, to refer to the religion and to its adepts. An additional 64 articles, or 28 percent, use both "Mormon" and the full name of the Church in their nomenclature. Only 10 sources, or 3 percent of the total, use exclusively the full name of the Church, but these articles are not typical media reports, because their focus is new legislation, usually quoted in its official form, with little or no accompanying commentary. Indeed, these articles are official reports of the signing of the Intesa between the LDS Church and the Italian government. These findings are not surprising, since the overwhelming prevalence of the term "Mormon" in the media is probably not unusual in any part of the world, with the only possible exception being the Intermountain West area of the United States.

However, other findings point to unique uses of the term "Mormon" that are not as likely to occur in the United States. For example, the Italian media automatically associates the state of Utah with Mormonism and therefore speaks of the local professional basketball team, the Utah Jazz, as "the Mormons" or comments on the high attendance at one of their games with expressions indicating that the arena was full of Mormons.⁵¹ Furthermore, a few articles described the construction of a National Security Agency facility in Bluffdale, Utah, as an illustration of "Mormon espionage" rather than as a government project.⁵² Other articles confuse the religion of the Amish with the religion of Latter-day Saints, a mistake that was solidified several years ago by the unfortunate Italian dubbing of the popular 1985 Hollywood film *Witness*, in which the term "Mormons" is used in reference to the Amish. Articles that do not clearly distinguish

51. E. Campana, "NBA, da Oklahoma grande basket . . . with Love," *Pallarancione.com*, March 24, 2012; E. Campana, "NBA, Dwight Howard vuole la testa di coach Van Gundy!" *Pallarancione.com*, April 6, 2012; "Folle corsa nella Western Conference," *Paperblog.com*, April 6, 2012; "NBA: Jazz ai playoffs, Suns fuori," *Paperblog.com*, April 25, 2012; "Utah Jazz: Contro tutti i pronostici!" *Parrotized.it*, April 3, 2012.

52. "La città delle spie," *Giornaletismo.com*, March 16, 2012; S. Trincia, "Tutti gli spioni nel mondo," *Il Secolo XIX*, April 5, 2012, 41–42; "La città delle spie," *Taggatore.com*, March 16, 2012; "Il grande fratello? La sua casa è nello Utah," *Corriere.it*, March 16, 2012.

between fundamentalist Mormons and mainstream Latter-day Saints further contribute to the confusion with pictures that highlight similarity in dress in Amish and Fundamentalist women.⁵³

It is also interesting to review the various contexts or topics that emerge from media references to Mormonism, whether correct or incorrect. Some tourist-guide articles point to historical markers relating to Mormon history,⁵⁴ while a few other articles focus instead on Mormon contributions to technology.⁵⁵ One article eulogizes the recently deceased LDS mechanical engineer Roger Boisjoly, well known for his unheeded opposition to the *Challenger's* fatal launch. However, in reference to Boisjoly's critics, the writer quickly adds, "How can one blame them? Who would believe the words of a Mormon?"⁵⁶ Another article, which probably belongs to the thematic category of popular culture, makes a puzzling comment on "Las Vegas style weddings in Mormon chapels."⁵⁷

Finally, many other articles with references to Mormons or Mormonism derive from the world of music and entertainment. In addition to the expected coverage of the Broadway musical *The Book of Mormon*, several writers highlight the Mormon connection of actors, actresses, and singers.⁵⁸ The most famous celebrities mentioned are actors Katherine Heigl and Ryan Gosling, whose parents were Mormon, as well as lead singer

53. "Berlino 2012: I nostri premi," *film-review.it*, February 17, 2012; P. Mastrolilli, "Il nuovo 'Girls' power erede di 'Sex and the City,'" *LaStampa.it*, April 15, 2012; S. Sinclair, "Questa è la nostra vita," *VanityFair*, September 12, 2012, 2–5.

By way of personal anecdote, as a young high school student growing up in Italy, I remember a geography lecture focused on the Western part of the United States. The teacher then decided to speak about the Mormon presence in the West for a few minutes, but the presentation in its totality was really about the Amish.

54. G. Barbieri, "California dreamin'," *Caravan & Camper*, February 1, 2012, 102–7; M. Venturi, "Mandelli a capo nord, Merigo nel West," *Bresciaoggi*, September 2, 2012, 14; "Il Mississippi in Kayak: Faresin incontra Variati," *Vicenza-Più.com*, January 24, 2012.

55. "Università Americana di Mormoni ricrea l'arpione motorizzato di Batman—Immagini e video," *Gadgetblog.it*, April 26, 2012.

56. "Roger Boisjoly (1938–2012)," *Paperblog.com*, February 14, 2012.

57. L. Bresciani, "Il matrimonio perfetto," *Madre Magazine*, April 1, 2012, 44–46.

58. A. Curtolo, "Mormoni caustici e ballerini," *Domenica (Il Sole 24 Ore)*, February 26, 2012, 45; "I Mormoni star di Broadway," *Italia Oggi*, March 13, 2012, 12; "I Mormoni star di Broadway," *Yahoo.it*, March 13, 2012.

Brandon Flowers from the rock band The Killers.⁵⁹ Other less well-known singers are also mentioned, but almost in all cases the individual's level of identification with the faith remains undefined.⁶⁰ Reviews of popular books contribute a few Mormon references, although the faith never appears to be in the forefront, and the brief allusions only add to the ambiguity.⁶¹ To end on a musical note, one writer demonstrates good knowledge of LDS hymnody in her commentary on the lyrics of the hymn "Jesus the Very Thought of Thee," which, she adds, is also sung by the Mormons.⁶²

59. W. Boswell, "The Killers Brandon predica al deserto," *Rolling Stone Magazine*, October 10, 2012; B. Giurato, "Alternativi ma conservatori, boom dei rockettari Mormoni," *Il Giornale*, September 19, 2012, 29; "Ryan Gosling," *Parrotized.it*, May 30, 2012; "Se non sei Mormone non sei una star," *Tempi.it*, February 2, 2012; "Ryan Gosling, star già a 11 anni," *TgCom24.it*, June 20, 2012.

60. M. Matteotti, "Jessica Hoop: se il talento ha . . . Quattro facce della medaglia," *Il Giornale di Brescia*, July 7, 2012, 61; C. Fistone, "19 Febbraio '12: Elita Sundaypark e il barcamp di Torno Giovedì," *MondoRosaShokking.com*, February 17, 2012.

61. S. Ginzberg, "Il cielo in una storia," *La Repubblica*, August 31, 2012, 45; M. Middles, "Letture," *Rumore Magazine* August 9, 2012, 100–1; M. Pazienza, "Il segreto della genesi," *Paperblog.com*, April 26, 2012; U. Splendore, "Profumo di lavanda profumo di libertà," *Luna Nuova*, February 7, 2012, 3.

62. L. Cervigni, "Gesù dolce ricordo di dolcezza," *L'Emanuele*, September 1, 2012, 17–20.

Pantoum for Trevin, Who Loves to Vacuum

Nineteen going on six, cocooned without words, he points to machines. Who can save us from dust? A static of birds, the sky chirring *yes*. He points to machines and waits till you name each noise—a static of birds, the sky chirring *yes*. He kisses the vacuum and waits till you name each noise, hello bright world, a ritual he craves. He kisses the vacuum, and the thrumming mouth begins to graze. Hello bright world. A ritual he craves: leaving swoopy trails in shag. And the thrumming mouth begins to graze. Call this a test, leaving swoopy trails in shag, the dirt we take up, the clean left behind. Call this a test: what stations we create, the dirt we take up, the clean left behind. Another day, another vacuum. What stations we create, fermatas of longing, particles of God. Another day, another vacuum: dark matter we pass through, fermatas of longing, particles of God. Just another boy gurgling like a storm—dark matter we pass through. Who can save us from dust? Just another boy gurgling like a storm, nineteen going on six, cocooned without words.

—Lance Larsen

(Originally appeared in *Pool: A Journal of Poetry*)

Teaching Correct Principles

The Experience of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Responding to Widespread Social Acceptance of Elective Abortion

Lynn D. Wardle

“I teach them correct principles, and they govern themselves.”

—Joseph Smith¹

I. INTRODUCTION:

THE CHALLENGE OF MAINTAINING HIGH MORAL PRINCIPLES IN AN AGE OF LOW MORAL STANDARDS

One of the challenges facing any faith community is to help the rising generation understand, appreciate, and commit to live high moral principles of the faith that differ significantly from the predominant social values and practices of the day. How do the leaders of a religious community instill in their young people the integrity to embrace and adhere to high moral standards relating to controversial practices like elective abortion,² when such behaviors have become socially popular?

This article discusses how The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints responded to the increasing social acceptance of elective abortion in the decades when a dramatic evolution occurred in social values and legal policies regarding the practice (beginning in the mid-1960s).

1. “The Organization of the Church,” *Millennial Star* 13 (November 15, 1851): 339.

2. The term “elective abortions” is used herein to mean abortions that are performed for reasons of personal preference and choice and not because of medical necessity or a comparably rare and severe moral dilemma entailing extreme dangers such as (1) otherwise irremediable and grave threat to the life of the mother; (2) extreme, severe risk to the health of the mother; (3) irreversible, imminent, and terminal condition of the unborn child; or (4) rape or incest.

Lynn D. Wardle

I have taught family law and other subjects at the J. Reuben Clark Law School at BYU since 1978, with time out for visits to teach at schools in Japan, China, Australia, Slovakia, and elsewhere. After serving a mission in the Southern Far East (Philippines) Mission, I graduated from BYU in 1971, Duke Law School in 1974, was a law clerk for U.S. District Court Judge, the Hon. John J. Sirica, in 1974–75, and practiced law in Arizona for three years before joining the faculty at BYU.



My wife, Marian, and I are parents of two children and grandparents of eight.

I became interested in the regulation of abortion while a law student when *Roe v. Wade* was being argued in and decided by the Supreme Court. I have authored or coauthored two law books and over a dozen law review articles specifically about abortion law. I have supported and served in responsible pro-life organizations.

Some of my friends in academia have been incredulous that in Provo, a college town with at least 30,000 full-time students, there is not even one abortion clinic. The power of teaching correct (including gospel) principles to motivate men and women (including young adults) to resist the pressures of the world is evident, is encouraging, and merits further consideration.

It is not always popular or easy for members of the Church to stand up and support public policy positions that reflect and embody correct principles. But the long-term benefits of their doing so are great and important not only to their own character as individuals but also for the benefit of society and its future generations.

It emphasizes the importance of “the word”—of “teaching correct principles”—to cultivate respect for the sanctity of life in prochoice/abortion times. Of course, corresponding to “the word” must be policies and programs (such as prenatal care, parenting preparation, responsible marriage preparation, adoption options, and other basic social services) that assist women and families who face the moral challenges and who also experience unplanned pregnancies. But the focus of this article is on “the word,” because it is fundamental and foundational; it encourages development of practical programs and explains the long-range and immediate value of offering and using such services.

This article reviews LDS official policies and the teachings of General Authorities about elective abortion, beginning with Joseph Smith. It discusses formal Church policies and informal Mormon social values.³ The article provides some social context regarding abortion developments in the United States in the last third of the twentieth century, considers the theological basis for LDS abortion doctrines, examines the main themes regarding abortion, and reviews enforcement of those Church policies. It also identifies prominent themes in LDS teachings about elective abortion and notes the effect of such teachings on Church members.

II. CONDEMNATION OF ELECTIVE ABORTION BY CHURCH LEADERS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Statements, actions, and policies rejecting and denouncing elective abortion have been prominent in the LDS Church for about 180 years, beginning shortly after the Church was organized in 1830. Even in the early years of the Church, before laws forbidding abortion were universally enacted and when the covert practice of elective abortion was not uncommon in America, Mormon leaders expressed and enforced strong doctrinal and moral positions condemning and disciplining those who engaged in the practice.

A. Condemnation of Abortion in the Days of Joseph Smith

An 1831 revelation to Joseph Smith, canonized as section 59 of the Doctrine and Covenants, declares: “Thou shalt not . . . kill, nor do anything

3. John W. Welch, “Toward a Mormon Jurisprudence,” *Regent University Law Review* 21 (2009): 81. “The term ‘Latter-day Saint’ is better reserved for official doctrines, policies, or programs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.”

like unto it” (D&C 59:6). That verse has been understood and repeatedly interpreted to include abortion, specifically.⁴

A decade later, in 1841, the issue arose in Nauvoo, Illinois, then the headquarters of the Church, when John C. Bennett, a prominent physician, briefly became an influential LDS Church leader (including Assistant President in the First Presidency, major general of the Nauvoo Legion, and mayor of Nauvoo).⁵ Soon after his rise to prominence, it became known that he was committing adultery, practicing unauthorized polygamy, and offering to perform abortions.⁶ Bennett used his alleged ability to perform abortion in case of pregnancy to try to persuade some women to engage in immoral sexual relations with him. For example, one witness testified that “Dr. Bennett told her that he could cause abortion with perfect safety to the mother, at any stage of pregnancy, and that he had frequently destroyed and removed infants before their time to prevent exposure of the parties, and that he had instruments for that purpose &c.”⁷ Bennett

4. See, for example, Russell M. Nelson, “Abortion: An Assault on the Defenseless,” *Ensign* 38 (October 2008): 32–33. “This matters greatly to us because the Lord has repeatedly declared this divine imperative: ‘Thou shalt not kill.’ Then He added, ‘Nor do anything like unto it’” (quoting D&C 59:6). See also note 66 and accompanying text.

5. “John was elected mayor of Nauvoo, Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, [] Chancellor of Nauvoo University . . . and was appointed Assistant to Joseph Smith.” Susan Easton Black, *Who’s Who in the Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 13–15. Bennett was sustained as “Assistant President with the First Presidency.” 2012 *Deseret News Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 2012), 106. Bennett was sustained “with the First Presidency as Assistant President until President Rigdon’s health should be restored.” Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 4:341 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

6. It may have been John C. Bennett to whom Heber C. Kimball referred in one sermon delivered in 1857 in the Bowery in Salt Lake City, when he stated that he and his wife had been taught to “to send for a doctor and get rid of the child,” when she became pregnant, in order to have sex “to gratify lust.” Heber C. Kimball, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 5:91, July 26, 1857. “Several females . . . testified that John C. Bennett endeavored to seduce them, . . . [saying] it was perfectly right to have illicit intercourse with females, providing no one knew it but themselves, vehemently trying them from day to day, to yield to his passions, . . . and that he would give them medicine to produce abortions, provided they should become pregnant.” Affidavit of Hyrum Smith, in *History of the Church*, 5:71.

7. “The Sarah Pratt Case,” in Richard and Pamela Price, *Joseph Smith Fought Polygamy: How Men Nearest the Prophet Attached Polygamy to His Name in*

was caught in adultery; he professed repentance and was forgiven. But when he was caught again in immoral behavior, he was excommunicated from the Church, left Nauvoo, and became a bitter enemy of the Church and of Joseph Smith.⁸

B. Condemnation of Abortion in Nineteenth-Century Utah

After the main body of Mormons had moved to the remote American West, public sermons strongly condemning abortion were frequently made by Church leaders. For example, in response to strong criticisms and severe persecution for their open practice of Old Testament-style plural marriage, leaders of the Church sometimes responded by contrasting their love for their families and their children with the hypocrisy of their critics in the eastern United States who kept mistresses and aborted the children of their illicit liaisons.⁹ More than twenty public sermons delivered by Church leaders between 1857 and 1885 strongly condemning abortion were published in the *Journal of Discourses*. For example, Apostle and Counselor in the First Presidency Heber C. Kimball (and grandfather of the twelfth President of the LDS Church) declared in an 1857 sermon:

The [religious leaders] of the day in the whole world keep women, just the same as the gentlemen of the Legislatures do. The great men of the earth keep from two to three, and perhaps half a dozen private women. They are not acknowledged openly, but are kept merely to gratify their lusts; and if they get in the family way, they call for the doctors, and also upon females who practice under the garb of midwives, to kill the children, and thus they are depopulating their own species. [Voice: “And their names shall come to an end.”] Yes, because they shed innocent blood.

I knew that before I received “Mormonism,” I have known of lots of women calling for a doctor to destroy their children; and there are many of the women in this enlightened age and in the most popular towns and cities in the Union that take a course to get rid of their children. The whole nation is guilty of it. I am telling the truth. I won’t call it infanticide. You know I am famous for calling things by their names.

Order to Justify Their Own Polygamous Crimes (updated June 26, 2011); Testimony of Mrs. Goddard, available at <http://restorationbookstore.org/articles/nopoligamy/jsfp-visionarticles/sarahprattcase.htm>).

8. Price and Price, “Sarah Pratt Case.” See also Black, *Who’s Who in the Doctrine and Covenants*, 13–15.

9. See, for example, Heber C. Kimball, in *Journal of Discourses*, 5:91, July 26, 1857.

I have been taught it, and my wife was taught it in our young days, when she got into the family way, to send for a doctor and get rid of the child, so as to live with me to gratify lust. It is God's truth, and I know the person that did it. This is depopulating the human species; and the curse of God will come upon that man, and upon that woman, and upon those cursed doctors. There is scarcely one of them that is free from the sin. It is just as common as it is for wheat to grow. . . .

One hundred years won't pass away before my posterity will outnumber the present inhabitants of the State of New York, because I do not destroy my offspring. I am doing the works of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and if I live and be a good man, and my wives are as good as they should be, I will raise up men yet, that will come through my loins, that will be as great men as ever came to this earth, and so will you.¹⁰

Brigham Young, the great prophet-leader of the Church in this period, condemned the "various devices . . . used by married persons to prevent the expenses and responsibilities of a family of children" and decried that abortion (which he compared to infanticide), which had previously been "practiced . . . in fear and against a reproving conscience, is now boldly trumpeted abroad as one of the best means of ameliorating the miseries and sorrows of humanity."¹¹

In 1879, Apostle (and later third President of the Church) John Taylor declared:

The standing law of God is, be fruitful and multiply; but these reformers are "swift to shed blood," even the blood of innocence; and with their pre-natal murders and other crimes, are slaying their thousands and tens of thousands with impunity, to say nothing of that other loathsome, disgusting, filthy institution of modern Christendom "the social evil," as well as other infamous practices. We must protest against foeticide, infanticide, and other abominable practices of Christendom being forced upon us, either in the shape of legislative enactment, judicial decision or any other adjunct of so-called civilization. We are American citizens and are not yet deprived of the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.¹²

10. Heber C. Kimball, in *Journal of Discourses*, 5:91–92, July 26, 1857. Heber Kimball's grandson, Spencer W. Kimball, was the President of the Church when I came across this prophetic statement.

11. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 12:120, August 17, 1867.

12. John Taylor, in *Journal of Discourses*, 20:355, November 30, 1879. The "other loathsome . . . institution" Taylor referred to could possibly be prostitution.

Likewise, in 1882, Apostle Joseph F. Smith (also later a President of the Church) declared in a sermon in Salt Lake City:

We are called an “immoral people.” Well, is the world so very moral? Are our accusers so very pure and holy and so extremely righteous that they should accuse us of being immoral? . . . There is not a more moral people upon the face of the earth to-day than the Latter-day Saints. . . . I will venture to say that there are half as many children murdered among [the most virtuous Americans] annually, either before or after their birth, by their own mothers or fathers, as are born to the Latter-day Saints in the same period. The Latter-day Saints are proverbial for not murdering their children. They have hosts of them, and they do not try to destroy them neither before nor after birth, but endeavor to rear them to manhood and womanhood, that they may teach them the principles of the Gospel of Christ—the highest code of morals known, that they may be able to bear off the kingdom of God upon the earth, and to regenerate the world. This is the object for which the Latter-day Saints are raising children, that God may have a pure and a righteous people.¹³

In addition to these statements recorded in *Journal of Discourses*, the First Presidency also wrote an epistle that was read in the April 1885 general conference while Presidents John Taylor and George Q. Cannon were in hiding from federal officials. In this epistle, they included the following statement: “And we again take this opportunity of warning the Latter-day Saints against those murderous and damning practices of foeticide and infanticide. . . . These fiendish practices are becoming so common that one of the most reliable historians positively asserts that ‘millions do them, because they think they cannot afford to raise children.’”¹⁴

So LDS condemnation of elective abortion by the Church leaders in the nineteenth century was a clear, strong, and oft-expressed position.

The context of the times is not irrelevant to the early LDS condemnation of abortion. When Joseph Smith organized the restored Church of Jesus Christ, most Christian faiths formally condemned elective abortion.¹⁵ Indeed, respect for the sanctity of innocent human life, especially

13. Joseph F. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 24:10–11, October 29, 1882.

14. John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, in James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 3:11.

15. See Marvin N. Olasky, *The Press and Abortion: 1838–1988* (Hillsdale, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates, 1988).

a strong ethic of protective care for children—born and *in utero*—was a hallmark of Christianity from the earliest days of the primitive church.¹⁶

Thus, the LDS Church's position against elective abortion in the nineteenth century was not unusual but was quite consistent with long-established Christian teachings. However, the implementation and internalization of those pro-life values may have distinguished Mormons from some other nineteenth-century and twentieth-century faith communities.

III. CONDEMNATION OF ELECTIVE ABORTION BY CHURCH LEADERS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The nineteenth-century LDS General Authority statements condemning abortion defined a very clear doctrine and position sufficient for

16. As the early church of Christ spread throughout the Roman world and encountered the socially approved practice of abortion, Christian leaders of the first centuries clearly and consistently condemned abortion. The practice of elective abortion was among the social evils that the Apostles and Christian fathers condemned as “works of darkness” (Eph. 5:11). One of the corruptions of that day that the Apostle Paul specifically condemned in his epistles was “pharmakeia,” which is a Greek word meaning “the employment of drugs with occult properties for a variety of purposes, including, in particular, contraception or abortion.” John Noonan, “An Almost Absolute Value in History,” in *The Morality of Abortion: Legal and Historical Perspectives*, ed. John T. Noonan Jr. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 8–9. For example, Canon XCI. of the Sixth Ecumenical Council declared: “Whoever gives or receives medicine to produce abortion is a homicide.” Likewise, Canon XXI. of Ancyra, and Canon II. of St. Basil provide: “She who purposely destroys the foetus, shall suffer the punishment of murder. And we pay no attention to the subtle distinction as to whether the foetus was formed or unformed. And by this not only is justice satisfied for the child that should have been born, but also for her who prepared for herself the snares, since the women very often die who make such experiments.” Henry R. Percival, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 14 of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, second series, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Edinburgh: T and T Clark; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1981), available at http://christianbookshelf.org/schaff/the_seven_ecumenical_councils/canon_xci_those_who_give.htm. Likewise, the “Christian Fathers,” including Clement, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Augustine, Jerome, and Basil, recorded clearly how deeply they abhorred the practice of abortion. Summarized in Wardle and Wood, *Lawyer Looks at Abortion*, 28. For example, the Didache (or “Teachings of the Lord to the Gentiles by the Twelve Apostles”) from the first century expressly commands, “Thou shalt do no murder, . . . thou shalt not murder a child by abortion, nor kill them when born.” Didache 2:2, available at <http://www.spurgeon.org/~phil/didache.htm>; for another translation, see Didache 2:2, available at <http://thededidache.com/>.

the needs and issues of the times until more than a decade after World War II. Then, a variety of medical, demographic, and social changes created new challenges and pressures relating to elective abortion. Since then, the number and frequency of General Authority statements condemning and rejecting elective abortion has dramatically increased.

A. The Legalization and Social Acceptance of Elective Abortion in the United States

There has been a major change in the social acceptance of elective abortion in the United States during the past fifty years.¹⁷ Historically, elective abortion had been consistently condemned socially and prohibited at common law in England from at least the twelfth century and in the United States from colonial times.¹⁸ After World War II, with the development and application of penicillin and other drugs that reduced the risk of morbidity and mortality from abortion procedures, a movement to legalize abortion began. In 1962, the American Law Institute proposed that the historic exception to laws prohibiting abortion be broadened to allow for therapeutic legal abortion not only in cases of risk to maternal life but also to include risk to maternal health, cases

17. The transformation of the moral rating of abortion has been a worldwide phenomenon, not limited to the United States alone. “Nineteen countries have significantly reduced restrictions in their abortion laws since 1997, while only three countries have substantially increased legal restrictions.” Susan A. Cohen, “Guttmacher Responds to Critics of Global Abortion Study,” *RH Reality Check*, October 20, 2009, <http://www.rhrealitycheck.org/blog/2009/10/20/a-response-critics-guttmacher-study-global-abortion-trends>. A 2008 WorldPublicOpinion.org survey conducted in eighteen of the largest countries in the world found that majorities in only seven countries favored government efforts to discourage abortions; and majorities in seventeen out of eighteen countries opposed criminal penalties to prevent abortions. “World Publics Reject Criminal Penalties for Abortion,” WorldPublicOpinion.org, June 18, 2008, http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/btjusticehuman_rightsra/492.php?nid=&id=&pnt=492. Stanley K. Henshaw, Susheela Singh, and Taylor Haas, “The Incidence of Abortion Worldwide,” *International Family Planning Perspectives* 25 (1999, Supp.): S30–38, reports on numbers and rates of abortion in most nations worldwide. However, because this article focuses on the LDS faith community in the United States, the discussion of the history of abortion is limited to the United States.

18. See generally Joseph W. Dellapenna, *Dispelling the Myths of Abortion History* (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2006), 185–406; Wardle and Wood, *Lawyer Looks at Abortion*, 27–44. See note 17 above.

of fetal deformity, and rape or incest.¹⁹ By 1972, thirteen states had adopted abortion reforms based on that ALI proposal.²⁰ These reforms maintained the general prohibition of *elective* abortion, but by creating exceptions to the abortion prohibition for three hard cases of significant medical necessity or moral dilemma, they reflected a lessening of social disapproval of therapeutic abortion. A more radical change was manifest in 1970, when four other states (Alaska, Hawaii, New York, and Washington) legalized abortion on demand for a limited period during pregnancy (ranging from twelve to twenty-four weeks of pregnancy).²¹

Advocates of elective abortion were dissatisfied with their slow progress in getting legislatures to repeal laws that prohibited elective abortion, so they began a litigation campaign to overturn those laws in the courts. On January 22, 1973, that campaign triumphed when the United States Supreme Court announced its decisions in *Roe v. Wade*²² and *Doe v. Bolton*²³ and declared unconstitutional (in *Roe*) the nineteenth-century Texas abortion law that prohibited abortion except when necessary to save the life of the mother, as well as declared unconstitutional (in *Doe*) most of the provisions of the 1962 ALI Model Penal Code that maintained the general prohibition of abortion but expanded the exceptions to include the three “hard cases” noted above.²⁴ The rulings in *Roe* and *Doe* effectively invalidated the abortion laws in all fifty states and required all states to repeal all laws restricting elective abortion—or at least those applicable before the third (last) trimester of pregnancy. Those twin rulings also legitimated the practice of elective abortion as a fundamental right protected by our Constitution.

Roe and *Doe* were only the tip of the iceberg of judicial protection of elective abortion in American law. Since then, the U.S. Supreme Court has decided at least forty-six significant abortion cases, including at least thirty-seven major constitutional decisions that have dealt with some aspect of constitutional protection for elective abortion.²⁵ These cases not only embedded first the abortion “privacy” doctrine and later the abortion “liberty” doctrine in American constitutional law but dramatically

19. American Law Institute, *Model Penal Code* § 230.3 (1962).

20. See Wardle and Wood, *Lawyer Looks at Abortion*, 42–43.

21. Wardle and Wood, *Lawyer Looks at Abortion*, 42–43.

22. 410 U.S. 113 (1973).

23. 410 U.S. 179 (1973).

24. See note 19 above and accompanying text.

25. See Lynn D. Wardle, “Instilling Pro-Life Moral Principles in Difficult Times,” *Ave Maria Law Review* 11 (Spring 2013), 299–365, at appendix I.

expanded the doctrines to regulate such issues as parental consent, spousal notification, disposition of fetal remains, abortion funding, sidewalk “counseling,” antiabortion demonstrations, routine health clinic regulations, restriction of partial-birth abortion (more accurately, infanticide), and so forth.²⁶ For example, Chief Justice Burger joined in the original *Roe* and *Doe* opinions with a separate concurring opinion optimistically suggesting that those decisions did not endorse “abortion on demand” and would not have the “sweeping consequences attributed to them by the dissenting Justices.”²⁷ Thirteen years later, he wrote a strong dissent in *Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists*, conceding: “I regretfully conclude that some of the concerns of the dissenting Justices in *Roe* . . . have now been realized.”²⁸

While *Roe* was the pivotal event in the social transformation of the moral acceptance of elective abortion in America in the last half of the twentieth century,²⁹ the Supreme Court decisions alone did not

26. See Wardle and Wood, *Lawyer Looks at Abortion*, 47–168.

27. 410 U.S. 179, 208 (Burger, C. J., concurring).

28. 476 U.S. 747, 782–83 (1986) (Burger, C. J., dissenting). In *Thornburgh*, the Court invalidated a Pennsylvania statute requiring that a woman “be informed of the name of the physician” who had performed the abortion, the “particular medical risks” of the abortion procedure to be used, the risks of childbirth, the possibility of “detrimental physical and psychological effects,” of medical assistance benefits available for childbirth and prenatal care, the fact that the father would be liable for assistance in supporting the child, and “agencies offering alternatives to abortion.” For the Court, Justice Blackmun sharply condemned the provisions as designed to deter the exercise of freedom of choice. Requiring disclosure of facts of fetal development was also invalidated after Justice Blackmun characterized them as nothing less than an attempt to discourage abortion and intrude into the privacy of the woman and her physician. Other provisions were impermissibly designed to protect the life and interests of the viable fetus subject to abortion. The majority invalidated requirements that the physician performing postviability abortions exercise the degree of care required to preserve the life and health of an unborn child intended to be born alive and to use the abortion technique that would provide the best opportunity for the unborn child to be born alive, unless it would present a significantly greater medical risk to the woman’s life or health. The decision also invalidated a requirement that a second physician be present during the performance of an abortion when the fetus was possibly viable. The majority condemned the “wrongful intent” of the legislature and invalidated the regulations. Four justices dissented.

29. Indeed, after the high point of abortion law reform in 1970 (when Hawaii became the first state to legalize abortion on demand, New York allowed abortion until the 24th week of pregnancy, and Alaska and Washington adopted very

trigger this transformation.³⁰ The trend toward acceptance of elective abortion as morally approved had begun and grown in the decade before the 1973 *Roe* and *Doe* decisions. For example, a study by Judith Blake, published in *Science* magazine, reporting on three specially commissioned Gallup polls between 1962 and 1969, and a 1965 National Fertility study to track public opinion regarding abortions for four specific reasons, found that during the decade preceding *Roe*, disapproval of abortion “where the health of the mother is in danger” fell from 16 percent to 13 percent; disapproval of abortion “where the child may be born deformed” fell from 29 percent to 25 percent; disapproval of abortion “where the family does not have enough money to support another child” fell from 74 percent to 68 percent; and disapproval of abortion simply because the parents do not want more children fell from 91 percent (in 1965) to 79 percent.³¹ Another study by Blake of public opinion surveys from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s (ending four years after *Roe*) found that disapproval of permissive legal abortion fell more than 20 percentage points, from 85 percent to 63 percent in one set of surveys, and from 91 percent to 76 percent in another set of surveys (covering a five-year period).³² Gallup surveys showed that “opposition to elective abortion . . . clearly declined . . . from the high of 85 percent in 1968 to 63 percent in 1974 and 1977.”³³ Most of the rise in approval of elective abortion came *before* the Supreme Court decision in *Roe*, according to Blake.³⁴ Perhaps not surprisingly, though, the number of reported abortions rose from less than 2 percent of U.S. pregnancies aborted in 1973 to 30 percent in 1980; the rate leveled for about a decade, then began a

permissive abortion laws) and before the Supreme Court decisions in January 1973, only one state liberalized its abortion laws, and that by adopting the moderate ALI Model Penal Code principles. See Wardle and Wood, *Lawyer Looks at Abortion*, 43.

30. See Judith Blake, “The Supreme Court’s Abortion Decisions and Public Opinion in the United States,” *Population and Development Review* 3 (March–June 1977): 47–49.

31. Judith Blake, “Abortion and Public Opinion: The 1960–1970 Decade,” *Science* 171 (February 12, 1971): 541, table 1. She also concluded (presciently) in 1971 that “a Supreme Court ruling concerning the constitutionality of existing state restrictions is the only road to rapid change in the grounds for abortion.” Blake, “Abortion and Public Opinion,” 548.

32. Blake, “Supreme Court’s Abortion Decisions,” 48–50.

33. Blake, “Supreme Court’s Abortion Decisions,” 48–50.

34. Blake, “Supreme Court’s Abortion Decisions,” 57–58. See further Lydia Saad, “Public Opinion about Abortion—an In-Depth Review,” GPNS Special Report, *Gallup* (January 22, 2002), 2, available at <http://www.gallup.com/poll/9904/Public-Opinion-About-Abortion-InDepth-Review.aspx>.

gradual decline that seems to be continuing (with only a small rebound in the last four years).³⁵

Religiosity has long been associated with opinions about abortion. For example, in 2002, a special Gallup report noted, “The overwhelming majority of people who say religion is very important in their lives believe abortion should either be illegal or legal in only a few circumstances. Similarly, most people who say religion is not very important in their lives believe abortion should be legal in most or all circumstances.”³⁶ Other demographic factors “largely overlap with the underlying religiosity [factor].”³⁷

However, a significant change has occurred in the direction of greater social approval and practice of elective abortion by religious persons. Membership in a religious community is no guarantee of acceptance of or conformity to the moral teachings of the faith regarding disapproved practices for which there is strong support in society generally. Members of religious communities are also influenced by the same factors that influence other members of the larger society. For example, research has reported that opposition to elective abortion by members of mainstream religions fell by 10–20 percent in the dozen years following the *Roe* decision, the same period when popular support for abortion on demand was dramatically increasing in America.³⁸

B. The Response of Church Leaders to Social Acceptance and Legalization of Elective Abortion

The movement to legalize elective abortion and make it socially acceptable came when the American post–World War II “baby boom” generation was entering the young adult years and when the LDS Church missionary outreach effort was being heavily emphasized. Since abortion was generally accepted by young Americans, it was possible that outspoken opposition to abortion by Church leaders might make the LDS Church unpopular with that critical demographic group or make joining the Church less

35. The rate of abortions per 1,000 women ages 15–44 peaked in 1980 (2.93 percent of women had abortions that year), as did the ratio of abortions per known pregnancies (at 30 percent that year), while the raw number of abortions peaked in 1990 (at 1,609,000). See Wardle, “Instilling Pro-Life Moral Principles in Difficult Times,” appendixes II and III.

36. Saad, “Public Opinion about Abortion,” 1–2.

37. Saad, “Public Opinion about Abortion,” 1–2.

38. Lyman A. Kellstedt, “Abortion and the Political Process,” in *Abortion: A Christian Understanding and Response*, ed. James A. Hoffmeier (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1987), 212.

attractive to them. Nevertheless, the leaders of the LDS Church responded to the social and legal trends toward acceptance of elective abortion by expressing firmly, clearly, and repeatedly strong opposition to the practice, support, legality, or social acceptance of elective abortion.

For example, nearly two and a half years before the U.S. Supreme Court decided *Roe v. Wade*, Church leaders warned loudly against the immorality and social degradation of elective abortion. In the October 1970 general conference, four General Authorities spoke explicitly against the growing evil of abortion and the growing corruption of social morality evidenced in the acceptance of permissive abortion. All four of those men—Spencer W. Kimball, Ezra Taft Benson, Howard W. Hunter, and Gordon B. Hinckley—later served as Church Presidents. At about the same time, Thomas S. Monson, who is now President of the Church, delivered a sermon (also published in an official Church magazine) powerfully condemning elective abortion.³⁹

In April 1973, just weeks after the *Roe* decision, and specifically “in view of [that] recent decision of the United States Supreme Court,” the First Presidency reiterated the “position of the Church on abortion in order that there be no misunderstanding.”⁴⁰ They declared:

The Church opposes abortion and counsels its members not to submit to or perform an abortion except in the rare cases where, in the opinion of competent medical counsel, the life or good health of the mother is seriously endangered or where the pregnancy was caused by rape and produces serious emotional trauma in the mother. Even then it should be done only after counseling with the local presiding priesthood authority and after receiving divine confirmation through prayer.

Abortion must be considered one of the most revolting and sinful practices in this day, when we are witnessing the frightening evidence of permissiveness leading to sexual immorality.⁴¹

They also confirmed that members who are parties to abortion are subject to formal Church discipline, but that abortion is a sin that can be forgiven those who repent.⁴²

39. Thomas S. Monson, “The Women’s Movement: Liberation or Deception?” *Ensign* 1 (January 1971): 17–20. Also see text accompanying note 53 below.

40. Harold B. Lee, N. Eldon Tanner, and Marion G. Romney, “Policies and Procedures: Statement on Abortion,” *New Era* 3 (April 1973).

41. Lee, Tanner, and Romney, “Policies and Procedures: Statement on Abortion,” emphasis added.

42. Lee, Tanner, and Romney, “Policies and Procedures: Statement on Abortion.”

On March 7, 1974, just a year after *Roe*, an official designated representative of the Church testified before a U.S. Senate subcommittee hearing considering several proposed amendments to the U.S. Constitution that would reverse *Roe*. David L. McKay, a son of former Church President David O. McKay who was president of the LDS mission in New York and New England, presented a statement on behalf of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints that included the recent LDS First Presidency statement condemning the practice of abortion.⁴³ And he concluded his official statement by declaring unequivocally: “*The church is therefore against the legalization of abortion.*”⁴⁴

Every President of the Church for the past fifty years has explicitly condemned and specifically warned members of the Church in general conference and in other sermons against the evil of abortion. All eight prophets who led the Church during this era—David O. McKay, Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, Spencer W. Kimball, Ezra Taft Benson, Howard W. Hunter, Gordon B. Hinckley, and Thomas S. Monson—have declared that abortion is a grave sin and rejected the public policy of elective (or “permissive”) abortion as immoral and socially dangerous.⁴⁵

For example, President Spencer W. Kimball declared, “Abortion, the taking of life, is one of the most grievous of sins. We have repeatedly affirmed the position of the Church in unalterably opposing all abortions, except in . . . rare instances.”⁴⁶ He described it as a “heinous crime”⁴⁷ and said, “Abortion is a calamity, . . . one of the most revolting and sinful practices in this day.”⁴⁸ “This Church of Jesus Christ opposes abortion and counsels all members *not* to submit to nor participate in any abortion, in any way, for convenience or to hide sins. . . . Certainly the women who yield to this ugly sin, . . . and those who assist them, should remember that retribution is sure.”⁴⁹ President Ezra Taft Benson

43. “Statement of David L. McKay,” in *Hearings before the Subcomm. on Constitutional Amendments of the Committee on the Judiciary*, United States Senate, 93rd Cong., 2d Sess., on S.J. Res. 119 and S.J. Res. 130 at 286, 318 (March 7, 1974).

44. “Statement of David L. McKay,” emphasis added.

45. Lee, Tanner, and Romney, “Policies and Procedures: Statement on Abortion.”

46. Spencer W. Kimball, *Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 189.

47. Kimball, *Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, 274.

48. Kimball, *Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, 189.

49. Kimball, *Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, 189.

called abortion a “damnable practice.”⁵⁰ President Gordon B. Hinckley reaffirmed that life is a gift, that it “is sacred under any circumstance,”⁵¹ and that “abortion is an ugly thing, a debasing thing, a thing which inevitably brings remorse and sorrow and regret.”⁵² In 1971, Elder Thomas S. Monson emphatically rejected claims for “free abortion,” and the notion that God wanted women to “be fruitful [but] don’t multiply,” declaring, “Such idiotic and blatantly false philosophy must not be entertained or believed.” He went on to extol the importance and glory of motherhood, childbearing, and maternal childrearing.⁵³

In the fifty *consecutive* general conferences between October 1970 and April 1995, LDS Church leaders delivered more than seventy-five sermons addressing the practice and legalization of elective abortion.⁵⁴ In those critical twenty-five years, during which the legal rule of abortion on demand was being created, established, developed, and expanded and during which the practice of abortion was becoming widespread and social acceptance was growing in the United States and the world, the leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints expressed unequivocal opposition to elective abortion *in every general conference*; not a single conference passed without some direct criticism or condemnation of elective abortion by the General Authorities. Because of this intensive, frequent declaration of the Church position on abortion for a quarter century, it is now well established and widely understood by members of the Church, and the contrast between the Church’s position and the prevailing American legal and social standard regarding abortion is clear.

As the social trend promoting elective abortion crested and has begun to wane, the frequency of general conference sermons by General Authorities condemning abortion has decreased, but the clarity of

50. Ezra Taft Benson, *Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1988), 539.

51. Gordon B. Hinckley, “From My Generation to Yours, With Love,” *Improvement Era* 73 (December 1970): 72.

52. Gordon B. Hinckley, “What Are People Asking about Us?” *Ensign* 28 (November 1998): 70.

53. Monson, “Women’s Movement,” 17–20, quotations at 17. By “free,” he meant not merely (or especially) no-cost abortion procedures but unrestricted or liberal access to abortion, or abortion on demand.

54. “References to ‘Abortion’ in LDS General Conference Talks: April 1950–April 2011, Compiled by Lynn D. Wardle, Supplemented by Stefanie Franc,” September 2012, copies in author’s and *Ave Maria Law Review*’s possession.

the Church's position rejecting elective abortion has not diminished. For example, in the October 2008 general conference, Elder Russell M. Nelson declared:

This war called abortion is a war on the defenseless and the voiceless. It is a war on the unborn. This war is being waged globally. Ironically, civilized societies that have generally placed safeguards on human life have now passed laws that sanction this practice. . . .

Man-made rules have now legalized that which has been forbidden by God from the dawn of time! Human reasoning has twisted and transformed absolute truth into sound-bite slogans that promote a practice that is consummately wrong.⁵⁵

Likewise, in the October 2012 general conference, Elder Dallin H. Oaks condemned elective abortion, calling it “one of the most serious abuses of children” that would eliminate rising generations in some societies. While acknowledging that “many laws permit or even promote abortion,” Elder Oaks declared, “to us this is a great evil.”⁵⁶

LDS Church leaders have also been active in speaking against elective abortion outside of general conference. For instance, Elder Dallin H. Oaks, who was a law professor and member of the Utah Supreme Court prior to his call to the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, responded to pro-choice arguments in a devotional address to thousands of students at Brigham Young University in 1999 that was later published in the *Ensign* magazine. Elder Oaks challenged the personal/public distinction and the no-legislation-of-morality justifications for opposing laws restricting abortion:

If we say we are anti-abortion in our personal life but pro-choice in public policy, we are saying that we will not use our influence to establish public policies that encourage righteous choices on matters God's servants have defined as serious sins. I urge Latter-day Saints who have taken that position to ask themselves which other grievous sins should be decriminalized or smiled on by the law due to this theory that persons should not be hampered in their choices. Should we decriminalize or lighten the legal consequences of child abuse? of cruelty to animals? of pollution? of fraud? of fathers who choose to abandon their families for greater freedom or convenience?

55. Russell M. Nelson, “Abortion: An Assault on the Defenseless,” *Ensign* 38 (October 2008): 32.

56. Dallin H. Oaks, “Protect the Children,” *Ensign* 42 (November 2012): 43.

Similarly, some reach the pro-choice position by saying we should not legislate morality. Those who take this position should realize that the law of crimes legislates nothing but morality. Should we repeal all laws with a moral basis so that our government will not punish any choices some persons consider immoral? Such an action would wipe out virtually all of the laws against crimes.⁵⁷

Likewise, in 2011 the *Ensign* published a powerful address that was delivered by Elder Bruce D. Porter of the Seventy in a conference on the family at Brigham Young University. Porter described the “crisis” of families resulting, in part, because so “many of society’s leaders and opinion-makers increasingly seem to have lost their bearings when it comes to understanding the vital importance of the family.”⁵⁸ He noted that “the love of many, even toward their own children, is waxing cold,” and “those who defend the traditional family are mocked and ridiculed,” while others “who advocate abortion . . . are praised and upheld as champions of tolerance. Truly, the world has turned upside down.”⁵⁹

The current official statement of the Church about abortion states:

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints believes in the sanctity of human life. Therefore, the Church opposes elective abortion for personal or social convenience, and counsels its members not to submit to, perform, encourage, pay for, or arrange for such abortions.

The Church allows for possible exceptions for its members when:

- Pregnancy results from rape or incest, or
- A competent physician determines that the life or health of the mother is in serious jeopardy, or
- A competent physician determines that the fetus has severe defects that will not allow the baby to survive beyond birth.

The Church teaches its members that even these rare exceptions do not justify abortion automatically. Abortion is a most serious matter and should be considered only after the persons involved have consulted with their local Church leaders and feel through personal prayer that their decision is correct.

The Church has not favored or opposed legislative proposals or public demonstrations concerning abortion.⁶⁰

57. Dallin H. Oaks, “Weightier Matters,” *Ensign* 31 (January 2001): 15.

58. Bruce D. Porter, “Defending the Family in a Troubled World,” *Ensign* 41 (June 2011): 12.

59. Porter, “Defending the Family in a Troubled World,” 12.

60. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, “Abortion,” *Newsroom*, <http://www.mormonnewsroom.org/official-statement/abortion>.

C. Foundational Theological and Moral Principles

Underlying LDS Doctrines and Policies Regarding Elective Abortion

Powerful theological and moral underpinnings support the LDS position condemning elective abortion. Mormon religious doctrines and policies regarding bioethical issues are (as Professor Courtney Campbell puts it) “embedded within a comprehensive worldview of divine design, human destiny, and ultimate meaning.”⁶¹ Latter-day Saints believe that there are eternal truths about right and wrong, which all people have the duty and agency to discern and follow. While time, culture, context, and many other factors influence how those truths may be practically understood, expressed, and applied, Mormons reject the premise of relativism—that ethical principles of good and evil are wholly or primarily social constructs.⁶² Since clarity and coherence in the foundational theology is important, brief mention here of those core theological principles underlying rejection of elective abortion is appropriate.

Six foundational beliefs of the Mormon worldview, incorporating the LDS understanding of God’s plan of salvation for his children, are the cornerstones of Mormon ethical theory regarding prenatal life. They are:

(1) God is our eternally loving Heavenly Father; he created our spirits, and we all are his sons and his daughters.⁶³ As the spiritual offspring of God, we—all human beings—have a divine nature and divine potential, including the divine capacity to do whatever he asks us to do.

(2) God’s “work and [his] glory,” his purpose and plan, are “to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man” (Moses 1:39). As our loving Heavenly Father, he both knows and wants what is best for us collectively and individually; he knows what we must do to develop our divine nature and gain immortality and eternal life;⁶⁴ he gives no

61. Courtney S. Campbell, “Mormonism (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints), Bioethics in,” in *Encyclopedia of Bioethics*, ed. Stephen G. Post, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 2004), 3:1867.

62. “Joseph Smith belongs on the side of the discoverers [who assert that good is discovered, not invented].” Truman G. Madsen, “Joseph Smith and the Problems of Ethics,” in *Perspectives in Mormon Ethics*, ed. Donald G. Hill (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1983), 31.

63. All worlds were created by God, and all the inhabitants of all worlds “are begotten sons and daughters unto God” (D&C 76:24); “God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life” (John 3:16); “God is love” (1 Jn. 4:8).

64. God is the perfect embodiment of the eternal, and “eternal life” is God’s life. D&C 14:7; see also Alma 7:16; 3 Ne. 9:14; 2 Ne. 26:24; 31:20.

commandment that is not crafted to help us gain eternal life and eternal happiness, and none that we are unable to obey.⁶⁵ Our lives—premortal, mortal, and postmortal, individually and collectively—are part of God’s great plan of happiness for his children, and the Atonement of Christ was intended to effect our immortality and eternal life. God created all of us that we “might have joy.”⁶⁶

(3) One main purpose for which God sent us to earth, to mortality, is to gain a physical body (which, after our resurrection, will be our body eternally); we believe that God has a physical body and that a resurrected body is necessary for his children to become like him. Mormons believe in the sanctity of human life; mortal life is extremely important, and to deprive someone of it is a grave offense against God, against his plan of salvation, and against the agency and mortal life of the victims. We do all we can to avoid and prevent death, but we are not afraid of death. Death brings a sad separation, but it is not the end.⁶⁷ We believe that because of Jesus’s atonement and resurrection, all who ever lived on the earth will be resurrected and can be joyfully reunited again with God and Christ, and with beloved family and friends.⁶⁸

(4) A second major purpose of mortal life is for men and women to exercise the great gift of agency in this mortal setting, to learn to distinguish between good and evil, to learn to choose good over evil, and to gain knowledge and growth from those choices and experiences. God has given humanity agency—the capacity to choose and act in ways that have real consequences for the development (or diminution) of their divine nature. We must freely choose to exercise our moral agency in accord with God’s will in order to experience the growth that eventually,

65. Paul explained that God gives no duty or trial or burden that cannot be endured. “There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man: but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it” (1 Cor. 10:13). See also 1 Ne. 3:7; 17:3. However, sometimes the Lord withdraws commandments due to opposition that seriously impedes obedience. See D&C 124:49.

66. “Adam fell that men might be; and men are, that they might have joy” (2 Ne. 2:25).

67. “Members should not feel obligated to extend mortal life by means that are unreasonable.” *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Handbook 2: Administering the Church*, 21.3.8.

68. The final state of the sons of perdition is not revealed, but some LDS theological scholars assert that they will be resurrected in the resurrection of the unjust. H. Donl Peterson, “I Have a Question,” *Ensign* 16 (April 1986): 36–38.

through the Atonement of Christ, will enable us to obtain immortality and eternal life.⁶⁹

(5) At least two conditions are necessary for the exercise of agency (and for the unfolding of God's great plan of happiness). They are (a) knowledge of what is right and wrong, and (b) opportunity to act upon that knowledge. Knowledge of right and wrong (including moral or ethical knowledge) comes in various ways—by study, by mental exertion, by reason, research, and analysis—and it comes by experience, including the “school of hard knocks,” when we make mistakes and learn from them. Such knowledge also comes through the scriptures and through prophets and apostles, other priesthood leaders, teachers, missionaries, and parents. It also can come by personal revelation from God to each individual, most often by inspiration from the Holy Ghost.⁷⁰ However, revelation by the Spirit and through authorities is a supplement to, not a substitute for, personal study, examination, reason, thought, logic, analysis, deliberation, discussion, and full mental exertion.⁷¹ The opportunity to exercise agency also requires “opposition in all things,” so that individuals may freely make righteous, obedient choices to do and become what Heavenly Father wants them to do and become or make bad choices that hinder and retard the development of the divine spark within them. Adversity and alternatives provide the opportunity for personal development and progress.⁷² Thus, the temptations and oppositions of mortality are to be expected, because they are essential for us to exercise agency and to learn to choose, obey, develop righteously, and be blessed.

69. See Isa. 14:12–20; Luke 10:18; Rev. 12:4–13; D&C 29:36–38; Moses 4:1–4; Abr. 3:24–28. See also D&C 58:28; 101:78; 2 Ne. 2:27; 10:23; Mosiah 2:21; Alma 12:21; Hel. 14:30.

70. See John 14:17 (the Spirit of truth is not recognized in the world); 15:26 (the Comforter is the Spirit of truth); Alma 30:53 (the devil appeared in the form of an angel to Korihor and told him what to teach and do); D&C 129:4–9 (test to discern false from true angelic messengers). Revelations can also come by divine voice, by angelic messengers, and by visions and dreams.

71. See D&C 9:7–8 (revelation denied when one takes no thought but to ask God; revelation given when one studies it out and then asks God); D&C 88:118 (seek learning by study and by faith); D&C 8:2 (God reveals to heart and mind); Matt. 22:37 (first commandment is to love God with all our heart, soul, and mind).

72. “It must needs be, that there is an opposition in all things” (2 Ne. 2:11; see also verses 14–16).

(6) Finally, the infinite Atonement of Jesus Christ, the Only Begotten Son of God the Father in the flesh, is the essential, indispensable element of God's loving plan for the immortality and eternal life of all humanity who will accept his invitation. Through the atoning sacrifice of the Savior, all who live in mortality will be delivered from the terminal bands of physical death⁷³ and will have the opportunity to repent and be forgiven of their sins, cleansed by the sacrificial blood of Christ. Mormons believe that the Atonement of Christ gives all men and women the opportunity to be liberated from sin (including abortion) and spiritual death and to become cleansed through the blood of Christ, because he paid for our sins.⁷⁴ His incredible loving sacrifice empowers all to overcome their mistakes, escape their guilt, and obtain exaltation in the kingdom of God if they repent and keep his commandments.⁷⁵ Jesus Christ, the Son of God, came into the world to live and die in order to save humanity,⁷⁶ so that all might learn to obey his commandments and to love and sacrifice for each other as Christ taught and exemplified.

These faith-based core religious principles undergird the rejection of elective abortion by the LDS Church. Church doctrines and policies condemning and opposing elective abortion are not ad hoc or transitory but are grounded in essential principles of the restored gospel of Jesus Christ.

73. See 2 Ne. 9:26; 10:25. See generally notes 95–106 below and accompanying text.

74. See D&C 14:7; 121:8; 45:8; 51:19; and 133:62.

75. See D&C 14:7; 121:8; 45:8; 51:19; and 133:62.

76. "For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John 3:16). See also Rom. 5:10 ("we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life"); 1 Cor. 6:20 ("ye are bought with a price"); Rev. 5:9 (Christ "redeemed us to God by [his] blood"); 1 Jn. 1:7 ("the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin"); 2 Ne. 2:6–7 ("redemption cometh in and through the Holy Messiah" who "offereth himself a sacrifice for sin, to answer the ends of the law, unto all those who have a broken heart and a contrite spirit"); Mosiah 18:2 ("the resurrection of the dead, and the redemption of the people . . . [comes] through the power, and sufferings, and death of Christ; and his resurrection and ascension into heaven"); Hel. 5:9 ("there is no other way nor means whereby man can be saved, only through the atoning blood of Jesus Christ, who . . . cometh to redeem the world"); D&C 19:1, 16 (Jesus Christ is the Redeemer of the World, who suffered so that we might not suffer if we will but repent); D&C 49:5 ("I am God, and have sent mine Only Begotten Son into the world for the redemption of the world").

D. Six Constant Themes of General Authority Statements about Abortion

Six themes have been constant in statements about abortion made by LDS General Authorities during the past quarter century. First, abortion is a revolting, abhorrent sin and a serious transgression of the laws of God. According to Elder Dallin H. Oaks:

The ultimate act of destruction is to take a life. That is why abortion is such a serious sin. Our attitude toward abortion is not based on revealed knowledge of when mortal life begins for legal purposes. It is fixed by our knowledge that according to an eternal plan all of the spirit children of God must come to this earth for a glorious purpose, and that individual identity began long before conception and will continue for all the eternities to come. We rely on the prophets of God, who have told us that while there may be “rare” exceptions, “the practice of elective abortion is fundamentally contrary to the Lord’s injunction, ‘Thou shalt not . . . kill, nor do anything like unto it’ (Doctrine and Covenants 59:6).”⁷⁷

Likewise, in the October 2012 general conference, Elder Oaks decried “the practice of abortion,” due to which “cultures and even nations are hollowed out and eventually disappear.” He added, “Many laws permit or even promote abortion, but to us *this is a great evil*.”⁷⁸

Second, members of the Church who counsel, submit to, perform, or pay for abortion have gravely sinned, must repent, may be subject to Church disciplinary action, and are usually disqualified from serving missions.

Except where the wicked crime of incest or rape was involved, or where competent medical authorities certify that the life of the mother is in jeopardy, or that a severely defective fetus cannot survive birth, abortion is clearly a “thou shalt not.” Even in these very exceptional cases, much sober prayer is required to make the right choice.⁷⁹

Now, as a servant of the Lord, I dutifully warn those who advocate and practice abortion that they incur the wrath of Almighty God, who declared, “If men . . . hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart from her, . . . he shall be surely punished.” (Ex. 21:22.)⁸⁰

77. Dallin H. Oaks, “The Great Plan of Happiness,” *Ensign* 23 (November 1993): 74, citing 1991 *Supplement to the 1989 General Handbook of Instructions*, p. 1.

78. Dallin H. Oaks, “Protect the Children,” *Ensign* 42 (November 2012): 43, emphasis added.

79. Boyd K. Packer, “Covenants,” *Ensign* 20 (November 1990): 85.

80. Russell M. Nelson, “Reverence for Life,” *Ensign* 15 (May 1985): 13.

Third, the sin of abortion may be forgiven. While it is “like unto” murder, it has never been equated with the unforgivable sin of murder. Elder Russell M. Nelson, a famous heart surgeon before being called to Church leadership and one who has eloquently explained why abortion is a profound sin, declared:

Now, is there hope for those who have so sinned without full understanding, who now suffer heartbreak? Yes. So far as is known, the Lord does not regard this transgression as murder. And “as far as has been revealed, a person may repent and be forgiven for the sin of abortion.” Gratefully, we know the Lord will help all who are truly repentant.⁸¹

Fourth, therapeutic abortion may be justified in rare cases, but only after prayerful consideration of alternatives, including adoption, and after counsel with priesthood leaders. As President Hinckley declared:

While we denounce it, we make allowance in such circumstances as when pregnancy is the result of incest or rape, when the life or health of the mother is judged by competent medical authority to be in serious jeopardy, or when the fetus is known by competent medical authority to have serious defects that will not allow the baby to survive beyond birth.

But such instances are rare, and there is only a negligible probability of their occurring. In these circumstances those who face the question are asked to consult with their local ecclesiastical leaders and to pray in great earnestness, receiving a confirmation through prayer before proceeding.

There is a far better way.

If there is no prospect of marriage to the man involved, leaving the mother alone, there remains the very welcome option of placing the child for adoption by parents who will love it and care for it. There are many such couples in good homes who long for a child and cannot have one.⁸²

Fifth, the acceptance of elective abortion and the growing practice of abortion in society are degenerate Satanic evils, among the manifestations of pervasive wickedness and selfishness marking the last days, and will bring the judgments of God upon the societies that embrace them. Elder Neal A. Maxwell declared in a general conference sermon, “I thank the Father that His Only Begotten Son did not say in defiant protest at Calvary, ‘My body is my own!’ I stand in admiration of women today who resist the fashion of abortion, by refusing to make the sacred womb a tomb!”⁸³

81. Nelson, “Reverence for Life,” 13.

82. Gordon B. Hinckley, “What Are People Asking about Us,” *Ensign* 28 (November 1998): 70.

83. Neal A. Maxwell, “The Women of God,” *Ensign* 8 (May 1978): 10.

Sixth, the Church opposes and decries the legalization of elective abortion. In 1974, an official Church representative publically expressed LDS opposition to the legalization of elective abortion.⁸⁴ That baseline position against the legalization of elective abortion has never been repudiated or disavowed. However, the Church, *qua* Church, has deliberately avoided getting involved in the political battles over whether and how to preserve, change, and reshape the law regarding the myriad potential incidental legal issues (such as abortion funding, parental consent, spousal participation, waiting periods, informed consent, disposition of fetal remains, regulation of methods used to perform abortion, and so forth). Rather, the Church has taken a clear position on the foundational issue (elective abortion should not be legal) and avoided the bramble bush of political battles on the many lesser issues that seem to divide even the most sincere pro-life groups and persons. Thus, the current published position of the Church regarding legalized abortion states, “The Church . . . has not favored or opposed legislative proposals or public demonstrations concerning abortion.”⁸⁵

However, the Church has encouraged members to be actively involved individually in support of laws that protect the sanctity of life. The “Proclamation on the Family,” which has become the anchor for LDS policy positions regarding the family since it was issued by the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve Apostles on September 23, 1995, declares, “We affirm the sanctity of life” and “we call upon responsible citizens and officers of government everywhere to promote those measures designed to maintain and strengthen the family as the fundamental unit of society.”⁸⁶

In his first sermon after he was sustained as President of the Church, a little more than a year after the U.S. Supreme Court decided *Roe v. Wade*, President Spencer W. Kimball explicitly condemned abortion and encouraged members of the Church to be politically active in “their respective political parties and there exercise their influence.”⁸⁷ He later declared, “There is today a strong clamor to make such practices legal by passing legislation. Some would also legislate to legalize prostitution.

84. See note 43 above and accompanying text (statement to congressional committee).

85. “Church Issues Statement on Abortion,” *Ensign* 21 (March 1991): 78.

86. The First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve Apostles, “The Family: A Proclamation to the World,” *Ensign* 25 (November 1995): 102.

87. Spencer W. Kimball, “Guidelines to Carry Forth the Work of God in Cleanliness,” *Ensign* 4 (May 1974): 7, 9.

They have legalized abortion, seeking to remove from this heinous crime the stigma of sin. We do not hesitate to tell the world that the cure for these evils is not in surrender.”⁸⁸ Many other General Authorities also have encouraged Mormons to “stand up” and mentioned the legalization of elective abortion as one example of the moral deterioration that must be resisted and opposed.⁸⁹

E. Enforcement of the LDS Policy Condemning Elective Abortion

The official *Handbook 2*, available online, clearly defines the limits of permissible behavior and the consequences of violation.

The Lord commanded, “Thou shalt not . . . kill, nor do anything like unto it” (D&C 59:6). The Church opposes elective abortion for personal or social convenience. . . . Church members who submit to, perform, arrange for, pay for, consent to, or encourage an abortion may be subject to Church discipline.⁹⁰

It is important, however, to qualify the point by reiterating that abortion is not an unforgiveable sin, and great emphasis is placed in LDS doctrine on the reality of repentance and forgiveness through the Atonement of Jesus Christ—generally and as regards elective abortion. For example, Elder Boyd K. Packer, now President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, declared in a general conference talk, “The love we offer may be a tough love, but it is of the purest kind; and we have more to offer than our love. We can teach you of the cleansing power of repentance. If covenants have been broken, however hard it may be, they may be reinstated, and you can be forgiven. Even for abortion? Yes, even that!”⁹¹

88. Spencer W. Kimball, “The Foundations of Righteousness,” *Ensign* 7 (November 1977): 5, 6.

89. See, for example, Gordon B. Hinckley, *Standing for Something* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), xvii–xxv, 167–68, 170–71, 172 (emphasizing the loss of sanctity of life due to millions of legal elective abortions and calling for Mormons to stand up and speak up on such social issues); Oaks, “Weightier Matters,” 12–17 (refuting prochoice arguments for elective abortion and encouraging students at BYU to speak out against such evils); James E. Faust, “The Sanctity of Life,” *Ensign* 5 (May 1975): 27 (lamenting that “we have come to a time when the taking of an unborn human life for nonmedical reasons has become tolerated, made legal, and accepted in many countries of the world. But making it legal to destroy newly conceived life will never make it right. It is consummately wrong”).

90. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Handbook 2: Administering the Church*, 21.4.1.

91. Packer, “Covenants,” 86.

Thus, persons who submit to, finance, encourage, or perform elective abortion may be cleansed from their sins and purified through the blood of the Redeemer; they may serve in many significant Church positions and enjoy the love and respect of their brothers and sisters in the gospel. Still, there are some positions in which persons would represent the Church officially, such as missionary service, where serious damage could be done to the Church, its members, its reputation, and its saving ministerial work by the reputational effects in the world of their past sinful behavior, so they must be passed over for such service and assigned to other service in the kingdom.

A member of the Church who has had, encouraged, performed, or paid for (or espouses) elective abortion also may be ineligible to represent the Church as a teacher at a Church college or university for similar reasons. Not only do faculty at Church-sponsored schools represent the Church in a significant capacity, but they are engaged in teaching and influencing, as authority figures, impressionable young men and women who are the future of the Church.

In the early 1990s, a handful of faculty at Brigham Young University (BYU) reportedly began to publicly advocate elective abortion as a proper legal policy (while not advocating the practice of abortions).⁹² They were warned, and at least one BYU faculty member lost her teaching position—reportedly, in significant part for advocating legalized elective abortion on demand, though she said she personally opposed abortion but supported prochoice legal policy.⁹³ That stirred up a firestorm of academic and activist criticism, denouncing BYU and the sponsoring Church for violation of academic freedom, misogyny, oppressive patriarchy, and so forth; the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) issued a very critical report.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, because

92. See, generally, Cecilia Konchar Farr, “Breaking the Silence: A Faithful Mormon Explains Why She Is Pro-choice,” *Network* (September 1992): 12 (copy in author’s possession). Compare Lynn D. Wardle, “Hiding behind a False Morality,” *Network* (December 1992): 4 (copy in author’s possession).

93. See Cecilia Konchar Farr, “We Belong to One Another in Faith,” *Sunstone* 103 (September 1996): 22–23.

94. Committee of the BYU Chapter of the American Association of University Professors, “Limitations on the Academic Freedom of Women at Brigham Young University,” lds-mormon.com (March 1996), <http://www.lds-mormon.com/aaupwomn.shtml>; BYU Chapter of the American Association of University Professors, “Report on Issues of Academic Freedom at BYU,” lds-mormon.com (March 5, 1996), paragraph 9, <http://www.lds-mormon.com/aaupfree.shtml>. See

of the potential for a faculty member at a Church-sponsored university to mislead young adults about a moral position so important to Church doctrine, the Church and university stood their ground and took the heat without compromising. That incident illustrates how important the principle is to the Church and how firm the policy is. It also shows that even in the generally supportive community of faithful LDS scholars, there has been some dissension on the abortion issue.

In contrast to the Church's policies and teachings about the immorality and social evil of elective abortion, the official Church position regarding other biomedical ethical issues is more neutral, nuanced, and flexible. For example, the Church's position concerning embryonic stem cell (ESC) research is neutral—in essence, a “no position” position. The official statement on ESC research is: “The First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has not taken a position regarding the use of embryonic stem cells for research purposes. The absence of a position should not be interpreted as support for or opposition to any other statement made by Church members, whether they are for or against embryonic stem cell research.”⁹⁵ Abortion lures millions of young women and couples to engage in a ghastly, abusive, sinful practice that destroys living human beings created in the image of God and often causes great sorrow, degradation, and long-lasting regrets. The contrast between the Church's clear, bright-line, no-elective-abortion position and the neutral, “no-position” stance about ESC research underscores the Church position on the evil of abortion.

further “Academic Freedom at Brigham Young University,” *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Academic_freedom_at_Brigham_Young_University.

95. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, “Embryonic Stem-cell Research,” *Newsroom*, <http://newsroom.lds.org/official-statement/embryonic-stem-cell-research>. The substance of this has remained constant for at least a decade, since the subject was first addressed, though the expression and details have mildly modified. “While the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles have not taken a position at this time on the newly emerging field of stem cell research, it merits cautious scrutiny. The proclaimed potential to provide cures or treatments for many serious diseases needs careful and continuing study by conscientious, qualified investigators. As with any emerging new technology, there are concerns that must be addressed. Scientific and religious viewpoints both demand that strict moral and ethical guidelines be followed.” “Statement Regarding Stem Cell Research,” *LDS Today*, August 10, 2001, <http://www.ldstoday.com/archive/news/stemcellstmt.htm>.

IV. MORMONS' SUPPORT FOR AND ADHERENCE TO THE CHURCH'S POSITION

While precise quantitative information is elusive, it appears that there is relatively little discrepancy between the official Church doctrine and the views and practices of lay Mormons. Most LDS Church members are very supportive of the Church abortion position as a matter of correct religious doctrine, as the right moral position, and as the right standard of personal behavior, and the overwhelming majority believes that abortion generally should be prohibited but allowed in very narrow, exceptional cases.

For example, a Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life survey of Americans in fourteen religious categories (denominations or religious groupings) showed that only the Jehovah's Witnesses responded with a larger percentage (77 percent) of persons saying that abortion should be either illegal in all cases (52 percent) or illegal in most cases (25 percent) than the Mormons (70 percent), who responded 9 percent and 61 percent, respectively, contrasted with Evangelical Protestants (25 percent and 36 percent), Historically Black Protestants (23 percent and 23 percent), Catholics (18 percent and 27 percent), Muslims (13 percent and 35 percent), Mainline Protestants (7 percent and 25 percent), Jews (5 percent and 9 percent), and Buddhists (3 percent and 10 percent).⁹⁶ Likewise, only the Jehovah's Witnesses had a lower percentage of members who said they believe that abortion should be legal in all cases (5 percent) or most cases (11 percent) than Mormons (8 percent and 19 percent respectively).⁹⁷

No church group identified in the Pew survey had a larger percentage of members responding that abortion should be illegal in *most but not*

96. "Views about Abortion by Religious Tradition," in *U.S. Religious Landscape Survey: Religious Beliefs and Practices: Diverse and Politically Relevant* (Washington, D.C.: Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2008), 144, available at <http://religions.pewforum.org/pdf/table-views-about-abortion-by-religious-tradition.pdf>. Interestingly, there were two categories of "Mormons" and "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," and those who identified under the former label were about 1 percent more liberal than those identified under the latter more formal institutional church label. See also "Religious Groups' Official Positions on Abortion," *PewResearch Religion & Public Life Project*, January 16, 2013, <http://www.pewforum.org/Abortion/Religious-Groups-Official-Positions-on-Abortion.aspx> (overview of the official church positions on abortion of various religious denominations).

97. "Views about Abortion by Religious Tradition," app., 2.

all cases than the Mormons (61 percent),⁹⁸ suggesting that they believe it is a very strong moral issue but also that there is a small number of equally important competing moral considerations that in some rare cases will justify abortion. On the other hand, with regard to whether abortion should be illegal in *all* cases, Mormons (at 9 percent) were closer to the position of the Orthodox (10 percent), Unaffiliated (8 percent), and Mainline Protestants (7 percent) than to Jehovah's Witnesses (52 percent), Evangelical Protestants (25 percent), or Historically Black Protestants (23 percent).⁹⁹ Mormons are uncomfortable with the absolutism of total legal prohibition, because they see some clear (albeit rare) morally justifiable exceptions.

It is not unlikely that Mormons are more tolerant of elective abortion and of its legality today than they were forty years ago, since such change seems to have occurred in all faith communities and throughout American society. For example, Judith Blake found that during the decade preceding *Roe v. Wade*, the disapproval of nontherapeutic abortions for both Catholics and non-Catholics in the United States fell.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, another public opinion survey conducted in the mid-1980s reported that opposition to abortion from members of mainstream religious communities had dropped by 10 to 20 percent between 1972 and 1984.¹⁰¹

It is not surprising that the number, rate, and ratio of abortions in Utah, where over 60 percent of residents belong to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,¹⁰² are much lower than in most other states and in the United States. The rate of abortions per 1,000 females, ages

98. "Views about Abortion by Religious Tradition," app., 2.

99. "Views about Abortion by Religious Tradition," app., 2.

100. Blake, "Abortion and Public Opinion," 543–47. The decrease in disapproval rates was greater for Catholics than it was for the non-Catholics, because the former started with higher disapproval levels. Blake, "Abortion and Public Opinion," 543–47. Even a majority of the more permissive non-Catholics, however, rejected abortion on demand, and the more educated Protestant women did "not share an equally positive attitude toward elective abortion" as the men. Blake, "Abortion and Public Opinion," 544.

101. Kellstedt, "Abortion and the Political Process," 212.

102. "Utah Population Now 60% Mormon," *Chicago Tribune*, November 23, 2007, available at http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2007-11-23/news/0711220223_1_mormon-utah-latter-day-saints. The Utah-Mormon correlation is far from perfect because of the 40 percent of Utahns who are not Mormons and because the abortion clinics in Salt Lake City serve residents of southwestern Wyoming, southeastern Idaho, and parts of western Colorado.

fifteen to forty-four, in Utah is less than one-third the rate for the United States as a whole, and the Utah rate today is *lower* than it was in 1975.¹⁰³ Likewise, the ratio of abortions per 1,000 live births in Utah is about one-fifth the national average.¹⁰⁴ This suggests that people in Utah practice significantly less abortion than Americans in general and less than people in most other states. Therefore, it appears that the clear, repetitive teachings about the grave immorality and profound social evil of abortion within The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have a positive impact upon the views and behaviors of members of the Mormon faith community.

Utah is one of a handful of states that have tried persistently to legally protect prenatal human life from destruction by elective abortion. Courts have invalidated many Utah abortion laws during the past forty years, but some have been upheld. One of the first abortion restrictions after *Roe* to be upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court was a Utah law affirmed by the Court in 1981 (*H. L. v. Matheson*) requiring parental notification “if possible” before an abortion is performed on a minor.¹⁰⁵ Thus, there appears to be significant consistency between the formal position of the LDS Church regarding the morality, law, and practice of elective abortion, and opinions, values, and behaviors of members of the Mormon religious community.

103. See generally Wardle, *Instilling Pro-Life Moral Principles in Difficult Times*, appendix III.

104. Wardle, *Instilling Pro-Life Moral Principles in Difficult Times*, appendix III. Corroborating evidence about the lack of abortions is the fact that in Utah County, home to two major universities with over sixty thousand college students, there is not a single abortion clinic, and the nearest abortion clinics are in Salt Lake City, about forty-five miles away. Carrie Galloway (Director, Planned Parenthood Association of Utah), interview by Lynn Wardle during Mini-Colloquium on *Roe v. Wade* at the J. Reuben Clark Law School, Brigham Young University, January 23, 2012 (no abortion clinics in Utah county). Nationally, support for abortion has fallen in the USA. See Lydia Saad, “Pro-Choice’ Americans at Record-Low 41%,” *Gallup*, May 23, 2012, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/154838/Pro-Choice-Americans-Record-Low.aspx> (“The decline in Americans’ self-identification as ‘pro-choice’ is seen across the three U.S. political groups”).

105. *H. L. v. Matheson*, 450 U.S. 398 (1981). Scott Matheson was the Utah Democratic governor who, working with a Republican Utah attorney general, David Wilkinson, successfully defended the parental consent law. Utah is ranked 21 by AUL in its protection of life. Americans United for Life, “AUL Life List: 2012 Rankings,” <http://www.aul.org/auls-life-list-2012-rankings/>.

V. CONCLUSION: THE POWER OF THE WORD OF GOD TO CREATE AND MAINTAIN A STRONG CULTURE OF LIFE IN A RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

The experience of the LDS faith community regarding elective abortion during the past half-century shows that a combination of factors can generate and maintain a high level of support by members of a faith community for the values, policies, and practices espoused by church leaders, even when the church position and policies differ markedly from popular social trends. Eight defining elements of the LDS response to the social acceptance and legalization of elective abortion include: (1) The official leaders of the Church defined a very clear, strong position regarding elective abortion; (2) Church leadership was united and consistent in supporting that position, leaving no ambiguity regarding the values and policy of the Church; (3) Church leaders clearly explained the underlying foundational theological reasons that undergird the doctrine and policy; (4) Church leaders and key representatives at all levels persistently supported and taught that position to all the members of their faith community; (5) Church leaders adopted and enforced internal Church policies regarding that position, specifically relating to standing in or representation of the religious community; (6) Church leaders adopted a clear, official position regarding the core moral issue; (7) Church leaders kept their focus on the specific social practice (elective abortion) that was of major concern regarding the core moral issue and avoided getting diverted by peripheral issues; (8) ordinary lay LDS members were asked and expected to support the policy, to stand up for the core values supporting the Church's policies both inside and outside the faith community, and to make a significant personal investment in the position, values, and policies of the Church regarding the issue. The result of this approach, emphasizing "teaching correct principles," was to create an environment in which the members of the LDS community understood, valued, and supported the doctrinal and public policy positions and personally lived and supported each other in living those demanding high moral behavioral standards.

Of course, in addition to teaching "the word," the faith community must provide practical programs and services that assist women and families (especially those with few resources) with unexpected, inconvenient pregnancies. Such practical factors impact abortion choices as well, and they deserve full, separate, careful examination.¹⁰⁶ However,

106. See generally David Frum, "Let's Get Real about Abortions," *CNN Opinion*, October 29, 2012, <http://www.cnn.com/2012/10/29/opinion/frum-abortion-reality>.

the clear communication of the underlying moral-theological-doctrinal position and policy seems to be essential; it provides context for offering and using such services. Without such conceptual clarity, mere programs may amount to little more than feeble, manipulative attempts at social engineering. The moral teachings, however, invest those programs with value and meaning.

Thus, the “word of God” truly has “more powerful effect upon the minds of the people than the sword, or anything else” (Alma 31:5). It really does begin with “teach[ing] correct principles” and communicating that members will be accountable for how they live the principles and “govern themselves.”¹⁰⁷ It also appears that communication of moral teachings, policies, and practical standards—clearly established and consistently espoused by leaders of faith communities—does have a positive impact on the beliefs and behaviors of not only the individual members of those faith communities but, also, through them, on the larger society. Message matters. Communication of that message matters. Explaining that message matters, especially where moral and ethical dilemmas are complicated by opposing social pressures.

To paraphrase Joseph Smith, when the leaders of a faith community clearly teach the basic underlying principles regarding a moral issue, and when the doctrines and policies they adopt also clearly and consistently manifest and implement those principles, the members of that community generally are empowered and motivated to govern themselves justly by acting upon those principles in ways that promote and protect the core moral interests and the doctrines and policies that embody them. By clearly, effectively, and persistently teaching correct principles and implementing just doctrine and policies, churches can help motivate individuals to make such a difference in the governing rules, to stand up and to speak up, and to protect the most innocent and vulnerable human beings against the modern holocaust of elective abortion.

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107. “The Organization of the Church,” *Millennial Star* 13 (November 15, 1851): 339.

School, Brigham Young University, on June 1–2, 2012, and will be published in *Life and Learning* (forthcoming 2014). A longer version of that paper was published as “Instilling Pro-Life Moral Principles in Difficult Times: The Experience of One Faith Community,” in *Ave Maria Law Review* 11 (August 2013): 299–365. The author has written previously about the abortion law. See, for example, “Protection of Health-Care Providers’ Rights of Conscience in American Law: Present, Past, and Future,” *Ave Maria Law Review* 9 (2010); “The Quandary of Pro-life Free Speech: A Lesson from the Abolitionists,” *Albany Law Review* 62 (1999); “Crying Stones: A Comparison of Abortion in Japan and the United States,” *New York Law School Journal of International and Comparative Law* 14 (1994); “A Matter of Conscience: Legal Protection for the Rights of Conscience of Health Care Providers,” *Cambridge Quarterly of Healthcare Ethics* 2 (1993); with Mary Anne Q. Wood, *A Lawyer Looks at Abortion* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1982); and *The Abortion Privacy Doctrine* (New York: William S. Hein, 1981).

Gender Distribution of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Worldwide

Arielle A. Sloan, Ray M. Merrill, and J. Grant Merrill

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has grown significantly since it was organized in 1830,¹ and by the end of 2012, Church membership reached 14,782,473.² However, the Church has not grown in a uniform manner in terms of geographical region,³ gender, or age.

Analyzing disparities in membership growth between men and women, especially by age group and geographical location, may provide us with a deeper understanding of Church growth, conversion, and member retention in a variety of ways. For example, balanced gender growth among young adults makes it easier for more individuals to marry, have and raise children within the Church, and remain religiously active as a family.⁴ Imbalanced growth in terms of gender, on the other hand, may lead marriage-age individuals to seek partners at a later age, remain single, or marry outside the faith, which can lead to decreased family religious involvement.⁵

In addition, gender balance within specific geographic regions has implications for local congregational growth. Even in order to establish a branch, which is the Church's smallest congregational unit in a geographical zone, at least one member living in the area must be a male who holds the Melchizedek Priesthood and can lead the congregation.⁶ Consequently, in regions with low male conversion and retention rates, Church growth becomes difficult. In regions with low female conversion and retention, on the other hand, many largely female-run Church programs suffer, such as the Relief Society (for adult women), the Young Women program (for girls age 12–17) and the Primary organization (for children ages 18 months to 11 years). Since retention and activity in the

Latter-day Saint religion, like many religions, is associated in part with social support,⁷ members or potential converts to the Church may have difficulty joining or remaining active if their local congregation has few individuals of their same age group and gender to befriend.

While overall patterns of Church growth have been studied for many years,⁸ and gender disparities in growth have been discussed for a variety of religious communities,⁹ little, if any, research has been recently published on gender-based growth patterns in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

This study will add to the current literature by assessing how gender ratios in the LDS Church differed according to age and UN world region in 2011. We hypothesize that Church growth was more balanced by gender in North America, where the Church is better established, than elsewhere in the world. We also expect that the overall gender distribution will at least reflect the world gender distribution among the younger age groups, when children attend Church with their parents. The ratio may diverge from the world distribution pattern in older age, when one gender may be more likely to remain active or convert to the Church than the other.

Methods

This study is based on world population estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau and Church membership data from the Church's Management Information Center. Data were obtained for the year 2011. The gender ratio was calculated by dividing the number of males by the number of females within five-year age groups. Gender ratios were presented by seven regions throughout the world: South America (Latin America and the Caribbean), Europe (eastern, northern, southern, and western), Asia (east, south-central, southeastern, and western), Australia, North America, Pacific, and Africa (eastern, middle, northern, southern, and western).

Results

The numbers of males and females in the Church are presented across the age span in figure 1. In 2011, there were more males in the Church than females through the age group 15–19. For comparison, in figure 2 we also present the 2011 world gender ratio, which shows that more males existed than females through the age group 40–44. In the age group 80–84, the gender ratio (67:100) was similar between the Church and the world population. By age 95+, the ratio of males to females was 54:100 in the Church and 30:100 in the world.

**FIGURE 1. Latter-day Saint Church Population
for Males and Females across the Age Span, 2011**

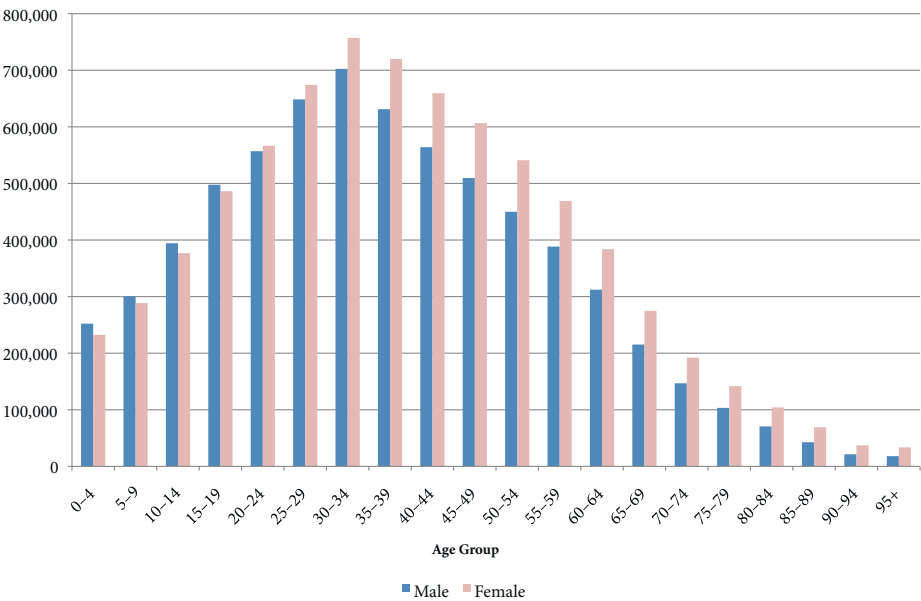
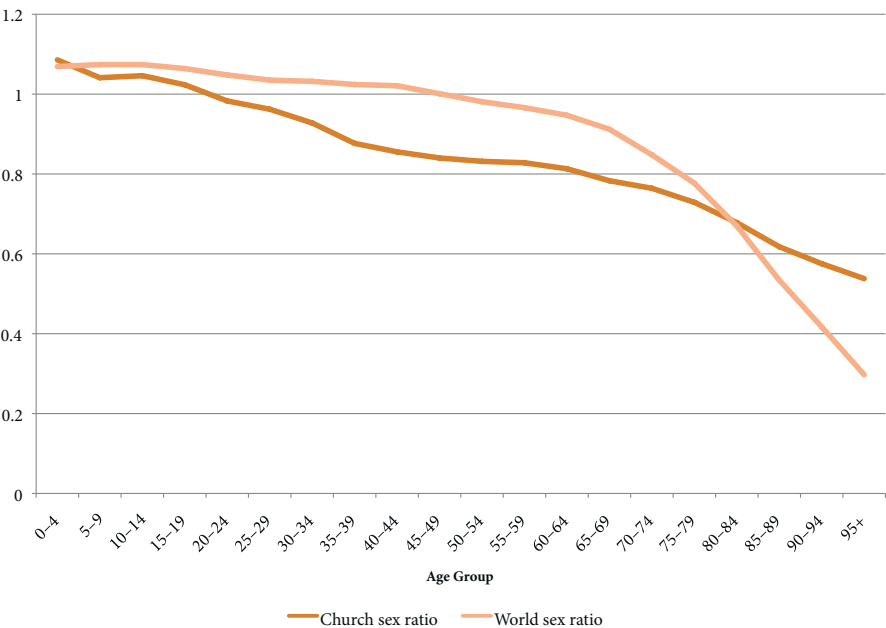


FIGURE 2. Male:Female Sex Ratio, 2011



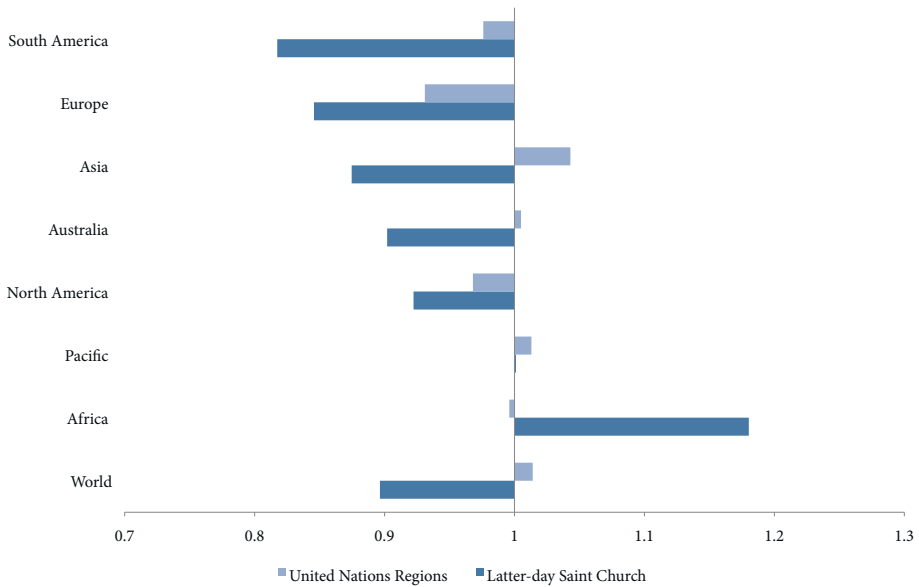
The total Church membership consisted of 90 males for every 100 females in 2011. By contrast, in the entire world's population, there were 101 males for every 100 females (fig. 3). Only in Africa did the ratio of males to females in the Church exceed 1 (118 males for every 100 females). This region also exhibited the greatest difference in the gender ratios between the Church and the world. The next largest difference in gender ratios between the Church and the world was in Asia, followed by South America, Australia, Europe, North America, and finally the Pacific.

Discussion

The information contained in this study is only a surrogate for the data that, unfortunately, are not available on a worldwide or regional scale: that is, the number of religiously active individuals in the Church community. Religious activity can more accurately indicate potential strengths in terms of Church growth than membership on Church records. Religious activity or involvement reflects regular association with other members and the adoption of certain doctrinal beliefs and patterns for conducting personal and social life (for example, adopting specific health behaviors).

It is beyond the scope of this paper to address all the ways in which discrepancies between religious involvement and membership statistics can influence interpretation of Church growth potential. To illustrate one example, the ratio of males to females as shown in figure 2 balances during the ages 15–24, which could be interpreted as saying that young adult and youth programs have generally even ratios of males to females. However, one study found that Latter-day Saint teen girls in the United States attended Church meetings less frequently than their male counterparts.¹⁰ Therefore, it is possible that some programs for young males in many parts of the country have more potential for continued growth than programs for females, even with a balanced gender ratio on Church membership records.

With this in mind, readers should understand that membership statistics presented here have limited implications for proportions of male priesthood holders, active convert retention, or the gender ratio present in congregations, because these factors depend on activity and personal belief rather than on listed membership. In the remaining discussion, we will focus primarily on the three elements that do affect official Church records: births in the Church community, conversions to the Church, and loss due to either death or officially removing one's name from Church records.

FIGURE 3. Male:Female Sex Ratio According to Geographic Region, 2011

Beginning at birth, the large ratio of males to females in the Church simply reflects world statistics (fig. 2). Parents in the Church have greater influence over their children's institutional religious practices in their younger years, and individuals often become teenagers or adults before they consider leaving the Church or removing their names from Church records.¹¹

The gender ratio equalizes and then reverses much sooner for the Church than the world. This fact may indicate that females are more likely to remain on the records of the Church through time than men and that converts to the Church are more likely to be female. In later age, while both the Church and the world experience a decreasing ratio of males to females, the Church gender ratio remains closer to one, perhaps because male Church members pursue a healthier lifestyle and maintain greater social support than males in the general population.

The changing gender ratio for the Church through the lifespan of its members has important implications, especially for the rising generation. Interestingly enough, the gender ratio is most balanced among Latter-day Saints in the 15–24 age group, while the gender ratio in the general population is still slightly skewed toward males during that period. Again, the gender ratio among actively religious members,

especially in specific world regions, may differ from these statistics. However, if the two are similar, this bodes well for future growth within the Church. This is because Latter-day Saints tend to seek out partners of their own faith¹² and marry at a younger age than average (in 2007, it was estimated that Latter-day Saints marry at an average age of 23 years, as opposed to 25 nationally for females and 27 for males in the United States).¹³ Latter-day Saint families add tremendously to official statistics on Church growth because one-third of Church growth annually occurs as a result of children born to Latter-day Saint parents.¹⁴

Having a higher percentage of females listed on membership records in later age is not unique to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and it may indicate that women are genuinely more involved in the Church than men. Several studies have shown that adult women are more inclined than men to practice and believe in institutional religion within a Christian ideology.¹⁵ For example, a 2009 American poll showed that women were more likely than men to pray daily, affiliate themselves with a religion, say that religion is very important in their lives, attend services at least weekly, have an absolute certainty that God exists, and believe in a personal God.¹⁶

While the exact reason for higher female participation and belief in Christian institutional religion is unknown, many theories have been proposed on the subject. Some have suggested that Christianity stresses values that women are socialized to develop, such as peacemaking and nurturing; others argue that Christian denominations allow for more female participation and leadership than religions such as Islam and Judaism.¹⁷ In Great Britain, the feminization of the Anglican Church has been ascribed to the rise of women in clergy positions, which has motivated some traditionalist male clergymen and attendees to leave the faith.¹⁸

While each of these theories, as well as other physiological and cultural factors, plays a role in the female interest in Christianity,¹⁹ social and financial factors may specifically skew the Latter-day Saint gender ratio as both groups age. For example, several studies have shown that women are more socially inclined than men,²⁰ which means that the variety of volunteer-run programs in which Latter-day Saint women can participate, such as the Relief Society, may be particularly attractive for potential female converts.²¹ In addition, the Church has a large and active global humanitarian aid program.²² Church statistics do not show who receives aid in terms of gender, but adult women worldwide have higher poverty rates than men.²³ Consequently, the humanitarian

aid that the Church provides to non-Mormons may give poorer individuals, more of whom are women, positive exposure to the Church.

The Church gender ratio surpasses that of the world after age 85, which shows either that males on the records of the Church live longer than males globally or that their deaths are being reported late on membership records. This may result if men are more likely than women to lose contact with the Church. We will not focus on the latter idea, because data are not available that show to what extent this occurs. However, the former concept agrees with data from a recent UCLA study showing that 25-year-old Latter-day Saints in California who attended Church weekly, were married, had never smoked, and had at least 12 years of education enjoyed some of the highest life expectancies in the world: 84 years for males and 86 for females.²⁴ That two-year life expectancy gender gap among Church members is almost three times smaller than among the general U.S. population, where men are expected to live to age 76 and females to age 81.²⁵ The small life expectancy gender gap may exist because Latter-day Saint males, like females, receive encouragement to eat nutritiously, refrain from alcohol and tobacco, attain as much education as possible, and focus on family values.²⁶ Focusing on family values may be especially helpful for male Latter-day Saint longevity, because an eight-decade study showed that married men experienced a greater boost to life expectancy than married women.²⁷

The longevity benefits of being an active male in the Church may appear on official Church records, even though not all members are religiously active, because many less-active members still follow the health guidelines of the Church: a study of former missionaries who had returned from their missions 17 years prior found that 97 percent still followed the Word of Wisdom, even though only 87 percent attended Church services weekly.²⁸

There are 101 males to every 100 females worldwide, but 90 males to every 100 females in the Church. There are more Latter-day Saint women than men in North America, Australia, Asia, Europe, and South America, which exceeds (in Europe and North and South America) or contradicts (in Australia and Asia) the general population gender ratio. Even in the Pacific, where Latter-day Saint men barely outnumber women, the proportion of men to women is lower than in the overall population. Potential reasons for a higher prevalence of females to males have already been discussed in this paper, but this finding shows that regional characteristics may affect gender ratio discrepancies on a local scale. For example, the UN region of Asia may have a higher

male-to-female gender ratio than the Church because it includes the nation of China, which does not have a significant Latter-day Saint population and has a very high ratio of male-to-female births.²⁹ The Pacific region may have a more balanced gender ratio than any other UN world region, in part because the Pacific Island cultures have a strong sense of collectivism and family unity.³⁰ If, for example, one parent joins the Church, the children and the spouse of that individual may be more likely to join as well.

The LDS ratio of males to females is high in Africa, in contrast with the rest of the world. One possible reason for the difference can be linked to cultural and religious practices on the continent. In Africa, the Muslim population is about 41 percent, while in Northern Africa it approaches 93 percent.³¹ In Muslim-heavy countries, women often do not attend Friday prayers and the five daily prayers in the mosque, and they are not allowed to enter a mosque during menstruation.³² Thus, it is possible that African women have less interest in the Church than men because the Islamic religion has set a cultural gender norm for religious participation. While the Church retains the same organizational structure around the world, cultural attitudes and gender expectations may affect male and female desires to become affiliated with the Church.

Research on Latter-day Saint gender distributions in specific world regions are sorely lacking, and more needs to be conducted.

Conclusion

While more females are on the records of the Church than men, the Church gender ratio is near unity during the years when more members of the Church marry and shows a greater ratio of males to females in old age than the general world gender ratio. LDS gender ratios also vary widely by UN world region, which shows that cultural factors may impact the segments of the population that are most interested in participating in religion. More research needs to be conducted to understand how gender ratios among religiously active Church members impact local Church growth.

These findings do not mean that the gender ratio among religiously active members and the gender ratio among all members are equal, and by no means does it indicate that missionaries or local congregations should mechanically seek to balance local congregations by searching for only male or female converts. However, congregations that want to grow can continue to stress the importance of having strong marriages and families, make sure that organizations separated by distinct

gender and age groups (such as Young Men and Young Women organizations) are well supported, give converts and members social support, and ensure that both males and females feel useful and valued in the religious community.

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Deconstruction, Abjection, and Meaning in Contemporary Art

World Trends and the BYU Museum of Art

Kirsti Ringger

Visit any contemporary art exhibition in the world. You might be shocked, but it is unlikely that you will be surprised. You will probably see something huge and imposing—in fact, almost everything will be BIG. There will be appropriated pop culture images and graffiti, found objects in installation, photographs of the artist (probably in serial), and definitely electronics—video and neon and interactive computerish things. Perhaps there will be some naked people (and if there are, they will probably be posted all over the city as exhibition advertisements). There will be large-scale photographic social commentary, and, inevitably, there will be a retrospective of an important late-nineteenth- or twentieth-century artist—Warhol or Picasso or Jasper Johns. The museum shop will also be featured prominently, usually at the main entrance. What you will rarely find is a thorough discussion of what is being presented. This is part of the unique phenomenon of contemporary art. The art *and* the presentation of the art have merged into a murky space that resists clarity of explanation and understanding. The reason for this lack is tied to the very ideas behind contemporary art, but as the role of a museum is to clarify and educate, it is even more crucial that museums and galleries carefully present contemporary art in a way that interrogates and carefully examines what is being produced.

When I took my first art history class at BYU in the early 1980s, I was a little perplexed to see that the art covered in the textbook only reached until about 1970. I wanted to know what had happened in the last ten years. What is even more distressing now, in 2014, is that nothing has really changed much. Most textbooks still culminate with a nice

discussion of minimalism and post-minimalist movements and then give a very short, somewhat random smattering of artists and movements from the 1980s through the present. Even books specifically on contemporary art offer only a catalog of important artists and various individual ideologies, but no overarching principle that elucidates the art scene of the past thirty years. From this it would seem that there is no defining movement of our current era—that it is indeed just a smattering of individual artists and ideas. It is post-post-postmodern. Anything goes. It is impossible to define. And yet there *are* similarities. When one goes to a contemporary art museum, there is continuity—a unifying principle. But what, exactly, is it?

A few years ago in a faculty seminar on modernism, I had a small epiphany: perhaps in order to understand modernism and beyond, we have to change our approach. Art and religion and science and all elevated human thought are not only defined by *what* the answers are in a certain period, but by *where* people look for meaning. In other words, and overly simplified, *what* the Egyptians and the Greeks and the early Christians believed was very different, but *where* they looked for answers was similar and was the defining feature of the ancient world. These disparate cultures had vastly different beliefs, but they shared the idea that meaning comes from or exists in a perfect universe, outside of this world. Art reflected the view of the universe as the seat of meaning. Its emphasis was on gods and kings, with big ideas and monumental structures being devoted to them. Art was the abstracted and highly perfected forms that echoed the perfect nature of the universe. The artists were almost universally unknown during the ancient and medieval period because they were unimportant in comparison to the truth that exists beyond this world.

Modernism formed along with Renaissance humanism, which, although it still acknowledged the perfect universe, began to believe that the universe can only be understood by humans through the human mind—"I think, therefore I am." Over the next centuries, modern thought and art shifts its emphasis away from trying to find meaning in the universe *per se* to finding meaning in the universe through the intellect of humankind and eventually to finding meaning in the mind of the individual. The individual artist or thinker becomes known and essential. Each consecutive movement during the period from the late fifteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century describes the mind as the arbiter of meaning. We know modern ideas by categories, beginning with large classifications such as the Renaissance or the Enlightenment, then

through increasingly more specific and smaller groups such as impressionists or pre-Raphaelites or post-impressionists or symbolists.

At the turn of the twentieth century, there is another significant change in the perception of where it is appropriate or possible to look for meaning. The intellect itself becomes suspect, and the trajectory of meaning, through the influence of thinkers like Sigmund Freud, becomes suspect also. The mind can be ruled by subliminal choices of which the consciousness is not aware. Minds can be fooled by our sense perceptions. Indeed, perceptions and reasoning can be completely false. Therefore, the intellect cannot be trusted as fully as modern thinkers had supposed. Dada, surrealism, and other movements explore and question the adequacy and relevancy of attributing meaning to the mind. Since meaning can no longer be coupled to a universe of which we cannot be sensible, nor to a mind of which we cannot be confident, meaning can only be arbitrary and random.

Meaning is eventually saved, at least temporarily, by a branch of philosophy called phenomenology, espoused by Edmund Husserl and later Martin Heidegger, which locates meaning not only in the mind but in the relationship of the mind and the physical world. Phenomenology proposes that meaning exists somewhere between the isolated thoughts of individuals, their body's sensibilities, and the world in which they act and live. As these forces interact, being and meaning are created. Meaning could be described as experience. In art, this is shown by the movements such as expressionism, minimalism, performance art, environmental art, and installation art, each of which finds unique ways to push the idea of experience as the most important factor in making and seeing art. The mind of the artist and the art object take a backseat to the act of making art an experience. The artist's experience is coupled to the experience of the observer encountering art. Like meaning, art begins to reside in the space between the experiences of the artist and the world.

If we are looking for art only in the "acceptable" places where meaning resides in any given moment, then the next shift in the perceived location of meaning explains what is happening in contemporary art. I propose that this shift has to do with the idea of deconstruction both in the production as well as in the presentation of art in galleries and museums around the world—in other words, in the kind of art that is produced and the kind of exhibitions that have a common theme, despite the many disparate individual manifestations. I will also discuss how this particular manifestation has a flaw of circular reasoning that impedes its careful examination, but how that examination must, or at least *can* and ought to, take place.

Rather than finding meaning in a greater universe, or in the rational mind, or even in the phenomenological space that exists between the universe and the self, contemporary thought relies on the idea of deconstruction. Briefly, deconstruction maintains that in order to understand anything, you must look at its smallest parts. In society at large, this has had great value. We break down the world around us into its fundamental origins, causing increased scientific understanding of chemistry, biology, environments, technology, evolution, and so forth. By understanding the origins of life and substance, we gain a better understanding overall.

When this is applied to thought, language, and art, it has a more complex result than in the sciences. It has led to a destruction of the idea of meaning or at least of the possibility of communicating. When we break down our former methods of finding meaning—experience, thought, and language—into their smallest parts, we find that there is a huge gulf between those experiences, thoughts and language on one side and meaning on the other. If we address deconstruction in language, or semiotics, we find that the sign (the word) and the signified (the object or idea indexed by the sign) have no absolute relation, only a vague correlation—and sometimes not even that. Because of the imperfection of symbolic thought and words in our own consciousness, we are not even able to communicate meaningfully with ourselves. French philosopher Jacques Derrida has characterized the ultimate end of this trajectory by the statement “there can be no successful speech act.”¹ This is especially relevant to us as humans because through our acquisition of language, even thought is essentially a speech act. This is not to say that there is no meaning, but simply that if there is meaning, it is not communicable, even to ourselves to the extent that we use language in our thoughts. Therefore, if there is meaning anywhere, it must be pre-language. The philosopher John Searle of Berkeley relates a story of a conversation he had with a student of Derrida. The student had made the statement that there could be no successful speech act. Searle replied something like, “If I’m hungry and go to McDonalds and order a Big Mac and they give me one and I eat it—that seems like a successful speech act to me.” The student was flustered and took the question back to Derrida. Derrida responded in a letter something to the effect of, “It was not a successful speech act because

1. This is an oft-repeated idea of Derrida. One place it can be found is: <http://easyurltoremember.com/docs/papers/quineandderrida.pdf>.

what you really wanted was your mother's milk."² This story is significant to us for two reasons: First, it demonstrates the deconstructionist gulf that exists between meaning and language (you do not—cannot—know what you are really asking for because you use language), and second, it places meaning in the more trustworthy, pre-language, physical state (your real desire is the pre-language desire for all sorts of primal comfort and satiation as described by Derrida). Art can also be described in these same terms of semiotics because it is "visual language." But it is a unique language that shares both the symbolic nature of oral and written language with an experiential pre-language language—sensation, sight, sounds, and so forth. As such, this particular exploration of deconstruction has been ubiquitously adopted by the contemporary art world. In general, art of the contemporary world has been "conceptual art." This is art that questions itself and the language that it uses. In conceptual art, ideas are explored, isolated, and broken down and the execution becomes a perfunctory, imperfect reflection of the idea. As with language, it is in the pre-language experience that the meaning (if any) resides.

The most direct manifestation of deconstruction in contemporary art is the specific quality known as "abjection." In abjection, those basic bodily functions that are normally disregarded are brought to the forefront for inspection. For example, let's say I give you a piece of really good chocolate to eat. After a few seconds, I might begin to deconstruct the experience for you. I might describe how your tongue is smashing it against the roof of your mouth in order to taste it, how your glands are beginning to secrete saliva and your teeth are masticating the chocolate to begin the digestion process and how finally, your throat contracts as you swallow the mixture of chocolate and saliva. What if I then ask you to spit in your hand and look at the spit, maybe stick another finger in it and roll it around as the chocolaty spit becomes cold? This is how abjection is understood in art—deconstructing experience to its extreme physical parts and presenting it for examination. Beginning in the late sixties, abjection as it relates to deconstruction as the latest seat of meaning became a predominant subject in art. We saw lots of body fluid art—where the site of art in many cases became excrement, blood, and the body itself.

2. This is an anecdotal story told by a former student of John Searle. I emailed Searle in 2011 to check on the veracity of the story since I was using it as an example. In August 2011, he replied that the first part of the story was true, but that he did not remember Derrida's response, although it was "true."

There are countless specimens of abjection in the past forty years. Vito Acconci's *Trademarks*, Kiki Smith's *Body Fluids*, Marc Quinn's *Blood Head*, and Janine Antoni's *Mortar and Pestle* are all examples of how aspects of the body are presented for consideration on a pre-language level. Many people complain that this kind of art is objectionable and meant only to shock. This may be the intent. However, in the context of the larger philosophical conversation where intent is only marginally relevant, this art is clearly understandable as the logical embodiment of deconstruction in art.

The idea of abjection has been adequately acknowledged and discussed in art theory, but there has not been a sufficient understanding of where this idea has come from. In general, art historians as well as artists talk about art in a Hegelian way—artists reflect the trends and development of their culture—but for some reason, although abjection has dominated the contemporary art world for the last forty years, there seems to be little perception of where this artistic impulse has come from and what it means. Many artists who portray abjection have never heard of Derrida, nor could they adequately define deconstruction, let alone abjection. But this lack doesn't really matter. Deconstruction is the prevailing sentiment of our time with regard to meaning. I highlight Derrida because while Derrida is only one articulator among many who lack confidence in the possibility for meaning, his particular articulation fits so perfectly to what is happening in the art world today. Like the disparate cultures of the ancient and medieval world, they are still knit together, at least loosely, by a common contemporary theme—that meaning, if it exists at all, is most likely to be found in things otherwise thought of as meaningless, namely pre-language functions. Art is a language that is uniquely positioned to create a pre-language experience.

If we accept the idea of abjection as still being a dominant manifestation of meaning in the last few decades, then the motivation for a closely related trend in art also becomes clear. There is another side to that coin of object fascination with the body, and that flip side is the combination of abjection with beauty. Recently, there has been an increase in these super-beautiful, flawless, overtly sexual, and ageless bodies as the subject of art. It is really just another kind of abjection, but it is more palatable and has been easily and fully adopted by contemporary art and popular culture. Will Cotton, for example, is famous for his completely vacuous, physical, colorful pre-language depictions. This isolation of beauty is analogous to the relationship of the spit in your hand to the chocolate you just enjoyed. It is real, but it is so deconstructed as to remove it from any meaning other than pre-language physicality.

There are several other specific ways in which the flipside to abjection has become predominant in contemporary art; cute art and technological art are perhaps the two most prevalent and important trends. Mark Ryden's cutesy animals, Takashi Murakami's anime, the oversized Hello Kittys at the Museum of Modern Art, and Jeff Koons's enormous balloon dogs and topiary puppies are examples of a trend in frivolity in art that smacks of deconstruction. The power in these images is nothing more than a pre-language reaction that, like the other kind of abjection, defies any deeper meaning. Another example is the trend in technological and kinetic art that elicits a similar reaction from the viewer. We are wowed by the kinetic sculptures of Theo Jansen³ or the light experiences of Carlos Ruiz-Diaz,⁴ but they are mostly just "wow." If there is a deeper meaning at the core of these works, it usually has to do with alienation and fragmentation of the modern world caused by technology—another type of deconstruction. In some ways, technological art is the perfect vehicle for the idea of deconstruction in art because ultimately technology is a human invention that can be so meaningless and alienating. Technological art often contributes to the idea that we are just computers made of meat. In each case, the power of the art comes from its pre-language appeal, and the possibility for meaning in art has effectively followed the discussion of meaning in language.

This explains another dominant and very current trend that is a combination of the two sides of abjection. It is everywhere. Many leading contemporary artists such as Jeff Koons, Matthew Barney, John Currin, Lisa Yuskavage, Damien Hirst, Tracy Emin, Paul McCarthy, Cathy Wilkes, Ai Wei Wei, Tonia Bruegera, and Andrea Fraser use incredibly beautiful people in incredibly beautiful works of art doing incredibly abject things. The beauty is as abject as the abjection. Takashi Murakami takes those same harmless, frivolous figures and adds elements of abjection, such as in *My Lonesome Cowboy* in which an anime figurine engages in patently obscene behavior, or in *Hiropon* whose character is equally obscenely engaged.⁵ Ryden juxtaposes images painted in his saccharine style like bunnies and little girls with the butchering of meat. Other artists such as John Currin and Lisa Yuskavage use Bougureau-like virtuoso painting

3. Theo Jansen, *Strandbeest*, 2007, <http://www.strandbeest.com/>.

4. Carlos Cruz-Diez, *The Embodied Experience of Color*, 2010, <http://artdistricts.com/cruz-diez-interactive-at-mam/>.

5. Incidentally, Takashi Murakami's *My Lonesome Cowboy*, 1997, sold for \$15.1 million.

to portray enormously breasted women in art that anywhere outside a gallery would simply be called pornography. Jennie Saville uses her lush, rich, gorgeous painting skill to portray eviscerated, beaten, slaughtered women. Matthew Barney in his *Cremaster Cycle* video art uses his own beautiful body fused with silliness, senseless violence, blood, and dismemberment. Damien Hirst's approach is a sterile combination of violence, death, beauty, and wealth that denudes any of these usually powerful references of meaning. Tracey Emin uses the image of her own empty existence that hovers between glamor and degradation as a means of deconstructing life to the point where the possibility of meaning is extremely suspect. The list goes on and on and reads like the Turner Prize winners over the past thirty years.⁶ The art is varied, but the sense is the same. This is the condition of the contemporary art world. It is a manifestation of the understanding of meaning in our times.

Herein lies the problem. Instead of being examined carefully, this juxtaposition of the super-beautiful and the super-bject is merely perpetuated by the institutions and museums that present art to the public. Like an awe-inspiring Anish Kapoor sculpture that cannot be ignored, museums promote slick "blockbuster" shows that emphasize the immediate physical, visceral reaction to art designed to evoke the "wow" moment first and foremost. There is nothing wrong with that, necessarily, but the experience often ends there. I recently visited the Nelson-Atkins Gallery, which is a delightful, small museum in Kansas City. It had advertised a once-in-a-lifetime Monet exhibit, which turned out to be just one painting. It was a very nice, very large water lilies installation, but nevertheless, there was a lot of build-up for one painting. The Nelson-Atkins Gallery website prominently featured interactive pages where I could play around on the site and connect to social media, and I could easily find upcoming events and where to shop. Current exhibitions were obscured, and I could not find the archive of past exhibitions or any commentary on them. This is just one example of trends that contribute to a superficial experience and lack of content beyond the initial attraction. It shows a distrust of the audience that accompanies a distrust of the art itself to do more than create a stir; museums are opting for "edutainment" rather than edification and important discourse.

6. The Turner Prize is a contemporary art prize that has often been the subject of controversy and ridicule.

Another glaring example is the recent *Nakte Männer* exhibit at the Leopold Museum in Vienna. Instead of engaging in some semblance of thoughtful discussion, such as why naked men cause such a stir when museums are full of naked women, the Leopold pushed the exhibit by emphasizing the overtly sexual nature of many of the images—including a huge photograph of a reclining naked man in front of the museum, advertisement posters featuring famous nude soccer players, and a lot of media attention surrounding an evening where the viewing public could come and view the exhibit while also naked (shoes were required). Discourse is being replaced by spectacle. Instead of a thoughtful curatorial approach, some museums do demographic research on what “sells” to the museum-going public. Although not technically an art museum, the Leonardo in Salt Lake City opened its *Mummies of the World* exhibit, probably because the research shows that the museum-going public wants to see mummies. Mummies are the perfect abject image—perhaps even better than *Body Worlds* that showed in 2008 at the same venue. Even historically important artwork is shown in a sensationalized manner to attract popular attention rather than in an intellectually and aesthetically responsible manner. This common situation in the current curatorial trend is itself another manifestation of the distrust of meaning in favor of deconstruction and as such deserves exploration as part of the contemporary art phenomenon.

BYU has plunged headfirst into this miasma of contemporary art and art practice. While I applaud the effort to include things that are important now, the Museum of Art (MOA) has often done so without the critical thought commensurate with the aims of the institution. Many of the past and current exhibitions directly address this most current trend of thought in the art world and in museum culture without due consideration and analysis.

In recent years, the MOA has presented several contemporary exhibitions such as works from the Pritzker Collection of contemporary artists, Michael Whiting’s *8-bit Modern*, the exhibitions *We Could Be Heroes* and *Work to Do*, and others that fit easily into the above description of the trend in contemporary art, a trend that eschews connection and understanding in favor of disconnected, deconstructed experience. Most telling of this problem was the 2012–2013 exhibition of the works of Andy Warhol and Takashi Murakami entitled *Think Flat*, which was a noble attempt at putting a very upbeat spin on works that had been donated to the MOA by ex-Andy Warhol Factory girl Ultra Violet. However, it was also an unfortunate example of the contemporary shift

that releases both the art and the curators from critical presentation, which, though common at many museums and a natural outcome of the onus of contemporary art, should nevertheless be questioned vigorously, especially in the context of the mission of BYU.

Warhol and Murakami have indeed been compared, and rightly so, both for the adoption of images and commercial processes associated with the pop art movement of the 1960s. Comparing himself to Warhol has been a deft marketing ploy of Murakami, a strategy in perfect keeping with the spirit of Warhol. However, in the way the BYU exhibition was presented, the joke is on us. The displayed images were not Warhol's attempt at happy, good-feeling propaganda of the celebrity culture of the 1960s, nor were Murakami's drawings possible window-decorations for FAO Schwartz. These works are serious, cynical, pointed criticisms of the cultures that they source. To present them in the fashion that the MOA chose is to buy into the cynicism and the abject shades of consumerism and popular culture. To be fair, perhaps the MOA was offering a subtle and sophisticated appropriation that undercuts pop art's cynicism and puts it to use for Mormonism's more optimistic and celebratory goals and values. But if this is so, then it is so subtle as to be missed. Instead, this exhibition smacked of willful ignorance or intentional misdirection, not education and enlightenment. It adopts the concept rather than examining it.

Warhol picked fairly bland subject matter as fodder for his commentary on pop culture—Campbell's soup, Elvis, Queen Elizabeth, Coke, Marilyn Monroe, the space program; things that are almost unanimously liked and ubiquitously popular. He made himself into a manifestation of pop culture, and in doing so his critique is blatant and straightforward—we are a culture that is obsessed with low art, so why not transform it into high art, especially if the artist can profit from it? Profit and culture are often so intertwined in America; Warhol laughed all the way to the bank, as everyone said and continues to say, “Yes, that's true. I'll take another one of those Soup Cans for a couple of million dollars, please.” He adopted commercial assembly line methods of producing his art, further underscoring his cynical view of the art world. Famously, his “Factory” was also a scene of intense dissolution, which did not, in fact, run like a business. Instead, it was itself a commentary on the culture of America in the 1960s. Even Wikipedia knows what this studio meant:

The silver represented the decadence of the scene, as well as the proto-glam of the early sixties. Silver, fractured mirrors, and tin foil [and floating silver balloons] were the basic decorating materials loved by

the early amphetamine users of the sixties. Billy Name was the perfect person to take this style and cover the whole factory, even the elevator. By combining the industrial structure of the unfurnished studio with the glitter of silver and what it represented, Warhol was commenting on American values, as he did so often in his art. The years spent at the Factory were known as the Silver Era, not solely because of the design, but because of the decadent and carefree lifestyle full of money, parties, drugs and fame.⁷

So, why, again, did we have a party room with floating silver balloons at the MOA? What, exactly, can that mean? It was definitely entertaining, and every kid who came to the museum ended up there, but when a museum makes curatorial choices that pick and choose and obfuscate so carefully, how is this part of a museum's overt mission to inform and educate?

Murakami uses some of the same ideas of manufacturing that inspired Warhol. He, too, has a factory, but it is more like a real factory, with workers and standards of productions. But unlike Warhol, who created a sort of frenzy around himself by his manipulation of his followers, Murakami treats his artists as employees, gives them credit for their work, and famously supports new artists emerging on the scene. Murakami has not mimicked Warhol in his kind of cult following as at the Factory, but he too has become an art world celebrity. He has made himself available for all sorts of publicity and has famously joined forces with Louis Vuitton, making his work a commentary about itself as well as a reflection of class structure. His enormous self-portrait balloons and balloons in the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade can attest to his fame and entry into the world of the popular, which is also the subject of his work. In this way, Murakami has perhaps even surpassed Warhol.

While Warhol used familiar icons from popular culture with very little manipulation, Murakami creates his own iconic images that point to familiar types of Japanese anime, but these images are much more than what they appear to be at a cursory glance. Murakami's intent is to pull viewers into thinking that his works are playful, when in fact they are not. Murakami uses juxtaposition as a sort of shield, so that if you are not looking, you do not see. As with his giant mirror-shiny *Oval Buddha*, if you are not examining carefully, there is only a reflection of yourself and the surrounding area from the surface. What is troubling can be easily overlooked; but when you finally see, his work can be intensely disturbing.

7. Wikipedia, "The Factory," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Factory.

A review of a Murakami show in the *Washington Post* by Blake Gopnik conveys these sentiments. Gopnik describes his take on the work he had seen, calling it “caustic. Its work outdoes Goya in revealing our folly, though it puts on a lighthearted air. That makes it even more chilling.”⁸ Gopnik then recounts an appalling conversation he overheard between two mothers standing in front of a Murakami work, titled *Tan Tan Bo Puking*. One mother says to the other that she would like to make a version for this for one of her children’s bedrooms. He illuminates the absurdity of this comment:

On close inspection, it depicts something that looks like a house-size, multi-eyed space alien dripping vomit from its fangs, while one of its tentacles shakes a skull-covered scepter. A nearby wall text helpfully translates the Japanese of one of the picture’s thought balloons, whose less noxious phrases include: “Vomiting uncontrollably, together with the stench of my breath, my phlegm curdles. As my tongue flays to pieces, my headache intensifies, and my eyes have become blind.”⁹

This same scenario of surface observation is what I see scripted by the Murakami exhibition at the MOA. True, the works exhibited are not *Tan Tan Bo Puking*, but they are still part of Murakami’s very precisely articulated body of work. Without adequate context, the work seems nothing more than a Campbell’s soup can or an anime-shaped flower cookie. It is only a commentary on commercialism and pop culture—only fun, only a light-hearted, self-reflexive commentary on our shallowness as a culture. And yet, these are deeply, deeply cynical works. As Murakami himself says, “I express hopelessness.”¹⁰

Of course, BYU would never show his most blatant examples, but their underlying meaning, the contrast between the perky anime and their dark realities is present in *all* of Murakami’s work. His work can be seen on the surface, but it is not meant to be. This exhibition is like showing the superficially inoffensive *Miss Ko2* in isolation and not referencing the fact that this piece was part of the above mentioned obscene *Hiropon*, *Lonely Cowboy* group. *Miss Ko2* has the same underlying toxic message as the other two pieces, but little overtly offensive content. Taken out of

8. Blake Gopnik, “Toying with Catastrophe,” *Washington Post*, May 5, 2008, C1, http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2008-05-05/opinions/36826989_1_murakami-toys-takashi-murakami.

9. Gopnik, “Toying with Catastrophe,” C1.

10. Mako Wakasa, “Takashi Murakami,” *Journal of Contemporary Art Online*, <http://www.jca-online.com/murakami.html>.

the specific context of other work by Murakami, its meaning can be easily misunderstood. Taken out of the specific context of contemporary art, it is almost pointless. Murakami is a perfect example of contemporary abjection. His works warrant intense discussion of meaning in contemporary art, but instead they are relegated to superfluity.

My question is *not* about whether BYU should have created this show. My critique is *not* about censorship. My question is why has the MOA chosen to show these works only at the surface? True, the show displayed some vague, short wall texts that index a more serious direction, but the overall show was mostly superficial. When we buy into the surface, we become the very thing that Warhol and Murakami are scrutinizing with their work. This exhibition should have been attempted with more careful consideration and explication of the disturbing currents that underpin these artists' works. This would have been a more thoughtful approach by a museum that celebrates its close alignment with academic excellence and critical thought.

Although I am not an expert on Murakami or Warhol, I happened to be thinking a lot about contemporary art and a little about Murakami when I saw the exhibition, and so I was immediately struck by the presentation. It was not surprising, because it was typical of a contemporary art museum exhibition. However, I found it to be somewhat disingenuous and not serving our audience. I was disturbed because someone (a student perhaps) who experienced those artists in that context for the first time would come away with a two-dimensional, superficial, inadequate understanding of what that art is, what it means, and where it fits in the history of art. Furthermore, I can easily imagine a student coming away from the exhibition without fair warning and Googling "Murakami," thinking to get some other anime and instead pulling up *Lonesome Cowboy*. In fact, I saw that scenario happen.

A better example of a successful exhibition from BYU was *The Matter of Words* in 2011. Adam Bateman's giant tower of books was more than enough to frame the idea and begin the discussion of the use of words in the contemporary world. The circular space kept the viewer going back to the tower and kept the focus on the subject of the exhibit—words in the contemporary world. This show was only marred by the varied quality of the work. I would venture to guess that most visitors would have a hard time recalling anything other than the tower of books. Still, I felt like the exhibition was almost there. A little expansion, a little push and this show about *words* would have really *said* something. A less successful example would be the *We Could Be Heroes* exhibition,

which took on an extremely interesting aspect of the contemporary world. Without context, it mostly felt like a garage sale of random art, loosely tied together with a theme. The *Work to Do* exhibition had the same effect. Some of the work itself was nice, but it was not held together by the post-hoc explanation in wall text. If viewers did not understand this work before they entered the museum, they probably would not understand it when exiting.

Deconstruction in contemporary art creates a conundrum because saying that the means of discussing meaning (language and art) is meaningless trumps any future discussion of meaning. But still, it may be done. Language, verbal and aesthetic, can be argued to be integral to consciousness and, thus, language presupposes meaning. It is not logical to assume because language sometimes does not convey meaning that it never does. Yes, if we think about it very carefully, words seem to be inadequate. It is easy to feel that there is no real connection between oneself and this arbitrary group of sounds and symbols. There are many times when language—words as well as art—is inadequate and fails to make the connection we intend. However, this denies the fact that many times, language also makes connections. All humans have language, I think, precisely because it does make connections. The fact that it often fails does not extinguish its utility. Nor does it contradict the fact that language can add meaning to experience. Symbols, language, and art can actually expand and deepen meaning and make connections that are well beyond the great gulfs between the sign and the signified. It does make sense that pre-language and basic bodily functions are important. However, it does not follow that there can be nothing else—that this is the end. Language, words as well as art, can connect our pre-language functions to our experience, to our minds, and even to the universe.

We must therefore use language to talk about these trends in art. If we do not, then contemporary art and contemporary art museums are only a meaningless tribute to our meaninglessness. We must acknowledge that aesthetic sensibility is at least as essential to us as language. Our times have produced a contemporary art that reflects the feeling of alienation in our society as well as the emphasis on pre-language bodily experiences, and as such these expressions are perfectly understandable. They are not, however, perfectly reasonable. Art, like language, has to do with meaning. It can question meaning but cannot wholly abandon it. Even the words themselves, “meaning” and “meaningless,” attest to this by their components. One is obviously a negation of the other, but it doesn’t work the other way around. “Meaningless” requires there first be

“meaning.” You cannot “say” nothing. Art is basically construction and cannot wholly be described in terms of deconstruction. Much of contemporary art is like a joke that makes you say “that was funny” but does not make you laugh. It is reflecting a concept of meaning that is intrinsically antithetical to meaning and as such is not satisfying. Deconstruction has changed the historical question of the seat of meaning by the statement that there is no meaning—but it has not changed our desire to find an answer to the question of meaning. In fact, I would submit that the purpose of a museum is to help us make connections, to find meaning. This is even more important with contemporary art. If it is the art of our time, then what is our time saying? Such questions of construction must be attempted.

Recently, I attended a John Cage 100-year retrospective at the Museum der Moderne in Salzburg. This exhibition, though in many ways typical of contemporary shows, was in other ways extraordinary. It did not rely on shock value, nor did it rely on wall text alone to convey meaning and factoids. Instead, I was taken on a journey through Cage’s worldview by seeing and experiencing his art. The focus of this exhibit was to show where Cage’s ideas originated, how he worked and thought, and how his ideas influenced and continue to influence artists and musicians. Until I saw that show, what little I knew of him did not make me particularly interested to know more. And yet I left that show in awe. For example, one of his most iconic pieces is 4’33”, where he sat at a piano for four minutes and thirty-three seconds playing nothing, although he occasionally turned pages. Everything in the exhibition built up to this seminal moment in Cage’s career and then traced how his influence spread in the contemporary art world. There were fascinating examples of his planning and notations that showed his thought process. There was work of other artists who were moving in the same direction as Cage. There were interactive pieces, including a room full of record players where museumgoers could create their own John Cage experience. The show included contemporary interpretations of 4’33”, including a wall of computer monitors, where versions of 4’33” came to life through crowdsourcing. There was a hallway filled with video interpretations of 4’33” by another artist who filmed silent nature. Before I entered, I understood this piece to be about the limits of music, the sounds of the audience, and the abnegation of control by the composer. And yet the Museum der Moderne gave me so much more.

The show directed my thoughts but also gave me room to think. I felt as though I learned something important, something that mattered.

Most importantly, I experienced the art. I did not come away thinking, “Now I have more background and information.” I came away thinking, “Now I get it!” Such a moment should be the goal of contemporary shows. The curation needs to begin with a clear understanding of the art and its significance. It cannot stop at the “wow.” It must make things more clear. Lucidity is so important with contemporary art because the very nature of the art makes understanding particularly difficult. But understanding is, nevertheless, the purpose of a museum. As Neil Postman says in *The End of Education*:

Answers to the question, “What does it mean to be a human being?” must be given within the context of a specific moment in history and must inevitably be addressed to living people who, as always, are struggling with the problems of moral, psychological, and social survival. . . . A museum is an instrument of survival and sanity. A museum, after all, tells a story. And like the oral and written literature of any culture, its story may serve to awaken the better angels of our nature or to stimulate what is fiendish. A museum can serve to clarify our situation or obfuscate it, to tell us what we need to know or what is useless.¹¹

We must examine more carefully what contemporary art is, why it is, and what it is. The antidote to the current trend that has produced vacuous art in vacuous displays is to insist on discussing even the lack of meaning. Vacuity may be the trend, and it may follow naturally from contemporary art, but it is not an imperative. It is important that places like the MOA, which have the attention of the art-going public, use the opportunity not just to present the forms of contemporary art but to understand them.

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11. Neil Postman, *The End of Education* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 165.

Brian C. Hales. *Joseph Smith's Polygamy*.
3 vols. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2013.

Reviewed by M. Scott Bradshaw

In this three-volume set, author Brian Hales presents an exhaustive study of plural marriage as practiced and introduced by Joseph Smith. This work is the product of five years of effort undertaken with the assistance of researcher Don Bradley. With nearly 1,500 pages of combined text, not counting the index, Hales's volumes are ambitious by any measure and are impressive for their sheer scope, attention to detail, and thorough consideration of all available sources. Hales has aspired to publish a work that includes as many accounts regarding Joseph's plural marriage as can be found, whether friendly, antagonistic, or otherwise. He explains: "If in ten years, researchers appraise these three volumes as containing perhaps 90 percent of available evidence, then, as the author, I will be pleased" (introduction, 1:xi).

Hales is no stranger to the topic of polygamy, having written several prior works on post-Manifesto polygamy found among fundamentalist groups. These include *Modern Polygamy and Mormon Fundamentalism: The Generations after the Manifesto*,¹ which he authored with the editorial assistance of Lavina Fielding Anderson. That 2006 book won the "Best Book of 2007 Award" from the John Whitmer Historical Association.

Hales has divided his work into two parts: History (vols. 1 and 2) and Theology (vol. 3). The History volumes are generally organized in chronological sequence, interspersed with thematic chapters dealing with controversial topics or detailed studies of particular events. For example, chapters 13–16 deal with Joseph's so-called polyandrous marriages or sealings. Chapters 19–21 discuss John C. Bennett and his

1. Brian C. Hales, *Modern Polygamy and Mormon Fundamentalism: The Generations after the Manifesto* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2006).

impact on plural marriage in Nauvoo. In chapters 24–27, Hales traces Emma Smith's involvement in and knowledge of plural marriage, following in considerable detail the struggles she and Joseph experienced as a result of this doctrine.

Hales's work also includes extensive appendices and reference materials, among which are transcripts of documents, reproductions of early publications, chronological and bibliographic materials, and dozens of charts, tables, and photographs. In this sense, Hales's series is a reference work, with Hales often writing as "more of an editor than author" (introduction, p. xi). Hales discusses in detail the primary databases or source materials that document Joseph's polygamy in Nauvoo, creating an effective road map for others who may want to conduct their own research on the primary sources. These materials include affidavit books compiled by Joseph F. Smith (most c. 1869–70); Andrew Jenson's "Plural Marriage" article that appeared in the *Historical Record*, July 1887; Andrew Jenson's private notes of 1886–87; and affidavits taken from several of Joseph's plural wives as part of the Temple Lot litigation in 1892.

Many LDS readers will appreciate the approach Hales takes in discussing Joseph's plural marriages. Hales writes through a lens of faith, from the vantage point of a believing Latter-day Saint. He writes using familiar LDS terminology, refers to LDS canonical works and, overall, seeks to give Joseph fair treatment. Given the sensationalist approach taken by some writers who have discussed Joseph's polygamy, his approach is welcome.

In addressing these controversial topics, Hales pieces together the available evidence in insightful ways, telling "a new story about Joseph's polygamy" that tends to show Joseph as a man whose private life was honorable and consistent with the revealed theology he espoused. Hales points out, for example, that while a few of Joseph's brides ultimately left the LDS faith, none of them ever accused Joseph of abuse or deception and "none stepped forward to write an exposé denouncing him as a seducing impostor" (2:313).

Looking at the evidence for whether Joseph had conjugal relations with his youngest plural brides, fourteen-year-olds Helen Mar Kimball and Nancy Winchester, Hales provides helpful historical context, painting a plausible picture that Joseph's relations with these brides did not involve intimacy, pointing out in any case that "no historical data have been found supporting sexual relations with his two fourteen-year-old wives" (2:314).

Similarly, after a thorough analysis of historical accounts, Hales concludes that there is no convincing evidence to support sexual intimacy

in Joseph's apparent polyandrous marriages (sealings to women who already had legal husbands; see table 12.2 at 1:345–47). After reviewing the evidence for such sexuality, Hales concludes that there is a “dearth of credible supportive evidence” to document sexual polyandry involving Joseph Smith. In making this observation, Hales further comments that the confidence of other authors on this topic “seems to outdistance the historical record” (1:397, 408).

Hales uses LDS scripture to help fill the gaps of silence in the historical record, to help infer what Joseph may or may not have done. One illustration of this use is seen in Hales's efforts to reconstruct whether Joseph and his supposedly polyandrous brides engaged in conjugal acts. Hales references Doctrine and Covenants 132, concluding that under this revelation, sexual polyandry would be both “nondoctrinal” and “antidoctrinal,” reasoning essentially that Joseph could not have engaged in such relations, because this would have run contrary to principles the Lord revealed through him, which are embodied in Doctrine and Covenants 132. Such reasoning may resonate with some readers, particularly with practicing Latter-day Saints; however, it won't necessarily persuade other historians who have studied Joseph's polygamy, whose works range in tone from scholarly to skeptical and are almost invariably revisionist in their conclusions.

In approaching his subject, Hales has maintained an active dialog with a wide range of writers, historians, and archivists. The introduction to volume 1 contains a long list of people whose names he mentions with thanks, a recitation amounting almost to a “who's who” in the field of Mormon history. Among the more fascinating topics that Hales has discussed with other writers is emerging DNA evidence, which, thus far, has failed to show any paternity link between Joseph Smith and the descendants of male children he allegedly fathered with plural brides (see example at 1:66 n. 45).

An interesting example of Hales's collaboration with other writers is seen in the lively email exchanges between Hales and historian D. Michael Quinn. Hales reproduces several such emails in his footnotes, attesting to the sometimes sharp disagreements between the two authors over the meaning and interpretation of documents relating to Joseph's polygamy, particularly the apparently polyandrous sealings. Hales reproduces the emails with evident faithfulness, even down to the capitalized words of exasperation that Quinn uses on occasion in writing to Hales (example at 1:438–39 n. 96). Yet despite the occasional sharp exchanges, Hales refers to Quinn as a “reputable polygamy scholar” (1:99).

Although Hales writes from the perspective of a believing Latter-day Saint, he seemingly views no topic as too sensitive to discuss, taking head-on the most delicate matters. As justification for delving into every detail of Joseph Smith's polygamy, Hales cites published comments made by former LDS Church Historian, Elder Marlin K. Jensen, who stated in an interview that he knew of "no prohibitions" by the Brethren as to topics that LDS educators and teachers can write on. In the interview that Hales quotes from, Elder Jensen draws an analogy to published work on the Mountain Meadows Massacre, which provides an example of a "no holds barred" approach to LDS history that does not involve "sacred, private and confidential material."² Hales does not state whether he consulted with Elder Jensen in undertaking this project.

The picture of Joseph that emerges from Hales's work is one that stands in stark contrast to the sensationalistic versions of his life preached and retold since the nineteenth century by many pastors, journalists, and writers who attribute the establishment of plural marriage in Nauvoo to a lurid desire by Joseph Smith "to expand his sexual opportunities." Hales frequently targets Brodie, in particular, and debunks her characterizations of Joseph Smith with relish. A prime example of this is seen in Hales's discussion of Joseph's apparent polyandrous marriages. According to Hales, Brodie's biography of Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History*,³ "placed an elephant in the living room of LDS Church history" that was "comprised of her reports that Joseph Smith experienced polyandrous sexuality with some of his plural wives, reports that unbelievers readily accepted, but which believers evidently did not want to acknowledge or actively address." Hales asserts that it was Brodie's "cool assurance" that persuaded readers, more than her careful documentation (1:409–10). Hales may not be alone in his disagreements with Brodie. Compton's introduction to his 1997 book refers to scholars having "faulted [Brodie] for relying on antagonistic sources that have since proven unreliable."⁴

2. Elder Marlin K. Jensen and David F. Boone, "A Historian by Yearning: A Conversation with Elder Marlin K. Jensen," *Religious Educator* 8, no. 3 (2007): 13, available online at <http://rsc.byu.edu/archived/volume-8-number-3-2007/historian-yearning-conversation-elder-marlin-k-jensen>.

3. Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1945).

4. Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), ix.

Hales's third volume, on the doctrinal and theological underpinnings for Joseph's polygamy, attempts to reconstruct Joseph's theology of plural marriage—a difficult task given that Joseph left no records setting forth or documenting his thoughts, views, feelings, or experiences with plural marriage. As mentioned above, in the absence of primary historical source materials originating from Joseph, Hales turns to the text of Doctrine and Covenants 132 for clues, and he also examines the statements and writings of contemporaries of Joseph Smith, including his wives, Apostles, and other close associates, to determine what Joseph might have said and taught on the topic of plural marriage. Hales discounts many of the explanations commonly given today as rationales for nineteenth-century polygamy, such as “women outnumbering men.” In exploring Joseph's theology, Hales faults earlier writers for ignoring “the ideological processes that Joseph introduced,” for failing “to take his teachings seriously,” and for reducing them “to libido” (introduction, 1:ix).

Hales's reconstruction of Joseph's theology of plural marriage leads him ultimately to focus on three rationales, the first being a “restitution of all things,” which, of necessity, included Old Testament polygamy (3:21). Citing later reminiscences of Joseph's teachings penned by Charles Lambert and Helen Mar Kimball, Hales sees the need for “additional devout families . . . to receive noble premortal spirits” as a second reason advanced by Joseph Smith. He sees a third rationale for plural marriage implied in Doctrine and Covenants 132: namely, the need for God to provide a way for all individuals to marry, which is required for exaltation, thus avoiding the problem of singleness in the hereafter (3:150). As Hales puts it, “in Joseph Smith's global theology, plural marriage allows for the exaltation of an excess of worthy women (when paired with worthy men) in the resurrection, should there be any” (3:162). Hales comments that the “actual totals of males and females that will be worthy of exaltation are independent of God's will” and that God “can predict but not control those numbers” (3:150–53). According to Hales, “it might be argued that plural marriage constitutes a necessary, but relatively minor, doctrinal precept within Joseph Smith's ideology” (3:162).

Hales's third volume might have benefited from a tighter focus. In this volume, he sets the ambitious objective of reconstructing Joseph's theology of plural marriage. However, in pursuing this goal, Hales wanders rather far afield. Readers are taken through an interesting—though at times marginally relevant—theological tour of other doctrines that Joseph taught, including child-to-parent sealings, adoptive sealings, and the premortal existence. Before leading the reader through these

topics, Hales provides fifty pages of material tracing the interpretations of Mormon polygamy commonly advanced by psychologists, historians, other Christians, and nineteenth-century writers. He also outlines the rationales commonly given by LDS leaders in the nineteenth century for polygamy.

The most obvious shortcoming of Hales's volume 3 is the paucity of contemporaneous materials on plural marriage. Hales himself notes this shortage, observing that there is a "lack of contemporary accounts recording Joseph Smith's specific teachings on these lofty topics." While the Prophet's "writings and recorded instructions on plural marriage are limited to the revelation on celestial and plural marriage, Doctrine and Covenants 132" (3:69; see 1:68), careful readers will note that even Doctrine and Covenants 132 was not all that Joseph knew or could have taught on the subject of plural marriage. This is evident from an 1874 statement made by William Clayton, quoted verbatim by Hales in his second volume. Clayton was one of Joseph's closest confidants and had served as scribe when Joseph dictated the revelation later known as Doctrine and Covenants 132 on July 12, 1843. As quoted by Hales, Clayton reports that Joseph dictated the revelation to him, which he carefully wrote, sentence by sentence. Joseph then reviewed Clayton's transcript of his words and "pronounced it correct," remarking that "there was much more that he could write, on the same subject, but what was written was sufficient for the present" (2:65). If Joseph could have said "much more" on the topic of polygamy, but did not, and apparently never did, then all are left with a mystery. What was it that Joseph did not tell us? We may never know.

Volumes 1 and 2, those dealing with the history of Joseph's polygamy, could also have benefitted from a tighter focus and some cleaner organization. The intermixing of thematic chapters with those telling a chronological story results in a certain amount of repetition.

Another weakness I would call to attention is Hales's review of the legality of plural marriage in Nauvoo (1:388, 399; 2:194, 237). His discussion of legal issues reflects a common assumption that Joseph's practice of plural marriage violated adultery and bigamy laws. As I have recently shown in a piece published in *Sustaining the Law: Joseph Smith's Legal Encounters*,⁵ there actually is more substance to Joseph's legal position in this regard than has been previously recognized.

5. M. Scott Bradshaw, "Defining Adultery under Illinois and Nauvoo Law," in *Sustaining the Law: Joseph Smith's Legal Encounters*, ed. Gordon A. Madsen, Jeffrey N. Walker, and John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2014), 401–26.

Ultimately, Hales's work is a solid contribution to the historical and theological literature relating to Joseph Smith's life. These three impressive volumes will contain something of value for readers of many backgrounds. Historians, both friendly and antagonistic to Joseph Smith, will appreciate the detailed and comprehensive focus on primary source materials. Latter-day Saints with an interest in history will appreciate reading the words of a writer who shares a common foundation of faith.

However, at the end of the day, the story that Brian Hales reconstructs is one that does not include Joseph's version of the story—which is a side of the story that is not extant. Joseph's plural marriages were sacred and confidential, and he intentionally kept them that way. It appears that Joseph left no records describing his experiences with plural marriage. Despite this huge gap in the record, Brian Hales has done an impressive job at pulling together what remains of the story of Joseph's plural marriages. This important three-volume work will doubtless be referred to and read for years to come.

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David F. Holland. *Sacred Borders:
Continuing Revelation and Canonical Restraint
in Early America.*

New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Reviewed by Randall Balmer

From the earliest centuries of Christianity, the issue of the scriptural canon has been a vexed one. Jewish rabbis met at the Council of Jamniah to establish the Hebrew canon, but not until the Council of Florence in 1440 did the Roman Catholic Church designate the twenty-seven books of the New Testament as canonical. Even then, the authority of the Apocrypha remained contested, and when Martin Luther translated biblical texts into German, he shuttled four books (Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation) to the end of the New Testament, deeming them less suitable for inclusion in the biblical canon.

Such canonical fluidity, according to David F. Holland, a historian formerly at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, and now at Harvard Divinity School, effectively eroded what he calls the “canonical border” in the colonial period and the early republic. “After humanistic and democratic revolutions—in both politics and theology—the sovereignty of God and the dangers of spiritual tyranny,” he writes, “seemed to lose some of the threatening resonance they had in the mid-seventeenth century” (212).

Holland sets up his argument by referring to the 2004 “God Is Still Speaking” public-relations campaign sponsored by the United Church of Christ (UCC). “Never place a period when God has placed a comma,” the slogan (quoting comedian Gracie Allen) proclaimed. The UCC used that campaign to argue against what they considered literalistic interpretations of the Bible, especially on matters of sexual orientation. Holland acknowledges that the UCC did not use the term *open canon*, but that, he suggests, is what the denomination advocated.

Those who challenged the notion of a closed canon in early America, the author argues, “placed so much emphasis on a new spiritual

experience, a new church policy, a new natural law, a new dictate of reason, or a new principle of common sense” that it assumed “a functional equivalency to a new passage of scripture” (9). Not surprisingly, the Puritans, with their fixed notions of canon, provide the point of departure in Holland’s narrative. Anne Hutchinson’s declaration about private revelations sealed her fate and rendered her the functional equivalent, in the Puritans’ eyes, of the Quakers with their emphasis on Inner Light. Authorities like Thomas Hooker and Jonathan Edwards declared unequivocally that the canon was closed.

Assaults on the closed canon, Holland argues, began with the Deists, and he believes Ebenezer Gay’s 1759 lecture “provided a glimpse of the ways an expansively communicative God of the eighteenth century could begin to spill over the narrowed canonical limits” (67). The early decades of the nineteenth century, beginning with the Second Great Awakening, unleashed a torrent that threatened to wash away the riverbanks of canonicity. “The imprint left on American culture by people who came of age in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and grew up to challenge the canon,” Holland writes, “is immense” (86). Some of the challenges emerged out of the revival fervor and the Protestant notion of believers’ priesthood, but other groups joined the mix, including Swedenborgians, Shakers, Hicksite Quakers, African Americans, Mormons, Seventh-day Adventists, and Transcendentalists. At the same time, other voices, especially those coming out of Princeton Theological Seminary, argued for retrenchment: “The country’s growing commitment to religious freedom both opened the door for prophetic voices and placed an even greater onus on the canon’s closure” (122).

In *Sacred Borders*, Holland has produced a very provocative and erudite, not to mention ambitious, book. Although his argument might have been enhanced by reference to the Camisards and the Dutch Pietists, the author’s command of primary sources, the cognate secondary literature, and the broad stream of intellectual history is impressive indeed.

But Holland’s argument, I fear, may ultimately collapse beneath its own weight. Too often, the author conflates canonicity with revelation or even interpretation. (I suspect that the unacknowledged apologetic agenda behind this book is to place Joseph Smith Jr. in the context of other contemporary “prophets.”) When revivalist Charles Grandison Finney declared in 1840, however, that the “benevolence of God as manifested in the works of creation and providence, renders it probable that

he would make a farther revelation to mankind,” or when transcendentalist Orestes Brownson asserted that “revelation is as present to-day as it was two thousand years ago,” they were not suggesting additions to the canon (127, 200). By my reckoning, only two of the groups Holland mentions actually claimed canonical status for their writings—the Shakers and the Latter-day Saints (the former, I confess, was a, well, revelation to me). Although Holland suggests otherwise, no credible Anglican claimed that the *Book of Common Prayer* was canonical; that scurrilous charge came from ecclesiastical opponents. Similarly, Holland is mistaken when he writes that “American Episcopalians rock the global Anglican Communion by citing an open canon in their support of gay bishops” (215). The issue is not the canon; the issue is *interpretation*, albeit a contested interpretation, on the part of those seeking a fuller appropriation of the biblical mandates of love and inclusion. Openness to revelation—or, in the case of Gracie Allen’s comma or Bishop Gene Robinson’s consecration, interpretation—is a very different matter from canonicity. Believers through the centuries have routinely distinguished between general and special revelation, a distinction the author fails to invoke.

Holland concludes his survey with Horace Bushnell, the influential Congregationalist minister from Hartford, Connecticut, who “hoped that the declaration of a freely communicative God in the present day would narrow the growing gap between orthodox believers and skeptical critics” (213). But, as the author says, “new threats to the canon produced new defenses” (213). What Holland curiously fails to mention, however, is the emergence of the “inerrancy” argument in 1881. In an article entitled “Inspiration” in the *Presbyterian Review*, A. A. Hodge and B. B. Warfield, both of them associated with Princeton Seminary, asserted that the scriptures were utterly free from error in the original (though no longer extant) autographs. This brought the argument of canonicity full circle back to the Puritans, locked down the canon, and validated the mechanistic readings of the scriptures that became the signature of fundamentalism.

Despite some overreaching, this is an excellent book, one that raises all sorts of issues about authority in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America. Holland writes that “a colorful cadre of American prophets” asserted that “God has made a practice of continuing to speak even when most people think He has finished” (215). True enough, but Joseph Smith Jr. and, say, Gene Robinson, both of them

colorful characters, were engaged in very different enterprises. It's one thing to argue for a capacious reading of the canonical scriptures; it's quite another to change and expand the canon itself. It's the difference, to quote Mark Twain in another context, between the lightning bug and the lightning.

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Jeffrey M. Bradshaw. *In God's Image and Likeness 1: Creation, Fall, and the Story of Adam and Eve*.
Updated edition. 2 vols. Salt Lake City: Eborn Publishing, 2014.

Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and David J. Larsen. *In God's Image and Likeness 2: Enoch, Noah, and the Tower of Babel*.
Salt Lake City: Interpreter Foundation and Eborn Publishing, 2014.

Reviewed by Eric A. Eliason

In God's Image and Likeness is an incredibly ambitious undertaking, containing literally volumes within volumes—a cosmic scope that befits its Book of Moses and “JST Genesis” subject matter. Volume 1 covers the visions of Moses, the Creation, the Fall, and Adam the patriarch, as well as an extensive section of excursus that covers nearly everything imaginable related to these topics. Volume 2 covers Enoch, the city of Enoch, Noah and the Flood, and the tower of Babel, along with a likewise varied excursus. Volume 2 is nicely hardbound in a single book; volume 1 first appeared as a single volume but recently has been published in two separate tomes. The authors anticipate the volumes will appear in other formats as well.

Such bookly abundance testifies to the authors' accomplishment and their publisher's generosity. But the project may have been more digestible and accessible trimmed to a manageable size and published as one volume. The advantage of a press like Eborn is that it accommodates authors in pursuing such excesses, unchecked by editorial or peer-review-imposed restraint. The advantage of taking scholarly projects to a university press is that it *rarely* accommodates authors in pursuing such excesses, unchecked by editorial or peer-imposed restraint.

I hope the complexity of its presentation does not put off readers, because great treasures are to be found within. The authors seem intent on, if not saying *everything* there is to say about the Book of Moses, then saying *something* about *everything* about which there is *something* to say in the Book of Moses. They also seem intent on reproducing almost everything that anyone else has said about the Book of Moses. Much of the work consists of collections of paragraph-length (or longer) quotations of other commentators, such as General Authorities and LDS and other Bible scholars.

I say “Book of Moses” as do many Mormons when referring to all of the pre-Abrahamic sections of Joseph Smith’s translation of the Bible. Of course, the expanded account of Enoch’s city that informs so much of the Doctrine and Covenants had appeared already in Ether 13 in the Book of Mormon. This archetypal account of the heavenly city, which serves as a model for Latter-day Saint imaginings of the perfect society, gives insight that is not found in the Book of Moses. For this reason, and drawing from the precedent established by JST Matthew, I like the term “JST Genesis” to give a more inclusive and accurate name to a concept Latter-day Saints often implicitly use when they refer to Enoch as their favorite part of the Book of Moses. Our imprecise terminology likely reflects the seamless weaving Joseph Smith made of “the Visions of Moses” into the beginning of the Bible where most of his longest JST additions, such as the restored “Book of Enoch,” can be found. The revealed and the established, the new and the ancient are fused together as one.

The authors look to place JST Genesis into the larger Judeo-Christian tradition where ancient but uncanonized legend cycles abound about Adam, Noah, and Enoch. The last of these has his own book in the canon of the Ethiopian Tewahedo Orthodox Church, one of the oldest Christian communities on earth, neither Roman Catholic nor Eastern Orthodox in faith and practice but Oriental Orthodox instead, tracing its roots to the Ethiopian eunuch whom Philip baptizes in Acts 8.

In the large net this project casts, it turns not only to ancient sources but to contemporary popular culture as well. Here the tone of the work is not as reverential as it is elsewhere. The authors see Donald Duck’s turn as Noah in Disney’s *Fantasia 2000* as beneath the dignity of the ancient source material, which “deserve[s] better treatment.” And they preface their discussion of Darren Aronofsky’s yet-to-be-released (as of the book’s printing) big-budget *Noah* movie with a swipe at Hollywood, “sensing that there is money to be made in Noah’s story.” They sarcastically compliment the accuracy of the giant six-armed Nephilim depictions in the movie’s associated graphic novel (2:7).

Such criticisms are tone deaf or at least indifferent to the possibilities and creative conventions in film and graphic novels, and are a little like crying “Jesus was not a Cuban fisherman!” as a basis for objecting to the crucifixion imagery in Hemingway’s *Old Man and the Sea*. Furthermore, six-armed giants hardly qualify as especially fanciful angelic imaginings when compared to the striking mishmash of animal and human faces in

Ezekiel's cherubim (1:10; 10:14) and the six-wingedness of the seraphim in Isaiah 6:1–7. Rather than taking such swipes, one could also see these graphic novels and films as evidence of Genesis's timelessness and continuing resonance, even in a modern and postmodern world.

The authors do better in making sense of the modern in the strong case they make that contemporary Mormon literalism is not the same as modernism's meaning-free descriptive precision or fundamentalism's (really a religious version of modernism and not the ancient continuance it claims to be) linear pedantic historicism. They highlight Mormon literalism's openness to creation's compatibility with deep time and science. They rightly see Mormon cosmologies as at odds with Evangelical Protestant creationism "in both its 'young earth' and intelligent design forms" (2:8–13).

Many of the volumes' gems can be found in the excursus at the back that focus in depth on particular topics. As an example of hidden gems, on pages 2:449–57 the authors present and analyze the "Song of Enoch" recorded in a January 3, 1833, entry in the Kirtland Revelation Book. Mormons first learned of this when David Patten sang it in tongues. Sidney Rigdon then translated it into English. Though never canonized, Frederick G. Williams believed it to be a revelation of a song actually sung by Enoch and adapted it into verse for later singing. "Enoch stood upon the mount / he saw heaven, he gazed on eternity / and sang an angelic song," reads a verse of the poem as it appeared as one of the new "Songs of Zion." Given by revelation and seen as part of the Restoration's bounty, this song was distinguished by the early Saints from traditional (and perhaps not revealed) Christian "hymns" that had been long sung elsewhere.

Much of the work in these two (or three) volumes consists of a line-by-line commentary on every verse of the JST Genesis. In the words of the back cover blurb, they seek to engage with "prophetic insights, excerpts from ancient texts, current scientific perspectives, and up-to-date biblical scholarship."

JST Genesis occupies a liminal space in the Mormon canon. It emerged out of Joseph Smith's translation of the Bible as a flood of new material rather than a few amended sentences or added verses here and there like much of the rest of the JST. We don't even find most of it organized in the JST but in the Pearl of Great Price. Unlike the Book of Mormon and Book of Abraham, there was no ancient source present such as golden plates or papyri. The Doctrine and Covenants also mostly comes

to us without reference to ancient writings (with the possible exception of John the Beloved's parchment),¹ but it is by, for, and about contemporaneous, not ancient, people. Out of this liminality, and in the hands of Bradshaw and Larsen, the Book of Moses and the rest of "JST Genesis" are shown to be a remarkable doctrinal and inspirational resource for Latter-day Saints.

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1. Doctrine and Covenants section 7; *Doctrine and Covenants Student Manual* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2002), 17–18.

Zvi Ben-Dor Benite. *The Ten Lost Tribes: A World History*.

New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Reviewed by Jeffrey R. Chadwick

The Ten Lost Tribes: A World History is an ambitious treatment by Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, an associate professor of history and Middle Eastern and Islamic studies at New York University. The subject is a departure from the focus of his book *The Dao of Muhammad: A Cultural History of Muslims in Late China*, but the story of the Ten Lost Tribes is intriguing, and the assembled tales of how people throughout the world and throughout history have related to the loss of the Israelite tribes make for a fascinating read. The reader should be aware that *The Ten Lost Tribes* does not, in my opinion, adequately or accurately address the eighth-century BC deportations and subsequent assimilation of hundreds of thousands of people from the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Nor does it realistically identify descendants of those deportees. What the book does is tell the stories of sages, mystics, explorers, and evangelists who lived many centuries after the deportations, and their adventurous and often eccentric searches for elusive remnant societies of the lost tribes.

Of course, those searches were in vain. Unlike a century ago, or even fifty years ago, many of the realities behind the deportations of ancient Israelites are well known today to scholars who specialize in the field. Assyrian inscriptions bearing deportation counts, mostly fragmentary, but in one case quite complete, illuminate biblical references to those of Israel who were “carried away” to diverse locations in what is now Iraq and Iran. Resettled in what was the crossroads of the Eastern Hemisphere, in the decades just before and after 700 BC, those deportees assimilated with the peoples among whom they found themselves. Inter-marriage with non-Israelite locals began almost immediately. Within four or five generations, none of their descendants even retained a memory of their Israelite heritage. Lost Israel became lost not because they did not know where they were, but because they forgot who they

were. And even though their destinations were recorded in 2 Kings 17, by 600 BC not only had the descendants of the deportees lost their cultural memory and identity, they were unknown to the remainder of Israel who had regenerated in the kingdom of Judah. As Nephi observed, “Whither they are none of us knoweth, save that we know that they have been led away” (1 Ne. 22:4).

Remarkably, however, Nephi accurately foretold that the descendants of deported and assimilated Israel would literally cover the globe—“the house of Israel, sooner or later, will be scattered upon all the face of the earth, and also among all nations” (1 Ne. 22:3). Nephi’s understanding was in line with the original promise that in Israel’s posterity would “all the families of the earth be blessed” (Gen. 28:14). These three “alls”—all the families of the earth, all the face of the earth, and all nations—seemed perhaps too extensive and inclusive for faithful Mormon pioneers of the 1800s, who instead focused on the notion that Israel would return primarily from Jeremiah’s “land of the north” (see Jer. 16:15; compare D&C 133:26; even though Jeremiah also included other lands in his oracle).

Convinced that literal Israel was in the north, but that descendants of the lost tribes could not be expected to live in Asian or African climes further south and east, pioneer Mormons taught that adoption into the house of Israel was a way that all mankind might have the benefit of the ancient covenants. While the scriptures teach that the Gentiles will be “numbered among” (1 Ne. 14:2) and “grafted” into the house of Israel (Rom. 11:13–23), the idea that the Gentiles do not descend from Abraham or Israel is nowhere expressly taught in scripture. Yet the concept of adoption into the lineage of Israel is still found in LDS conversation today. In my view, non-Israelite adoption is an unnecessary narrative, because not only was Nephi correct in identifying Israel in all the earth and all nations, but modern scientific research into common ancestry confirms that virtually every person alive on earth today can be expected to be a descendant of numerous ancient Israelites of all twelve tribes. This is implicit in the population studies of Rhode, Olson, and Chang,¹ which demonstrate that a random person living twenty-five

1. See Douglas L. T. Rhode, Steve Olson, and L. T. Chang, “Modelling the Recent Common Ancestry of All Living Humans,” *Nature* 431 (September 2004): 562–66. See also Steve Olson, *Mapping Human History: Genes, Race, and Our Common Origins* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003); and Steve Olson, “Descended from Jesus? Do the Math,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 2006, B-13.

hundred years ago, who had four or five grandchildren that lived to reproduce, would be an ancestor of virtually everyone on earth today. As incredible as it may seem, the combination of common ancestry research and population and migration dynamics firmly establishes that every person alive today is a literal descendant of people who were deported from ancient Israel. The bottom line is that the answer to the question “who are the descendants of the lost tribes?” is “everyone on earth!” And the answer to the question “where are the descendants of the lost tribes?” is “everywhere on earth!”

But these are not issues dealt with by Benite in his book, which ultimately focuses not on the reality of what happened to the deported Israelites, or on the worldwide extent of their unwitting descendants, but essentially on searches for lost Israelite societies that most likely never were. He does, however, begin with the deportations. In chapter 1, “Assyrian Tributes,” Benite discusses aspects of the Assyrian deportations from the ancient kingdom of Israel. From my viewpoint as a specialist in these issues, Benite fails to deal accurately with the Assyrian deportation numbers. With essentially no background or specialty in ancient Near Eastern studies or archaeology, Benite relies heavily on Tel Aviv University’s Nadav Na’aman (the bibliography lists ten works by Na’aman), whose studies consistently lower population estimates in Iron Age II Judah and Israel and consistently lower estimates of the number of deportees taken by Assyria. Other studies, including the careful archaeological surveys of Yehuda Dagan and synthetic analyses of Israel Finkelstein, are essentially ignored. Benite’s basic position with regard to the “northern kingdom” that the Bible calls Israel is that “most northerners were not deported” (35).²

He makes only passing mention of Sennacherib’s campaign in Judah and does not deal with the massive deportation from Judah, nor its implication for understanding the whole nature of the “lost tribes” or the ultimate number of Israelite deportees. In particular, he does not mention Yehuda Dagan’s study, which suggests that the population of Judah was reduced by 90 percent as a result of Sennacherib’s campaign.

2. The quotation is cited from an article by Pamela Barmash, “At the Nexus of History and Memory: The Ten Lost Tribes,” *AJS Review* 29, no. 2 (2005): 218. However, Barmash, who is associate professor of Hebrew Bible at Washington University in St. Louis, is not noted in any quarter as expert in fields that deal with ancient demography or deportation, such as ancient Near Eastern studies or archaeology.

How, for example, Benite can claim that Sennacherib deported people in smaller numbers than Sargon (34) is not explained. It is certainly not accurate, since Sargon's highest single deportation reference is 27,290, whereas Sennacherib reported 200,150 deportees taken as a result of his 701 BC campaign. Benite's understanding of the 27,290 figure as representing the vast majority of the northern deportation total, rather than as the figure taken from the capital city of Samaria alone, is in conflict with the inscription in which the figure appears, which specifies the total as coming from the city itself.³

However, in chapter 2, entitled "An Enclosed Nation in Arzareth and Sambatyon," things get much better. Benite moves immediately into references to the lost tribes found in the apocryphal books of 2 Esdras ("second Ezra") and Baruch. Both works are pseudepigraphic—products of Jewish writers in the first centuries BC or AD using the names of much earlier biblical figures Baruch the son of Neriah (who lived around 600 BC) and Ezra the scribe (who lived around 500 BC). In this regard, both books are suspect, containing no original historical information. Benite adroitly discusses the origin of the myth of a mysterious northern land of Arzareth, demonstrating how 2 Esdras contracted and misspelled the Hebrew terms for "other land" (*eretz aheret*) into the single term Arzareth. The mythical Arzareth, which does not now and never did exist, serves as the hiding place for the ten tribes in 2 Esdras, who are portrayed as having repented and migrated to the undiscovered northern land to preserve their purity against an eventual return. Benite also discusses the Jewish legend of the Sambatyon, a Hellenized corruption of the term *shabbat* (sabbath), as an imagined river over which the ten tribes migrated on their way into their mysterious land of preservation. The chapter is well presented and quite instructive, and LDS readers in particular could benefit from its discussion of Arzareth, inasmuch as this supposed "land of the north" and its reference in 2 Esdras appear uncritically accepted as factual in numerous LDS sources that discuss the lost tribes.⁴

3. For a description of the three major deportations from Israel and Judah, and a discussion of the number of deportees involved, see Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "Lehi's House at Jerusalem and the Land of His Inheritance," in *Glimpses of Lehi's Jerusalem*, ed. John W. Welch, David Rolph Seely, and Jo Ann H. Seely (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2004), 87–105.

4. See, for example, James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith*, ch. 17 and appendix 17:4, where the 2 Esdras reference to the Arzareth migration is presented as essentially factual.

Chapters 3 through 5 of Benite's treatment take the reader on a wonderful tour of the world through the accounts of medieval to premodern adventurers, Jewish and Christian, who searched and even traveled far and wide in search of remnants of Israel's lost tribes. From "the twelfth-century globetrotter Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela" (85) who journeyed across Asia in search of Israel's remnants, to the fifteenth-century "Iberian Jewish statesman, philosopher, and scholar Don Isaac Abravanel" (117), the whole of Europe, Asia, and Africa became grounds for the search for Israel, among distant peoples as diverse as the Tartars and the Mongols, the Chinese and the Hindus, the Arabs and the Ethiopians. Frauds such as Eldad the Danite are exposed. But in terms of real people, what the travelers and thinkers actually found, when they concluded they had identified remnants of lost Israel, were really the remnants of much earlier Jewish communities, or even, in the case of the Falasha of Ethiopia, communities who had assumed Jewish identity. Scattered, odd, and diverse communities of people practicing elements identifiable as Jewish in the postexilic sense (both post-Babylonian and post-Roman exiles) were erroneously judged to be the descendants of long-lost preexilic tribes, deported by the Assyrians in the decades before 700 B.C. Such "Jewish" communities were so ethnically blended that they were in every way local, but they had enough of Hebrew language and Mosaic custom to be identifiable as at least connected to the Jews. In reality, however, no remnant of the real lost tribes was discovered.

But Benite's focus is not limited to the Old World. From Diego Duran (160) to the Dominican friar Gregorio Garcia (163), Benite describes the search for lost Israel among the natives of the Americas by Hispanic Christian explorers and thinkers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Yet they too found no real trace of the authentic lost tribes, only coincidental comparisons between the vocabulary and ritual of the Native Americans to their limited knowledge of Hebrew language and Jewish practices. There is reason, however, to suspect that Benite is not wholly familiar with the sources he cites in describing some of these Spanish searchers, their motives, and even their conclusions.

Chapter 6 appears at first glance to be interesting from an LDS perspective, since Benite discusses Mormons among the collection of modern groups he examines, from millennialists to the various Anglo-Israelite movements. Benite's treatment of the relationship of Mormonism to the subject of scattered Israel, however, covers a little less than three pages (184–87). Hopefully his understanding and handling of Mormon beliefs and references are not indicative of his level of

understanding and accuracy on the many other topics and groups he deals with in the book. In just three pages, his errors are frequent and significant. And even though he allows that “the well-researched history and tenets of Mormonism are beyond the scope of this book” (185), the single reference he offers “for a relevant evaluation of Mormonism” (250 n. 73) is an eleven-page block in a work by Colin Kidd, entitled *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)—hardly a balanced or reliable treatment of LDS origin or thought.

In quoting from Mormon scripture, it is apparent that Benite has relied not on his own readings, but on snippets which appear in Kidd’s description. For example, he quotes 3 Nephi 17:4 as follows: “‘But now I go unto the Father, and also to show myself unto the lost tribes of Israel, for they are not lost unto the Father, for he knoweth whither he hath taken them,’ declared the Mormon prophet Nephi” (185). Anyone reading 3 Nephi 17 would be aware that Nephi is not speaking there, but Jesus himself. He also incorrectly dates Moses’s appearance in Doctrine and Covenants 110:11 to 1831 (186).

Not only is Benite relying on secondary quotations from Mormon scripture, he also draws his entire picture of the Mormon understanding of scattered Israel not from thoughtful works by modern Church authorities, such as Bruce R. McConkie’s *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Deseret Book, 1985), but on the work of interested amateurs, such as weatherman Clayton Brough’s *The Lost Tribes: History, Doctrine, Prophecies, and Theories About Israel’s Lost Ten Tribes* (Horizon, 1979). Benite summarizes Mormon belief about the lost tribes with an Orson Pratt quote taken from Brough’s book: “The Prophet Joseph [Smith] once in my hearing advanced his opinion that the Ten Tribes were separated from the Earth; or a portion of the Earth was by a miracle broken off, and that the Ten Tribes were taken away with it, and that in the latter days it would be restored to the Earth or be let down in the Polar regions” (186–87). Thus is the Mormon concept of the scattering and gathering of Israel stereotyped; hence my concerns about the accuracy of Benite’s treatment of many points throughout his book.

Benite’s concluding chapter, which includes the most recent attempts by the government of the State of Israel to identify certain small groups in Ethiopia, India, and even Peru as remnants of the Israelite tribes, is a nicely stated summary of the state of the search for lost Israel. The search, he concludes, is kept alive by the sense of loss the biblically connected world continues to feel because of the disappearance of the

ancient tribes. Since his book is not so much about where lost Israel is now to be found, but rather what people have thought and said about the tribes over the centuries since their departure, there is essentially no end to the story. Israel remains still very much lost.

Although Benite's treatment will not make my list of "must-read" works on biblical Israel and the Assyrian deportations of the lost tribes, it is an interesting and at times even a fascinating read into the efforts of many people over many centuries to rediscover, reclaim, and even restore lost Israel.

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Fred E. Woods. *Mormon Yankees:
Giants on and off the Court.*
Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 2012.

Reviewed by John Stohlton

Mormon Yankees: Giants on and off the Court describes an almost twenty-five-year period (1938–61) during which basketball-playing Church missionaries had a profound effect upon the Australian Latter-day Saint community, as well as on Australian basketball. Prolific author Fred Woods skillfully develops his thesis that the use of basketball as a proselyting tool brought both the Church and Australian basketball out of obscurity. In some 292 pages, Woods tells the story of the development of basketball-playing missionaries as a proselyting tool and the profound effect that the elite missionary teams, named the Mormon Yankees, had upon the Church in general and the members and investigators in particular. The author provides a helpful fifty-page overview of the time period and key developments, followed by the perspectives of some seventy former missionaries, Australian Church members, and nonmember Australian basketball players and officials regarding the program and its very positive effects.

All can enjoy this volume, but readers who enjoy Church history and sports are likely to find it almost impossible to even skim through the book without gaining an appreciation for what a group of talented and dedicated basketball-playing missionaries were able to accomplish.

Overview

As I began reading *Mormon Yankees*, I quickly became enthralled with the book and its accompanying 120-minute DVD. The DVD contains clips of games and recorded interviews with some of the principal characters described in the book. I was moved by the testimonies of so many as to the effects of the basketball-playing proselyting program on not only those participants, but more importantly on the image and reputation of the Church and its members. When the elite Mormon Yankee teams were

created, the Church in Australia had a relatively small number of members and was largely an unknown entity. Even in 1991, when I arrived in Melbourne to serve as mission president, Church leaders informed me that a nationwide survey conducted by the Church indicated that the Church's public relations image involved the following in descending order:

1. The Church was an American church.
2. The Church was very rich.
3. The Church was very insular and kept largely to itself.
4. The Church had individuals who had practiced polygamy and, depending on whom you were speaking to, might still be engaged in the practice.

My initial reaction, prior to reading the book, was one of skepticism to the notion that a basketball-playing proselyting effort could be an effective missionary tool. My opinion was largely based on personal experiences with local Church basketball. I was one for whom Church basketball was often described as a brawl that began with a word of prayer. I was skeptical that the type of church ball I had experienced could have a positive effect on virtually anyone, let alone those investigating the Church.

I was also mindful that some Church leaders and members viewed almost any activity not involving traditional door and street contacting as a diversion and distraction, and I couldn't imagine their viewing missionaries playing competitive basketball as a permissible activity. After reading Fred's book, I now hold a far different view. I was particularly impressed with the testimony of Robert G. Pedersen. He wrote, "Well, first and foremost, we knew we were missionaries. We weren't a traveling pre-NBA team on a lark. . . . Our primary purpose as Mormon Yankee basketball players was to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. . . . The reason we played was to let the people know that we were normal, caring, hardworking young men who felt enough about that message that they would give everything up to go on a mission" (212). Richard Christenson, who served in Australia from 1955 to 1957, wrote, "Well, we planned ahead. We had our schedules and our areas that we were going to be tracting and our cottage meetings all on a schedule, and then we'd block out the time necessary for the basketball travel and the game. I can tell you that none of it was wasted. We didn't have any freebies; there weren't movies on the side and extra luncheon engagements. We went right to our responsibility" (94-95).

Mormon Yankees and Australian Basketball

Basketball in Australia was introduced largely through the efforts of the YMCA. By the mid to late 1930s, YMCA basketball leagues in a number of Australian communities flourished, and by the late 1930s missionaries were participating in YMCA leagues. Due to their skill sets and prior basketball experience, LDS missionary teams found almost immediate success in several geographical areas.

With the bombing of Pearl Harbor, missionaries from the U.S. were pulled out of Australia and were reintroduced following World War II. Australian basketball was also substantially upgraded following the war as a result of the immigration of thousands of Latvians and Lithuanians from internment camps in Europe. Americans had introduced the Baltic refugees to basketball during the war.

A significant development in Australian basketball occurred in 1954 when the Harlem Globetrotters toured the country to great fanfare and attention. Mission president Charles Liljenquist, seeing the attention generated by the Globetrotters, decided to emulate their example and utilize basketball as a means to lift the image and public awareness of the Church. He created the first elite Mormon Yankee team and sent them to Adelaide with the hope and expectation that the team could help accelerate missionary work in the area.

At a public press conference held in Adelaide, President Liljenquist promised, in a flight of hyperbole, to send Adelaide a player “who’s better than the Globetrotters” (10). That player was missionary Loren C. Dunn. The team had instant success under Elder Dunn’s coaching and playing. They became popular with the public because of their skills and were even invited by the Australian Tennis Association to put on exhibitions prior to professional tennis matches. One such exhibition in Adelaide drew over nine thousand people.

It is likely the Mormon Yankee program would have been disbanded at the conclusion of Elder Dunn’s term of missionary service had it not been for the intervention of the prophet, President David O. McKay. President McKay was touring Australia in 1955 when he heard effusive praise for the Mormon Yankees at a press conference held in Adelaide. After the conference, President McKay asked President Liljenquist about the Mormon Yankees. President Liljenquist told President McKay that the program was a good one but would probably have to be discontinued when Elder Dunn and his teammates finished their missions. He explained to President McKay that too few basketball-playing missionaries were being sent to Australia. President McKay responded

by telling President Liljenquest, “You keep the program going. We’ll see that the basketball players come” (19).

President McKay was true to his word, and from that time on some of the Church’s most talented collegiate players were sent to Australia. College stars such as DeLyle Condie from the University of Utah, Don Hull from Utah State University, and Mark Frodsham and Bob Skousen of BYU were assigned, and their basketball prowess quickly established the reputation of the Mormon Yankees team.

In 1956, mission president Thomas S. Bingham was approached by Ken Watson, the soon-to-be coach of the 1956 Australian Olympic team. Watson asked President Bingham if he would form an elite team that could help coach and train his team for the upcoming Olympics that were to be played in Melbourne. Watson told President Bingham that his team needed someone to practice and play against in preparation for the games. He said that “it would be a great proselyting tool for the Church, a benefit for the Church, and that he saw that it would be a great benefit to them [the Australian Team] when they were getting ready for the Olympic games” (21).

An elite team was formed under the leadership of Elders Condie and Hull, and competition and coaching soon ensued. The skill level of the Yankee team was such that much of their time was spent in teaching basic skills to the Aussie players. That 1956 Yankee team defeated the Olympic teams from Australia, Taiwan, Chile, and France and lost by nine points to the Russians, who went on to win the silver medal in Olympic play.

Similar Mormon Yankee teams were formed in New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, and West Australia.

With the introduction of nationwide television in 1957, many of the Mormon Yankee games were televised nationally. The Mormon Yankees became extremely popular, especially Elder Condie. The press gushed over Condie’s skills, and one sports writer suggested that Condie “defeated Australia virtually on his own.”

In 1959, two enterprising elders took the Mormon Yankee format to an entirely different level. They convinced the mission president to send the team out on the road to play exhibition matches in country towns where missionaries were present or where missionaries would be sent. The enterprising elders persuaded Volkswagen of Australia to sponsor the events and to provide a new van to transport the team and to arrange for all publicity. The willingness of Volkswagen to participate is an obvious testament to the popularity of the Yankee teams.

As a result, high-level basketball was introduced into many communities, and the traveling elders held clinics for the youth in the exhibition

communities. In many of those communities, firesides were conducted and proselyting efforts intensified. Missionaries who would be left behind to serve in the communities were introduced at the games. As a former mission president, I appreciated the fact that Brother Woods devoted substantial portions of his book to the day-to-day missionary service that accompanied the basketball playing. Of particular benefit were the day-to-day journal entries made by Elder Harold Turley, one of the team members.

In 1960, the Mormon Yankees once again defeated the 1960 Australian Olympic Team. Elder Bob Skousen, who had an outstanding freshman year at BYU before leaving on his mission, led the Yankees at that point. Veteran Australian basketball officials later said that Elder Skousen was the most outstanding shooter they had ever seen.

Despite the popularity of the basketball-playing effort and the tremendous goodwill generated, the General Authorities announced in 1961 that the Church would no longer use sports as a vehicle to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. Australian basketball officials were devastated by the news and tried to persuade Australian Church officials to reverse the decision. The decision was not reversed, but still Australian basketball continued to thrive and develop to the point where today the Australian national team is recognized as one of the world's basketball powers.

Benefits of the Mormon Yankees

Although the Church was introduced to Australia in 1840, it labored in relative obscurity until the emergence of the Mormon Yankees. The great missionary awakening in Australia, however, occurred under the direction of mission president Bruce R. McConkie, beginning in 1961, and just after the basketball playing was discontinued. I believe that it would be fair to argue that the unparalleled success enjoyed by President McConkie was at least in part due to the publicity and service given by the Mormon Yankees. The Mormon Yankee Program did so much to instill pride and confidence in the relatively few members of the Church.

The interviews of members conducted by Woods make it clear that the program had a real effect. Consider this quote from Church member Lorna Cullis:

For me, the legacy of the Mormon Yankees is tremendously important because not only did it change the face of basketball in Melbourne, but it changed the course of my personal life because of Mark [Elder Frodsham] having such an effect on my husband, who was not a member of the Church and had no intention of becoming a member of the

Church. And because of Mark's goodness and all of the things that he was to us, he had such an effect on Bert that it has changed not only the face of basketball; it has changed my whole life. . . . We just loved it when they were here. It was an exciting time, a wonderful time, and a hugely growing time for the people in the Church. The Church in Australia became a different situation entirely, because it suddenly stopped being this little few people, and it started to grow. (106)

As President Bingham would later write, "We know that basketball in and of itself does not convert people to the gospel, nor has it brought outstanding and immediate results, but in a country where Mormonism is not generally accepted[,] we feel it can do an immeasurable amount of good in breaking down prejudice and hatred toward the Church" (28).

Church members were not the only ones who praised the program. Woods's book contains a number of interviews and quotes from non-members who played against the Mormon Yankees. Those quotes are profuse in their admiration for the Yankees players and their sportsmanship and character. An Australian sportswriter wrote of the Yankees: "They were gentlemen on and off the court, and . . . I can't remember any instance of a case of pushing, shoving, or name calling and rolling [by] any of the Mormon players, and of course that made an impression. That affected other teams as well" (56).

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John S. Dinger, ed.
*Significant Textual Changes in the Book of Mormon:
The First Printed Edition Compared to the Manuscripts
and to the Subsequent Major LDS English Printed Editions.*
Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2013.

Reviewed by Royal Skousen

John Dinger's Critical Text Publication

On July 11, 2013, I was surprised to get an email from a Community of Christ colleague informing me that the Smith-Pettit Foundation was publishing John S. Dinger's *Significant Textual Changes in the Book of Mormon: The First Printed Edition Compared to the Manuscripts and to the Subsequent Major LDS English Printed Editions* and that there was to be a book signing on July 18, 2013, at Benchmark Books in Salt Lake City. This was the first I had heard of this endeavor. The reference to the manuscripts piqued my attention, since I knew that neither manuscript was readily available, although fully readable microfilm-based photographs of the printer's manuscript were, but that was not the case for the original manuscript. The only readily available source for the original manuscript would be volume 1 of the critical text, the typographical facsimile of the original manuscript, edited by me and published in 2001 by the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS).¹ And the most convenient source for the printer's manuscript would be volume 2, the typographical facsimile of the printer's manuscript, published at the same time.² Complete photographs of the two manuscripts, published as part of the Joseph Smith Papers, will not appear until at least 2015 (and probably later for the original manuscript).

1. Royal Skousen, ed., *The Original Manuscript of the Book of Mormon: Typographical Facsimile of the Extant Text* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 2001).

2. Royal Skousen, ed., *The Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon: Typographical Facsimile of the Entire Text in Two Parts* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 2001).

I suspected that Dinger's work would be derivative of my own, but I could find no mention in the prepublication information provided by Smith-Pettit or Benchmark Books on how this critical text had been constructed. No advance copy or information was sent to me about this work. I had never had any communication from Dinger, and the first thing I learned about the actual sources for this book came when I was asked by *BYU Studies* to review the book and received a copy of it on August 15, 2013.

A Brief Description of Dinger's Work

Dinger's book begins with a foreword by Stan Larson that provides some historical background to Larson's own earlier work on the Book of Mormon text, plus a list of significant textual changes that come, for the most part, from the current Book of Mormon critical text project. This is followed by the editor's introduction in which Dinger describes the major LDS English-language editions of the Book of Mormon, with its unstated assumption that these editions had been consulted in preparing his critical text. There is also a selective list of previous critical text work on the Book of Mormon, including Larson's work and mine. Finally, there is a brief description of the 1830 text selected for use in the Dinger critical text.

Dinger's critical text is what is often called a variorum edition. In such a critical text, the editor prints a well-established early version of the text (a base text that is sometimes unfortunately referred to as "the best text," which is a loaded term). The base text may be a typographical facsimile of a manuscript with a clear text or, more often, a resetting of an early printed edition (usually the first printed edition), along with notes (either as footnotes on the page or as endnotes in an appendix) specifying variants to the reading of the base text. In a variorum edition, conjectural emendations, if provided, appear only in the notes; sometimes (but not always) a note will specify who first proposed a given conjectural emendation. Dinger's critical text is a variorum edition based on a particular version of the first, 1830, edition of the Book of Mormon (which I will describe below). Dinger decided that his variant readings would be based solely upon the manuscripts or the fifteen LDS printed editions he selected for use. Any additional readings, including conjectural emendations, would be ignored.

In contrast, an alternative type of critical text presents an eclectic text, one where the editor has created "the original text" (or an early version of the text) from the variant readings in the extant textual sources or

from conjectural emendations. Sometimes, editors of an eclectic edition studiously avoid placing conjectural emendations within the eclectic text itself and relegate them solely to the notes. Or they may decide to avoid conjectures altogether, at least ones that have never appeared in any printed version. The Yale edition of the Book of Mormon, edited by me and published in 2009,³ is an eclectic text, and it permits conjectural emendations within the text. Although standard editions of the Book of Mormon are not critical texts (there are no notes telling the reader of textual variants), nonetheless all editions have readings that were originally introduced into the text as conjectures. The textual basis for these editions is eclectic, with readings selected from earlier textual sources.

Near the end of his introduction, Dinger refers to my publication of “typographical facsimiles of both the Original and the Printer’s Manuscripts,” released in 2001 as volumes 1 and 2 of the Book of Mormon critical text project, “thus allowing readers themselves to compare the earliest manuscripts to the printed editions” (page xxix). Then in footnote 53 to that last quoted clause, Dinger states “I rely on Skousen’s readings of the original and printer’s manuscripts.” Indeed, as he puts it (on page xxix): “The importance of Skousen’s work cannot be overstated.” While I appreciate the endorsement, the full extent to which my work has been used has not been made at all clear.

That use can be more accurately stated, I believe, as follows: Dinger did not directly use the manuscript transcripts to construct his critical text, at least not in any consistent way. He may have occasionally consulted the transcripts published in 2001. Nor is there any evidence that he systematically consulted the printed editions of the Book of Mormon, although it seems that he did consult some of the earlier versions at various places. Rather, internal evidence argues that he went through the six books of volume 4 of the critical text, *Analysis of Textual Variants*,⁴ published in 2004–9 (and referred to as ATV), and basically used the variants and analyses printed in ATV in order to construct his critical text. With only the occasional exception dealing with grammatical change, the variants for which Dinger constructed footnotes appear to be precisely the ones discussed in ATV. He never mentions this close

3. Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009).

4. Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, published in six parts (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 2004–9).

and derivative use of volume 4, although to be sure he does list all six of these books in his bibliography (called “Abbreviations and Experts Consulted”) that immediately follows his introduction.

Problems with Wilford Wood’s 1830 Base Text

One important source question has to do with the base text for Dinger’s variorum edition. On pages xxix and xxx, Dinger has a section devoted to “The 1830 Edition of the Book of Mormon Used in This Book.” He states that his base text comes from Wilford Wood’s 1958 facsimile edition, *Joseph Smith Begins His Work / Book of Mormon / 1830 First Edition / Reproduced from Uncut Sheets*.⁵ Dinger quotes Larry Draper’s description of these sheets⁶ as largely defective sheets that could not be used in bound copies, which is accurate. But what Dinger does not know is that Wilford Wood’s resulting facsimile edition is not at all equivalent to those uncut sheets. Since the defective pages in the uncut sheets were unusable, Wood substituted photographs from at least three bound copies of the 1830 edition in order to produce his 1958 edition (I have identified two of those bound copies as ones that Wood himself owned). So the resulting Wood edition is a reconstructed 1830 text that never existed until 1958.

But there are further difficulties. Wood discovered that some of the printed text on the pages he selected was unclear, so he had someone touch up his photographic plates before going to press. This person “cleaned up” punctuation marks, but in several places accidentally changed the punctuation. And in one place (at Mosiah 29:22), in the last line on page 218, the word *those* was changed to *these*, thus creating a reading that appears in no bonafide 1830 copy, but it does appear in Wood’s facsimile edition—and in Dinger’s “1830” text. In fact, Janet Jenson mistakenly listed this change as an in-press change made by the 1830 typesetter because she included Wilford Wood’s 1958 printed edition as an 1830 copy in her study of printing variants in the first edition of the Book of Mormon.⁷ On the other hand, this modern change of

5. Wilford C. Wood, *Joseph Smith Begins His Work / Book of Mormon / 1830 First Edition / Reproduced from Uncut Sheets* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1958).

6. Larry W. Draper, “Book of Mormon Editions,” in *Uncovering the Original Text of the Book of Mormon: History and Findings of the Critical Text Project*, ed. M. Gerald Bradford and Alison V. P. Coutts (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2002), 40.

7. Janet Jenson, “Variations between Copies of the First Edition of the Book of Mormon,” *BYU Studies* 13, no. 2 (1973): 216.

those to *these* (in a facsimile edition no less) was not discussed in volume 4 of my critical text, making it clear why Dinger offers no reference for this variant (the text on page 158 of Dinger simply reads “the laws of these which have reigned in righteousness,” with no bold for *these* and no footnote for it).

And finally, I should note that I have never found a bound 1830 copy with the last signature, the 37th, in the same uncorrected state as Wilford Wood’s last uncut sheet. The first 36 signatures as found in Wood’s uncut sheets can be found in bound copies. (I have examined over one hundred actual 1830 copies; none of them have the last sheet that appears in the Wilford Wood uncut sheets, but Wood’s other uncut sheets are found.) This suggests that the last uncut sheet is a proof sheet that John Gilbert, the 1830 typesetter, added at the end to his collection of (largely defective) uncut sheets that he had been laying aside during the press work. In other words, it looks like Wood’s 1958 facsimile edition reproduces a state for the last signature that had been totally rejected by the 1830 typesetter. The errors in that proof sheet end up in Dinger’s base text. (It should also be pointed out that this hodge-podge text published by Wilford Wood in 1958 was earlier used by Smith-Pettit Foundation when they produced their parallel Book of Mormon in 2008.)⁸ So we have ten typesetting errors that appear in the Dinger text in the last signature, all of which the 1830 typesetter caught and removed before doing the actual press work for the 37th signature.

Omitting the Witness Statements

At the end of the 1830 text, Dinger has omitted the testimonies of the three witnesses and the eight witnesses to the Book of Mormon. They were in the 1830 edition, they were in Wilford Wood’s facsimile edition, and they were in the 2008 Smith-Pettit parallel Book of Mormon. Dinger’s base text, being a reproduction of the 1830 edition, should have included them. If Dinger believes that the witness statements are noncanonical, he should inform readers that he is removing them from his critical text. He does reproduce the 1830 preface at the beginning of his critical text, so we can assume he is not averse to noncanonical statements. Maybe he took the occurrence of the words *THE END* literally and decided that the

8. *The Parallel Book of Mormon: The 1830, 1837, and 1840 Editions*, with introduction by Curt A. Bench (Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2008).

witnesses statements after THE END should not be included. We are left to make such assumptions because Dinger provides no explanation.

Difficulties in Finding a Passage

Beyond these questions regarding the sources, it is helpful to answer two most important questions: How good a job did Dinger do? And is the resulting book helpful to the reader who wants to study the history of the Book of Mormon text?

First, the book is practically unusable because there are no page headers specifying current LDS chapters or even RLDS chapters (which are equivalent to the original 1830 chapter numbers). Larson refers in his foreword to various passages using the LDS chapter and verse system; and because I wanted to check what Dinger had noted about the example from Alma 39:13 (dealing with *repair* and *retain*), I tried to find that passage. I first noticed that the whole book of Alma had the header “THE BOOK OF ALMA, THE SON OF ALMA.” Yes, the period ends the header (as it does for all headers in the 1830 edition). Now this was not the header that the 1830 typesetter had used (his was simply “BOOK OF ALMA.”). So I could see that Dinger was willing to depart from the 1830 headers. Thus he could have specified more than the book’s name.

In any event, I flipped through the book of Alma until I found an 1830 chapter specification. I first found CHAPTER XXI in Dinger (which differs from the LDS chapter number), but neither was CHAPTER XXI the one I needed for my LDS-specified Alma 39:13. So I realized I needed to look up the original chapter number in my marked-up facsimile 1830 edition, which I did. (This facsimile copy of mine has the LDS and RLDS chapters and verses marked in the left and right margins.) And the LDS chapter 39 was CHAPTER XIX in the 1830 edition, so then I started hunting for CHAPTER XIX in Dinger’s book, which I finally found on page 239. Now I hunted for a note dealing with *repair* and *retain* (there are no verse numbers, only long paragraphs, in the 1830 edition—and in Dinger), which I found on page 240, and under the footnote with the number 1838 it read “OMs: repair; PMs: retain; 1920: text removed.”

The total search took me about two minutes. But what if I didn’t have a marked-up facsimile 1830 edition? Virtually all readers of Dinger’s work will not have such an edition to reference. Even with my helpful facsimile edition, I was disinclined to look up LDS passages of interest, including those referred to by Larson in his foreword. Dinger would have greatly benefited by having readers give feedback about usability before publication.

Other Problems with the Page Headers

As far as Dinger's page headers are concerned, he generally provides those that can be derived from the individual book titles, which is largely what John Gilbert did (thus Dinger's header for the book of Alma is like the 1830 edition's, as noted earlier). But Dinger deviated from this practice in one place: in the middle of the book of Helaman, the 1830 text has CHAPTER III. THE PROPHECY OF NEPHI, THE SON OF HELAMAN. Consequently, Dinger uses THE PROPHECY OF NEPHI. as his header for CHAPTER III of Helaman, but then he continues with this header through the rest of Helaman, even to include the 1830 text covering CHAPTER V. THE PROPHECY OF SAMUEL, THE LAMANITE, TO THE NEPHITES. Most readers will be totally confused.

Also, because the 1830 typesetter did not distinguish between third and fourth Nephi (his page headers are simply BOOK OF NEPHI. for both of these books), Dinger decided to use the 1830 full book title for 3 Nephi as his header and then an abbreviated version for 4 Nephi:

3 Nephi title: THE BOOK OF NEPHI, THE SON OF NEPHI, WHICH
WAS THE SON OF HELAMAN.

1830 header: BOOK OF NEPHI.

Dinger's header: THE BOOK OF NEPHI, THE SON OF NEPHI, WHICH
WAS THE SON OF HELAMAN.

4 Nephi title: THE BOOK OF NEPHI, WHICH IS THE SON OF
NEPHI, ONE OF THE DISCIPLES OF JESUS CHRIST.

1830 header: BOOK OF NEPHI.

Dinger's header: THE BOOK OF NEPHI, WHICH IS THE SON OF
NEPHI, DISCIPLE OF CHRIST.

In general, the headers are not helpful in finding passages in Dinger's book.

Problems with the Footnotes on the Title Page

Once a reader finds a given passage and its corresponding footnote, the paramount question of reliability still remains. Unfortunately, in just the first five pages, there are dozens of errors. I'll begin with the title page of the Book of Mormon or what may simply be called the title (or the extended title).

First, there are two textual variants missing from the (extended) title. The original text of the extended title read (1) "written and sealed and

hid up unto the Lord”, with no *up* after the first *sealed* in the title, and (2) “sealed **up** by the hand of Moroni and hid up unto the Lord”, here with an extra *up* after the second *sealed* in the extended title. When the printer’s copy of the title page was made in August 1829, Oliver Cowdery accidentally added *up* in the first instance and deleted it from the second one. Yet four other copies of the title page, independent of the printer’s copy (all were made earlier in 1829), read correctly in this regard. These two variants are discussed in ATV (on page 30), but Dinger ignored or overlooked them; he does not even refer to four additional textual sources (the two copyright certificates dating from June 11, 1829, a printed version of the title page submitted with the Library of Congress’s copyright certificate, and the notice published in the June 26, 1829, issue of the *Wayne Sentinel*). The original manuscript version of the title page is no longer extant. Dinger might justify this decision because he is comparing his base text (the 1830 edition) against O and P and fifteen LDS printed editions only. In this case, he apparently does not think it necessary to give readers all the textual evidence.

The first variant Dinger lists (footnote 1) deals with the 1837 grammatical change from *which* to *who* (“**which** are a remnant of the house of Israel”). Later on in the title, the other case where *which* was changed to *who* for the 1837 edition (“**which** were scattered at the time the Lord confounded the language of the people”) is not listed. This is because in ATV (see pages 29–30) I list only the first case of this editorial change, although in the discussion I note the second case and then state “Like most grammatical changes, this change of *which* to *who* will usually not be discussed in this volume. Instead, a comprehensive discussion regarding the editing of *which* can be found in volume 3 under WHICH.” As you can see, Dinger is not as clear or transparent. He simply lists the second *which* in the extended title with no variation, which by his method will mislead a reader into thinking that all the LDS printed editions read *which* in the second case, when only the 1830 edition does.

There are, however, examples of different grammatical variants in the extended title that are ignored by Dinger. The first instance of *shew* versus *show* in the text (“which is to **shew** unto the remnant of the house of Israel”) is discussed in ATV on page 32, but omitted by Dinger. The LDS text over time has gravitated towards the modern *show*. For this first instance of *shew* in the text, the 1888 LDS large-print edition was the first LDS edition to make the change. The complete list of *shew* versus *show* variation will be found in volume 3, *The History of the Text of the Book of Mormon*.

Another instance where Dinger ignores variation in the extended title is the *how* in “**how** great things the Lord hath done”. As explained in ATV (pages 32–33), the use of *how* in this expression is found in the King James Bible, but Joseph Smith replaced *how* with *what* here in the title and also in 1 Nephi 7:11 (there he marked the change in P). Yet Joseph left unchanged six later instances of this usage in the Book of Mormon text. Here is an excellent example supporting the view that Joseph’s editing for the 1837 edition was sometimes uneven. I discuss this second instance of *how* under 1 Nephi 7:11 in ATV, and in that case, Dinger has a note for the original *how* in 1 Nephi 7:11:

and how is it that ye have forgotten **how**¹¹⁰ great things the Lord hath done for us

110. OMs: how; PMs: what; 1837: follows the PMs.

So Dinger’s footnotes imply that Joseph made the change from *how* to *what* only once, in 1 Nephi 7:11. Note also a problem with the specification in footnote 110. It simply states that the printer’s manuscript (PMs) reads *what*, when in fact it originally read *how*, just as it reads in the original manuscript (OMs), and Joseph crossed the *how* out and supra-linearly inserted his grammatical emendation, the word *what*. This is all clearly recorded in the ATV discussion and actually in the transcript of P itself:

from ATV (page 147)

▪ 1 Nephi 7:11

yea and how is it that ye have forgotten
 [how 0A|how >js what 1|what BCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRST]
great things the Lord hath done for us

from the transcript of P (from lines 36–37 on page 10 of P)

ten **what**

& how is it that ye have forgot^ <ho^w> great things
 the Lord hath done for us

The symbols for the various editions, from A to T, are listed a few pages below when I discuss the LDS and RLDS textual traditions.

Dinger apparently decided to ignore manuscript variation. So using his footnote to 1 Nephi 7:11, a reader will mistakenly think that the printer’s manuscript originally had the change from *how* to *what*, that it was made by Oliver Cowdery when he copied the text here from O into P way back in August 1829—when in fact Oliver copied the *how* from O

into P and Joseph Smith emended the manuscript much later, nearer to 1837, when he prepared the text for the second edition (Kirtland, 1837).

Returning to our analysis of the title page, we find two cases where Dinger sets up his footnotes so that a single grammatical change is split into two changes. The first example deals with the placement of the definite article *the* in the phrase “by **the** way of Gentile”. The 1920 LDS edition moved the definite article so that the phrase now reads “by way of **the** Gentile”. Dinger breaks this up into two changes, each with a separate footnote:

by **the**² way of [____]³ Gentile

2. 1920: text removed.
3. 1920: the.

The reader can figure this all out, but sometimes Dinger omits part of the change when he splits apart a single grammatical change, as in this later example from the end of the extended title:

And now if there be **fault**,⁴ it be the **mistake**⁵ of men;

4. PMs; fault; 1837: faults. [Dinger has a semicolon after *PMs*]
5. PMs: mistake; 1837: mistakes.

But what we really have here is a consistent switch from the singular to the plural (including a switch from the subjunctive *be* to the indicative *are*), from “and now if there **be fault** / **it be the mistake** of men” to “and now if there **are faults** / **they are the mistakes** of men”. This is what is precisely shown in ATV on page 33:

▪ **title page: second paragraph**

and now if there

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| □ <i>be fault / it be the mistake</i> | 23 ^c 4516A78 |
| □ <i>be a fault / it be the mistake</i> | 3 [*] |
| □ <i>are faults / they are the mistakes</i> | BCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRST |

of men

(Here 3^{*} stands for what was originally written in the LDS copyright certificate—an extra *a*—and 3^c, its correction to the right reading.) From Dinger’s two notes, on the other hand, one would think that the change was to “and now if there be **faults** / it be the **mistakes** of men”, which is not the case. The editing here (presumably Joseph Smith’s) was much more consistent than Dinger’s two separate footnotes imply.

Dinger also ignores important structural and punctuational variants in his work. Here in the extended title, the 1830 typesetter decided to split the title page into two paragraphs, with the word *also* acting as the

boundary. His first paragraph ended with “an abridgment taken from the Book of Ether.” The second paragraph began with the *also*: “Also, which is a Record of the People of Jared”. Dinger shows this, but he does not indicate that in the 1837 edition, the statement referring to the abridgment of the book of Ether was moved to the beginning of the second paragraph. And starting with the 1849 LDS edition, the word *also* was moved to the end of the reference to the abridgment rather than to the following relative clause that refers to the people of Jared, so that in the subsequent LDS text the first paragraph ends with “the interpretation thereof by the gift of God” and the second paragraph begins with “an abridgment taken from the book of Ether also”. None of this is specified by Dinger.

Finally, on the title page, we have the famous 1830 reference to Joseph Smith, Junior, as the “Author and Proprietor”, plus a footnote indicating that this attribution was changed in the 1837 edition to “translated by Joseph Smith, Junior.” Yet there is a significant textual variant here that Dinger fails to note: for the last impression (in 1842) of the third edition of the Book of Mormon (1840, Cincinnati and Nauvoo), Joseph specified the attribution here without *Junior* because his father had died in 1840, but the *Junior* was later restored because the eight-witness statement needs to distinguish between Joseph Smith, Senior (his father), and Joseph Smith, Junior. This interesting variant is described in ATV on page 36. The lemmatized comparison of the attribution also shows it, but Dinger decided to ignore it, probably because it appeared only in a later impression of the 1840 edition:

▪ **title page or half title: attribution at the end**

- *by Joseph Smith Junior*
author and proprietor 234516A78
- *translated by Joseph Smith Junior* BC*DEFGHIJKLMNOPQRST
- *translated by Joseph Smith* C^c

Dinger ignores textual variants within printed editions, such as in-press changes, and variants that arise in later impressions from stereotyped plates, thus sometimes omitting important textual variants from his history of the text.

In summary, almost every textual variant in the title page is not accurately represented. Dinger did get the first case of *which* to *who* and, indirectly, the change of “by the way of Gentile” to “by way of the Gentile”. But everything else is either omitted or incorrectly stated. And problems continue to arise when we turn to the opening pages of 1 Nephi.

Problems with the Footnotes at the Beginning of 1 Nephi

For the first twelve references in 1 Nephi, Dinger presents six footnotes that refer to the reading of the original manuscript (OMs). The original manuscript is not extant for the first leaf. If only Dinger had actually found the first leaf of the original manuscript! But clearly he was referring to changes in the printer's manuscript (PMs) and had somehow mistyped OMs for PMs. (These are footnotes 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, and 20.)

I consulted a little further down into 1 Nephi where Dinger started to refer to the right manuscript, namely, the printer's manuscript, and unfortunately many of his statements about the reading of that manuscript were wrong or misleading. As noted above, he typically gives Joseph Smith's emended reading in the printer's manuscript as the invariant reading of that manuscript, when it is the corrected reading, and the original reading is the same as the 1830 reading. In other cases, however, by avoiding manuscript variants, he ends up ignoring a correction that the original scribe made. For instance, in 1 Nephi 1:11 Oliver Cowdery originally wrote the pronoun *it* but then erased it:

1 Nephi 1:11–12 (lines 6–7 from page 2 of P)

```
first came & stood before my father & gave him
                                bade                                read <%it%>
a Book & <bade>^ him that he should ^ & it came to
pass that as he read he was filled with the spirit
```

Yet Dinger represents the last part of verse 11 as follows:

and bade him that he should read [____].²⁴

24. PMs: *it*.

This implies that the 1830 typesetter made a mistake in omitting the *it* that was in P. But Oliver had actually deleted the pronoun *it* by erasure, and the 1830 typesetter read the emended text in P correctly.

Earlier, in footnote 11, we have a persistent typo that Dinger continually repeats. He sets THE FIRST BOOK OF NEPHI three times as THE FIRST BOOKOF NEPHI, with no space between *book* and *of*. The persistence of this typo makes one think these editions really were set this way. Apparently Dinger used his word processor's copy-and-paste options here and thus repeated the typo. This kind of error makes one doubt that this volume was properly proofread. This error was not particularly hard to catch.

In his footnotes, Dinger sets up a linear system so that he can refer, when needed, to each LDS edition according to its date of printing

without referring to any stemmatic relationship between those editions. This decision has consequences. Consider, for instance, footnote 12:

He taketh three **days**¹² journey into the wilderness with his family.

12. OMs: days; 1837: day's; 1841: follows 1830; 1902: follows the PMs; 1905: follows 1830.

Of course, OMs should be PMs. The use of the word *follows* here (or in one case, *follows the*) is less than ideal since it implies a conscious decision to follow the reading of a certain edition or manuscript. It would have been better for Dinger to say that an edition *agrees with* another edition in its reading. The agreement may just be accidental, as it is here in the reading *days* in the 1902 LDS missionary edition. In preparing the 1902 edition, the printer's manuscript was definitely not consulted. It was not even available at the time. Instead, the 1902 edition was set from a copy printed from 1879 stereotyped plates, and in most of its details it follows the 1879 edition, but in the 1 Nephi preface it deviates by accidentally omitting the apostrophe. And the printer's manuscript generally did not have apostrophes, so the agreement is purely coincidental.

The linear method, unfortunately, implies that the 1840 edition is the copytext for the 1841 edition. And everywhere the 1841 edition disagrees with the 1840 edition but agrees with its copytext, the 1837 edition, it has to be specified in Dinger's footnoting because of the linearity in his footnoting system. We see this, for instance, in footnote 30:

a full account of the things which my father **hath**³⁰ written

30. 1840: had; 1841: follows 1830.

Of course, the 1841 edition actually follows its copytext, the 1837 edition.

Ignoring the RLDS Textual Tradition

This linearity in the footnoting system also means that Dinger had to avoid specifying the RLDS textual tradition because it is different in so many ways from the LDS textual tradition. The RLDS textual tradition derives from the 1840 edition, but the LDS textual tradition derives from the 1841 British edition. And both of these editions were independently set from copies of the 1837 edition, although the 1837 copy for the 1840 edition would have been edited (that is, marked up) by Joseph Smith and Ebenezer Robinson. The dates for the editions in the two textual traditions are interwoven, which means that if Dinger had specified the RLDS text, he would have continually had to refer back and forth to editions in the two textual traditions:

LDS	RLDS
A 1830	
B 1837	
	C 1840
D 1841	
E 1849	
F 1852	
	G 1858W
	H 1874R
I 1879	
J 1888	
	K 1892R
L 1902	
M 1905	
N 1906	
O 1907	
	P 1908R
Q 1911	
R 1920	
	S 1953R
T 1981	

Now consider the following example from 1 Nephi 8:18. Here's how Dinger handles it using only LDS editions:

but they would not come unto me [____].¹²⁸

128. OMs: and partake of the fruit; PMs: text removed; 1840: and partake of the fruit; 1879: follows 1830; 1920: follows 1840.

By the way, one problem here is that Dinger never distinguishes in his footnotes between the words of the text versus his statements specifying the kind of change. Thus “and partake of the fruit”, “text removed”, and “follows” are all in roman type. It would have greatly helped to have placed the words “and partake of the fruit” in italics.

Even beyond typographical issues, the linear system is difficult to manage. In fact, Dinger himself got it wrong, because the 1841, 1849, and 1852 LDS editions also read without the phrase “and partake of the fruit”, so Dinger should have replaced the reference to the 1879 edition with one to the 1841, thus “1841: follows 1830” (or even PMs, although the 1841 edition follows the 1837 edition). This ease in making errors shows just how complicated Dinger's footnoting system is. The variant specified in ATV was copied and pasted from the computerized collation, and this is what we get on page 174 (and it includes the RLDS textual tradition):

■ 1 Nephi 8:18

but they would not come unto me
[and partake of the fruit 0CGHKPRST| 1ABDEFIJLMNOQ]

Now if this were redone in Dinger's system, we would get all this switching back and forth between the two textual traditions:

but they would not come unto me [____].¹²⁸

128. OMs: and partake of the fruit; PMs: text removed; 1840: and partake of the fruit; 1841: follows 1830; 1858W: follows 1840; 1879: follows 1830; 1892R: follows 1840; 1902: follows 1830; 1908R: follows 1840; 1911: follows 1830; 1920: follows 1840.

No wonder Dinger decided to avoid specifying the RLDS textual tradition. Yet in many instances, that textual tradition is very significant, and in fact many changes that were first introduced into the LDS text in 1981 appeared earlier in the 1908 RLDS edition (editors for both those editions consulted the printer's manuscript).

Ignoring Variation within an Edition

Two examples from the beginning of 1 Nephi show what happens when one ignores variants within editions. First consider how Dinger specifies the variation in tense between *call* and *called* in the preface to 1 Nephi (here I ignore footnote 16, which is irrelevant to the discussion):

They **call**¹⁵ the place Bountiful.

15. 1841: called; 1852: follows 1830.

The change from *call* to *called* was a typo made by the 1841 typesetter. It persisted into the 1849 LDS edition and into the first printing of the 1852 LDS edition (both editions were printed in Britain, as was the 1841 edition). After completing the first printing, the stereotyped plates for the 1852 LDS edition were corrected and then sheets were apparently run off for the following impression (which would appear in 1854). Even so, a few copies of the 1852 edition with the corrected sheets were bound up (thus a second printing of the 1852 edition was created). The corrections for the 1852 edition, however, were not made by consulting a copy of the 1830 edition (or even the 1837 edition), but rather a copy of the 1840 edition. Dinger's footnote, because he avoids distinguishing between different impressions, counts *call* as the 1852 reading, when in fact it is the corrected 1852 reading and it follows the 1840 edition. This is all spelled out in ATV on page 48, in the discussion and partially summarized in the variant:

▪ **1 Nephi preface**

*they [call 1ABCGHIJKLMNOPQRST|called DE|called > call F]
the name of the place Bountiful*

The other example worth noting deals with an in-press change that was made in the 1837 edition for 1 Nephi 1:1. Here the printer's manuscript and the 1830 edition have the verb form *having*. The 1837 compositor, however, set this as *have*, and seems to have printed off about two-fifths of his copies when he caught his error and corrected *have* to *having*, but as an in-press change, which means that some 1837 copies read *having* and others read *have* in this passage. The 1840 and 1841 editions, which used the 1837 edition as copytext, here both ended up with the correct *having*. This variant is represented in ATV, on page 53, as follows:

▪ **1 Nephi 1:1**

*and [haveing 1|having ACDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRST|have > having B] seen
many afflictions in the course of my days*

But Dinger ignores the in-press change in the 1837 edition and states that the 1837 edition reads *have*, which is true for only about two-fifths of the copies:

and **having**¹⁸ seen many afflictions in the course of my days

18. OMs: haveing; 1837: have; 1840: follows 1830.

(Once more we have the incorrect OMs instead of PMs.) Here the correction in the 1837 edition is ignored (up above, it was the original state in the 1852 edition that was ignored). And the 1840 edition (as well as the 1841 edition) actually follows its copytext, a copy of the 1837 edition with the correct reading, *having*.

Compounding the Problems

Both these problems involving variation between impressions and with the relationships between the two textual traditions can be seen in the addition of the name *Moroni* that Joseph Smith supplied at the end of the extended title in the 1840 edition. Here it is valuable to keep track of the RLDS text and how it has changed, but also the corrections to the stereotyped plates for the 1852 LDS edition. Here is how the variant reads in ATV on page 34:

▪ **title page: at the end of the second paragraph**

*that ye may be found spotless at the judgment seat of Christ
[234516A78BDEIJLMNOPQRST|MORONI CGHK|NULL>MORONI F]*

Basically, the RLDS textual tradition kept the use of the name *Moroni* on the title page, which explicitly identifies Moroni as the author of its text (which can be inferred but is left unstated in the original text) until it was removed in the 1908 RLDS edition because it was not in the printer's manuscript. Of further interest, however, is that in the 1852 edition, since *Moroni* was in the 1840 edition, it was added to the stereotyped plates and continued through impressions from those plates up into the 1870s in Utah. In the 1879 LDS edition, however, Orson Pratt removed this use of the name *Moroni* from the LDS title page. Dinger's representation of the textual history for this name (in footnote 6) is so spare that you would mistakenly think that *Moroni* is to be found only on the title page of copies of the 1840 edition:

6. 1840: MORONI; 1841: text removed.

Of course, the 1841 edition did not remove the name. Its copytext, the 1837 edition, did not have it, so there was nothing to remove. And from Dinger's description, readers would be completely unaware that all impressions of the 1852 edition but the first one have *Moroni* (readers will find it on the few copies of the second printing in 1852 and all printings from 1854 through 1877). And the 1858 Wright edition has it as well as the first two RLDS editions, in 1874 and 1892. Yes, *Moroni* first appeared in the 1840 edition, but almost everything else readers would infer about its history would be incorrect if they followed Dinger's footnote.

In sum, Dinger's critical text is, in my opinion, unusable for a careful study of the Book of Mormon text. In too many instances, his footnotes are misleading. Some of his footnotes are correct, but serious students of textual variation in the Book of Mormon will never be sure of their accuracy until they check elsewhere. By definition, being dependably precise in every detail is the very essence of any critical edition of a written text. And such is even more essential in critical editions of scripture.

Royal Skousen, professor of linguistics and English language at Brigham Young University, has been editor of the Book of Mormon critical text project since 1988. In 2009, Skousen published with Yale University Press the culmination of his critical text work, *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text*. He is also known for his work on exemplar-based theories of language and quantum computing of analogical modeling.

Mark T. Decker and Michael Austin, eds. *Peculiar Portrayals: Mormons on the Page, Stage, and Screen*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2010.

Reviewed by Eric Samuelson

With *Peculiar Portrayals*, Mark T. Decker and Michael Austin have assembled a fine collection of scholarly essays analyzing recent novels, plays, television programs, and films depicting Mormons and Mormon culture. It is an outstanding group of original papers, and I recommend it very highly.

The collection begins with Cristine Hutchison-Jones's "Center and Periphery: Mormons and American Culture in Tony Kushner's *Angels in America*." Hutchison-Jones situates the play as an exploration of minority experience in America, describing how Kushner delights in showing Mormons in creative interaction with African-Americans, women, Jews, and homosexuals. Hutchison-Jones points out that Kushner's Mormons function as examples of a reactionary American conservatism against which the play's more sympathetic characters contend. She argues that it is not Mormonism per se that is the play's target; it is conservatism. As Hutchison-Jones concludes, "For Kushner, Mormons and Mormonism represent both the positive good of American creative energy and the dangerous stagnation of such creativity into conservative institutions" (26). I found the essay insightful in its dissection of the play's political worldview, while wishing it focused with equal perception on the more transcendent, spiritual aspects of the play's essentially optimistic conclusion.

Michael Austin's essay, "Four Consenting Adults in the Privacy of Their Own Suburb: *Big Love* and the Cultural Significance of Mormon Polygamy," brings together such disparate elements as Jon Krakauer's book *Under the Banner of Heaven*, the HBO series *Big Love*, the Elizabeth Smart kidnapping, and the Mitt Romney presidential campaign to describe what might be called the current state of American perceptions of Mormonism. He uses specific *Big Love* episodes as springboards for remarkable short studies of various cultural tropes relating

to contemporary polygamy. He concludes, “The weirdly normal polygamists at the center of *Big Love* are not . . . affiliated with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—but they aren’t quite not Mormon. Standing at the fringes of Mormondom generally, they help to clarify some of the conflicting ways that the story of Mormonism . . . weaves into the much larger narrative of America” (56–57).

Kevin Kolkmeier’s essay, “Teaching *Under the Banner of Heaven*: Testing the Limits of Tolerance in America,” takes perhaps the most unusual approach of any in the book. It is a first-person account of Kolkmeier’s experience teaching Jon Krakauer’s book to multinational students at Kingsborough Community College in Brooklyn. The essentially anecdotal nature of the article forces readers to accept at face value Kolkmeier’s conclusions about the experiences of his students with Krakauer’s text. Still, I found the article engaging and the student comments about Krakauer insightful and surprising.

J. Aaron Sanders’s “Avenging Angels: The Nephi Archetype and Blood Atonement in Neil Labute, Brian Evenson, and Levi Peterson, and the Making of the Mormon American Writer” is a highly ambitious reading of three works in particular, Labute’s *bash: latter-day plays*, Evenson’s *The Open Curtain*, and Peterson’s *The Backslider*. Though passionate and erudite, I was a bit troubled by what struck me as deliberate misreadings of the three main works he discusses. I found the study reductive. Blood atonement is at most a vestigial and peripheral concern of the works Sanders primarily explores. A more modest use of evidence might have led to more persuasive conclusions.

On the other hand, John-Charles Duffy’s “Elders on the Big Screen: Film and the Globalized Circulation of Mormon Missionary Images” looks at seven films of varying degrees of obscurity as an examination of the materiality and the ubiquity of certain images and impressions and tropes in our increasingly global Church culture. The Church goes to great lengths to present our missionary force in certain ways, and Duffy finds echoes of those images in all sorts of obscure and shadowy corners of popular culture worldwide.

I was similarly impressed with Mark T. Decker’s “‘I Constructed in My Mind a Vast, Panoramic Picture’: *The Miracle Life of Edgar Mint* and Postmodern, Postdenominational Mormonism.” Decker situates his study outside what he calls “the stark polarity” (144) of either secular caricature or faithful hagiography. Of course, “postmodern” is, as Decker acknowledges, a contested term (147). But Decker’s solution is deceptively straightforward—the postmodern, following Lyotard, expresses an “incredulity to metanarrative” (147). Simply stated: Edgar Mint, in Brady

Udall's celebrated novel, remains skeptical of the Mormon metanarrative but embraces Mormon religious ritual—he loves his baptism—because of how it makes him feel. And as such, Decker urges us to consider the novel as pointing to a post-denominational Mormonism. This is a worthy and fascinating study of a great novel.

Juliette Wells's "Jane Austen in Mollywood: Mainstreaming Mormonism in Andrew Black's *Pride and Prejudice*" sets itself the task of examining how a Mormonized film based on a Jane Austen novel was received by the larger, mostly non-Mormon Jane Austen fan culture. Wells is particularly interested in showing how the film's most stereotypical Mormon characters resonated with audiences unfamiliar with Mormons but very familiar with the film's source material. Surprisingly well, it turns out, in this appealing study of a very minor film.

Finally, only the title could persuade me to read Karen D. Austin's "Reality Corrupts; Reality Television Corrupts Absolutely," such is my disdain for reality TV, the genre the article discusses. I had not considered, however, that Mormons are not only ubiquitous on certain kinds of reality TV, but ubiquitous *as Mormons*. And Austin goes on to explore the implications of this insight with great facility and thoughtful analysis.

If you are interested in how Mormons have been portrayed in popular culture, *Peculiar Portrayals* may not be the first book to consult, but it should make a nice supplement to your library. The editors acknowledge the limitations of their approach, saying their book "creates a map that is more suggestive than definitive" (3). It might be most useful if read in conjunction with Terryl Givens's *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), Callie Oppedisano's "Worthy of Imitation": *Contemporary Mormon Drama on the Latter Day Stage* (Boston: Tufts University, 2009), and J. Michael Hunter's *Mormons and Popular Culture: The Global Influence of an American Phenomenon* (Santa Barbara, Calif: ABC-CLIO, 2013). I am grateful to Austin, Decker, and all these fine scholars for a book that was always as provocative as it was engaging.

Eric Samuelson is a Mormon playwright and former BYU professor. He received a BA in theater from BYU in 1983 and a PhD in dramatic history, theory, and criticism from Indiana University in 1991. He has written more than two dozen plays, including *Gadianton* and *A Love Affair with Electrons*, and has been called a Mormon Henrik Ibsen or Charles Dickens. He has won several awards from the Association for Mormon Letters for his works and has served as president of that organization.

City of Joseph: A Historical Musical of Nauvoo.
Books and Lyrics by R. Don Oscarson.
Music by Maughan W. McMurdie. Directed by Scott Eckern.
Pardoe Theatre, Harris Fine Arts Center, Brigham Young University,
Provo, Utah. August 15, 2012.

Reviewed by Callie Oppedisano

The spectacle of outdoor theatre with a cast of hundreds, pyrotechnics, and special effects is hard to reimagine on an indoor stage. *City of Joseph: A Historical Musical of Nauvoo* was an immense production performed every summer from 1976 to 2004, with its final performances in the shadow of the Nauvoo Illinois Temple, and the scaled-down version I attended at BYU's Pardoe Theatre was certainly missing the grandeur of the original. This version did, however, convey a more intimate shared experience with the audience while retaining its spirit of devotion to the LDS Church and Joseph Smith.

A labor of love by the show's producer, R. Don Oscarson, who also wrote the script for the 1967 film *Last Day at Carthage*, the pageant was initially conceived and produced by a group of Church members for a local Illinois audience. It grew to be a major event attended by thousands every year. This prompted the involvement of the Church, which saw in the production an opportunity to reach nonmembers to teach them about the faith and to build the testimony of those participating, similar to that which occurred with the pageants at the Hill Cumorah and Manti, Utah. Now that the Church has replaced the pageant at Nauvoo with one written specifically for its purposes, *City of Joseph* has been transformed into a stage play for which there is a different end in mind. Still seeking to inspire, the play feeds into the assumed nostalgia of the audience, stirring them to recall real memories of time spent at Nauvoo (perhaps as spectators or participants of the pageant) or to create imagined memories to accompany and complement those brought to life by the characters on stage.

The dramaturgical structure of *City of Joseph* is reliant on the typical conventions of storytelling. A narrator (excellently played in this

performance by stage veteran Marvin Payne) threads the oral history of Nauvoo into the scenes, songs, and movements on stage. Between musical numbers, the narrator recounts simply and chronologically important events in the early years of the LDS Church in Palmyra and those that occurred when the Saints were in Nauvoo from 1839 to 1846. The illustrative musical numbers focus on the emotion behind the various tasks and trials (for example, the account of the growing missionary effort in Nauvoo is followed by the romantic song “I’ll Think of You,” sung by the married characters about to separate). In addition, there are comic relief numbers, which are introduced by the narrator as scenes depicting the ordinary and timeless aspects of daily life in the city: “Long Time Friends” is a light-hearted duet about old friends falling in love that could easily be from any other secular American musical, and “Somethin’ to Do,” a number by the youth in the cast, is of a similar vein. Both are lyrically well penned and well performed but have little tie-in with the play’s message, which comes down to an affirmation of faith and industry. The real history of Nauvoo and the early Church is interesting enough that the musical does not need distracting embellishments, even if they are entertaining. No doubt the songs with a secular flavor were a consideration when the Church committee sat down to create a new pageant for Nauvoo.

Two misplaced numbers aside, there is a real emphasis on history in the production, often communicated through performed oral history, with characters reading and quoting from journals. Importantly, however, there are few historical figures in the play. In fact, despite the title of the musical, Joseph Smith appears in only one scene, when his initial vision at the Sacred Grove is recounted. In another scene, an experience of Parley P. Pratt is related, but the majority of historical accounts are given by varying actors without referencing the source. In the original musical, this was likely a matter of practicality. Omitting names and dates from the production allowed the nonmembers in the audience to spend less time invested in the details and more time invested in the emotionally powerful stories and songs. In the scaled-down version I attended during Campus Education Week, the audience was largely comprised of LDS members, and the absence of character identities seemed to invite the spectators to claim the stories as part of their own family history, to imagine their forebears in that time and situation, and to lay claim to the hardship and achievement for the unnamed, uncelebrated Saints.

Imagination is a very important component of this production. The original was reliant on its geographical location. Nauvoo was, in effect, the greatest character in the play. The narrator's opening solo, "Bend of the River," was a tribute to the city through which the spectators would have walked and to which they had pilgrimaged for the performance experience. In the scaled-down version of the musical, the song is problematic in that the absence of Nauvoo is immediately and strongly felt. To director Scott Eckern's credit, however, he turns the show into a historical journey that Marvin Payne admirably leads. Instead of performing "Bend of the River" as a shared experience, Payne sings the song as an invitation, and the audience becomes an active participant in the collective memory at work in the performance, recalling not only familiar stories of Church history but also contemporary stories of pilgrimages to Nauvoo.

The Nauvoo of the past and the present is visually presented in the production with photographic projections that serve as the only backdrop—there is no other set design, nor are there props. The actors effectively utilize multileveled platforms and boxes. The images alternate throughout the production, showing scenes of Nauvoo from historical and contemporary photographs. This mix of old and new is repeated in the costume design by Karen Laney. While some costumes appear more authentic than others, the overall visual impression of the actors onstage is one that suggests the nineteenth century instead of one that painstakingly recreates it. So, too, there is no true effort to disguise the short hair of some actresses. There is a pervasive sense of self-awareness in the production, shared with the audience, that this is a recreation, that the performance is not just a tribute to the city and the early Saints but also to the contemporary Saints who were involved with the production over the years and to those who came to see it.

The overall impression the production creates is one of zeal—religious zeal and the zeal of enthusiastic performance. *City of Joseph* is not a challenging musical or even a very thoughtful one, but it is an affirming, energetic production made more so by a capable and dynamic cast that ably faces the task of building up the spirit of Nauvoo in its physical absence. A true ensemble with no characters listed in the program, the actors are all strong performers with voices that are able to carry what are certainly meant to be swelling songs for a very large company. Stand-out numbers include "City of Joseph," "The Spirit of God," "Come to the Temple," and "We Believe." The energy and pace of these songs do

much to depict the ardor of the early Church members for their beautiful, temporary home at Nauvoo.

While the scaled-down version of *City of Joseph* is entertaining and enjoyable, the spectacle of the original, pervaded by the powerful influence of place at Nauvoo, undoubtedly had a greater impact on audiences outside of the LDS faith. The current version of *City of Joseph* is far better suited to LDS members who are able to contribute to the production their own sense of what “Nauvoo,” past and present, means to the Church and to their own religious identity.

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The Object. Directed by Dub Cornett and Jacob Young.
Afterglow Productions and Synergetic Distribution, 2010.

Reviewed by Ben Phelan

Ordinary Kentucky man Todd Walker, self-proclaimed “discoverer,” “protector,” “guardian,” and “witness” of the eponymous Object, and the focus of this fascinating documentary, is convinced that he has found the Urim and Thummim of the Old Testament. Todd and his two brothers-in-law, Dave Jones and Dale Bloomfield, had stopped by the local Goodwill during a particularly trying day at their tiling job. With fifteen dollars in his pocket, Todd was looking for glassware that he could purchase for cheap and then resell. Something else caught his eye, however. It was a black, oblong, cup-shaped object. “And when I picked it up,” he said, “lo and behold! It was one of the most beautiful pieces I had ever seen in my life.” He bought it for sixty-nine cents.

When he returned home, Todd sat down and examined the Object. He stared at it for hours. “Something kept telling me to look,” he said. Eventually, he found that when light hit the Object at just the right angle, “the most ancient, awesome images was [*sic*] revealed to my eyes, like you’ve never, ever imagined, man.” Todd was not the only one to experience these visions. He wanted to share the gift with others. Dave, Dale, and the rest of Todd’s family initially worried that Todd had gone crazy, but now they too have experienced visions while looking into the Object. Todd knows that he has something special but is not quite sure what it is or why it has been given to him. This is the question that takes up the majority of the film: Todd wondering what he has found and, now that he has found it, just what God wants him to do with it.

The Object suffers from some technical problems that may prevent it from finding a serious audience. For example, in one early scene, Todd’s band is shown playing in a dive bar in Nashville. The scene starts with a close-up and then slowly pans out to show us a wide shot of the entire bar. If you look out the window just behind the band, you can see about

six or seven people walk past it backwards. The scene was filmed from a wide shot to a close-up and was reversed during editing. Nothing is inherently wrong with this technique, but it is surprising that no one in the editing room noticed or cared that it was obviously reversed footage. To viewers and especially film critics, this will appear as lazy filmmaking.

However, some of these apparent filmmaking errors help add to the charm of the film. For instance, during one of Dale's descriptions of his visions, he said that he saw "hell's angels on one side and Satan's angels on the other" and that they were fighting for men's souls. Obviously, Dale meant "Heaven's angels," but Cornett and Young apparently did not ask for another take. At other times, the filmmakers jump-cut between multiple versions of the same story. While this may appear distracting at first, Cornett and Young appear to have edited the interviews to mimic the ineffable, subjective nature of Todd's visions. The retelling of the story—an attempt to grasp it and make sense of it, even when it resists being made sense of—becomes part of the religious experience.

The filmmakers deserve credit for the gentleness and grace with which they handle the difficult subject matter that they have undertaken. It would be easy to ridicule Todd and company, but Cornett and Young never do. The film's technical problems, then, are unfortunate, because they do distract from where *The Object* is strongest: its fascinating exploration of the line between reason and faith, and how Todd ultimately learns to walk on the side of the faith.

Todd, Dale, and Dave recognize that people may perceive them as crazy. After listening to the descriptions of their visions, it is not hard to see why. Dave saw a vision of helicopters, bombs, and war and "got the impression that the whole world was attacking Israel." Dale's experience was more personal. He saw "a castle, or a cave, or a castle, I would say" with a "demoness thing chasing me" that was "part pig body and part evil bat face." Then, God appeared and whatever was chasing him just "fell apart." When Todd tries to explain how the visions work, he says that there are "ancient, micro-sized images that look like they illuminate at you, and when you turn the object, where once was one image, it'll be another image, perfect to that image and you won't be able to tell where the other image was." If this makes little sense, it is because whatever they are experiencing is highly subjective and hard to describe. But Todd wants the world to understand.

Todd describes himself not as a "prophet" but as an "archaeologist." He sees his discovery as scientific, true without question, and wants the world to also see it rationally. Hoping to capture reliable testimony,

he visits respected people in the community, such as a manager of a local AutoZone; he is also impressed to learn that one of his community members is a two-time Jeopardy champion. His journey ultimately takes him to Vanderbilt, where he asks scholars what they think of the Object. It is here that Cornett and Young structure the moral point of the film. Shai Cherry, rabbi and professor at Vanderbilt, says, “The idea that he’s crazy, and that he doesn’t have any basis for his visions, his perceptions, his judgment—that’s something that is absolutely textbook for religious visionaries.” He confesses that he personally cannot see visions in the Object, but he tells Todd, “I hope that you can get some closure on this issue without consulting experts.”

The rabbi’s advice is a big moment for Todd—it is the point where he realizes that experts, reason, and evidence are ultimately futile in attempting to understand what has been a very subjective experience. Todd is impressed with how each person who experiences the Object has different visions; perhaps, he wonders, it affects different people in different ways. Whatever the Object is, and whatever God wants him to do with it, he finally realizes, is not between Todd and professors, but between him and God. This is ultimately how *The Object* frames religious experience: subjective, unquantifiable, and utterly fascinating.

Ben Phelan received his BA from Brigham Young University in 2008 and is currently finishing up his PhD in theatre history at Louisiana State University. His dissertation is on humanoid automata in the American imagination in the twentieth century. In addition to his academic work, he is also a theatre director and occasional actor.

The Mormon Quest for Glory: The Religious World of the Latter-day Saints, by Melvyn Hammarberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

The Mormon Quest for Glory is a look into the Latter-day Saint religion and culture, as examined by anthropologist and professor Melvyn Hammarberg. Hammarberg initially began his twenty-five years of study of Latter-day Saints when working on an undergraduate paper about Joseph Smith Jr., eventually taking a closer look at the Church during a graduate program that focused on American civilization. He has since shifted from studying the history of the Church to studying the way the Church functions in the world currently. Through this book, Hammarberg seeks “to provide a qualitative picture of the church in the contemporary present” (13).

In *The Mormon Quest for Glory*, Hammarberg discusses his findings from an ethnographic study involving direct observations of the Church at a local level. The book traces the religious and cultural aspects of the Church through various age groups, focusing on children, young adults, and adults; a special look is given to converts to the

Church and the path to becoming LDS. Hammarberg examines Church doctrines and the way they are presented to each age group, and also discusses key principles such as the organization of the Church, missionary work, marriage, and the role of temples. His discussions include personal observations from his time studying the Church, as well as interviews of Latter-day Saints.

Hammarberg describes the audience as “the educated lay public, as well as scholars and other students of the LDS. . . . The lay public includes all members of the church, as well as those who have a special interest in the LDS” (13). This book will appeal to anyone interested in learning more about the basic principles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from an unbiased viewpoint. *The Mormon Quest for Glory* is different than other existing LDS survey books in that it provides an in-depth sociological look at the religion in a way that has not been done since Thomas O’Dea’s *The Mormons* was published in 1957. Hammarberg’s immersion into LDS culture allows him to write knowledgeably about the Church as it stands today.

—Holly Smith

Sustaining the Law

Joseph Smith's Legal Encounters



Edited by
Gordon A. Madsen, Jeffrey N. Walker, and John W. Welch



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Joseph Smith believed in sustaining the law. This book presents his main legal encounters in the context of his day. Party to more than two hundred suits in the courts of New York, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and elsewhere, he faced criminal charges as well as civil claims and collection matters. In the end, he was never convicted of any crime, and he paid his debts. These incidents were significant institutionally as well as personally.

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