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Back cover: *Jesus Christ Is the God of That Land* by Minerva Teichert

Brigham Young University Studies is a quarterly journal dedicated to the correlation of revealed and discovered truth and to the conviction that the spiritual and intellectual are complementary avenues of knowledge. Contributions from all fields of learning are welcome. Articles should reflect a Latter-day Saint point of view while conforming to high scholarly standards and should be written for the informed nonspecialist. Quality fiction, poetry, drama, and personal essays are also welcome.

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Guest Editor's Introduction

Kent P. Jackson

In recent years, the central place of the Book of Mormon in the Latter-day Saint faith has been emphasized as never before. No one can fail to recognize the role of President Ezra Taft Benson in this emphasis, a contribution to our religion that will always be brought to mind when his ministry is remembered. From the youngest to the oldest in the Church, we acknowledge President Benson as the one whose urgent pleading has helped us make the Book of Mormon the "keystone of our religion."As individuals and as a Church collectively, we are better because of it, and we thank him for it.

This special issue of *BYU Studies* offers a sample of recent scholarship on the Book of Mormon. It is intentionally diverse and includes a variety that ranges from doctrine to history and from ocean currents to wordprints. If there is a common denominator, it is the fact that all of the authors take the Book of Mormon seriously and believe it to be worthy of their best scholarly efforts.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Edward A. Geary and the staff of *BYU Studies*, as well as to the many colleagues at Brigham Young University and elsewhere who assisted in reviewing the manuscripts that were submitted for publication. It is my hope that these efforts will inspire continued study—on all levels—of the Book of Mormon and the richness of gospel truth that it contains.

The "Mulekites"

John L. Sorenson

The "people of Zarahemla" referred to in the Nephite record remain enigmatic to Latter-day Saint readers. Although they were more populous than the Nephites-by-descent, only a handful of statements in the scripture give explicit information about them. No one has attempted to combine these into a systematic picture of who these people were and what their role in Nephite history was. This article redresses that lack.

THEIR ORIGIN: ZEDEKIAH

Omni 1:15 and 18 provide our earliest information on this people's origin: "The people of Zarahemla came out from Jerusalem at the time that Zedekiah, king of Judah, was carried away captive into Babylon," and Zarahemla, the leader of the group when they were first contacted by the Nephites, "gave a genealogy of his fathers, according to his memory." (The recalled genealogy was written but is not in the record we have). According to Mosiah 25:2, Zarahemla asserted his descent from Zedekiah through Mulek, and that linkage is supported by Helaman 8:21: "Will ye say that the sons of Zedekiah were not slain, all except it were Mulek? Yea, and do ye not behold that the seed of Zedekiah are with us?" We must understand Zedekiah's background in order to picture the origin of Mulek's group.[1]

In the decade before Nephi's account opens, the small kingdom of Judah and her kings were tossed about by the winds and currents of politics and war among her three major neighbors, Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia. The first two were allied against the newly resurgent Babylonians. Jehoiakim became king of Judah at age twenty-five in the fall of 609 B.C. (2 Kgs. 23:36) at just about the time when Assyrian power was destroyed. In 606 and 605 B.C. the Egyptian army alone faced the Babylonians and in the latter year

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suffered a disastrous defeat at Carchemish in northern Syria on the Euphrates River. Subsequently (through 601 B.C.) the Babylonians under Nebuchadrezzar II (Nebuchadnezzar in the Old Testament) battled the Egyptians in Palestine and Egypt without decisive results, while maintaining dominance over Judah. Jehoiakim rebelled against Babylon in 598 B.C. (2 Kgs. 24:1). A Babylonian army soon besieged Jerusalem, from December until 16 March 597 B.C., when they captured the city. Jehoiakim was slain during the siege and was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin, who reigned only about three months before being exiled by Nebuchadrezzar. On 22 April 597 B.C., the Babylonians replaced him with his father's brother, Zedekiah (earlier called Mattaniah—2 Kgs. 24:17), who was then twenty-one years of age.[2] Zedekiah eventually threw in his lot with the Egyptians under Apries/Hophra, contrary to warnings by Jeremiah (see, for example, Jer. 21; 28). As a result, Nebuchadrezzar's army besieged Jerusalem from 15 January 588 to 7 January 587 B.C., when the approach of an Egyptian army caused the Babylonians to withdraw temporarily. But they returned on 29 April. Finally, the walls of Jerusalem were breached on 19 July 586 B.C. (2 Kgs. 25:3; Jer. 52:6–7). Massive looting followed and most of the population was deported to Babylonia. The temple was destroyed in mid-August (2 Kgs. 25:8–9).

During the fall of the city or soon afterward, some Jews escaped (2 Kgs. 25:4, 26), particularly to Egypt (Jeremiah was among the refugees—Jer. 40:2–5; 43:7–8; 44:1), while others reached nearby Moab, Ammon, and Edom (Jer. 40:11). Zedekiah attempted to escape but was captured, and before Nebuchadrezzar, he saw his sons slain and then had his eyes put out before being taken to Babylon to captivity for the rest of his life (2 Kgs. 25:7).

The books of 2 Kings and Jeremiah picture Zedekiah as a second-rate king. First, he was a puppet imposed by the hated Babylonians. His eleven-year reign proved a time of general disaster for the nation, despite the fact that some people of the upper strata of society prospered temporarily. He was indecisive and two-faced in his dealings with Jeremiah and other prophets (for example, Jer. 37:17–21). Jeremiah implies that he was an adulterer (Jer. 29:22–23). Overall he was adjudged an evil doer in the eyes of the Lord (Jer. 52:2).

His own descendants may have put a positive face on his deeds, but the Nephites might have had access to enough of Jeremiah's opinions (Lehi probably knew him personally—compare the easy reference to him in 1 Ne. 7:14) or through his writings (1 Ne. 5:13) to know that Zedekiah was under a moral cloud. To be his descendant, as Mulek was, may not have been considered commendable

among either his descendants or the Nephites. That belief could have been a contributing reason why chief Zarahemla acceded to the appointment of Mosiah as ruler when the latter showed up among the people of Zarahemla.

THEIR ORIGIN: MULEK

Mulek appears as *Muloch* in the printer's manuscript of the Book of Mormon and as *Mulok* in printed editions from 1830 to 1852, then became *Mulek*.[3] However it was pronounced, the name comes to us of course as Nephite ears heard it from the people of Zarahemla, and their pronunciation could have changed somewhat from the Old World Hebrew familiar to us. What is clear throughout these variations in the spelling of the name is that we have here a reflex of the Hebrew root *mlk,* as in Hebrew *melek,* "king."

Nowhere in the Bible are the children of Zedekiah enumerated, let alone named, although we are told that he had daughters as well as sons (Jer. 43:6; 52:10). He was twenty-one on his accession to the throne. Being a noble, he already had the economic resources to have possessed a wife and child(ren) at that time. After his accession, he took multiple wives in the manner of the kings of Judah before him (Jeremiah, in 38:22–23, refers to Zedekiah's "wives") so that when he was captured at age thirty-two, he might have had a considerable progeny. Robert F. Smith has mustered evidence[4] that a son of Zedekiah with a name recalling *Mulek* may actually be referred to in the Bible. Jeremiah 38:6 in the King James translation speaks of Jeremiah's being cast into "the dungeon [literally, "pit"] of Malchiah the son of Hammelech." The last five words should be rendered, "Malkîyahû, the son of the king." This personal name could have been abbreviated to something like *Mulek*. Thus Jeremiah might have been put into "the [very] dungeon of Mulek[?], the son of the king [Zedekiah]" referred to in the Hebrew text of Jeremiah 38:6. If Mulek was Zedekiah's eldest son, he could have been as old as fifteen at the time Jerusalem fell and as a prince may have had his own house, wherein there could have been a dungeon (Jer. 37:15–16 mentions one in a private house).

On the other hand, we do not know that Mulek was more than an infant. The younger he was, the greater the likelihood that he could have escaped the notice of the Babylonians and subsequent slaughter at their hands. Whatever his age, he may have been secreted away to Egypt by family retainers and close associates of the king along with "the king's daughters" (Jer. 43:6–7).[5] At least it is obvious that in order to leave by sea for America, he would have had to reach a port. Since the Babylonians controlled the ports of

Israel and Phoenicia at the time, going south to Egypt (among his father's allies) would be about the only possibility.[6]

THEIR HISTORY: JOURNEY TO THE NEW WORLD

Nothing is said about how much time intervened between the flight from Jerusalem of the party that included Mulek, which must have occurred at the time of the fall of the city, and their arrival in America. They are said to have "journeyed in the wilderness" before crossing the ocean (Omni 1:16), but that journey may not have been more than weeks in length, say between Judah and Egypt. They had probably landed in the New World by 575 B.C.

The premier sailors of that era were the Phoenicians, who frequented Egyptian ports and were familiar with the waters of the entire Mediterranean. Since they possessed the finest seafaring vessels and the widest knowledge of sailing conditions, it is reasonable for us to suppose that one or more of their vessels became the means (termed "the hand of the Lord" in Omni 1:16) by which Mulek and those with him were "brought . . . across the great waters." (Israel had only a minor seafaring tradition of its own, and there is no hint that the Mulek party received divine guidance in constructing a ship of their own as Nephi did.) Or "the hand of the Lord" could have meant his guiding them by means of the Urim and Thummim which they brought from the temple in Jerusalem.[7]

If we suppose that Phoenician or other experienced voyagers were involved, we can inquire why such sailors would be willing to sail off into "the unknown." In the first place, as professional seamen, they would normally be willing to undertake whatever voyage promised them sufficient compensation (Mulek's party of refugees from the royal court could well have had substantial wealth with them). Furthermore, the Phoenicians had confidence in their nautical abilities; where they were told they should sail may not have seemed as dauntingly "unknown" to them as the term implies to us. Herodotus tells that a few years earlier Necho II, Egypt's pharaoh in Mulek's day, had sent an expedition of Phoenicians by ship from Ezion-Geber on the Red Sea completely around the continent of Africa.[8] A hint of Phoenician influence among Book of Mormon peoples might be seen in two place names—those of the promised land's dominant river, the Sidon, and of the land of Sidom; the latter was plausibly on the river (in addition to the name congruence, compare Alma 15:14 and its implication of a riverine location, "they did flock in from all the region round about Sidom, and were baptized").[9]

The route followed by Mulek's vessel would rather obviously have gone west through the Mediterranean and past the "pillars of

Hercules" (strait of Gibraltar), an area familiar to Phoenician sailors. From there the prevailing winds and current almost inexorably bear simple craft (for example, Columbus's ships, Thor Heyerdahl's *Ra II* raft, and many others) past the Canaries to the Caribbean. Significant cultural, historical, and physical evidence for ancient one-way crossings exists, even though it is generally ignored by conventional scholars.[10]

There remains a slight possibility that they could have come via the Pacific, since neither a route nor a coastal landing point is specified in the Book of Mormon. But textual indications argue strongly for the Atlantic. First, the immigrant group's discovery of the last Jaredite survivor could only have been near the east sea (Ether 9:3 puts the position of the final battleground near that sea). Second, the "city of Mulek" was located only a few miles from the east sea (Alma 51:26), and we may suppose that this was where the newcomers settled first (compare Alma 8:7). Third, the Sidon River probably enters the east sea no great distance from this city of Mulek,[11] suggesting a plausible route along which the ancestors of Zarahemla and his people "came . . . up into the south wilderness" (Alma 22:31) to their city on the upper river where the Nephites later found them. To this evidence may be added two historico-geographical facts external to the scripture—the distance from Palestine to the American narrow-neck promised land was shorter via the Atlantic than the Pacific, and the expertise of Mediterranean mariners was oriented westward, not eastward into the Indian and Pacific Oceans. In my view, that they traveled via the Atlantic is certain.

The size of the party accompanying Mulek is not even hinted at. However, we are justified in making some fairly firm inferences. Even if only a single vessel made the trip—and there might have been more than one—a substantial crew would have been involved (Phoenician ships could be large as those used by Columbus). The number would likely have been more than twenty. A ship with a predominantly Israelite crew probably could not have been found; the people of Judah were largely landlubbers, with minor exceptions. In terms of culture, ethnicity, and language, the crew would likely have been a heterogeneous, mixed-Mediterranean lot, for *Phoenician* often did not signify an ethnically uniform group. And since we know nothing of who might have been passengers (Mulek was one, though clearly he must have had attendants along, in view of his relative youth), we cannot tell if women were brought. There could have been some, but the common crewmen would have been single. Their genes would have continued only by their finding native women in the new land. Nibley saw Greek names in the Nephite record;[12] it would not be surprising for certain Greek (or

Egyptian, for that matter) influences to have reached America via men in the crew of Mulek's ship.

If a Phoenician vessel was used, those aboard it quite surely would have been socially and culturally diverse. In the first place, those surrounding Mulek would have been from Zedekiah's court, the very crowd whom the Lord, speaking through Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Lehi, frequently attacked as wayward, disobedient, and semipagan. Many of the elite of Jerusalem were worshippers of alien gods, as shown for example by the condemnation heaped on their heretical rites in Jeremiah 7 (compare 2 Kgs. 23). Likely no Levitical priests were among them, "and they had brought no records with them; and they denied the being of their Creator" (Omni 1:17). We can suppose that beliefs and ways of worship contrary to the words of the prophets and the law of Moses brought along by any sample of Judahites from Zedekiah's circle who managed to get away would contribute to their heretical condition. There could have been even more divergent practices among the crew of the vessel.

After arriving, descendants of the group "had many wars and serious contentions, and had fallen by the sword from time to time" (Omni 1:17). The members of the original party would have had mixed motives in making the voyage in the first place—some would simply have been doing a nautical job, after which they hoped (vainly it appears) to return home. Some may simply have been adventurous. Certain ones may have been merely political and economic refugees from the Babylonians. A few, perhaps, had a sense of divine mission although the Book of Mormon gives us no hint of it. Upon landing, these differing agendas could have led to conflict, perhaps not least over the limited number of women, if any.

"Their language had become corrupted" (Omni 1:17), as Mosiah saw things. To me this plausibly had to do with the voyaging group's speaking more than one tongue to begin with, rather than their having a single original language, the Hebrew of Mulek, as the Nephites seem to have thought. Based on what historical linguists know about language change, it is highly unlikely that if Hebrew had been the exclusive tongue of Mulek's party, their idiom would have changed in three hundred years so as to be unintelligible to Mosiah. (By the time of their meeting with the people of Zarahemla, Mosiah and his people may have come to know a second tongue from their centuries of dwelling in the land of Nephi.)

Also relevant to the language question is the scientifically established probability that other peoples already inhabited virtually every area in the New World near a narrow neck where Mulek could have arrived. I suppose, as virtually all LDS scholars of the

subject do, that the land in question was in Mesoamerica (southern Mexico and northern Central America). Still, we do not know how numerous the inhabitants might have been in the early sixth century B.C. when Mulek and company arrived. The "Olmec culture" known from archaeology, which plausibly constituted or involved the Jaredites, for the most part disintegrated dramatically around 600–550 B.C., although population fragments clearly continued on bearing basic elements of the old culture to future generations.[13] In Book of Mormon terms it is extremely unlikely that the entire Jaredite population without exception showed up to be exterminated at the hill Ramah, as Latter-day Saints sometimes have inferred from the words of Ether. All in the organized armies may have done so, but inevitably there would have been survivors in remote byways at least. I presume that the Mulek party came ashore under war-disintegrated social conditions in which after a time they met and amalgamated with (perhaps even dominating) local fragments of the earlier society which they encountered at the margin of the central arena of the "final" battles. In the course of amalgamation, the newcomers probably adopted the local tongue (likely a version of an early Mixe-Zoquean language). The subsequent wars among the immigrants reported in Omni 1:17 could well have been complicated by historical quarrels among the local survivors with whom they had become involved.

The geographical correlation of Book of Mormon and American landscape features that I follow tentatively places the city of Mulek at the site of La Venta in the southern Mexican state of Tabasco.[14] Most of this spectacular ruined place dates to Olmec times, but evidence also exists of later (re)inhabitation.[15] One of the most interesting items found there is Stela 3, a huge carved basalt slab. It is not clear when the piece was executed, but likely it was at the very end of the Olmec era or very soon after the site was abandoned not long after 600 B.C.[16] Some see it as a new style more than a continuation of the old "Olmec" one.[17] Stela 3 has carved on it a scene in which a person of evident high status, whose facial features find parallels in surviving people in the area as well as in Olmec art, is shown facing another prominent man who looks to a number of art historians like "a Jew." His striking beard and beaked nose are so prominent that he has been dubbed "Uncle Sam" by some observers. This scene has been viewed as a formal encounter between the leaders of two sharply different ethnic groups, one seemingly "Semitic."[18] Although a long shot, it is possible that we are viewing a Mulekite leader (even Mulek) together with a local chief from a group of folk survivors after the Jaredite debacle.[19]

"MULEKITE" HISTORY FROM ARRIVAL TO DISCOVERY BY MOSIAH

We are informed in Alma 22:30–31 (confirmed in Hel. 6:10) that the Mulek party touched first in the land northward before going south to where the Nephites found them. The reason for their not settling in the north is unclear in the scripture. A Mexican tradition reports such a group arriving by sea (when is unclear) guided by a stone through which their deity spoke to them.[20] They were said to be seeking a destination that had been revealed to them. They first touched the coast on the northern Gulf of Mexico but did not settle until reaching a place south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Whether this tradition refers to the Mulek group or not, the Mexican party followed a remarkably similar set of movements, from landfall north of an isthmus, past that neck, then to a coastal zone in the land to the south, finally ending up inland.

The experience of the Mulek group in the land northward was presumably brief, yet it raises the question of interaction with the Jaredites. The eastern lowlands of the land northward had long been a stronghold of that people, and their very final battles took place there (Ether 9:3, 9; 10:20; 14:12; 15:8, 15). The chances are reasonable (though not certain) that the seaborne newcomers touching in the land northward would have encountered some Jaredites, if the latter were still engaged in their normal lifeways at the moment when the Judahite/Phoenician party arrived. It is possible, of course, that the newcomers did detect signs of population in the land northward and that this was why they chose to move on, but the scripture gives us no indication of that. Or perhaps the Jaredites were not oriented to life upon this stretch of coast and the new party did not explore inland. Thus the two peoples might at first have missed each other by sheer accident.

I consider it likely that the Jaredites at the moment of the "Mulekite" arrival were in the throes of civil war, unable to pay attention to what was happening along their coast involving the appearance of a small band of strangers (if they were seen at all). A long period of overlap between the two groups strikes me as highly unlikely; the Jaredite civilization, involving millions of people (Ether 15:2), would surely have come to the attention of the Mulek group had the latter lived only around a hundred miles away for decades, let alone centuries as some have supposed. Yet had the "Mulekites" arrived significantly prior to the struggle at Ramah, they would have become aware of or fatally involved in the extermination instead of fulfilling Ether's prophecy about Coriantumr (Ether 13:20–21). After all, the land Desolation, where

the Nephites saw abundant evidence of the Jaredite final wars, abutted on the small land Bountiful, which in turn was only a few miles from the city of Mulek (Alma 22:29–31; 51:26, 32; 52:15–17, 22–23).

The newcomers are said to have discovered Coriantumr, not vice versa. Where might that contact have taken place? He could not have been a young man (note Ether 13:16–17), he had been very severely wounded in the final battle (Ether 15:1, 28–32), and he had earlier suffered at least one serious injury in war (Ether 15:1) as well as probably others. With such physical limitations as these scriptures imply, it would be remarkable if he had made more than a partial recovery from his near death at Ramah. Ether's prophecy to the king had indicated only that he would "receive a burial" by the new people. This statement, together with the fact that he lived only nine lunar months with the new group before passing away (Omni 1:21), can be seen as supporting the view that he was infirm when found.[21] Thus he is not likely to have traveled far on his own from the hill Ramah. Yet he would surely have moved some distance, for the effects of the carnage in the final battle area would have been unbearable for him.

It seems to me most likely that, at whatever point Coriantumr was found between the hill Ramah and, probably, the city of Mulek, his discoverers transported him to their settlement base, and that there is where he executed the engraving on the "large stone" which eventually came into Mosiah's hands. (One wonders what ever happened to it at Zarahemla; it is mentioned only the once.) Several scenarios are possible to account for where and when he might have been discovered by the new group, but we have inadequate information to evaluate their relative likelihood.[22]

Nothing is said about how much time passed before the immigrants left their landfall to move "up into the south wilderness" (Alma 22:31), perhaps along the river Sidon, for they settled beside it. They may not have stayed long near the sea, where it could be oppressively hot and humid (as in Alma 51:33) compared with their Old World source area. Or the wars said to have occurred among themselves (Omni 1:17) could have driven part of them inland. However, it could have taken decades if not centuries for sufficient population to grow and organize to permit a level of conflict deserving the name war. It seems to me likely that there was no substantial movement of Mulek's descendants to the uplands for a considerable period.

The Book of Mormon conveys nothing contrary to the view that Zarahemla's group had coalesced as a political unit only within his lifetime, and shortly before Mosiah's arrival among them. If

Zarahemla had had a long, strong tradition of rulership behind him, Mosiah likely would not have gained the king role over the combined society as readily as he seems to have done. Zarahemla is not said to have borne the title of king, though he ruled his group; given no title for his role, something like "chief" seems suitably descriptive considering the small scale of his polity, which may have numbered only a few thousand. (To Mosiah's group, they seemed "exceedingly numerous," but that expression is relative, for the Nephites were themselves probably an exceedingly small group.)

Nowhere do we get a hint that the descendants of the people on the ship(s) that brought Mulek constituted a single political/ethnic unit prior to Zarahemla's day. No comprehensive term such as *Mulekite* is used to embrace them, suggesting that not all of those descended from those immigrants recognized Zedekiah's son as their head, nor perhaps any other one person. There may have been differences among the group over authority from the first, resulting ultimately in political fragmentation, with Zarahemla's group just one tribelet among a number tied chiefly by economic links.

An interesting bit of evidence that there may have been varying traditions about what had happened among the Mulek group, and thus more than one social entity involved, comes from the account of Ammon. In Mosiah 7 we learn of his leading a party to locate "their brethren," the Zeniffites (even though Ammon was a "descendant of Zarahemla" [Mosiah 7:3, 13]),[23] who had earlier gone up to the land of Nephi in order to reoccupy the cities of Lehi-Nephi and Shilom. When King Limhi reported to Ammon that he had sent out an exploring party which had discovered ruins and gold plates on a battleground to the distant north, one would think that Ammon would say something like, "Oh, yes, that would be the people who were destroyed, except for this one old man who lived among my ancestors, the descendants of Mulek." But Ammon gives no hint of making any such mental connection, either to the Coriantumr tradition or to Mulek. Perhaps he belonged to an element of Zarahemla's people who had simply never heard about Coriantumr's survival. Nor had Limhi any previous knowledge of the Jaredites, it appears, even though his grandfather had dwelt at Zarahemla when Coriantumr's stela had been brought there and read by Mosiah I.

When the forefathers of Zarahemla's people reached the area that would become the land of Zarahemla, they likely had left others of their tradition behind in the lowlands where they originated. But at least by the time the stone of Coriantumr was fetched (Omni 1:20), these folks on the upper river must have had peaceful relations with those others, for a party would have had to make a

lengthy trip back down by the east sea to obtain the artifact and bring it to Mosiah to be read (Zarahemla was many days from the city of Mulek where the stone probably was worked—compare, for example, Alma 52:15–18).

Even with the addition of Mosiah I's contingent of Nephites to Zarahemla's people, the combined body was still not very numerous nor widespread. When King Benjamin assembled them all a generation later, it was possible for all to gather at the city's temple on one day's notice (Mosiah 1:10) and for the planners to anticipate that the combined body would be able to hear the aged king's voice (Mosiah 2:1–8).[24]

RELATIONS WITH THE NEPHITES

It is difficult to interpret the extremely brief and one-sided account we have in Omni 1:13–19 of the joining of Mosiah's group with the people of Zarahemla. The story from the Nephite side represents the event as not only peaceful but enthusiastically welcomed by the locals. From the point of view of some of the resident people, however, the transition may not have seemed so pleasant. The key reason why they "rejoiced" is said to be that Mosiah brought sacred records when they had none. The impressive fact of literacy itself could indeed have combined with possession of the mysterious sacred relics in Mosiah's possession—the plates of Nephi, the brass plates, Laban's sword, the Liahona—to confer an almost magical aura on Mosiah that validated his deserving the kingship. Besides, he may well have had the right of kingship by descent from the royal "Nephi" line among the original Nephites (Jacob 1:11); I doubt that he would have presumed to accept the kingship in Zarahemla—he was a sober man, not an opportunist—unless he qualified for the king role as a (the senior?) direct descendant of Nephi. Without a strong leadership mantle of such a sort, the people in his party might well not have accompanied him out of Nephi, nor would he have had possession of the large plates, the official history of the kings. In terms of the Old World tradition of the Judahite fathers of the "Mulekites," while Mosiah was not of the preferred royal line through Judah, at least he had major appurtenances of kingship that Zarahemla lacked. Zarahemla had only two qualifications, his current chiefly role and descent from Mulek, who, though of Judah and a descendant of David, was never actually king of Judah. Those qualifications apparently were not enough to prevail against Mosiah's strengths. (Since nothing more is heard about Zarahemla after Omni 1:18, he may have been less than vigorous by then and perhaps died soon after.)

Political amalgamation did not erase the ethnic distinction between the two groups. Mosiah 25:4 reports that in the time of Mosiah II, the people of Zarahemla were numbered separately from "the children of Nephi," that is, "those who were descendants of Nephi." In their political assembly, the two groups were separated "in two bodies." Obviously they spoke different everyday languages, although they also, no doubt, came to share one. Given those evidences of separateness, they probably also lived in different sectors in the city and land of Zarahemla (the mass arrival of the Nephites could hardly have been accompanied by their simply settling haphazardly among those already present).[25] How subsequently they may have come to interrelate through marriage is not indicated.

It is plausible that later "contentions" and "dissensions" in Nephite society were in part led by unhappy descendants of Zarahemla who considered that they were not given their due when Mosiah became king. At least one man who "was a descendant of Zarahemla," the Coriantumr of Helaman 1:15, "was a dissenter from among the Nephites" and came close to conquering the Nephites.[26] (Although if there were such unhappy descendants of Mulek who claimed special status because of "the blood of nobility" [Alma 51:21], they were less likely to have been the instigators of the "king-men" movement of later times than descendants of Mosiah I, Benjamin, or Mosiah II, whose claims would have been much more immediate and documentable than in the case of descent through Zarahemla—compare Mosiah 29:7–9.)

A fascination with the extinct Jaredites was manifest among the Nephites from time to time, as in Mosiah 28:12. Mosiah translated the twenty-four gold plates of the Jaredites "because of the great anxiety of his people; for they were desirous beyond measure to know concerning those people who had been destroyed." Nibley identifies a number of names used among the Nephites that were clearly derived from the Jaredites and notes, "Five out of the six whose names are definitely Jaredite betray strong anti-Nephite leanings."[27] This permanent cultural impression on the Nephites he believes was made through the Mulek group. This unacknowledged influence from the Jaredites may have come via cultural syncretism between members of the Mulek group and local survivors from the Jaredite tradition. That process could have been so subtle (in the absence of written records) that generations later the descendants either did not recognize that they were related to the extinct civilization and were curious about the mysterious ruins and artifacts left or else suspected that they were related and wished to know more.

The initial political amalgamation reported in Omni seemingly did not lead to genuine cultural integration but masked a diversity in lifeways that sometimes came forth as conflict in beliefs and behavior. Non-Nephite ways seem to have kept bubbling up from beneath the ideal social and cultural surface depicted by the Nephite elite record keepers. After all, the descendants of the people of Zarahemla probably always constituted a majority of "the folk" ("the people of the Nephites" in the record?).[28]

There are other evidences of this underlying influence. For example, the younger Alma, apparently like his cronies the sons of Mosiah,[29] "became a very wicked and an idolatrous man" and also "was a man of many words, and did speak much flattery to the people" (Mosiah 27:8). This phrasing describes not just one personality but a distinct tradition of belief and rites. The study of cultural history teaches us that one man or even one generation is most unlikely to independently originate a systematized pattern of belief and behavior involving idolatry but rather that such a pattern draws on and incorporates past tradition.

The continuation of this cult might be seen a few years later in Alma 1:32, for many among the Nephites engaged "in sorceries, and in idolatry or idleness, and in babblings, . . . wearing costly apparel; being lifted up in the pride of their own eyes . . . and all manner of wickedness." By the time of Mosiah 26:4–6, we learn that a sizable group constituted "a separate people as to their faith." Again it is plausible that they followed a preexisting tradition likely to have been related to the idolatrous beliefs mentioned earlier which ultimately came from the people of Zarahemla. Three generations later "the more part of [the Nephites] had turned out of the way of righteousness, and . . . did turn unto *their own ways*, and did build up unto themselves idols of their gold and their silver" (Hel. 6:31, italics added). It seems probable to me that "their own ways" which involved idolatrous rites had a historical background most logically tied to the old cult of Zarahemla's people. As an anthropologist, I suspect that this pattern stayed on beneath the surface piety directed to Jehovah/Jesus Christ. The periodic reemergence to public view of the "old-time religion" with strong "Mulekite" elements in it may have constituted a large measure of the "falling away" so often lamented by the Book of Mormon leaders.[30]

THE "MULEKITES" IN LATER BOOK OF MORMON AND POST-CUMORAH TIMES

The last reference to this people (as "the seed of Zedekiah") occurs in Helaman 8:21. But they are not distinguished in any way in 3 Nephi or 4 Nephi, nor do the books of Mormon or Moroni refer

to them. The revived division of Book of Mormon society into seven tribes reported in 4 Nephi 1:37–38 omits any indication of these people. I presume that they had become so amalgamated with the more prestigious Nephites (in the narrow sense) that they no longer had a separate status worth mentioning.

Doctrine and Covenants 19:27 refers to the word of God going in modern times "to the Jew, of whom the Lamanites are a remnant." Orson Pratt's note in the former edition of the scripture at that point cites Omni 1:14–19. Pratt and subsequent commentators assume that descendants of Mulek are to be found today indistinguishably mixed among "the Lamanites." Doctrine and Covenants 3:17–18 prophesies that the Book of Mormon will go forth to the Nephites, Jacobites, Josephites, Zoramites, Lamanites, Lemuelites, and Ishmaelites, making no distinction of Mulek's descendants.

While little is explicitly stated in the Book of Mormon about Mulek and those who came to America with him, what there is provides leads that permit constructing a broadened characterization of the group. It is clear that simply accepting the version of ethnic history written for us by the prophets in Nephi's line obscures significant aspects of the role of those people whose ancestors were in Mulek's party.

Since ferreting out the details of what the Book of Mormon tells us about this particular "minor" group proves enlightening, we should also consider every detail told or implied about each other "minor" people. Doing so we can more fully appreciate their roles in that great history. Only by minute and informed scrutiny of the scriptural text on *every* subject can we prepare ourselves to grasp and appreciate new information that revelation may provide for us in the future.

NOTES

[1]Robert F. Smith summarizes the chronological and historical background in "Book of Mormon Event Structure: Ancient Near East," Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) Study Aid SMI-84 (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1985). Extensive references to standard popular and scholarly sources are given there. See also John W. Welch, "They Came from Jerusalem: Some Old World Perspectives on the Book of Mormon," *Ensign* 6 (September 1976): 27–30.

[2]Zedekiah was not officially crowned until at least 6 October or perhaps 1 April 596 B.C. Thus, as with other kings of that era in Judah, there were two overlapping "first years," and we cannot be sure which one Nephi referred to in 1 Nephi 1:4. All we know for certain is that his account opens sometime between about May 597 and April 596 B.C. See Smith, "Event Structure," 14–15; Jay H. Huber, "Lehi's 600 Year Prophecy and the Birth of Christ," FARMS, Preliminary Report HUB-82, (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1983), 2–4; in particular Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 45*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946).

The "about B.C. 600" which has appeared for years as a chronological footnote to 1 Nephi in the Book of Mormon has proven to be in error, according to scholarship on Near Eastern history. The error

was continued in the 1981 edition, despite the fact that the 1979 LDS Bible Dictionary, which obviously followed later but still outdated scholarly sources (as shown in the BD entry on Chronology by comments under the "External History" column between 772 and 609 B.C.), inconsistently lists Zedekiah's reign as beginning in 598.

[3]*Book of Mormon Critical Text: A Tool for Scholarly Reference, Vol. 2: Mosiah-Alma.* 1st ed. (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1986), 483.

[4]Smith, "Event Structure," 16–17, where citations to the scholarly literature are given. Also, *FARMS Update,* February 1984, "New Information about Mulek, Son of the King." Nibley includes speculation about Mulek in his unique interpretation of the Lachish letters ostraca: *The Prophetic Book of Mormon,* vol. 8 of *The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* (Salt Lake City and Provo, Utah: Deseret Book Co. and FARMS, 1989), 397–400.

[5]See again Smith, "Event Structure," for literature citations. He notes on page 18 that Benjamin Urrutia believes there is textual evidence that not necessarily every one of the king's sons was slain. For example, in 2 Kings 25:1–10 the Hebrew includes the word *all* five times (*all his host, all the houses,* etc.), yet when speaking of the princes, verse 7 says only that "the sons" of Zedekiah were slain, not *all* the sons.

Ariel Crowley, "The Escape of Mulek," in his *About the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1961), 86–90, contains additional data and suggestions. According to a Jewish tradition (cited as Ginzberg, *Legends* IV:293; VI:382–83), Zedekiah had ten sons slain by Nebuchadrezzar. Also, examples cited from the Old Testament demonstrate that *little ones,* including male offspring, were consistently distinguished from *sons,* hence survival of an infant Mulek would not conflict with the statement in 2 Kings 25:7 about the slaying of the king's "sons." Examples are also given from the Old Testament where statements about the extermination of a descent line represents hyperbole, not fact (for example, see 2 Kgs. 11:1–3), so even a statement about *all* being slain could only be considered an approximation.

[6]Perhaps travel through the desert to reach Egypt constituted the journeying "in the wilderness" spoken of in Omni 1:16 (evidently prior to the voyage), or perhaps a longer, more arduous trip was required to reach Carthage or other Phoenician cities of the western Mediterranean from which the actual voyage may have departed for America.

[7]The history of what has been called *Urim and Thummim* is not clear. The Brother of Jared received one such device and brought it to America; it ended up in Moroni's hands, then it passed to Joseph Smith along with the plates of Nephi (D&C 17:1). Abraham had a different one (Abr. 3:1, 4), which could have been passed down to his descendants, although we are nowhere told what happened to it. Exodus 28:15–21 and other scriptures through 1 Samuel 28:6 witness that a different version of Urim and Thummim was constructed by Moses and used by him, Aaron, and subsequent priests. It was remembered but not possessed by the Jews under Ezra following the Babylonian exile (Ezra 2:63; Neh. 7:65).

Mosiah II had an interpreter device (Mosiah 8:13), which earlier may have been in the hands of his grandfather, the first king Mosiah, who perhaps used it to translate Coriantumr's engravings (Omni 1:20). We cannot be certain this was the Jaredite instrument, although it seems likely on the basis of Mosiah 8:12–15 (especially, "prepared from the beginning" and "who should possess this land") and Mosiah 28:11–17. Limhi's explorers could conceivably have found the interpreters which had been left by Ether with his plates (Ether 15:33). But that could not be if Mosiah I and II already had the interpreters; Ammon in Mosiah 8:13 indicates that the latter king did have the instrument, and his grandfather had apparently used it to read Coriantumr's engraving (see Omni 1:20). Mosiah 8:12–14 makes it quite clear in any case that Limhi had been given no such instrument by his search party when they got Ether's plates. Perhaps "Mulekite" explorers had found the Jaredite interpreters on the battlefield near the hill Ramah (while missing the twenty-four gold plates?). There was some early exploration because they found Coriantumr.

Another possibility is that Mosiah might have received the Urim and Thummim that originated with Moses from the people of Zarahemla, who had retained it as a sacred relic since Mulek's time without being able to make it work. Perhaps someone in Mulek's party had been inspired to carry it from the temple in Jerusalem immediately before that structure was destroyed by the Babylonians. ("T. W. B." in the *Millennial Star* [76:552–57]), speculated that Mulek's party took the Urim and Thummim from the temple and brought it to America.) If the Mexican tradition cited below refers to Mulek's group, then the "oracle" mentioned there might be from Jerusalem.

Other explanations are possible. For example, might the Liahona have served as an interim interpreter for Mosiah I and II, with the interpreters from Ether actually being with the twenty–four gold plates but its nature unrecognized by either Ammon or Limhi?

[8]Herodotus, *The History,* trans. David Grene (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), IV:42. This Greek historian/geographer described the crew's observations on the sun as they completed the voyage around the continent, observations which now can be seen as demonstrating that the voyage was accurately recorded but which Herodotus thought were outright errors. See Smith, "Event Structure," 13, or the discussion by Cyrus H. Gordon in *Before Columbus: Links between the Old World and Ancient America* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1971).

[9]Janet Jensen in "Variations between Copies of the First Edition of the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 13 (Winter 1973): 214–22, observed that Sidon, the river, appears as Sidom once in the first (1830) edition (on p. 226, line 5, now Alma 2:17). *Book of Mormon Critical Text* 2:526, observes that this spelling instance appeared both in the printer's manuscript and the 1830 edition, then was changed in 1837 to Sidon.

In Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City and Provo, Utah: Deseret Book Co. and FARMS, 1985), 205, I discuss Sidom and note that at the time of the Spanish conquest, a name given by nearby Indians to the key site in the area I consider probably Sidom was *zactan*, "white lime," while the Semitic name Sidon, in Phoenicia, may be derived from "lime."

[10]Constance Irwin's *Fair Gods and Stone Faces: Ancient Seafarers and the World's Most Intriguing Riddle* (New York: St. Martin's, 1963) contains surprisingly substantial evidence, considering that it is a popular book, for her proposal that Phoenicians influenced early Mesoamerica. But the scholarly work of Spanish archaeologist José Alcina Franch has the most impressive range of data. See particularly his three works: *Las "Pintaderas" Mejicanas y sus Relaciones* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto "Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo," 1958); "Origen Trasatlántico de la Cultura Indígena de América," *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 4 (1969): 9–64 [Madrid]; and *Pre-Columbian Art* (New York: Abrams, 1983).

For Phoenician nautical technology as well as for a valuable summary of further provocative data supporting a connection to Mesoamerica, see a monograph by one of the participants in Heyerdahl's *Ra II* raft project, anthropologist Santiago Genovés T.: *Ra, una Balsa de Papyrus a través del Atlántico*, Cuadernos: Serie Antropológica 25 (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1972).

[11]Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting*, 25, 27.

[12]Hugh Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon*, vol. 6 of *The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* (Salt Lake City and Provo, Utah: Deseret Book Co. and FARMS, 1987), 290.

[13]Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting*, 108–21, 249–51. Compare Philip Drucker and Robert F. Heizer, "Commentary on W. R. Coe and Robert Stuckenrath's Review of Excavations at La Venta, Tabasco, 1955," *Kroeber Anthropological Society, Papers*, no. 33 (Fall 1965): 52–53, and the comment by Paddock, *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec, October 28th and 29th, 1967*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library Collection, 1968), 39.

[14]Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting*, 120, 249–50. See also map 5, opposite page 36, and map 12, opposite page 240.

[15]Philip Drucker, Robert F. Heizer, and Robert J. Squier, *Excavations at La Venta, Tabasco, 1955*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 170, (Washington D.C., 1959), 215ff. Robert F. Heizer, "New Observations on La Venta," *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec, October 28th and 29th, 1967*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1968), 32–36.

[16]Elizabeth P. Benson, "Some Olmec Objects in the Robert Woods Bliss Collection at Dumbarton Oaks," in *The Olmec and Their Neighbors: Essays in Memory of Matthew W. Stirling*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1981), 97–98; John F. Scott, "El Mesón, Veracruz, and its Monolithic Reliefs," *Baessler-Archiv* 25 (1977):103, citing in support literature by Pelliza, Bernal, Coe, Clewlow, Proskouriakoff, and Smith.

[17]Tatiana Proskouriakoff, "Olmec and Maya Art: Problems of Their Stylistic Relation," in *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec, October 28th and 29th, 1967*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1968), 121, says: "The [three late] stelae of [La Venta] represent a radical innovation in the mode of sculpture, and in the character of its themes." One of the altars, showing the presentation of a baby by an adult male could represent child-sacrifice (a prominent feature in Phoenician religion), or perhaps it represents an infant ancestor (Mulek?).

[18]Philip Drucker, "On the Nature of Olmec Polity," in *The Olmec and Their Neighbors: Essays in Memory of Matthew W. Stirling*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1981), 44, mentions "he of the Uncle Sam chin-whiskers." Compare John F. Scott, "Post-Olmec Mesoamerica as Revealed in Its Art," *Actas, XLI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Mexico; 2–7 Sept., 1973*, vol. 2 (México, 1975), 385: A carving from El Mesón, Veracruz, and another from near there now moved to Alvarado, "show men in tall headdresses reminding one of the so-called Semitic type on late La Venta reliefs."

[19]Proskouriakoff, "Olmec and Maya Art," 122–23 also considers that "two racially distinct groups of people" are shown on Stela 3, and that "the group of the bearded stranger ultimately gained ascendancy," hence "the culture of La Venta contained a strong foreign component."

[20]John L. Sorenson, "The Twig of the Cedar," *Improvement Era* 60 (May 1957): 330–31, 338, 341–42. Reprinted as "Bible Prophecies of the Mulekites," in *A Book of Mormon Treasury* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1959), 229–37. For more information on traditions, see John L. Sorenson, "Some Mesoamerican Traditions of Immigration by Sea," *El México Antiguo* 8 (1955): 425–37 [México], available as FARMS Reprint SOR–55.

[21]Coriantumr was probably infirm despite the unique argument by Anthony W. Ivins in "Are the Jaredites an Extinct People?" *Improvement Era* 6 (November 1902): 43–44, that Coriantumr may have sired offspring while among the "Mulekites."

[22]Coriantumr might have been discovered by the Mulek group on or near the battleground during an exploratory probe inland as they paused briefly while coasting southward toward their final destination; in that case Coriantumr made his final move via their vessel to a landing probably near "the city of Mulek." Other possibilities come to mind, however. One is that Coriantumr did travel by himself toward a location where he thought he might find some remnant population to give him succor. The site of the city of Mulek

in my geographical correlation, La Venta, was or had been one of the major centers of Jaredite-era settlement at this time, yet it was in a peripheral position in relation to most of the Olmec (Jaredite?) areas to the north of it. At La Venta a person like Coriantumr might hope to find people not totally caught up in the final struggle. If Coriantumr actually reached the place on his own (I estimate the distance at ninety beeline miles from Ramah but at least double that on the ground), the Mulek party could have found him almost where they abandoned their ship. It is no more than barely possible that La Venta Stela 3 was intended to picture the meeting of Mulek and Coriantumr.

Another possibility is that Mulek's group, within a few years after settling on land, set out to search through the space separating them from the final battlefield, drawn onward by the fascinatingly fresh ruins of the just-dead civilization, only to find the single survivor. Finally, it is also possible that the "Mulekites," having happened to miss seeing signs of the Jaredites on the inhospitable coastal strip of dunes and estuaries in the north—which was all they saw of the land northward—settled down in the land southward for a decade or so of intensely localized pioneering concern, essentially ignorant of the old culture, before sending out an exploring party which then happened to come across the king. (I suppose that other survivors existed, as mentioned above, but not within the disrupted, depressing area of the last wars where thousands of bodies/skeletons lay about. I think that zone must have been empty for a number of years.)

Also, the "large stone" needs to be considered in relation to this geographical puzzle. The farther south the point where Coriantumr worked that stone in his last months, the more reasonable that it could have been carried from that point to Mosiah up in Zarahemla.

[23]It is not clear what is implied in descent and kinship terms by the fact that Ammon counted himself descended from Zarahemla while also considering Zeniff among his "brethren" who had gone to inherit the "land of our [Zeniff's] fathers' first inheritance" in Lehi-Nephi (Mosiah 9:1). This combination seems to imply some sort of descent for Ammon both from the Nephite ancestors and from Zarahemla. If intermarriage between Nephite and Zarahemla-descended lines was involved, however, he would hardly have counted both as signifying patriarchal descent.

[24]See Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting,* 155–57, for a discussion of the population and size of the land at this time.

[25]Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting,* 155–57, describes a bimodal settlement pattern which could reflect this distinction and which was found at the site of Santa Rosa, Chiapas, Mexico, which I consider the best candidate for Zarahemla; see also pages 190–91 and 315–16, on further settlement and social distinctions within the city.

Social anthropologist Meyer Fortes describes an interesting parallel to the social setting, from a modern scene, among the Tallensi in Africa:

"We were from the beginning confronted with the basic division between the Namoos, who claim to be immigrant Mamprussi by origin and have exclusive hereditary rights in an office generally glossed as the chiefship, on the one hand [compare Mosiah's Nephites], and the 'real Tallensi,' Talis as they called themselves, on the other, who claim to be the autochthonous inhabitants of the country with exclusive rights to the office of Tendaana or 'Custodian of the Earth' [compare the people of Zarahemla]. It did not take long to discover that, totally identical as were the ways of life of these two sections of the tribe, and intimately interconnected as they were by kinship, marriage, and residence, the division was deep and fundamental" ("An Anthropologist's Apprenticeship," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7 [1978]: 8, 14–15).

[26]Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting,* 161–65, discusses "dissensions." See also pages 195–97 on the Amlicites, whom I suggest to have been of the people of Zarahemla.

[27]Hugh Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert, The World of the Jaredites, There Were Jaredites,* vol. 5 of *Collected Works of Hugh Nibley,* ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City and Provo, Utah: Deseret Book Co. and FARMS, 1988), 245. See also John A. Tvedtnes, "A Phonemic Analysis of Nephite and Jaredite Proper Names," *Society for Early Historic Archaeology, Newsletter and Proceedings* 141 (December 1977): 1–8, reprinted as FARMS Reprint TVE-77.

[28]A careful study needs to be made to detect differences in usage in the text of the Book of Mormon among the expressions "Nephites," "people of Nephi," "people of the Nephites," and "children of Nephi." Note the puzzling use of terms in Helaman 1:1.

[29]The name of one of the close associates of the sons of Mosiah in this business, Muloki (Alma 20:2), could mean "from Mulok (Mulek?)" or *Mulekite* in Hebrew. Meanwhile, Alma had two sons with Jaredite ("Mulekite?") names, Shiblon and Corianton.

[30]The seemingly anomalous Zoramite worship was actually "the virtual counterpart" to a Jewish prayer rite (*Book of Mormon Critical Text,* 2:639–40), suggesting that other religious activities that seemed scandalous to the orthodox Nephite prophets might have a similar source. Compare Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting,* 216–19.

Naturalistic Assumptions and the Book of Mormon

Gary F. Novak

"How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" (Psalm 137:4)

In 1966 Leonard J. Arrington claimed that "the details of Mormon history and culture can be studied in human or naturalistic terms—indeed, must be so studied—and without thus rejecting . . . the Church's origin and work."[1] He explored neither the assumptions nor consequences of histories done in "naturalistic terms" though he noted that the topic "warrants a full essay."[2] The purpose of this essay is to subject some of the assumptions and consequences of histories produced in naturalistic terms to scrutiny.[3] In keeping with the theme of this issue of *BYU Studies,* I shall limit my discussion to one aspect of Mormon history, the so-called environmental explanation of the Book of Mormon.[4]

Environmental explanations of the Book of Mormon provide a good starting point for clarifying the logic and implications of "naturalistic explanations" because of the way their controlling categories and assumptions are exploited. Environmental explanations are often constructed to replace or compete with Joseph Smith's own explanation of the origin and content of the Book of Mormon. Some quarters of the so-called New Mormon History have popularized the environmental explanation, suggesting that Joseph Smith wrote the Book of Mormon by weaving into it various aspects of his immediate social and cultural environment.[5] As might be expected, there are major disagreements on detail among those espousing such explanations, but the basic components of the argument, including the logic and even the language or rhetoric, are not affected by such differences.

Historical explanations seem to rest on background assumptions that, within certain limits, mark the boundaries and establish

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the logic of the explanation. Frequently these background assumptions, instead of being made or understood explicitly, are built into the language and structure of the argument. Hence, in order to begin to unpack the assumptions built into an explanation and thereby begin to clarify their logical and rhetorical function, careful attention must be given to the language used to frame the argument, the structure of the argument itself, and the relationship of the language to the structure.

Some of the language used to frame naturalistic assumptions appeared in the 1930s and 1940s within the circle associated with Dale Morgan and Fawn M. Brodie. The materials exchanged by Morgan and Brodie and such associates as Bernard DeVoto, Juanita Brooks, and Madeline Reeder McQuown contain interesting clues to the assumptions at work behind their naturalistic explanations.

The ideology embedded in the use of naturalistic terms and assumptions was articulated by Dale Morgan at least as early as 1943, when he referred to Fawn Brodie as a "naturalistic biographer." In 1945 he set forth the ideology behind that language in his comments on Brodie's biography of Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History*.[6] That ideology determined the sort of explanations the Brodie-Morgan circle fashioned to which they assigned high explanatory power. Prior to the publication of the materials assembled by B. H. Roberts,[7] the most comprehensive and coherent, and certainly the most popular and well-known, naturalistic explanation of the Book of Mormon was found in *No Man Knows My History*.[8] Morgan assisted Brodie with her work by supplying primary source materials and then by criticizing and polishing her manuscript.[9] Morgan also reviewed the book, defended Brodie from critics, and maintained an extensive correspondence with her.[10] While they differed on some points of interpretation, they shared a similar naturalistic outlook and framework of interpretation.

After the publication of Bernard DeVoto's review of *No Man Knows My History,* "The Case of the Prophet, Joseph Smith," Morgan wrote to DeVoto to contest several items.[11] In the course of that exchange, Morgan described, without apparent opposition from DeVoto, the horizon from which they understood the Book of Mormon as "naturalistic."[12] In a letter to Juanita Brooks written only five days earlier, also addressing issues raised by *No Man Knows My History,* Morgan articulated at least some of the assumptions that constituted what he called his "naturalistic point of view," claiming that the fundamental choices one made on the restored gospel, and especially on the foundation experiences, were rooted in an acceptance or rejection of God.[13] He justified his rejection of divine things, including God, angels, and anything

remotely miraculous, on what might be understood as epistemological and ontological grounds: "It all boils down finally to that old philosophical conundrum, 'What is Truth?' There is no absolute or final definition of truth. It has emotional values for some people, intellectual values for others. Our confusions are consequent in some degree upon the fact that people try to square their emotional truths with the intellect, while their intellectual truths they try to invest with emotional meanings."[14]

Building upon what may be described as a radical historicist understanding of truth, Morgan went on to describe his epistemological concerns:[15] "You may hear someone—a returned missionary in the pulpit, say—pronounce a judgment like this: 'I *know* that God lives. I *know* that Joseph was a prophet of God. I *know* that the gospel is true and will be the salvation of mankind.' You cannot challenge that knowledge; you can't bring any logic to bear against it. He knows what he knows, and there is nothing more that can be said."[16] Hence, from within a framework of historical objectivism, Morgan provided an argument for rejecting "emotional truths," which he connected with what Mormons accept as divine revelations, in favor of "intellectual truths," which have something to do with or are in some way connected to logic and reason.

Morgan then explored some of the consequences of his position:

> We have my attitude (which I believe is substantially Fawn's). I feel absolutely no necessity to postulate the existence of God as explanation of anything whatever. To me God exists only as a force in human conduct consequent upon the hypothecation of such a being by man. . . . Essentially my views are atheist, but I call myself an agnostic because I regard professing atheists as being as much deluded as professing theists. The one says, "I *know* there isn't a God"; the other, "I *know* that there is." And I find the proof lacking in either case. Thus when I formulate my views, I say that I have no personal belief in God and see no necessity for the existence of such a being.[17]

Without hiding what might be described as his positivist assumptions, Morgan articulated the basis of his "naturalistic point of view" that provided the horizon from which he and Brodie fashioned environmental explanations of the Book of Mormon: "With my point of view on God, I am incapable of accepting the claims of Joseph Smith and the Mormons, be they however so convincing. If God does not exist, how can Joseph Smith's story have any possible validity? I will look everywhere for explanations except to the ONE explanation that is the position of the church."[18] In another letter, Morgan described the naturalistic approach to Mormon things as including a disbelief "in the concept of God." He

labeled this approach "'objective' and 'unbiased'" although he recognized that it appeared to be a "bias" from the point of view of the believer. "However," he claimed, "as a practical historian, one must take the standpoint that causes and effects proceed directly out of human behavior, that men's difficulties are occasioned by human inadequacy, not by any special favor or disfavor granted to individuals by 'God.'" Morgan understood this to be the point of view of the "sociologist, the psychologist, the political, economic, and social historian."[19] Thus Morgan's disposition towards naturalistic categories and assumptions was based upon a fundamental decision or dogmatic opinion about Deity against which he would allow nothing to count and which he regarded as necessary for the objective, unbiased historian.

In his 15 December letter to Juanita Brooks, Morgan described what he liked to call the "Great Divide" that necessarily separates believers and unbelievers on the issue of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon:

> Fawn has clarified my thinking [on the question of whether Joseph was indeed a conscious fraud and imposter]. I was half disposed to accept a median point of view where Mormon and non-Mormon may almost meet. The Mormon may consent to the idea that the plates were only apparently real, that Joseph gained access to them through a series of visions, as a concession from the original Mormon contention that the plates could be felt and hefted. And the non-Mormon may conceive of Joseph as a victim of delusions, a dreamy mystic, so to speak. But when you get at the hard core of the situation, the Book of Mormon as an objective fact, there isn't any middle ground; it becomes as simple a matter as the Mormons and anti-Mormons originally said it was. Either Joseph was all he claimed to be, or during the period at least of the writing of the Book of Mormon he was a "conscious fraud and imposter."[20]

Morgan thought that "Fawn's theory [of the sources and origins of the Book of Mormon] the one most reasonable in light of the available facts" and also held that "there may be good reason to think that Fawn has actually hit upon the 'truth' of the matter."[21]

Morgan's own explanation of the Book of Mormon, though he left it sketchy and fragmentary, was consistent with his naturalistic point of view.[22] He saw the production of the Book of Mormon as "a culmination of, rather than a break with, Joseph's highly flavored past." Joseph Smith, understood by Morgan as a magician, engaged in "unabashed hocus-pocus" and "sustained sleight-of-hand performance . . . through the next eighteen months" while writing the Book of Mormon. The book itself "evolved naturally from the circumstances of Joseph Smith's growing up, the world he lived in, his interests and needs."[23] Joseph "floated upon the seas of his time"

picking up "all sorts of ideas floating in the social vacuum of his time."[24] Morgan thought that the "parallels between the book he [Joseph] eventually published and a popular historico-religious treatise of this decade [Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*] are too striking to pass without comment." *"View of the Hebrews,"* he claimed, "reads almost like a manual of instruction for intending prophets, seers, revelators, and translators." Although the Book of Mormon "mirror[ed] only Joseph's milieu," it also "quite unconsciously mirror[ed] his mind."[25] Morgan's explanation is thus not only environmental—that is, product-of-culture—it is also genuinely naturalistic, appealing to social science concepts of magic and culture and to some vague notion of the unconscious drawn from the popular understanding of the psychology of his period.

Pieced together, Morgan's argument has something like the following form: Since there is no "final definition" of truth (that is, since the truth of statements is dependent upon individual subjective values and is hence transient), and since there is no God, or at least no (naturalistic?) way to adequately determine his existence (the "proof is lacking" for either his existence or nonexistence), Joseph could not have produced the Book of Mormon in the way he claimed; therefore, the Book of Mormon is not authentic history and must be a conscious deception. One must look to Joseph's environment to discover how and why he produced the Book of Mormon.

Throughout the course of Morgan's argument, his naturalistic assumptions—including assumptions provided by the horizon of historical objectivism and historicism through which he viewed the world—provide the foundations and determine the conclusions. The way in which the story of the Book of Mormon is told, through naturalistic terms or in some other way, will be first a reflection of the (conscious) assumptions of the teller and second a reflection of the categories employed to fashion the explanation. Since, according to Morgan, the Book of Mormon could not be an authentic ancient history of God's dealings with his people, Morgan thought it necessary to fashion environmental or psychological explanations to account for the book's origin. Those explanations in their turn, or at least the categories and assumptions used to fashion those explanations, will make judgments about Deity and the fundamental constitution of man and his relationship to divine things.

Fundamentally, Morgan's argument begs the question of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon: his conclusion represents only a more subtle version of his premises. Since the question of the existence of God is one of the questions opened up by the very existence and content of the Book of Mormon, and since the mediation of Gods and angels in human things is an integral part of

Joseph Smith's story, Morgan begs the question of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon with his premise that God does not exist. But the question-begging goes well beyond Morgan's explicit personal expression of unbelief, extending to the categories and assumptions—the categories of the "sociologist, the psychologist, the political, economic, and social historian"—that he employed in explaining the Book of Mormon.[26] Morgan fashioned his story and employed the categories and assumptions of the social and behavioral sciences in such a way that Joseph Smith could be neither sincere nor the bearer of authentic messages of the Gods. For example, his appeal to the unconscious contains hidden assumptions about Deity, and his product-of-culture explanation of the Book of Mormon is expressly structured to exclude what he called "the ONE explanation that is the position of the church."

Given the close connection between Brodie and Morgan and considering that Morgan was never able to finish his manuscript, careful attention to Brodie's naturalistic environmental explanation of the Book of Mormon and the assumptions upon which it rests seems warranted in order to discover some of the ways in which naturalistic assumptions affect both the choice of explanatory categories and the rhetorical structure of the argument. Brodie articulated her controlling assumptions at various times and in various places. In 1967, while considering changes in *No Man Knows My History* for the second edition, she told Monsignor Jerome Stoffel that she "reject[ed] the supernatural aspects of the Christian story."[27] In a 1975 interview, she admitted that she was "convinced before I ever began writing the book that Joseph Smith was not a true prophet."[28] Although she thought belief necessarily involved a corrupting bias that "colors . . . selections, . . . omissions, and . . . point of view," she apparently did not think unbelief or disbelief involved similar biases.[29] Disbelief, from her perspective, provided the biographer the necessary "intellectual detachment" to write a "really fair biography."[30]

Like Morgan, Brodie's environmental explanation of the origin and content of the Book of Mormon is also entwined with a psychological account of the motivations of its author. Neither Brodie nor Morgan was content with simply identifying a list of supposed nineteenth-century sources for the Book of Mormon. Both thought a psychological account of its author necessary for an adequate explanation. Ordinary New York farm boys did not produce long and complicated religious histories; only Joseph Smith did that sort of thing. Whatever else he may have been, Joseph was an obvious exception to the rule.

Although Brodie found it "easy enough to deride its style," she thought the sources of the Book of Mormon "absolutely American, . . . an obscure compound of folklore, moral platitude, mysticism, and millennialism."[31] She fashioned her naturalistic explanation so that the book's "matter is drawn directly from the American frontier, from the impassioned revivalist sermons, the popular fallacies about Indian origin, and the current political crusades." The book, she thought, was best explained by Joseph's "responsiveness to the provincial opinions of his times."[32] According to Brodie, "It may . . . have been *View of the Hebrews* that gave Joseph Smith the idea of writing an Indian history in the first place." In fact, "Ethan Smith's theory of the origin of the Indian mounds was *exactly the same* as that which formed the heart of the Book of Mormon story."[33] Referring directly to B. H. Roberts's "Parallel," to which she had access, she went on to detail "the striking parallelisms between the two books" that in her view "hardly leave a case for mere coincidence."[34]

Although Brodie saw *View of the Hebrews* as the "basic source" for the Book of Mormon, she claimed that Joseph also "borrowed from his own family traditions," "vigorously attacked the Catholic Church" in response to the influx of Catholics brought by the Erie Canal, "borrowed [stories] from the Bible," inserted "bald parallels of Masonic oaths," attempted to settle "the religious conflicts that were splitting the churches in the 1820s," and threw in "Calvinism and Arminianism" when it suited him.[35]

In her 1971 "Supplement" to *No Man Knows My History,* while not repudiating her earlier theory, Brodie began to explore "the extent to which the Book of Mormon provides clues . . . to Joseph Smith's inner conflicts." By then she thought she could see "Joseph Smith's own inner conflict" in the "fratricidal strife" described in the Book of Mormon: "The Book of Mormon . . . provides tantalizing clues to the conflicts raging within Joseph Smith," including his "unconscious fantasies of guilt and fear."[36] By this time, she had explicitly placed Joseph in a psychological category: he was an "imposter," and his literary productions were a result of that imposture.[37]

Brodie, then, makes two claims concerning the Book of Mormon, one narrowly psychological, the other broadly environmental, but both entirely naturalistic. Her psychological claim presents Joseph as an extremely complex, extremely conflicted personality and suggests that the Book of Mormon, like many first novels, can be read to a limited degree as autobiography.[38] Her environmental thesis holds that Joseph fabricated the Book of Mormon from the political and religious currents and the folklore of the American frontier.

The explanatory power of Brodie's theories about the Book of Mormon rests upon her fundamental assumptions, which involve a rejection of the "supernatural" and an embracing of the "natural" that in many crucial instances dogmatically excludes Deity from the account. In short, Brodie's explanations come down squarely on the unbelieving side of Morgan's "Great Divide."

The explanations of both Morgan and Brodie ignore or compete with what we might call the *internal* interpretation of the Book of Mormon—what it says about itself. The book contains categories and assumptions that form the basis for understanding those inside the story or narrative. These understandings make sometimes obvious, sometimes subtle, claims upon us as readers. One of the fundamental assumptions of the Book of Mormon is that the heavens open from time to time and that God makes his will known to man. Both Brodie and Morgan personally, and through the categories and assumptions they brought to their investigations of Mormon things, denied *a priori* the possibility of what they labeled the "supernatural" and hence dogmatically excluded at least this one fundamental, even crucial, assumption of the internal understanding of the Book of Mormon. In place of the assumptions and categories found in the Book of Mormon, Morgan and Brodie substituted naturalistic ones, which are foreign to and which fundamentally contradict the internal understanding of the book itself. Brodie's argument therefore represents only a more sophisticated version of Morgan's question-begging. She accepts all of the assumptions he articulated, or at least the most important, while for the most part concealing them within the charming rhetoric and structure of her argument.

Much of the work of the so-called New Mormon History on the foundation experiences has in some ways been an effort to separate and distance itself from Brodie's explanations while at the same time recognizing *No Man Knows My History* as a major landmark. For example, Robert B. Flanders declared in 1974 that "a new era dawned with her book," claiming that "all subsequent serious studies of early Mormonism have necessarily had Brodie as a referent point."[39] Davis Bitton and Leonard Arrington reported that Brodie's book "quickly established itself to national readers as the standard biography."[40]

The writings of Marvin S. Hill provide an interesting case study of the New Mormon History's ambivalent judgment of Brodie. He has devoted considerable attention to her work, including two review essays on *No Man Knows My History*.[41] He has called *No Man Knows My History* "an immensely important book, a powerful book" and asserted that "much of her history retains its

relevance and authenticity." He added, however, that "it falls short of greatness because of fundamental weaknesses which no amount of patching in a later edition can correct."[42] Hill has called into question the details of Brodie's perspective, her "objectivity," and her research.[43] The explanation of the Book of Mormon arising from Hill's criticism of Brodie thus differs from hers in both detail and perspective. In this, Hill's work is rather typical of recent explanations of the Book of Mormon—further reason why it provides useful example of the explanations typically offered by the New History.[44]

Hill has described his approach to Brodie as an attempt to "consider Brodie's interpretation . . . on her own secular terms," that is, from within the horizon of "the naturalistic assumptions of the professional historian" with which she worked.[45] He differs from Brodie in at least two fundamental ways. First, he has criticized sources upon which Brodie relies and has demonstrated fundamental flaws in her treatment of the Kirtland period.[46] Second, unlike Brodie, he does not think the historian can "prove conclusively," one way or the other, Joseph's call "to his divine mission."[47] Attempting to distinguish his own position from that of Brodie, who, according to Hill, assumed it was possible to prove on the basis of his limitations that Joseph Smith was a fraud, and that of Orson Pratt, who, Hill claims, assumed it was possible to prove on the basis of his accomplishments that Joseph was a prophet, Hill suggested that historians should "explore the broad, promising middle ground which neither Pratt nor Brodie fully perceived."[48]

While Hill disputes some of Brodie's speculations "as to the initial secular nature of the Book of Mormon," he seems close to accepting some of her views on the cultural conditioning of the book's contents when he insists upon "the romantic disposition of [the Book of Mormon's] plot and central characters," its "negative, Calvinistic view of man," and its "rationalistic arguments for the existence of God."[49] Much like Brodie, he has also linked the Book of Mormon with what he calls Joseph Smith's "magical world view," claiming that "there was certainly more continuity between the money-digging religious culture and the early Mormon movement than some historians have recognized." For Hill, "The traditional magician," like Joseph Smith, "searched for buried treasure, healed the sick, interpreted dreams, forecast the future, and translated ancient hieroglyphics."[50]

Elaborating the connection between the Book of Mormon and nineteenth-century America, Hill writes, "Theologically the Book of Mormon was a mediating text standing between orthodox Calvinists and emerging Arminians." Similarly, "Passages which are

strongly anti-Universalist suggest once again the Calvinistic inclinations in the text, while others speak against the doctrine of election. Mediation rather than Arminianism seems evident here." Also, "Mediation seems evident in the ambivalent position on the trinity." After examining the stance of the Book of Mormon in relation to the theological controversies of Joseph Smith's day, Hill concludes, "Its message appealed to common men with sectarian or money-digging backgrounds. It was a jeremiad addressed to the American Indians, part of the House of Israel."[51]

While Hill rejects what he terms Brodie's "sectarian" account of the origins of the Book of Mormon, he also sees Joseph Smith as responding to cultural forces, suggesting that Joseph's visions, including those that attended the production of the Book of Mormon, were influenced by the great stress initiated by the building of the Erie Canal and other potent social, cultural, and economic changes. Citing a discussion by Mario De Pillis, he claims, "Early Mormon visions and dreams brought surcease from emotional and intellectual stress among those confused and bewildered by ideological and emotional turmoil in western New York."[52] Joseph and "the witnesses saw the plates as a result of their own psychological and religious needs."[53] Therefore, he says, Joseph's revelations "may not deserve the label of fraud, any more than the apostles' testimony of the resurrection of Christ."[54] Hill adopts a Brodie-like evolutionary view of Joseph's expanding role as prophet, suggesting that "some things [concerning Joseph's early visions] which may have been looked upon as natural in the early years took on more miraculous significance as time passed."[55] Joseph, like others of his time, could think his dreams or visions had "cosmic significance" because he did not have "the benefits of Sigmund Freud's analysis of dreams."[56]

Although Hill apparently agrees with Brodie and Morgan on the necessity of professional historians writing history in naturalistic terms, he has proposed an important innovation that may avoid the question-begging that mars the work of Brodie and Morgan. According to Hill, historians cannot provide satisfactory answers to the prophet/fraud dichotomy because such questions are simply beyond the range of historical inquiry.[57] Hill seems to believe it is possible for scholars, as a methodological matter, to suspend judgments on such questions as the existence of God and the ultimate authenticity of the Book of Mormon. He writes:

> The historian has no sources written with the finger of God to prove that Joseph Smith was called to his divine mission, nor does he have any human sources to prove conclusively that he was not. One's answers to this cosmic question depend entirely upon the assump-

> tions he brings to it—assumptions about the nature of the world and man's place in it; these rest in the last analysis upon personal predilection, not historical evidence.[58]

The problem with this methodological suspension of judgment—presumably necessary to "recover" the past "in an objective way"—is that it cannot wholly reside in the attitude adopted by the historian while fashioning an explanation. It also includes the implicit assumptions behind the categories and explicit assumptions employed by the historian. If these categories and assumptions actually suspend judgement, then they are not question-begging. Unfortunately, however, the "models from the social and behavioral sciences" from which Hill draws—social stress theories of revelation, the cultural connections of teachings in the Book of Mormon with the Calvinism of Joseph's immediate environment—all involve implicit assumptions about such questions as the existence of God.[59] For example, if visions of angels and plates are psychological responses to severe "social stress," then they are not what Joseph Smith claimed they were. Therefore, Hill's version of the foundation experiences unfortunately suffers from the same sort of question-begging that mars the work of Brodie and Morgan. The question-begging assumptions are obscured by denying the relevance of the prophet/fraud dichotomy, claiming that the historian cannot or ought not make judgments about the authenticity of Joseph's prophetic call or charisms, and appealing to a "middle ground" that supposedly gets beyond the old sectarian controversies.

There would be little reason to designate recent Mormon history "new" if there were not something that separated or distinguished it from an "old" Mormon history. The New Mormon History is new, we are now told by one scholar, at least in part because it adopts "the tools of the social and behavioral sciences and from religious studies."[60] Others portray the new "'professionalization of Mormon history'" as arising from a dissatisfaction with "the narrative and inspirational histories produced in previous generations." This dissatisfaction arose because those with graduate training in history were "accustomed to more rigorous standards of documentation" and were "interested in different questions," questions that seemingly required giving "a naturalistic interpretation to certain historical themes sacred to the memories of Latter-day Saints."[61] Thus the New History would seem to appropriate its explanatory categories and methodological assumptions from what are essentially modern and secular modes of thought. Yet, for all the history that has been done under the umbrella of modernity, there has been little effort to uncover the background modes of thought, the controlling categories and assumptions, of Joseph Smith himself or other early

Mormon chronologers and little discussion of the effects that naturalistic interpretations or assumptions might have upon the "themes sacred to the memory of Latter-day Saints" or even to the Saints' collective memory.

An analogy and comparison with the Jewish experience of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and its aftermath may be instructive for uncovering at least some of the sources, or perhaps even some of the assumptions behind the "dissatisfaction" described by Bitton and Arrington. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi describes the "modern effort to reconstruct the Jewish past" as beginning "at a time that witnesses a sharp break in the continuity of Jewish living and hence also an ever-growing decay of Jewish group memory."[62] The Jewish group memory, perhaps surprisingly, continued to decay in spite of the increasing number and sophistication of Jewish historical writings—or perhaps because of them. Unlike modern historical inquiry, Yerushalmi demonstrates, "The biblical appeal to remember thus has little to do with curiosity about the past. . . . Not only is Israel under no obligation whatever to remember the entire past, but its principle of selection is unique unto itself. It is, above all, God's acts of intervention in history, and man's responses to them, be they positive or negative, that must be recalled."[63] In an introduction to the 1989 edition of Yerushalmi's book, Harold Bloom notes that "*zakhor,* as a word, has a much wider range than *remember* has in English, since in Hebrew to remember is also to act." For this reason, the nature of Hebrew memory is "uniquely selective" about what is recalled, calling "for a particular kind of acting rather than for any curiosity about the past." Therefore, "the priest and the prophet become the masters of memory and historians become unlikely figures."[64]

The irony of the striking differences between ancient and medieval Jewish memory and modern efforts at Jewish history is not lost upon Yerushalmi. He notes, "I live within the ironic awareness that the very mode in which I delve into the Jewish past represents a decisive break with that past." Part of the irony lies in the realization that "only in the modern era do we really find, for the first time, a Jewish historiography divorced from Jewish collective memory and, in crucial respects, thoroughly at odds with it." At the same time, "who . . . can be expected to step into the breach, if not the historian? Is it not both his chosen and appointed task to restore the past to us all?"[65] But the historian, trained with modes of thought alien to memory and even thoroughly at odds with it, is, according to Yerushalmi, at least part of the problem and therefore may be incapable of offering something approaching a cure. The parallel of Jewish and Mormon memory and Jewish and Mormon history cannot be entirely lost upon us.

The New Mormon History, with its "dissatisfaction" with earlier ways and modes of memorializing the past, not only differs from some of its own intellectual predecessors in adopting models drawn from the social and behavioral sciences, it also differs from much older and more venerable histories in fundamental ways. For example, one cannot find anything like an appeal to "facts" in any scriptural chronicle; the scriptural chronicles are written under an entirely different set of assumptions from those that govern modern histories. The appeal to "facts" by modern historians is often symptomatic of positivism or historical objectivism, serving as a vehicle to subtly transform the faith and erode memory.[66] Much of the New Mormon History is written in such a way as to exclude or bracket what scripture understands as the mighty acts of God. These mighty acts are precisely what are essential for the collective memory of the Saints—what Yerushalmi calls "God's acts of intervention in history."[67]

But perhaps the most prominent modernist feature of the New History, and certainly one of the features it emphasizes, is its appeal to naturalistic assumptions. Such assumptions, we are told, allow historians greater sophistication in dealing with the past and are justified because they provide the Saints a more reliable and usable past. But these assumptions have also served to transform both the content and substance of the foundation experiences.[68] From within the enchantment of naturalistic assumptions, leading historians have called for a radical new understanding of the Book of Mormon, one divorced from the traditional understanding and thoroughly at odds with the Saints' collective memory.

From the very beginning, the Book of Mormon has served as a vessel of memory and identity for the Saints. It sets them apart from the world and orients them in God's plan. If the Book of Mormon is true, if it is authentic history brought forth in the last days for the wise purposes of God, then the Saints have good reason for faith and a genuine hope for a trust in God. If the Book of Mormon is the product of deliberate deception or the sincere psychological delusion caused by severe stress, the Saints have no reason for faith or for hope.

NOTES

[1]Leonard J. Arrington, "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism in the Twentieth Century," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (1966): 28. This essay is a modified version of his "The Secularization of Mormon History and Culture," delivered at the Western History Association, 16 October 1965, in which the statement reads somewhat differently: "Any particular feature of Mormon life . . . is fair game for

objective, complete examination. They [those promoting the Mormon History Association and *Dialogue*] believe that Mormon history can be 'humanized' without completely throwing out the dogma of the immaculateness of the church's origin" (20). The call for "naturalistic" historical explanations of Mormon things is not uncommon. See, for example, Davis Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 131–32; Lawrence Foster, "New Perspectives on the Mormon Past," *Sunstone* 7 (January–February 1982): 45, and *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons and the Oneida Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 294–97; and Robert Flanders, "Some Reflections on the New Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 9 (Spring 1974): 34–41.

[2]Arrington, "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism," 28 n. 44. Arrington reported that at least one critic expressed concern over the possibility of naturalistic histories, asking, "Is it really possible to humanize all phases of Mormon history without destroying church doctrines regarding historical events?" Commenting on the manuscript of "Scholarly Studies," Dale Morgan observed, "More generally, I would say that what principally troubles me about your essay is that its more critical comments are offered anonymously in your footnotes. One is led to wonder whether 'one reader' is not truly your own alter ego, merely a literary device for getting over some important points 'without stirring up trouble.'" Dale Morgan to Leonard J. Arrington, 19 November 1965, 2, Dale Morgan Microfilm, MS 560, bx. 2, fld. 10, Special Collections Department, University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Morgan Microfilm).

[3]Other essays raising questions about the apparent assumptions of certain modern approaches to Mormon history include Neal W. Kramer, "Looking for God in History: The Modern Critique of Positivism Demands Reevaluation of the Prevailing Historiography," *Sunstone* 8 (January–April 1983): 15–17; David E. Bohn, "No Higher Ground," *Sunstone* 8 (May–June 1983): 26–32, and "The Burden of Proof," *Sunstone* 10 (June 1985): 2–3; Louis C. Midgley, "Faith and History," in *"To Be Learned Is Good If . . ."* ed. Robert L. Millet (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 219–26, and "The Question of Faith and History" (Paper delivered at the Western History Association meeting, San Antonio, Texas, 15 October 1981).

[4]The term *environmental* is borrowed from Marvin S. Hill and Richard L. Bushman. See Marvin S. Hill, "Richard L. Bushman: Scholar and Apologist," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 126. Compare Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 128.

[5]The label "New Mormon History" sometimes refers to nothing more than all the history done since approximately 1950 of Mormon things. However, it often carries a more specific, if narrowly polemic, meaning. Robert Flanders, for example, describes the New History as a "significantly different understanding of the Latter-day Saint past" because of its "shift of interest and emphasis from polemics, from attacking or defending assumptions of faith." "Additionally," he claims, "it has provided a new location where 'marginal' Latter-day Saints, who hold some faith assumptions but reject others, or who are attached to Mormon societies or social networks but not to the religion per se, can share in the dialogue" "Some Reflections on the New Mormon History," 34, 40. Thomas G. Alexander describes the New History as employing "techniques derived from historical, humanistic, social-scientific, and religious perspectives." The New History is different from its predecessors, Alexander claims, because it pays "more attention to the relationship between Mormon and general U.S. historiography" and insists "upon an understanding of development, rather than just doctrinal exegesis" ("Toward the New Mormon History: An Examination of the Literature on the Latter-day Saints in the Far West," in *Historians and The American West,* ed. Michael P. Malone [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983], 344, 352, 357).

[6]In a letter to Brodie on 10 September 1943, Morgan wrote, "I think [LDS apostle] David O. [McKay] really was thinking that it would be a hell of a note to be uncle to a naturalistic biographer of the Prophet." The rather casual use of such language suggests that the rhetoric was already in place and was not new or unfamiliar (John Phillip Walker, ed., *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence and a New History* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986], 46). Walker's volume contains a useful collection of Morgan's letters. However, it also omits important letters and letter fragments. When a letter or manuscript is available in this volume, Walker will be the source cited.

[7]B. H. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon,* ed. Brigham D. Madsen with a biographical essay by Sterling M. McMurrin (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

[8]Brodie had probably seen a copy of Roberts's "Parallel" and was dependent upon it when she fashioned her argument against the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. See Fawn M. Brodie to Sterling M. McMurrin, 6 November 1977, Fawn M. Brodie Collection, MS 360, bx. 8, fld. 6, Special Collections Department, University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Brodie Papers); compare *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet,* 2d ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 47.

[9]See Morgan to Brodie, 14 January 1943, 46-49; 27 April 1944, 52–54; and 28 August 1944 , 67-71, in *On Early Mormonism*; see Morgan to Brodie, Thanksgiving Day 1943 , MS 360, bx. 7, fld. 2; 12 February 1944, 15 February 1944, 10 March 1944, 18 June 1944, 24 June 1944, MS 360, bx. 7, fld. 3, and 3 August 1944, MS 360, bx. 7, fld. 4 in Brodie Papers; see also undated, two-page criticism of an early manuscript of *No Man Knows My History,* titled "Memo from Dale Morgan" and undated, two-page letter to Fawn Brodie, in Brodie Papers, MS 360, bx. 7, fld. 1.

[10]Morgan's review appeared in *Saturday Review* , 24 November 1945, 7-8. A photocopy of this review may be found in the Brodie Papers, MS 360, bx. 8, fld. 9. For the Morgan to Brodie correspondence, see *On Early Mormonism,* 92–101, 106–115, 145–150, 150d–154, 160–165.

[11]*New York Herald Tribune Weekly Book Review,* 16 December 1945. A photocopy of this review may be found in the Brodie Papers, MS 360, bx. 8, fld. 9.

[12]Dale Morgan to Bernard DeVoto, 20 December 1945, *On Early Mormonism,* 93.

[13]"Consider again how our individual points of view upon Mormonism and all religion are rooted in our fundamental viewpoint on God" (Dale Morgan to Juanita Brooks, 15 December 1945, *On Early Mormonism,* 86–87).

[14]Morgan to Brooks, 15 December 1945, *On Early Mormonism,* 86.

[15]The words *historicism* and *historicist* refer to a cluster of opinions and assumptions articulated by the so-called Historical School in nineteenth-century Germany. A good account, exploring some of the subtleties and exhibiting some of the excesses of historicism, is G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, 1952). The word *positivism* refers to another cluster of opinions and assumptions more or less articulated in the nineteenth century. An accessible version of a portion of the positivist position is Sterling M. McMurrin, "Comments on the Meaning of Immortality," in *Religion, Reason and Truth: Historical Essays in the Philosophy of Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1982). Alfred Jules Ayer, *Language, Truth and Logic* (New York: Dover Publications, 1952), provides a short and useful introduction to modern positivist arguments. I shall for the most part borrow Gadamer's term "historical objectivism" to describe the cluster of positivist assumptions used by many historians. See Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, ed. and trans. Garrett Barden (New York: Continuum, 1975), 192–214; also "Hermeneutics and Historicism," in "Supplement I" to *Truth and Method,* 460–91. The questions surrounding historicism and historical objectivism are important for understanding the current crisis in Mormon historiography. See Thomas G. Alexander, "Historiography and the New Mormon History," *Dialogue* 19 (Autumn 1986): 25–49, "An Approach to the Mormon Past," *Dialogue* 16 (Winter 1983): 146–48, and "Substantial, Important, and Brilliant," *Dialogue* 18 (Winter 1985): 185–87; Leonard J. Arrington, "Reflections on the Founding and Purpose of the Mormon History Association, 1965–1983," *Journal of Mormon History* 10 (1983): 91–103; David Earl Bohn, "No Higher Ground," *Sunstone* 8 (May–June 1983): 26–32, and "The Burden of Proof," *Sunstone* 10 (June 1985): 2–3; M. Gerald Bradford, "The Case for the New Mormon History: Thomas G. Alexander and His Critics," *Dialogue* 21 (Winter 1988): 143–50; Lawrence Foster, "Bohna Fide Article," *Sunstone* 8 (November–December 1983): 4–5; Klaus Hansen, "Jan Shipps and the Mormon Tradition," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 135–45; Marvin S. Hill, "Richard L. Bushman," 125–33, and "The 'New Mormon History' Reassessed in Light of Recent Books on Joseph Smith and Mormon Origins," *Dialogue* 21 (Autumn 1988); 115–127; Martin E. Marty, "Two Integrities: An Address to the Crisis in Mormon Historiography," *Journal of Mormon History* 10 (1983): 3–19; Louis C. Midgley, "Faith and History," in *"To Be Learned Is Good If . . ."* ed. Robert L. Millet (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 219–26, and "The Challenge of Historical Consciousness: Mormon History and the Encounter with Secular Modernity," in vol. 2 of *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday, 27 March 1990*, ed. John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1990), 502–51.

[16]Morgan to Brooks, 15 December 1945, *On Early Mormonism,* 86. Morgan went on to illustrate his rejection of divine things with a personal story: "When I was eight or ten or so and a regular Sunday-school goer, in our ward I saw a rather handsome boy four or five years older than I named Edwin Wells. He was then a deacon, I think. He looked to me somehow sanctified and set apart, beautiful and holy. Well, Juanita, as I contemplated him, revelation came upon me, and I knew, I knew that I was seeing there before me in the flesh a future President of the Church. It was a knowledge superior to reason; in short, it was of the very stuff of our missionary's knowledge above. Except that for some fifteen years or so I have felt a certain skepticism about the validity of that revelation." In his 20 December letter to DeVoto, Morgan related this same story and drew further consequences: "But remembering that experience, and remembering further what it is like to get struck with a Big Idea, I can conceive that Joseph's revelations were honestly arrived at (some of them, at any rate), if not precisely after the fashion his followers may have believed. With no opening of the heavens in any way involved" (Morgan to DeVoto, 20 December 1945, *On Early Mormonism,* 98).

[17]Morgan to Brooks, 15 December 1945, *On Early Mormonism,* 87.

[18]Morgan to Brooks, *On Early Mormonism,* 87.

[19]Morgan to S. A. Burgess, 26 April 1943, *On Early Mormonism,* 43. The extent of Morgan's involvement in historicism and historical objectivism is traceable through the categories he employed to explain Mormon things and through the rhetoric he employed to justify those categories. He told Burgess that "we desired to draw a picture of Mormon beliefs from an objective point of view" and concluded that letter by insisting upon the "objectivity of our interpretation" (Morgan to Burgess, 1 July 1942, *On Early Mormonism,* 35, 40). In a letter to Fawn Brodie, Morgan described the need for an "objective study" of the Danites (Morgan to Brodie, 10 September 1943, *On Early Mormonism,* 47). He portrayed the motivation for his own inquiry into Mormon things as a "challenge . . . to try to tread objectively between warring points of view, to get at the facts, uncover them for facts, and see what the facts have to say to a reasonable intelligence" (Morgan to Brooks, 23 May 1946, *On Early Mormonism,* 121). He described

"the only historically valid methodology" as "marshall[ing] the facts and see[ing] what they add up to" (Morgan to DeVoto, 20 December 1945, *On Early Mormonism,* 95). Appeals to a historical objectivist "objectivity" and "facts" can be found on pages 100, 113, 145, 149, 151, 161, 162, 164 ("properly critical and scientifically objective"), 175, and 184. See also his "Memo from Dale Morgan," 1, Brodie Papers, MS 360, bx. 7, fld. 1.

Morgan expressed something of his historicist inclinations when insisting that Joseph "in [a] major degree is best interpreted as an astonishing reflection of the Jacksonian upsurge of the common man; he was perfectly the expression of the *zeitgeist*" (Morgan to Brodie, 28 August 1944, *On Early Mormonism,* 68). He told DeVoto, "Every man is the product of total environment acting upon the biological organism . . ." and went on to elaborate his Jacksonian thesis (Morgan to DeVoto, 2 January 1946, *On Early Mormonism,* 109, 110–11). (*On Early Mormonism* omits the date of this letter and incorrectly attributes the letter as being addressed to Fawn Brodie on the page headings.) See also Morgan to DeVoto, 20 December 1945, *On Early Mormonism,* 92.

[20]Morgan to Brooks, 15 December 1945, *On Early Mormonism,* 88–89.

[21]Morgan to Brooks, 15 December 1945, *On Early Mormonism,* 89. See also Morgan to DeVoto, 20 December 1945, *On Early Mormonism,* 96: "I find it a good deal more reasonable to conjecture that [Joseph] had an opened Bible with him on the other side of his curtain. And that idea seems to me to enforce a conception that conscious deception entered into the writing of the Book of Mormon." Compare Marvin Hill's ideas on a "middle ground" in "Secular or Sectarian History? A Critique of *No Man Knows My History," Church History* 43 (March 1974): 96, and also in "Brodie Revisited: A Reappraisal" *Dialogue* 7 (Winter 1972): 72–85. Recasting the prophet/fraud dichotomy, Louis Midgley suggests that Joseph Smith's "prophetic claims are such that they present the believer and unbeliever alike with either a prophet or not-prophet alternative" ("The Challenge of Historical Consciousness," 519).

[22]*On Early Mormonism* contains a version of Morgan's "rough draft" chapter on the Book of Mormon (309-19). Unfortunately, *On Early Mormonism* does not include Morgan's important letter fragments indicating at least some of the reasons he could not finish his book *The Mormons*. Morgan thought he could produce the "definitive" history of the Church as early as April 1942. He lived almost thirty more years and worked on his project for some seventeen years before abandoning it (Morgan to Brooks, 12 April 1942, *On Early Mormonism,* 26; Morgan to Brodie, 28 January 1946, 2, Brodie Papers, MS 360, bx. 7, fld. 7).

[23]Morgan, *On Early Mormonism,* 278, 310.

[24]Morgan to Madeline Reeder McQuown, Madeline Reeder McQuown Collection, MS 143, bx. 2, fld. 11, Special Collections Department, University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City.

[25]Morgan, *On Early Mormonism,* 311, 312, 313, 318.

[26]Leo Strauss identifies a "dogmatic atheism" in "sociological or psychological theories regarding religion." This atheism "presents itself as merely methodological or hypothetical" and is hence uncritical and unreflective (*Liberalism, Ancient and Modern* [New York: Basic Books, 1968], 218).

[27]Fawn Brodie to Jerome Stoffel, 3 November 1967, 2, Brodie Papers, MS 360, bx. 9, fld. 3.

[28]"Fawn McKay Brodie: An Oral History Interview," *Dialogue* 14 (Summer 1981): 106. The *Dialogue* interview is condensed from a much longer oral history. See "Biography of Fawn McKay Brodie: O. H. 1523," interviewed by Shirley E. Stephenson, 30 November 1975, typescript, 1–52, Fullerton Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton, Calif. The *Dialogue* version of the interview is garbled in at least one place.

[29]Fawn Brodie, "Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups: The Mormons (Comments on the manuscript)," 3, Brodie Papers, MS 360, bx. 68, fld. 13. This is not an entirely uncommon opinion. See, for example, Melvin T. Smith, "Faithful History: Hazards and Limitations," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 68, and "Faithful History/Secular Faith," *Dialogue* 16 (Winter 1983): 69.

[30]"Oral History," *Dialogue,* 109. Morgan to Brodie, 7 January 1946, *On Early Mormonism,* 118.

[31]Brodie, *No Man Knows My History,* 67.

[32]Brodie, *No Man Knows My History,* 69.

[33]Brodie, *No Man Knows My History,* 46; italics added. Compare *On Early Mormonism,* 310–19.

[34]Brodie, *No Man Knows My History,* 47.

[35]Brodie, *No Man Knows My History,* 58, 59–60, 62, 63, 69, 70.

[36]Brodie, *No Man Knows My History,* 413, 416, 417, 415.

[37]Brodie, *No Man Knows My History,* 417–21.

[38]To begin to explore the frontiers of such speculation, see Brodie's notes of various meetings of the Los Angeles Interdisciplinary Psychoanalytic Group: "Original Notes First J. S. Meetings & Greenacre," "Joseph Smith—(first meeting)," in Brodie Papers, MS 360, bx. 8, fld. 2, and a short piece, "The Impostor," in Brodie Papers, MS 360, bx. 8, fld. 1. For instance, "In his operation as a child he was saved by amputation (castration) by his mother" and "Gods (the angel) showed Joseph Smith a sword (the phallus); a breastplate and two stones (the mother); and the golden plates (anal element)."

[39]Robert Flanders, "Some Reflections on the New Mormon History," 35.

[40]Arrington and Bitton, *Mormons and Their Historians,* 111.

[41]Marvin S. Hill, "Brodie Revisited: A Reappraisal," *Dialogue* 7 (Winter 1972): 72–85, and "Secular or Sectarian History?" 78–96. Hill deals with some aspect of Brodie's work in the following

books and essays: "The Historiography of Mormonism," *Church History* 28 (December 1959): 419, 420; "Joseph Smith and the 1826 Trial: New Evidence and New Difficulties," *BYU Studies* 12 (Winter 1972): 223, 232; Review of Richard L. Anderson's *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage,* in *The New England Quarterly* 46 (March 1973): 157; "The 'Prophet Puzzle' Assembled; or, How to Treat Our Historical Diplopia Toward Joseph Smith," *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 101; Marvin S. Hill, C. Keith Rooker, and Larry T. Wimmer, *The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), 3, 16, 24, 59, 69; "A Note on Joseph Smith's First Vision and Its Import in the Shaping of Early Mormonism," *Dialogue* 12 (Spring 1979): 90; "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom: A Reconsideration of the Causes of Kirtland Dissent," *Church History* 49 (September 1980): 286; "The Rise of Mormonism in the Burned-over District: Another View," *New York History* 61 (October 1980): 411; "The First Vision Controversy: A Critique and Reconciliation," *Dialogue* 15 (Summer 1982): 31; "Money-Digging Folklore and the Beginnings of Mormonism: An Interpretative Suggestion," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 483; "The 'New Mormon History' Reassessed in Light of Recent Books on Joseph Smith and Mormon Origins," *Dialogue* 21 (Autumn 1988): 116; and *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1989), 4, 24.

[42]Hill, "Brodie Revisited," 74, 73.

[43]See Hill, "Secular or Sectarian History?" 88–89, 96, "Brodie Revisited," 72, 78, and "Historiography of Mormonism," 420.

[44]See, for example, Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience,* 10–27, 248, and Jan Shipps, *Mormonism,* 1–65. On the fringe of such explanations, George D. Smith's "Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon," *Free Inquiry* 4 (Winter 1983): 21–31, represents an updating and radicalizing of Brodie's views, though without her stylistic flourish.

[45]Hill, "Brodie Revisited," 73, 72.

[46]See, for example, "The First Vision Controversy," 31–44, where Brodie's and Wesley Walters's views of the First Vision are criticized. Compare "A Note on Joseph Smith's First Vision," 96–97. See also "Joseph Smith and the 1826 Trial," 223–33; and Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer, *The Kirtland Economy Revisited.*

[47]Hill, "Brodie Revisited," 72. Hill does not indicate why such questions are beyond the limits of historical inquiry.

[48]Hill, "Secular or Sectarian History?" 96, 80. Others have given this "middle ground" approach the label "historicism." See Hansen, "Jan Shipps," 144–45; and Alexander, "Substantial, Important, and Brilliant," 186.

[49]Marvin S. Hill, review of *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints,* by Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *American Historical Review* 84 (December 1979): 1488, "Richard Bushman," 125–26, and "A Note on Joseph Smith's First Vision," 94. See also "Secular or Sectarian History?" 86–87, where Hill reports Brodie's views on the Ethan Smith theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon but does not dispute her claims. Hill also skirts the issue of the origin of the Book of Mormon in *Quest for Refuge,* reporting the so-called Spaulding theory and Brodie's environmental theory. He writes, "Although Brodie has had her critics, her version of the origin of the Book of Mormon has remained the most widely accepted one in non-Mormon scholarly circles during the past forty-four years." Significantly, the next paragraph begins, "Whatever the origins of the Book of Mormon," leaving the reader to decide for himself. Joseph Smith's own account is nowhere reported. *Quest for Refuge,* 24. Compare Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith,* 128–39, where many of Brodie's assertions about the "sources" of the Book of Mormon are disputed.

[50]Hill, *Quest for Refuge,* 20, 21.

[51]Hill, *Quest for Refuge,* 21, 22.

[52]Hill, "Secular and Sectarian History," 81, "The Rise of Mormonism," 411–13, 417, 420, and "The 'Prophet Puzzle' Assembled," 102–04. For other arguments emphasizing "stress," see Thomas G. Alexander, "Wilford Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experience," *Church History* 45 (March 1976): 57, 67; Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 18–19; Gordon S. Wood, "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism," New York History 61 (October 1980): 361, 379; Jan Shipps, *Mormonism,* 42ff; and Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience,* 1–3.

[53]Hill, "Secular or Sectarian History?" 92. See also "Brodie Revisited," 81, 84.

[54]Hill, "Secular or Sectarian History?" 81, 93.

[55]Hill, "Secular or Sectarian History?" 92. Hill cites a portion of Joseph's 1832 history as an example: "Smith said in his unpublished history that when the angel first came to him to tell him of the plates, he thought it was a dream but later changed his mind." It seems more likely from the history itself, however, that Joseph was not referring to the vision of the night before but to the three unsuccessful attempts to take the plates. Joseph's words read as follows: "He appeared unto me three times in one night and once on the next day and then I immediately went to the place and found where the plates was deposited as the angel of the Lord had commanded me and straightway made three attempts to get them and then being excedingly frightened I supposed it had been a dreem of Vision but when Iconsidred I knew it was not"(Dean C. Jessee, ed. and comp., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984], 7). Compare *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother, Lucy Mack Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), 83–84.

[56]Hill, "Brodie Revisited," 80.

[57]Hill, "Brodie Revisited," 72, and "Secular or Sectarian History?" 80. Compare Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience,* 5; and Jan Shipps, *Mormonism,* xi–xii and 39: "This experiential process legitimized the prophet's centrality to the enterprise, which means that, *as far as history is concerned,* the question of whether Smith was a prophet or fraud is not particularly important" (italics in original). Lawrence Foster takes a somewhat different tack, suggesting that "the development of a comprehensive naturalistic explanation of the Book of Mormon" could "go beyond the conventional Mormon view that it is a literal history translated by Joseph Smith or the conventional anti-Mormon view that it is a conscious fraud." Foster suggests that "the Book of Mormon is probably best understood, at least in part, as a trance-related production." Joseph then becomes "an unusually gifted trance-figure, perhaps one of the most gifted figures in the history of religion." Foster insists, given the "available evidence," that the Book of Mormon "should properly be viewed . . . as a work of 'inspiration' or 'revelation' rather than as a literal translation or history in any sense." "From a Mormon perspective," he claims, "the book could then be described as 'divinely inspired'; from a non-Mormon view-point, it could be seen as an unusually sophisticated product of unconscious and little-known mental processes." The advantage of removing the question of whether the Book of Mormon is "literal translation or history" is that it shifts attention "from the unrewarding and ultimately irrelevant question of whether any golden plates . . . ever existed or whether the Book of Mormon was a literal history to the far more important and fascinating question of the content and meaning of this most extraordinary religious document" (*Religion and Sexuality,* 294, 296–97). Foster does not indicate what consequences, if any, his reinterpretation may have upon the community of faith or even if that community can survive such a shift.

[58]Hill, "Brodie Revisited," 72.

[59]Hill, "New Mormon History," 125.

[60]Alexander, "Toward the New Mormon History," 360.

[61]Arrington and Bitton, *Mormons and Their Historians,* 129, 131.

[62]Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982), 86.

[63]Yerushalmi, *Zakhor,* 10, 11.

[64]Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (New York: Schocken Books, 1989), xvi.

[65]Yerushalmi, *Zakhor* (1982 edition), 81, 93.

[66]According to Martin Heidegger, "All the scientific disciplines are dominated by *positivism,* the tendency toward the *positive,* where 'positive' is understood in terms of *facts,* and facts are understood in terms of a particular interpretation of *reality*. Facts are facts only if they can be enumerated, weighed, measured, and experimentally determined. In history, facts are those movements and events which are in the first instance accessible in the sources"(*History of the Concept of Time: Prolegomena* , trans. Theodore Kisiel [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985], 15; italics in original).

[67]Yerushalmi, *Zakhor* (1982 edition), 11.

[68]See Martin E. Marty, "Two Integrities: An Address to the Crisis in Mormon Historiography," *Journal of Mormon History* 10 (1983): 11-12.

The Doctrine of the Resurrection as Taught in the Book of Mormon

Robert J. Matthews

It is clear to readers of the Book of Mormon that the resurrection of the dead is a deliberate and intentional theme—not merely an incidental concern, an implication, or a secondary concomitant result, but a major topic, forthrightly and vigorously presented as part of a divine plan.

Five thousand years ago the Lord revealed to the prophet Enoch what the fundamental message of the Book of Mormon would be. Neither history, culture, nor geography were to be emphasized. The book would testify of the Only Begotten and the Resurrection. Enoch's prophecy, found in Moses 7:62, is an excerpt from instruction about events to precede the second coming of the Lord in the last days: "And righteousness will I send down out of heaven; and truth will I send forth out of the earth, to bear testimony of mine Only Begotten; his resurrection from the dead; yea, and also the resurrection of all men."

Although almost every prophet in the Book of Mormon makes some reference to the Resurrection (either of Jesus Christ or of mankind or both), they do not all engage in the same amount of detail concerning it. Some merely mention the Resurrection as an accepted fact. Others define various aspects or dimensions as to time, sequence, type of body, permanency, necessity, cause, and related things. At least one, Jacob, points out specifically the consequences to man if there were no resurrection. Most reiterate the general outline and main facts, yet several enlarge with precise detail upon some aspect that the others have spoken of only in broad terms. Though they expand on different points, they do it without contradicting one another. There is frequent evidence that the prophets, while speaking independently, were aware of what earlier and contemporary prophets had said. The Book of Mormon thus provides a large amount of information about the Resurrection, yet

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in no single place in the book is there a comprehensive statement in which all of the details are given.

I have found it useful to analyze the teachings of several of the key doctrinal figures in the Book of Mormon and isolate each detail so as to observe exactly what each said or did not say about the Resurrection. It is rewarding to study the scriptures in this way, for such studies draw attention to the variety of individual contributions and illustrates clearly that additional concepts and clarifications are obtained as one progresses through the book. That the doctrinal emphasis of each writer may be different should probably not be interpreted to mean that each prophet knew only that portion of the doctrine which he chose to talk about, but rather that in the selection of materials that now constitute the Book of Mormon, reports of discourses were used that emphasize certain things. We do not have all of the writings or sermons of any one prophet; if we did, we would no doubt find that one rarely if ever says all that he knows about a subject on any one occasion.

The analysis shows that distribution of information about the Resurrection is rather uneven in the Book of Mormon. The entire book of 1 Nephi contains only one clear reference to the Resurrection, Lehi's statement as recorded by Nephi that after the Messiah "had been slain he should rise from the dead" (1 Ne. 10:11). There is no further explanation at that point.

There are other places in 1 Nephi where the forthcoming resurrection of Jesus from the dead could have been mentioned quite logically and conveniently but for some reason is not. For example, in 1 Nephi 11:32–34 the future death of Jesus on the cross is discussed, but his rising from the dead is not mentioned. Likewise, in 1 Nephi 19:10–13 the prophets Zenock, Neum, and Zenos are cited as bearing witness that the God of Israel would be taken by wicked men and be crucified and buried in a sepulchre, but no mention is made of his rising from the dead. We should not assume from these scant references that these ancient prophets did not know of the forthcoming resurrection of Jesus, but only that it was not specifically mentioned in this summation of their testimony. If we had the whole of their writings, we would find, no doubt, that they knew and taught that the Messiah would rise from the dead in a resurrected condition after his crucifixion and burial. Such a conclusion would be in harmony with Abinadi's statement that all of the ancient prophets taught "more or less" that God himself should come down in the form of a man and bring to pass the resurrection of the dead (Mosiah 13:34–35).

Since the single reference to resurrection in 1 Nephi 10:11 speaks only of Jesus rising from the dead, it follows that there is no

mention in 1 Nephi of the resurrection of all mankind. In fact, the word *resurrection* does not occur in 1 Nephi, nor is the subject discussed beyond the one reference that has been noted.

Although 1 Nephi does not deal at length with the Resurrection, such is not the case with the remainder of the Book of Mormon. The word *resurrection* or *resurrected* occurs 83 times in the words of many different speakers. The phrase *raised from the dead* or *rise from the dead* or some similar phrase occurs at least 13 times, *breaking the bands of death* at least 13 times, and *uniting of spirit and body* at least 4 times.

TEACHINGS OF LEHI, NEPHI, AND JACOB

Even though Nephi (c. 600 B.C.) gives few details about the Resurrection, he offers extensive doctrinal teachings and is a strong witness for Jesus Christ. In 2 Nephi 25 he affirms that the Only Begotten—the Messiah—will be crucified, "laid in a sepulchre for . . . three days," and then "rise from the dead." He specifies that this Messiah shall come "six hundred years from the time [Lehi] left Jerusalem," and that "his name shall be Jesus Christ, the Son of God" (2 Ne. 25:12–14, 19). This is the only direct statement from Nephi about the Resurrection, and it is the first time in the Book of Mormon in which mention is made of the three days between Jesus' death and resurrection.

Although Nephi's own words about resurrection are relatively few, he included in 2 Nephi the more extensive resurrection comments of his father Lehi and his younger brother Jacob. In 2 Nephi 2, Lehi (c. 600 B.C.) discusses the purpose of creation, the cause and the results of the fall of Adam, the atonement of the Messiah, and the resurrection of all mankind. His coverage is philosophical in nature, and this discourse is a favorite of many students because of its doctrinal content. An analysis shows, however, that Lehi speaks mostly in broad, general terms, and in only one passage does he deal directly with the Resurrection. Two points are made concerning it:

> The Messiah will lay down his life and take "it again by the power of the Spirit, that he may bring to pass the resurrection of the dead" (2 Ne. 2:8).
>
> The Messiah will be the first of all mankind to rise in the Resurrection (2 Ne. 2:8–9).

There is no discussion by Lehi as to what resurrection means, or when it will occur. His contribution was for the most part in other doctrinal areas.

Jacob (c. 550 B.C.), the son of Lehi and brother of Nephi, gave an informative sermon that is recorded in 2 Nephi 9. In that sermon he said the following things relative to the Resurrection:

> "Our flesh must waste away and die; nevertheless, in our bodies we shall see God" (2 Ne. 9:4).
>
> The "great Creator" will come "in the flesh and die for all men" (2 Ne. 9:5).
>
> Death has passed upon all flesh as part of "the merciful plan of the great Creator," therefore a [bodily] resurrection is needed because the Fall brought death (2 Ne. 9:6). [Adam is not specifically mentioned by name but is implied because of the reference to the Fall.]
>
> Because of the Fall, man is also "cut off from the presence of the Lord" (2 Ne. 9:6).
>
> Without an "infinite atonement," death of the body would be of endless duration and the flesh would return to "its mother earth, to rise no more" (2 Ne. 9:7).
>
> If the flesh did not have a resurrection, the spirits of all men would degenerate into devils, forever miserable, having been cut off from God's presence by the Fall (2 Ne. 9:8–9). [This passage attests to a crucial relationship between the spirit and the body, suggesting that the spirit cannot be saved without the body.]
>
> The awful monster death captivates the bodies of mankind in the grave and captivates the spirits of many in hell. Spirits of the righteous go to paradise (2 Ne. 9:10–13).
>
> "Because of the way of deliverance of our God, the Holy One of Israel," the grave will deliver up its captives, hell will have to deliver up its captives, and paradise will deliver up its righteous spirits. This release from captivity is by the power of the resurrection, meaning that the spirits and the bodies of the all dead will be restored to each other and become living souls (2 Ne. 9:10–13).
>
> Resurrection will come to all men and all will become immortal, according to the plan of God (2 Ne. 9:12–13).
>
> Resurrected beings have a "perfect knowledge" of their righteousness or unrighteousness (2 Ne. 9:13–14).
>
> When all have passed from death unto life and become immortal, they will appear at the judgment seat of God to be judged and assigned to a place prepared for them (2 Ne. 9:15–16).
>
> God came into the world to suffer the pains of all "men, women, and children, who belong to the family of Adam" in order to bring about the resurrection and judgment of all men (2 Ne. 9:21–22).

> The power of the Atonement is such that it will rescue all mankind from the awful monster death (both physical and spiritual deaths) and restore them to God for the Judgment. Those to be rescued include the people who have been taught and have obeyed, those who have rebelled, and those who were untaught (2 Ne. 9:23–26).

One quickly observes that Jacob is more explicit and detailed about the resurrection than any of his predecessors. He also informs his hearers at the beginning that much of what he is going to tell them he had learned from the instruction of an angel (2 Ne. 6:9, 11).

TEACHINGS OF KING BENJAMIN

Another important source of information pertaining to the Resurrection is a discourse by King Benjamin (c. 124 B.C.) recorded in Mosiah 3 and 4. Benjamin, like Jacob, announces that much of what he knows on this subject he learned from an angel (Mosiah 3:2; 4:1). The analysis shows that Benjamin is specific in many things about Jesus Christ but says little about the Resurrection itself. Yet his words are pertinent to our topic because they are necessary for the doctrinal understanding of why Jesus (whom Benjamin repeatedly calls the Lord Omnipotent) could bring about the resurrection of mankind. Several of Benjamin's declarations about the Redeemer constitute the first time these things are mentioned in the Book of Mormon. However, he mentions nothing either unique or distinct related to the Resurrection itself.

The significant things Benjamin teaches about Jesus Christ are as follows:

> The Lord Omnipotent himself will come down to redeem mankind (Mosiah 3:5). [This is not a new concept to the Book of Mormon since both Nephi and Jacob had taught that the God of Israel, "the great Creator" would come and make the atonement (1 Ne. 19:7–10; 2 Ne. 9:5), but here the concept is given greater emphasis.]
>
> He will bleed at every pore (Mosiah 3:7).
>
> He will be "the Son of God, . . . and his mother shall be called Mary" (Mosiah 3:8).
>
> He will be crucified (Mosiah 3:9).
>
> "He [Christ] shall rise the third day from the dead" (Mosiah 3:10). [This is the second time this information is given in the Book of Mormon; Nephi (2 Ne. 25:13) being the first to mention it.]
>
> Nothing would avail if there were not an atonement of his blood (Mosiah 3:15).

> Little children are fallen by nature through Adam, but the blood of Christ atones for them if they die in infancy (Mosiah 3:16, 18).
>
> Salvation comes through Christ; there is "no other name given" for salvation, "nor any other way nor means"; there is no other salvation, nor are there other conditions for salvation, except that which Christ provides (Mosiah 3:17; 4:8). [This is not the first time this concept is mentioned in the Book of Mormon (see 2 Ne. 25:20; 31:21), but here it is given greater emphasis.]

Although it is certainly implied, Benjamin does not say as categorically as does Jacob that every member of the human family will be raised from the grave. His message focuses on the power and goodness of God in redeeming mankind, but he does not define what redemption means in terms of the body's physical resurrection.

TEACHINGS OF ABINADI

A major contributor to our knowledge of the Resurrection is Abinadi (c. 150 B.C.), whose words are recorded in Mosiah 13–16. A search reveals the following emphasis:

> God himself will make the atonement for mankind, without which atonement no man could be saved (Mosiah 13:28, 32–33).
>
> All the previous prophets have said "that God himself should come down, . . . take upon him the form of man," and . . . "bring to pass the resurrection of the dead" (Mosiah 13:33–35).[1] [This God is identified as Christ in Mosiah 15:21].
>
> Though crucified and slain, God will break the bands of death, gain victory over death, and have power to make intercession for man (Mosiah 15:7–9).
>
> "The Son . . . hath power over the dead," the bands of death will be broken, and he brings "to pass the resurrection of the dead " (Mosiah 15:20).
>
> A first resurrection will occur of all the righteous who have lived from the beginning down to the resurrection of Christ (Mosiah 15:21–23). [Adam is not mentioned by name but is implied by the words *from the beginning*.]
>
> Those who died in ignorance before Christ came will rise in the first resurrection, as will little children [who die] (Mosiah 15:24–25).
>
> Those who wilfully rebel against God and who die in their sins will "have no part in the first resurrection" (Mosiah 15:26).
>
> "If Christ had not risen from the dead, or . . . broken the bands of death," there could not have been a resurrection [for mankind] (Mosiah 16:7).

> "There is a resurrection; the grave hath no victory, and the sting of death is swallowed up in Christ" (Mosiah 16:8).[2]
>
> Mortality will put on immortality, and then men will be judged according to their works in this life (Mosiah 16:10).
>
> There is a resurrection to "endless life and happiness" and a "resurrection of endless damnation" (Mosiah 16:11).

Abinadi is the first in our present Book of Mormon to use the phrase *first resurrection,*[3] *bands of death, victory over death,* the *grave has no victory,* and *death has no sting.* He also vigorously declares that God himself will come as Christ to make the Resurrection a reality, although he is not the first to make this declaration. Even though he explicitly mentions the *first resurrection,* he does not speak of another resurrection except by implication.

TEACHINGS OF AMULEK

Another who speaks very definitely about the Resurrection is Amulek (c. 80–70 B.C.). He defines certain aspects of the Resurrection more fully than is done in any other place and his precise language makes the following points unmistakably clear, leaving little if any room for alternate interpretation.

> The wicked who reject the Son of God "remain as though there had been no redemption made except . . . the loosing of the bands of death." That is, men will be resurrected even if they do not believe and obey the gospel (Alma 11:41).
>
> "All shall rise from the dead and stand before God, and be judged according to their works" (Alma 11:41–42).
>
> The death of Christ will loose the bands of the temporal death [or death of the body], and all will be raised from the temporal death. The spirit and the body will be reunited. Every feature of the body will be in its proper place. This will come to every person regardless of age, sex, or worthiness (Alma 11:42–44).
>
> Resurrected persons can die no more physically. The spirit and the body thus united will never again be divided (Alma 11:45).
>
> The Atonement cannot be a human sacrifice or the sacrifice of a beast or fowl. It must be infinite and eternal [the sacrifice of a God] (Alma 34:9–14).

TEACHINGS OF ALMA

Alma (c. 80–70 B.C.) brings together some important concepts relating to the Resurrection. His particular brevity and logic tie down certain relationships between the fall of Adam and the

Resurrection that are important for a proper understanding, all being part of what Alma calls the "plan of God" for man's salvation. We learn from Alma the following:

> Alma speaks of the mysteries of God and says they can be known to man only by diligence and heed to the word of God. He implies that a knowledge of the Resurrection is one of the "mysteries of God" (Alma 12:8–12).
>
> By Adam's fall "all mankind became a lost and fallen people"; thus death came upon man because of Adam (Alma 12:22–24).
>
> "If it had not been for the plan of redemption, which was laid from the foundation of the world, there could [be] no resurrection of the dead" (Alma 12:25, 30).

The longest discourse in the Book of Mormon on the Resurrection is Alma 40–42. It was given by Alma to answer doubts and questions expressed by his son Corianton. Part of what Alma said is by this time common knowledge in the Book of Mormon, but his discourse is important for its intensity and emphasis, as well as for the newly expressed concepts it contains. Alma explains some aspects of the Resurrection in greater detail than is found anywhere else in the Book of Mormon. He also again speaks of the Resurrection as one of the mysteries of God (Alma 40:3).

> "There is no resurrection . . . until after the coming of Christ," since Christ brings to pass the resurrection of the dead (Alma 40:2).
>
> "There is a time appointed that all shall rise from the dead." Man does not know all the times, but God knows. Whether all are resurrected at the same time or whether there is a second or a third time is not as important [to Alma] as is the fact that everyone will rise at some time (Alma 40:4–5).
>
> There is a space of time between one's death and one's resurrection (Alma 40:6).
>
> Since all do not die at the same time, there is no reason for all to rise at once. "All is as one day with God" (Alma 40:8).
>
> Between death and resurrection the spirits of all mankind are in "paradise" or in "darkness" depending on their type of life while on earth (Alma 40:11–14).
>
> Alma defines what is meant and also what is not meant by the term *first resurrection*. It does not mean the assignment of the spirit to a place awaiting the resurrection of the body. It does mean "the reuniting of the soul [spirit] with the body, of those [who had died] from the days of Adam down to the resurrection of Christ" (Alma 40:15–18).[4]

> There is an order and sequence. Those who lived before Christ will be resurrected before those who live after the time of Christ (Alma 40:19).[5]
>
> Alma gives his opinion that the bodies and spirits of the righteous will be reunited at the resurrection of Christ (Alma 40:20).
>
> Three times Alma emphasizes that every limb, joint, hair, and portion of the physical body will, in the Resurrection, be restored to its proper order and natural frame (Alma 40:23; 41:2–4).
>
> The Atonement brings to pass the Resurrection and the Resurrection brings all men back into the presence of God to be judged (Alma 42:23).

Alma is the only prophet in the Book of Mormon to identify the Resurrection as a mystery (which he does twice). He is also the only one to emphasize the space of time between death and the Resurrection. Also only he discusses a false notion held by some concerning what is meant by *first resurrection*. He seems to be the first also to suggest an order or sequence between those who lived before Christ and those who lived after. He defines the meaning of *first resurrection* but does not define a future or last resurrection.

Although we understand that the Resurrection involves both the body and the spirit, we tend to think of resurrection primarily in terms of the body. However, Jacob, Amulek, and Alma focus attention upon the fact that the Resurrection is absolutely essential to both the body and the spirit and that neither the body nor the spirit could be saved without the other or without the Resurrection. They indicate that the Resurrection is as much a benefit to the spirit as it is to the body.[6] Resurrection is essential to the eternal welfare of the spirit, even though it already is immortal (Alma 42:9). Both body and spirit gain by the Resurrection, even though resurrection alone will not redeem the soul from unrepented sins.

As we have also noted earlier, Alma, Amulek, and Jacob each emphasize that all mankind, both the righteous and the wicked, will be restored to the presence of God for the Judgment after the Resurrection. They make the point plainly enough, but we are indebted to the additional commentary and explanation of Samuel the Lamanite (Hel. 14) and Moroni (Morm. 9).

TEACHINGS OF SAMUEL THE LAMANITE

Samuel the Lamanite (c. 6 B.C.) speaks of a condition that he calls a *second spiritual death*. Others have used the terms *second death* and *spiritual death*, meaning to be cut off from the presence of the Lord (2 Ne. 9:6; Alma 42:9) or to die as to things of righteousness

(Alma 12:16, 32; 40:26), as contrasted to the physical death, but Samuel speaks of (1) a spiritual death, (2) a physical death, and (3) a second spiritual death that comes only upon the wicked. The first two deaths he says came to us from Adam. The third we bring upon ourselves. An examination of Samuel's words as found in Helaman 14:15–18 shows the following:

> It is expedient that Christ die to bring to pass the resurrection of the dead, "that thereby men may be brought into the presence of the Lord" (Hel. 14:15).
>
> Christ's death brings to pass the Resurrection and redeems all mankind from what Samuel calls the "first death," the spiritual death (Hel. 14:16).[7]
>
> "All mankind, by the fall of Adam being cut off from the presence of the Lord, are considered as dead, both as to things temporal and to things spiritual" (Hel. 14:16).
>
> Christ's resurrection redeems all mankind [from Adam's fall] and brings "them back into the presence of the Lord" (Hel. 14:17).
>
> Upon those who have sinned and not repented there will come "again a spiritual death, yea, a second death" pertaining to things of righteousness (Hel. 14:18–19).[8]
>
> "There shall be no light upon the face of this land" from the time that Christ will die, "for the space of three days, to the time that he shall rise again from the dead" (Hel. 14:20).
>
> Many saints are to come forth from their graves at the time of Christ's resurrection and "shall appear unto many" (Hel. 14:25).[9]

TEACHINGS OF MORONI

As stated earlier, Moroni (c. A.D. 400) emphasizes that because of the Resurrection all mankind will be brought back into the presence of God. His concise statement teaches the following:

> God "created Adam, and by Adam came the fall of man" (Morm. 9:12).
>
> "Because of the fall of man came Jesus Christ, . . . and because of Jesus Christ came the redemption of man" (Morm. 9:12).
>
> "Because of the redemption of man, . . . they are brought back into the presence of the Lord" (Morm. 9:13).
>
> "This is wherein all men are redeemed, because the death of Christ bringeth to pass the resurrection, which bringeth to pass a redemption from an endless sleep" of the physical body, and all mankind, small and great, will come forth and stand before the bar of God, "and then cometh the judgment" (Morm. 9:13–14).

> Moroni also speaks of the day when his "spirit and body shall again reunite" before the Judgment Day (Moro. 10:34).

APPEARANCE OF THE RESURRECTED CHRIST

The strongest demonstration of a literal bodily resurrection from the dead is the appearance of Jesus Christ himself to the multitude, as recorded in 3 Nephi. The following points are found:

> Jesus said to the multitude: "Thrust your hands into my side, and also . . . feel the prints of the nails in my hands and in my feet, that ye may know I am the God of Israel, . . . and have been slain for the sins of the world" (3 Ne. 11:14).
>
> The entire multitude came one by one and felt the hole in his side and the nail prints in his hands and feet. They saw with their eyes, felt with their hands, knew of a surety, and bore record (3 Ne. 11:15–16).
>
> They fell at Jesus' feet and worshipped him (3 Ne. 11:16–17).
>
> There were about twenty-five hundred people in the multitude on this occasion (3 Ne. 17:25).

The prophecy of Samuel the Lamanite that many saints (in the Western Hemisphere) would rise from their graves after Jesus' resurrection and appear to many people was literally fulfilled but had not been recorded. At Jesus' command, this fact was entered into the record (3 Ne. 23:7–14).

The Book of Mormon mentions seven times that Jesus would be crucified (1 Ne. 11:26; 19:10, 13; Mosiah 3:9; 2 Ne. 6:9; 10:3; Ether 4:1). These prophecies do not specifically mention nails (although nails might be assumed necessary for crucifixion, especially if the Nephites had Psalm 22:16 and understood it). Furthermore, the prophecies recorded in the Book of Mormon do not mention a hole being made in Jesus' side, as by the spear, related in John 19:34–36. However, when the resurrected Jesus came to the people in Bountiful as recorded in Third Nephi, he specifically asked them to feel the hole in his side and to feel the prints of the nails in his hands and his feet (3 Ne. 11:14–15).

Our present Book of Mormon record has no background statement to prepare the people for examining the nail holes or the hole in Jesus' side. Yet, because we have but a small part of the actual record, we can assume that either the prophecy of a wound in his side was on the plates of brass or the Nephite prophets in the past had mentioned the nails and the side wound, or that Jesus himself explained to the multitude the significance of those wounds, including the wound in his side. Any or all three of these could be true. The purpose of this special "showing" of Jesus' body was to provide

irrefutable evidence that the person they were seeing and touching was without doubt the crucified and resurrected Messiah, the God of Israel. The evidence would not have had that positive effect if the witnesses had not known beforehand and thus realized the significance of what they were seeing and touching.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

Although the Book of Mormon declares many things about the physical resurrection of the body, it does not define or distinguish between the quality of resurrected bodies. That is, it does not categorically state that the righteous have a better, more functional, or more glorious physical body than do the wicked. This clarification is made known to us in Doctrine and Covenants 76 and 88:21–33 and in 1 Corinthians 15. The Book of Mormon does not discuss degrees of glory. It does not deny the concept, it simply does not treat it. It appears that the Book of Mormon prophets deal with universals, speaking to all mankind. However, when they make distinctions as to eternal happiness and punishment, Book of Mormon prophets generally mention two basic categories: the most wicked and the most righteous.

The Book of Mormon testifies emphatically of Jesus Christ as the Only Begotten and Son of God in the flesh. It repeatedly states that because of the fall mankind is utterly unable to save itself (1 Ne. 10:6; Alma 34:9–12; 42:14–15). Yet it says that the Messiah, who was born to earth in the form of man, will be able to do it. The explanation as to how this is possible is that Jesus was not and is not a natural, normal human, but is "God himself" born of Mary, and is the Son of God "after the manner of the flesh" (1 Ne. 11:18, 21) and the "Only Begotten of the Father." He is thus said to have a special supernatural power "given unto him from the Father" (Hel. 5:11; Morm. 7:5–6) that other men do not have. Giving his life was not "a human sacrifice" nor the "sacrifice of man," but was "an infinite and eternal sacrifice" (Alma 34:10).

Because of this "power of the Father," Jesus "broke the bands of death," "gained the victory over the grave," and brought "to pass the resurrection of the dead" by the means of an "infinite atonement." His ability to overcome death is explicitly declared in Abinadi's prophecy (Mosiah 15:1–8; 16:3–8), in Amulek's teachings (Alma 34:9–12), and in Mormon's explanation (Morm. 7:5–6). Because of this unique factor, Jesus was not dominated by death as is the remainder of mankind and thus was able to make the resurrection of the dead a reality.[10]

Nephi, Jacob, Jarom, Ammon, Aaron, Amulek, and Alma each wrote of what they call the plan of salvation, the plan of redemption, the great plan, or the plan of mercy. The importance to them of the concept of the plan is attested to by the frequency with which the term is used. In some form of this term the idea of the plan occurs at least twenty-seven times in the Book of Mormon.[11] The concept of a plan is important to our subject for at least two reasons. (1) These prophets saw the plan of salvation in the context of a unified and functional whole. The Creation, the Fall, the Atonement, the Resurrection, and the Judgment were each part of the foreordained plan of God rather than isolated, separate, independent, unrelated occurrences. (2) The prophets considered all of these events under the umbrella term of *redemption,* or *salvation.* Perhaps Nephi, Lehi, Benjamin, and others did not feel a need to specify certain details, since when they spoke of atonement or redemption, they meant the term to convey all that the plan includes.

In summary, what does the Book of Mormon teach about the doctrine of the resurrection? At least the following:

1. The fall of Adam brought both a physical and spiritual death upon Adam and all of his descendants.

2. Because of the fall, which entailed these two deaths, a means to bring mankind out of the grave and back into the presence of God was necessary.

3. If no redemption were made, the bodies of all men would return permanently to earth; the spirits of all men would become devils, forever miserable.

4. An infinite atonement was needed—something more than a human could accomplish—so God himself made the atonement. This he could do because he received supernatural power from the Father, by being his Only Begotten Son in the flesh.

5. The Messiah was the first to rise in the Resurrection.

6. Jesus rose from the grave on the third day after his death.

7. All mankind will be raised from the grave but not all at the same time.

8. There is a space of time between the time of death and the time of resurrection. During this time the spirit is either in paradise or in darkness.

9. Knowledge of the Resurrection and the conditions God has prepared for man in the afterlife is one of the "mysteries of God," known only by revelation.

10. The first resurrection included the righteous from Adam to Christ, those who were not taught and who died in ignorance, and those who died as little children.

11. While the first resurrection is given priority and favored status in which the righteous will come forth, there is little direct reference to a second or last resurrection for the unrighteous, except by implication, since they are excluded from the first.

12. In the Resurrection every limb and joint and every part of the body will be restored to its proper frame.

13. All resurrected beings are immortal, their spirits and bodies reunited, never again to be divided.

14. Neither the spirit nor the body can be saved separately. The Resurrection is as much for the welfare of the spirit as it is for the body.

15. The spirit and the body are a unit, complementary to each other, and both need the Resurrection. Both were affected by the fall of Adam. Both benefit by the atonement of Christ.

16. The Resurrection conquers both deaths that came upon mankind by the fall of Adam, and therefore brings all mankind out of the grave and back into the presence of God.

17. The Resurrection places all mankind in a situation to be judged.

18. Those who have not obeyed the commandments of God when they had opportunity will be sent away from God's presence a second time and suffer a second spiritual death, although retaining their physical resurrected bodies.

19. The resurrected Jesus Christ personally appeared to about twenty-five hundred people in one group and invited them to feel his hands, feet, and side. They did so and knew for a surety he was the God of Israel who had been slain and had risen again. Others had taught of the Resurrection; Jesus *demonstrated* it.

20. After the resurrection of Jesus, many saints arose from their graves in America and appeared to many. This event had been prophesied of by Samuel, and the fulfillment was recorded at Jesus' special request.

21. The Book of Mormon does not seem to distinguish differences in quality between resurrected bodies.

22. The Book of Mormon says little about multiple or varying degrees of righteousness or wickedness. It seems to speak primarily of the extremes of wickedness and righteousness. The ultimate issue is mankind's response to the gospel of Jesus Christ.

23. The Book of Mormon teaches that the Creation, the Fall, death, the Atonement, the Resurrection, and the Judgment are all

> necessary and are all part of the divine, merciful, and eternal plan of God. It ties all of these together rather than speaks of them as independent unrelated events. The Resurrection is shown to be a necessary part of the plan of redemption.

The frequency with which the subject is discussed, the wide range of details, and the high level of agreement among the many testimonies all show that the doctrine of the resurrection is a major teaching of the Book of Mormon. The extent of these teachings is in keeping with the prophecy of Enoch in Moses 7:62, which says that the record will come out of the earth, "to bear testimony of the Only Begotten, his resurrection from the dead, and also the resurrection of all men." The Book of Mormon shows that the prophets regarded the resurrection of the physical body as a reality that would unconditionally occur to every person regardless of individual worthiness. It is declared to have coverage as broad as death. The major effort of the prophets was to get people prepared spiritually. Redemption from the spiritual death that results from one's own sins received serious attention. The Book of Mormon declares that redemption from the effects of Adam's fall (both the physical and spiritual death) is absolute, unconditional, and automatically assured to all mankind by Jesus Christ without man's effort. Man's redemption from sins is available because of the atonement of Jesus Christ but requires individual repentance and obedience. Perhaps because of this individual responsibility the Book of Mormon does not teach how to perform a resurrection, but does teach how to repent.

NOTES

[1]Not much of this doctrine survives in our present Old Testament. Evidently this concept was much clearer in the record on the plates of brass, so as to enable Abinadi to say that "all the prophets" have "more or less" taught it (Mosiah 13:33–35).

[2]Note that in Mosiah 16:7–8 Abinadi uses the past tense and speaks as though the atonement and resurrection of Christ were already accomplished, in spite of the fact Abinadi spoke one hundred fifty years beforehand. He himself noted that he was "speaking of things to come as though they had already come" (Mosiah 16:6).

[3]Jacob speaks of the "first fruits," but does not use the clear term *first resurrection* (Jacob 4:11).

[4]Book of Mormon usage of the term "first resurrection" is limited to those who lived before the time of Christ. Latter-day revelation has given more information, verifying that what Alma and Abinadi said about the first resurrection is correct but not complete. Latter-day revelation indicates that the first resurrection consists of several sessions. The first was at the resurrection of Christ (Matt. 27:52–54; Hel. 14:25; Mosiah 15:21); another will occur at Christ's second coming (1 Thes. 4:16; D&C 88:96–98; 133:56). There have also been some resurrections of persons who lived and died between Jesus' two comings—for example Peter, James, and Moroni (*Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith,* 119; see also D&C 129). Resurrections occurring during the Millennium, being terrestrial, will also be considered "first resurrection" (D&C 76:71–80). The second or last resurrection occurs after the Millennium is over (D&C 76:81–85). Celestial and terrestrial resurrections occur in the first resurrection (D&C 45:54; 76:50–80). Telestial and perdition resurrections constitute the last resurrection (D&C 76:85; 88:32).

[5]Alma has an appreciation for an order or sequence in the Resurrection but does not explain fully what he means by it. His expression that those who live "before Christ" are resurrected before those who live "after Christ" (40:19) has to mean that the righteous who live before Christ will be resurrected before the *righteous* who live after the time of Christ. Whatever the extent of Alma's knowledge on the subject, we know from latter-day revelation that all of the righteous will be resurrected before any of the wicked, as is evident from Doctrine and Covenants 76.

[6]This fact gives depth to our understanding of such passages as Doctrine and Covenants 45:17 and 138:50, wherein the thought is expressed that after death the spirit looks upon the absence of its body as a type of bondage. Likewise we learn from Doctrine and Covenants 93:33–34 that a fulness of joy can be obtained only when the spirit and the body are joined inseparably.

[7]Samuel uses "first death" in this instance in a different sense than does Amulek, who refers to the physical death of the body as the first death (Alma 11:45). This distinction is no substantive contradiction in doctrine, but care must be used that each be understood in the context in which he speaks. Samuel's usage is consistent with Doctrine and Covenants 29:41.

[8]The conditions are implied, although not expressly so stated in these verses, that those who suffer the second spiritual death are they who were taught and had opportunity to repent but willfully rejected the plan of salvation. The concept of a second spiritual death for the wicked after the Resurrection, at the Day of Judgment, is entirely consistent and harmonious with all the other scriptures, but Samuel is the first in the Book of Mormon to use those exact words. He is consistent with Doctrine and Covenants 76:37.

[9]Although Samuel prophesied of this event and it was literally fulfilled, the record keepers neglected to record the fulfillment in the official record. When Jesus came, he called their attention to this oversight and commanded that the record be updated to show the fulfillment. See 3 Nephi 23:7–14.

[10]Jesus spoke of his unique power over death which he received from his Father: "For as the Father hath life in himself; so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself" (John 5:26). And, "Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father" (John 10:17–18).

[11]The following twenty-seven references to the divine plan are found in the Book of Mormon: the plan of the great Creator—2 Nephi 9:6; the eternal plan—Alma 34:16; the plan of redemption—Jacob 6:8; Alma 12:25, 26, 30, 32; 17:16; 18:39; 22:13–14; 29:2; 34:31; 39:18; 42:11, 13; the plan of salvation—Jarom 1:2; Alma 24:14; 42:5; the plan of restoration—Alma 41:2; the plan of the Eternal God—Alma 34:9; the plan of our God—2 Nephi 9:13; the great plan of happiness—Alma 42:8; the great plan of deliverance from death—2 Nephi 11:5; and the plan of mercy—Alma 42:15, 31.

Lehi and El Niño: A Method of Migration

David L. Clark

The acceptance of ad hoc ideas on Book of Mormon geography has been a continuing problem in Church history, and for a very good reason. Specifics are generally lacking, and attempts to quantify missing geographic data are frequently met with considerable skepticism. Some Church members find it equally difficult to accept the suggestion that naturally occurring events played a role in anything that is more easily explained by supernatural activity. Fully cognizant that addressing either subject is analogous to welcoming the African killer bees across the southern borders of our country, I offer a new idea on Lehi's transoceanic voyage, an idea that is firmly rooted in recent atmospheric and oceanographic observations.

After traveling for eight years, Lehi's party arrived at what many LDS scholars have assumed was the tip of the Arabian Peninsula, and there the group "beheld the sea" (1 Ne. 17:5). "And . . . the voice of the Lord came unto [Nephi], saying: Arise, and get thee into the mountain" (1 Ne. 17:7). The land travel was completed, and it was time for the serious business of securing material to construct a ship: "And we did work timbers of curious workmanship. . . . after the manner which the Lord had shown unto [Nephi]; wherefore, it was not after the manner of men" (1 Ne. 18:1–2). Details concerning the construction are not known, but eventually a ship was constructed, the party "prepared . . . much fruits and meat . . . and honey in abundance," the ship was loaded, and the Lehi group "put forth into the sea and were driven forth before the wind towards the promised land" (1 Ne. 18:6, 8).

If we assume, as have many Latter-day Saint scholars, that the launching site was somewhere on the Indian Ocean,[1] one of the most serious questions that need answering is simply how this curious ship was able to travel across the Indian and the Pacific Oceans in a direction that is directly opposed by the wind patterns

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and surface currents of those oceans. The fact is that the tip of the Arabian Peninsula furnished great access to the Indian Ocean twenty-five hundred years ago (as it does today), but it was an unlikely place to begin a voyage that would move eastward through the Indian Ocean, around or through Indonesia, and then across the Pacific Ocean to the Western Hemisphere. During much of the year the predominant currents of the Indian Ocean would carry a ship southward, toward Africa, and the predominant North Equatorial and South Equatorial Currents of the Pacific move in a direction opposite to that needed by Lehi to reach the Western Hemisphere.[2] In the face of such important obstacles as prevailing wind direction and surface ocean circulation patterns, how did Lehi cross the Indian Ocean and then the Pacific Ocean?

The Indian Ocean crossing can be more easily explained. For thousands of years, mariners have exploited the seasonal monsoon circulation in the western Indian Ocean for trade between India and the east coast of Africa.[3] Simply put, monsoonal circulation is produced by differential cooling and heating of the Indian Ocean and adjacent Asian and Indian land masses during different parts of the seasonal cycle. Thus, the cooling of southeast Asia and India during the winter season produces a land mass that is colder than the adjacent ocean. As the warmer atmosphere over the ocean rises, it pulls the cooler air from the continent oceanward. Winds produced by this activity drive the surface ocean currents from the north to the south (fig. 1).

During the summer season, the process reverses. The land is warmer than the ocean, and as the warm air rises over the continent, vertical circulation is produced that pulls the cooler ocean air in over the warmer land. The result is monsoonal rain on land as well as surface ocean currents that move from the south or southwest to the north or northeast, a general ocean-to-land direction that is opposite to that of the winter season (fig. 2). The result of a year of such seasonal changes is summer surface currents that move from south to north and winter surface currents that move from north to south. The surface winds and resulting surface currents peak during August for the north and northeast-moving currents and during February for the south and southwest moving currents.[4] Sailing from India to Africa (northeast to southwest) is improved during the winter season, while a trip to the north or northeast is most easily accomplished during the summer.

Crossing the Indian Ocean from the west to the east is not difficult if a ship is launched in August at the peak of the monsoonal cycle. Perhaps this is when Lehi did sail, just as other mariners had

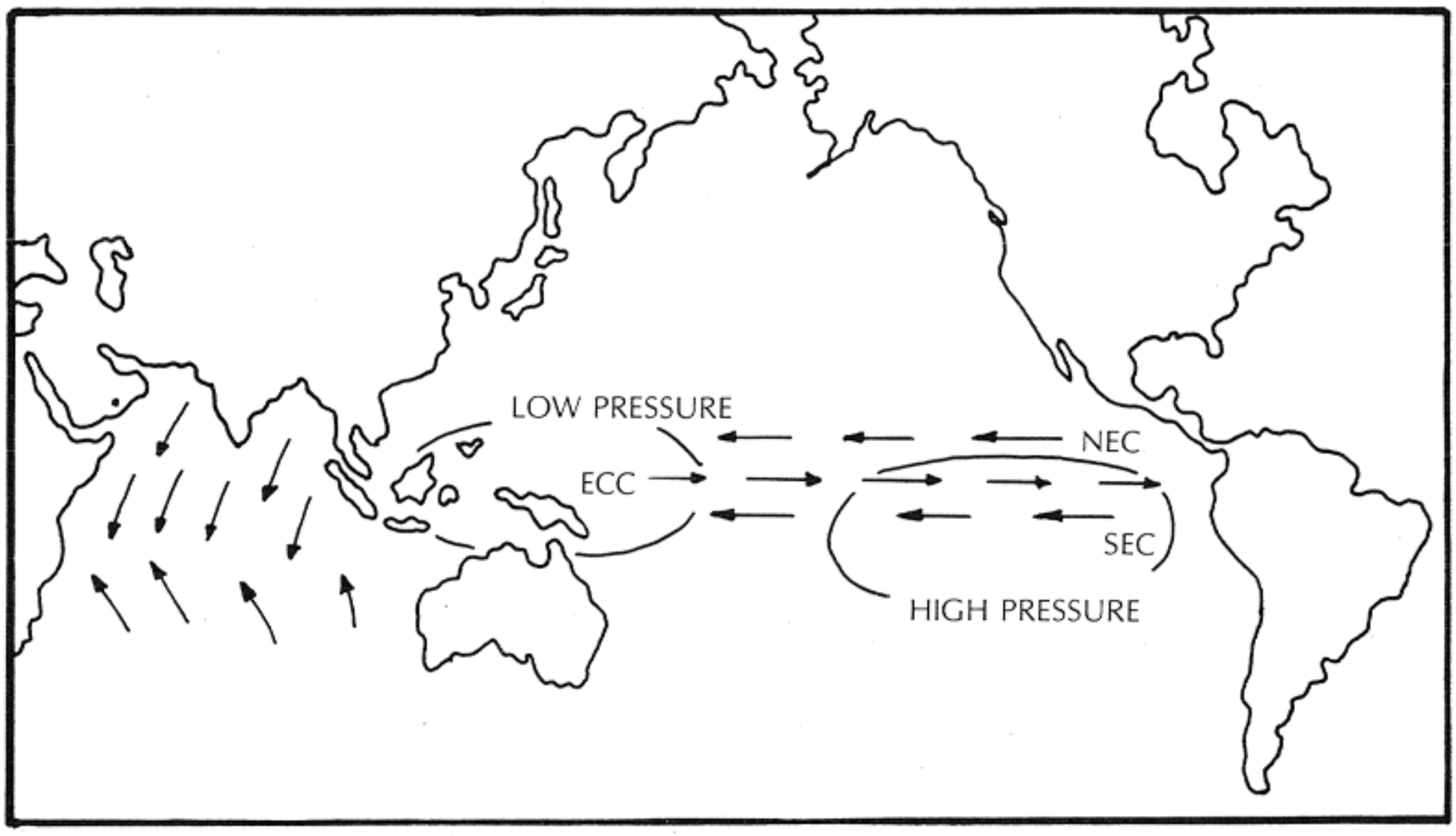

Figure 1. Winter ocean currents in the Indian Ocean and normal ocean currents and atmospheric pressures in the Pacific Ocean. The ECC (the narrow Equatorial Counter Current) is the only Pacific current moving east. The other two, the NEC (North Equatorial Current) and the SEC (South Equatorial Current) move west.

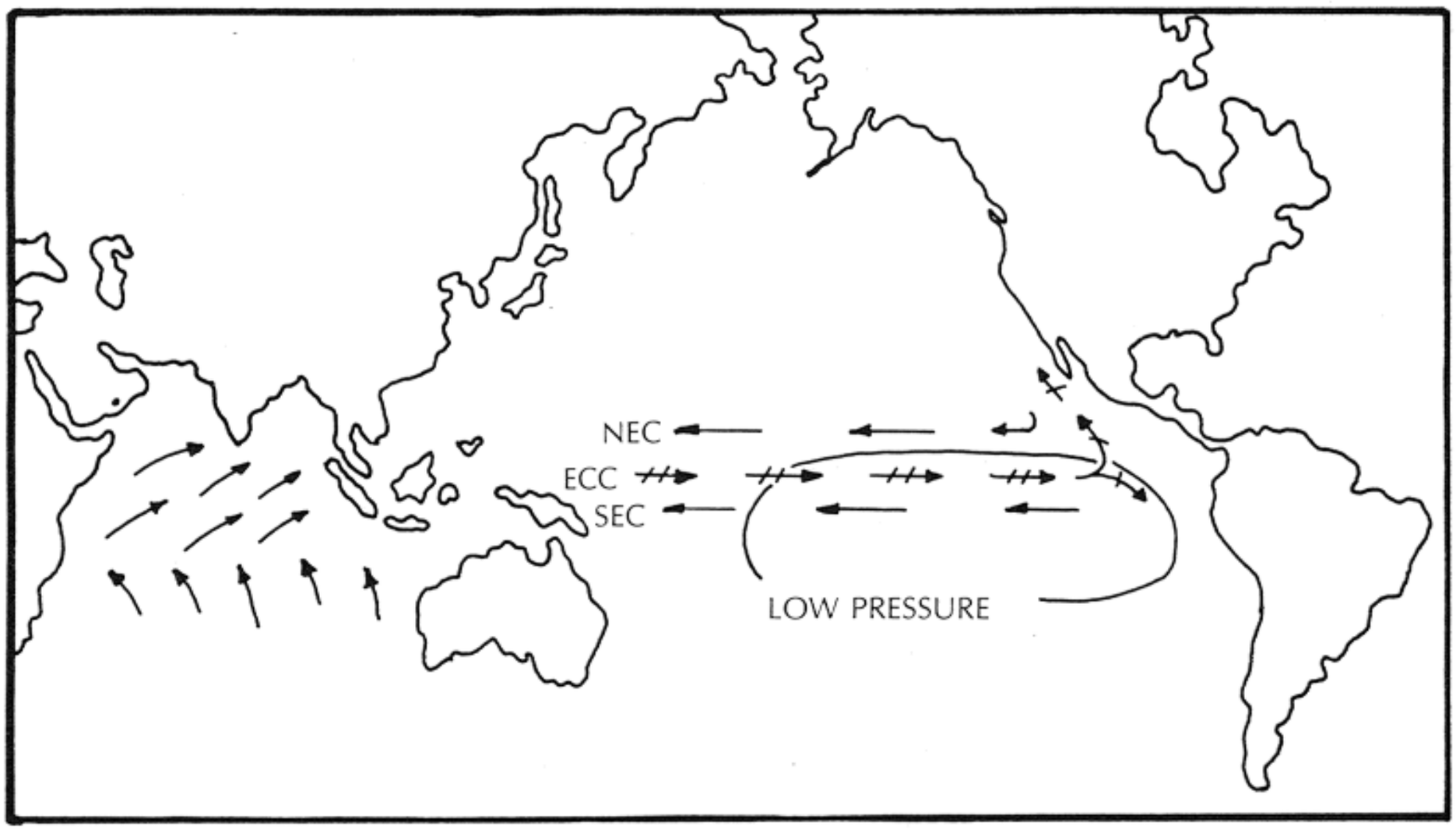

Figure 2. Summer ocean currents in the Indian Ocean and ENSO ocean currents and atmospheric pressures in the Pacific Ocean. The Equatorial Counter Current is intensified during an ENSO period.

done and would continue to do for thousands of years if they wished to travel eastward. Clearly, monsoonal oceanic circulation could have aided Lehi at the beginning of his migration to the promised land.

The real problem came after sailing across the Indian Ocean into Indonesia. No such monsoonal circulation is available for travel through the East Indies or for crossing the Pacific Ocean; in fact, the major wind and ocean surface currents move in the direction opposite to that traveled by Lehi. What was the method of migration after reaching Indonesia?

If Nephi's brothers had been able to look at a surface current map of the Pacific Ocean (not to be available until at least two thousand years later), they would have raised an even larger objection to the whole idea of sailing to a new home than the protest recorded in the Book of Mormon (1 Ne. 17:17–18). The dominant currents in the general area of the Pacific where Lehi probably sailed—twenty degrees north and south of the equator—are the North and South Equatorial Currents[5] (fig. 1). Both these equatorial currents have strong movement from east to west, the opposite of that needed by Lehi.

One possible explanation for the ability to sail eastward across the Pacific Ocean in the area of westward-moving currents involves the existence of a small current that moves just a degree or so either side of the equator in an eastward direction and between the major westward currents. This is the Equatorial Counter Current[6] (fig. 1). The problem for Lehi (or Micronesian sailors for thousands of years) is that because the small area of the Equatorial Counter Current is dominated by light and irregular winds, this area (the Doldrums) is very undependable for sailing. There is evidence that Micronesian sailors relying on winds and surface currents may have used the Doldrums, at least in part, for the eastward-directed exploration of Fiji and Samoa five hundred years before Lehi sailed.[7] But Lehi's ship was "not after the manner of men" (1 Ne. 18:2), and in the absence of any data, the meaning of this comment is difficult to guess. Perhaps it means their ship had no sail or rudder or was based on an unknown design. Possibly eastward travel relied for a large part on surface currents alone. We know too few details about Lehi's circumstances to view the Doldrums area and its principal transporting current as more than a very remote possibility for carrying the ship across 12,000 km or so of hostile Pacific Ocean. But there is a more reasonable means of travel from the east to the Western Hemisphere.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, men have known that every three to four years, "normal" atmospheric and oceanic

circulation in the tropical Pacific is altered, producing the so-called ENSO effect.[8] Oceanic changes during these intervals are referred to as *El Niño* (the *EN* part of *ENSO*), meaning "the [Christ] child" in Spanish, because effects are commonly noted around Christmas time in the eastern South Pacific. Together with related atmospheric effects, called the *Southern Oscillation* (the *SO*), the ENSO climate cycle produces profound physical, biological, and even socioeconomic effects across the tropical Pacific from Indonesia (where we left Lehi) to South and North America. In order to understand the ENSO effect, we must consider the atmospheric and oceanic conditions of the Pacific Ocean.

During what have traditionally been considered times of "normal" atmospheric circulation, southeast trade winds converge on low-pressure areas that dominate in the Indo-Australian region (fig. 1). As this moisture-laden air rises in the low pressure areas, it is cooled, and high precipitation is produced over parts of this region. The air, now depleted of much of its moisture, continues to circulate across the Pacific and descends within a southeastern Pacific area of high pressure which is generally located close to the west coast of South America. The descent of this very dry air causes excessive evaporation. Coupled with a cooling of the ocean-atmosphere boundary layer by widespread upwelling water, this evaporation produces some of the most arid conditions on earth along the coasts of Peru and Ecuador. This pattern is the normal condition.[9]

Periodically, at intervals ranging from two to ten years, this normal pattern undergoes an oscillation called the Southern Oscillation. The normal low-pressure cells of the Indo-Australian region migrate east and replace the high-pressure cells that normally are in place off the west coast of South America. The result is a broad, low-pressure cell that occupies much of the tropical Pacific from the Indian Ocean to the west coast of South America[10] (fig. 2).

The effect of this atmospheric oscillation on the ocean is profound. Warmer water from the Indo-Australian region begins drifting to the east, spreading throughout the area of atmospheric low pressure, and, most important for Lehi, the movement of the normally weak current in the Doldrums belt increases significantly—El Niño is in action (fig. 2). For a period of twelve to eighteen months, the area of the Equatorial Counter Current is expanded north and south of the equator, this eastward-flowing current is strengthened (fig. 2, arrows that are crossed), and together El Niño and the Southern Oscillation—the ENSO effect—produce important changes in the entire tropical Pacific.[11]

The causes of such a cyclic change in ocean temperature and water circulation are unknown, although the atmospheric and

oceanic conditions involved can be modeled and the occurrence of El Niños can be predicted.[12] Recently, however, one explanation for abnormal western Pacific Ocean heating has been proposed. Sophisticated sonar surveys (made during the GLORIA and Sea Marc projects) have mapped large ocean-floor lava flows in this area of the Pacific that exceed 10 km^3. These submarine lava flows are capable of transferring significant amounts of heat from the earth's crust to the surface water.[13] The geologic evidence also supports the idea that this heat transfer occurs semiregularly.[14] Although this activity is not definitely known to be the sole cause of ENSO events, it could be a significant factor. The use of satellite observations coupled with new theories may soon lead to a fuller understanding of the cause.[15]

The climatic effects of the change in the distribution of warmer water and atmospheric lows in the tropical Pacific during ENSO events disrupt weather patterns in a broad area. Rainfall, normally heavy in the Indo-Australian region, is reduced and droughts occur instead. In contrast, the normally arid coasts of western South America become areas of heavy precipitation. Oceanic upwelling, the upward rise of cold, nutrient-rich bottom water along the Peruvian and Ecuadorian coasts, is reduced because of the change in the normal circulation pattern and the infusion of warmer water carried by the Equatorial Counter Current from the west. This intensified eastward-flowing current literally piles water up along the west coast of South America, and the resulting rise in sea level helps push the warmer water poleward, both north and south along the American coasts (fig. 2). Circulation patterns as far north as California are affected. Surface water temperatures in this part of the eastern Pacific may increase several degrees during different intervals of the ENSO cycle. The results of such change may affect weather patterns in much of North America.[16]

On land, the effect of a strong ENSO is drought with resulting crop loss in Australia and catastrophic rains with resulting flooding, landslides, and agricultural losses in South America. Oceanic effects are equally profound. Reduced oceanic upwelling along the west coast of South America adversely affects the fishing industry of both Peru and Ecuador. The normally abundant anchovies are driven away by the warm, nutrient-poor water that replaces the normally cool, nutrient-rich upwelled water, forcing the larger fish that normally feed on the anchovies to leave or starve. A domino effect of sorts continues as a large bird population that depends on the fish for food is affected; during the 1982–83 ENSO, the bird population decreased by some seventeen million birds. The accumulation of guano, the waste-product produced by the normally

large bird populations, decreases as the number of birds decreases. As a result, the economy of Peru, which is heavily dependent on both fish and guano (retrieved for fertilizer and other nitrate needs), is thrown into turmoil. Overall, the 1982–83 ENSO resulted in millions of dollars in damages and extensive loss of life.[17] The ENSO events and the resulting economic hardships normally end a year or so after they begin, due either to cooling of the crustal-generated heat of the equatorial Pacific or to atmospheric oscillations in the tropical Pacific—circumstances that can be simulated on a computer but are driven by factors that are poorly understood.

Some 64 years of Pacific wind data have now been analyzed to document historic ENSO events.[18] So far there are no reasons to doubt that ENSO events have been occurring in the tropical Pacific for at least five to six thousand years, or as long as the earth's climate has been similar to what it is today. And the pattern continues. A moderate ENSO event began in 1986, and the last effects of the most recent El Niño were measured in March 1988.[19] Thus while we do not know about the economic impact of an ENSO event occurring some twenty-five hundred years ago, such an event may have provided an enhanced method of migration for Lehi.

If Lehi had sailed from the Arabian Peninsula during the August monsoon of an ENSO year, by the time his ship had been driven into the Indonesian area, El Niño would have intensified the eastward current, thereby enhancing the possibility of the voyage across the Pacific to the Western Hemisphere. The great increase in the strength of the eastward drift of the Equatorial Counter Current commonly affects a broad area of the equatorial Pacific and may extend more than ten degrees north and south of the equator. This ENSO-orchestrated eastward flow of abnormally warm water from the western and central Pacific could have helped the Lehi vessel to cross the Pacific and then travel up the coast of central America.

Monsoon circulation in the Indian Ocean off the tip of the Arabian Peninsula and the development of a strong trans-Pacific, eastward-flowing current during an ENSO event are real physical phenomena. There is evidence that these oceanic-atmospheric phenomena have been continuous at least since climatic "normality" was attained after the melting of the great continental glaciers eight thousand years ago, suggesting that ENSO events were taking place in Lehi's day. What is less certain is whether the Lehi party used these atmospheric-oceanic events as an aid to migration. Perhaps the real question is whether the Lord uses natural events to accomplish his purposes. I am the first to acknowledge that the ideas presented here may be pure fiction if the Lord neither wants nor needs to make use of natural law. However, he commonly seems to

work with what is available. For example, he uses less-than-perfect people to do much of his work. Miracles may aid, but apparently the day-to-day routines of perfecting the Saints and accomplishing the other appointed tasks rely on the use of normal people and naturally occurring situations and events. The scientific evidence, not available even ten years ago, suggests that El Niño could provide a plausible mode of migration, a naturally occurring event that could have been used to accomplish the Lord's purposes.

If the migration scenario enhanced by atmospheric and oceanographic effects is valid, we can even go a step further in interpretive speculation concerning the Lehi voyage. Lehi probably sailed from the Arabian Peninsula during August of an ENSO year, the time not only of the optimum northeast monsoon circulation but also of the growing season when "fruits and meat and honey in abundance" could be gathered and loaded on board. Lehi would then have had a reasonable expectation of arriving in the Indonesian area in time to catch an ENSO-intensified Equatorial Counter Current. The El Niño-driven current could have delivered Lehi's group to the west coast of Central America in a much more probable manner than could have been employed during a non-ENSO year. In fact, if an El Niño of about twenty-five hundred years ago was not used for migration, Lehi missed a marvelous opportunity.

NOTES

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[4]Gross, *Oceanography,* 136–37; Harold V. Thurman, *Introductory Oceanography,* 5th ed. (Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1988), 211–13.

[5]Thurman, *Introductory Oceanography,* 211–13; Gross, *Oceanography,* 176–77.

[6]Thurman, *Introductory Oceanography,* 211–13; Gross, *Oceanography,* 176–77.

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[13]Herbert R. Shaw and James G. Moore, "Magmatic Heat and the El Niño Cycle," *Eos: Transactions, American Geophysical Union* 69 (8 November 1988): 1553, 1564–65.

[14]Shaw and Moore, "Magmatic Heat," 1553, 1564–65.

[15]Robert E. Cheney and Laury Miller, "Mapping the 1986–1987 El Niño with GEOSAT Altimeter Data," *Eos: Transactions, American Geophysical Union* 69 (2 August 1988): 754–55; Nicholas E. Graham and Warren B. White, "The El Niño Cycle: A Natural Oscillator of the Pacific Ocean-Atmosphere System," *Science* 240 (3 June 1988): 1293–1302.

[16]David Halpern and others, "Oceanographic Observations of the 1982 Warming of the Topical Eastern Pacific," *Science* 221 (16 September 1983): 1173; Richard A. Kerr, "The Weather in the Wake of El Niño," *Science* 240 (13 May 1988): 883; Gross, *Oceanography* 145–46, 327.

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Minerva Teichert: Scriptorian and Artist

Marian Ashby Johnson

Minerva Kolhepp Teichert (1888–1976) lived most of her life in rural Idaho and Wyoming. From these rather unlikely foundations, she pushed herself out to fulfill her desire to become an artist with an excellent academic training at the Art Institute of Chicago and the Art Students' League in New York City.

Included in this issue are six of the more than forty Book of Mormon paintings which she felt were her most important work. By the time she painted them, she had reared five children, pitched hay, broken horses, raised chickens, homesteaded by herself, and all the while had painted in her living room and recited Book of Mormon scriptures on almost any given occasion.

As a scriptorian, Teichert tried to pick out instances which would illustrate stories of the Book of Mormon. She was especially interested in subjects which depicted women. For example, *Morianton's Little Servant,* relates the story of Morianton's servant girl who has been punished unjustly and to retaliate has come to tell Nephi's guards what she knows about Morianton's military plans. Teichert has given strong emphasis to this painting with the firelight as a radiant exclamation point to the girl's message.

The painting entitled *Lamanite Maidens* depicts women dressed in white who dance and sing as they enjoy a beautiful day together by a stream. The movement and grace of this painting is highlighted with characteristic touches of red to add to the zest of a day without work.

Nephi and His Followers Traveling through the Wilderness is an example of Teichert's skill with monumental paintings. Figures, landscape, and animals are balanced in an academic composition revealing her excellent training. The women who carry their pots on their heads serve as a focal point emphasizing the realistic and tedious conditions of travel at that time.

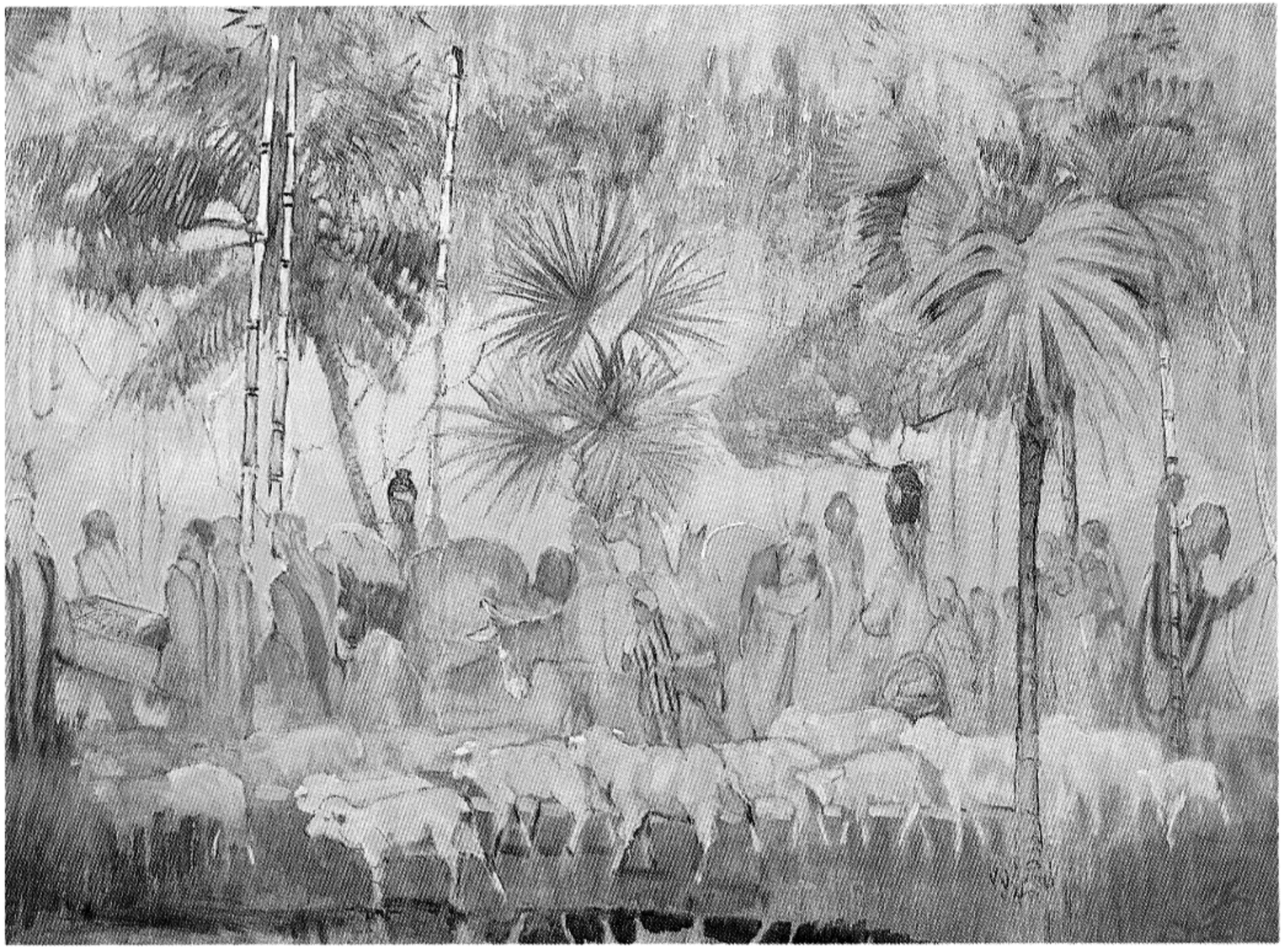
Alma Baptizing is a sketch for a later painting. The spiritual quality of Teichert's paintings comes to fruition through the storytelling (the sum total of the figures and their actions) rather than by the expressions on the faces of her figures. The scene is serene and quiet, drawing the viewer in to experience this sacred event.

On the covers are two more Teichert paintings. *Look to Your Children* has a unique format filled with the radiance of ministering angels and children. On closer inspection, it is women who have the precious occupation as "mothering" angels—a Teichert touch. In *Christ Is the God of That Land*, Teichert has painted Christ in all his glory and power, yet with the sensitivity of a man understanding the human condition. Teichert was deeply concerned with the spiritual message of her paintings.

Minerva H. Teichert, *Morianton's Little Servant*

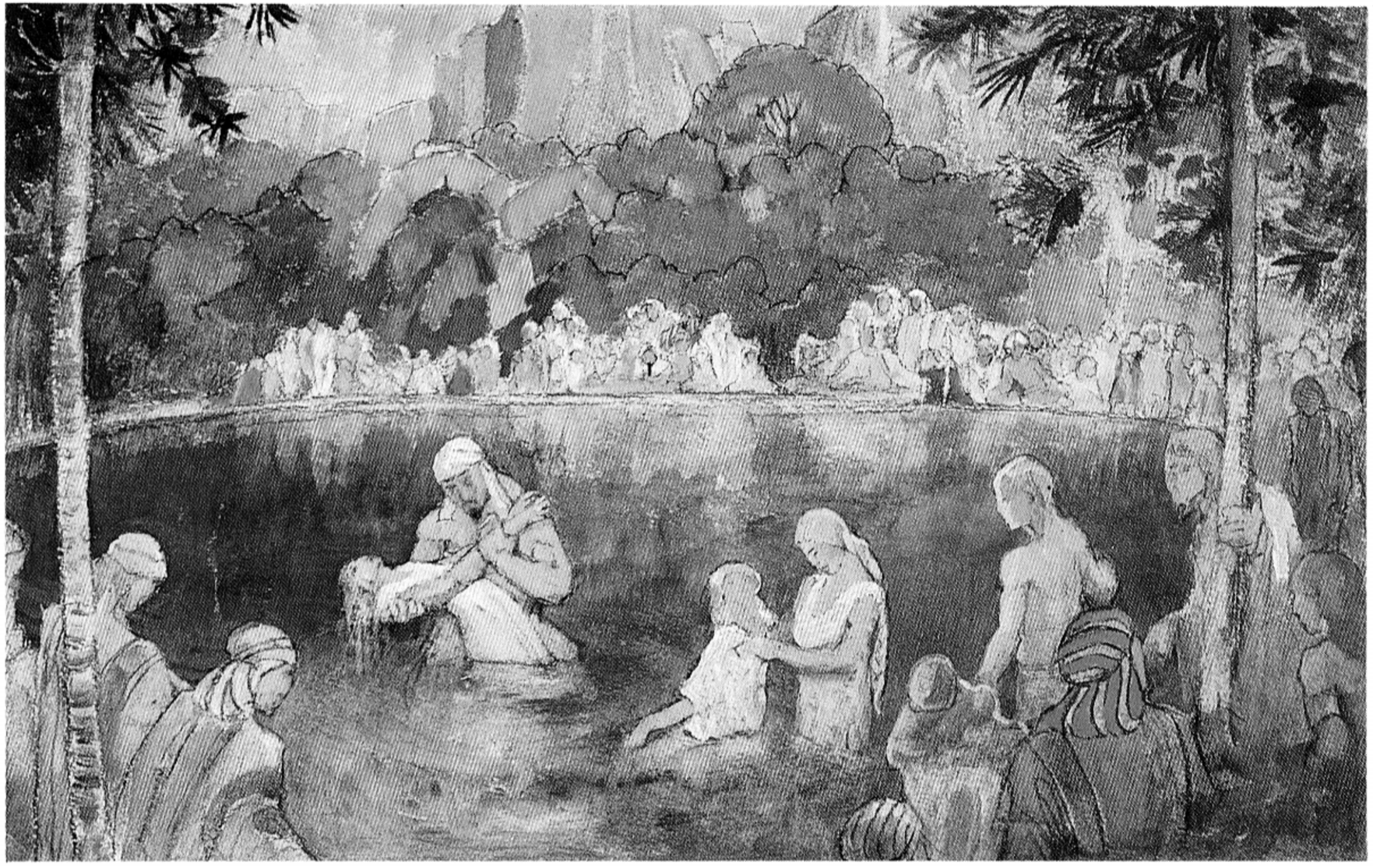
COURTESY OF MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

Minerva H. Teichert, *Lamanite Maidens*



COURTESY OF MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

Minerva H. Teichert, *Nephi and His Followers Traveling through the Wilderness*



COURTESY OF SCOTT AND LUISA HASKINS, SANTA BARBARA, CA

Minerva H. Teichert, *Alma Baptizing*

"Never Have I Showed Myself unto Man": A Suggestion for Understanding Ether 3:15a

Kent P. Jackson

Ether 3:15a contains a statement from the Lord that sets the brother of Jared apart from everyone who had lived on earth up to his time: "*Never* have I showed myself unto man whom I have created, for *never* has man believed in me as thou hast."[1] The uniqueness of Mahonri Moriancumer's faith justified the uniqueness of the Lord's revelation to him.[2] Never, the Lord told him, had anyone experienced such a manifestation—a statement made even more remarkable when we consider that such great individuals as Adam, Eve, Enoch, and Noah had preceded the brother of Jared, and each of these, according to the scriptures, had conversed with God.

In this brief essay I will present some ideas concerning the Lord's statement in Ether 3:15a. After sketching the common explanations proposed for the verse, I will suggest an alternative point of view that is, in my opinion, true to the text and consistent with what we know of the doctrine of God.

In response to the brother of Jared's efforts to provide light for the Jaredite barges, the Lord first revealed to him His finger (Ether 3:6) and then finally His entire person (Ether 3:13–16). In the process He taught him much concerning the nature of Deity and revealed His own identity as well: "Because of thy faith thou hast seen that I shall take upon me flesh and blood" (Ether 3:9); "Behold, this body, which ye now behold, is the body of my spirit; . . . and even as I appear unto thee to be in the spirit will I appear unto my people in the flesh" (Ether 3:16). Moroni, the narrator of the account, provided a valuable summary and makes clear the identity of the deity who spoke: "Jesus showed himself unto this man in the spirit, even after the manner and in the likeness of the same body even as he showed himself unto the Nephites" (Ether 3:17).[3]

Mahonri was speaking with the premortal Jesus Christ, who would be born on earth over two thousand years later, receive a

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physical body, and while in the flesh, atone for the sins of the world. We cannot tell from the account what Mahonri knew about the nature of God or the mission of Christ prior to his vision, but it appears in verse 8 that he was startled to see what he thought was a body of "flesh and blood." The Lord's comments in verse 16 seem to make it clear that it was a body of spirit that the prophet saw.

The unprecedented faith of the brother of Jared is mentioned both by Jesus and by Moroni as the factor that led to the unprecedented revelation. The Lord said, "*Never* has man come before me with such exceeding faith as thou hast" (Ether 3:9). Moroni added further emphasis: "Having this perfect knowledge of God, he *could not* be kept from within the veil. . . . The Lord *could not* withhold *anything* from him, for he knew that the Lord could show him all things" (Ether 3:20, 26). The key statement from the Lord is found in Ether 3:15a: "Never have I showed myself unto man whom I have created, for never has man believed in me as thou hast."

Whatever the first clause of verse 15 means, it is clear that there was something extraordinary about this appearance of the Lord to the brother of Jared. Yet we know from the scriptures that others had in fact seen God. Adam and Eve conversed with the Lord in "the presence of the Lord God" while in the Garden of Eden (Moses 4:14–27); Adam and many others saw him in a great meeting not long before Adam's death (D&C 107:53–54); Enoch "saw the Lord" and spoke with him "even as a man talketh one with another, face to face" (Moses 7:4); and Noah and his sons "walked with God" (Moses 8:27). Our problem, then, is to determine the meaning of the Lord's statement to the brother of Jared in light of what we know of these other pre-Jaredite theophanies.

The most common approach to understanding Ether 3:15a proposes that the Lord's statement has reference to the *degree* to which he revealed himself to the brother of Jared. President Joseph Fielding Smith stated this position as follows:

> I have always considered Ether 3:15 to mean that the Savior stood before the Brother of Jared plainly, distinctly, and showed him his whole body and explained to him that he was a spirit. In his appearance to Adam and Enoch, he had not made himself manifest in such a familiar way. His appearances to earlier prophets had not been with that same fulness.
>
> The scriptural accounts of talking face to face and of walking with God should not be interpreted in the sense that the Savior stood before those prophets and revealed his whole person. That he may have done so at later periods in the cases of Abraham and Moses is possible, but he had not done so in that fulness in the antediluvian days. For the Brother of Jared he removed the veil completely. He had never showed himself to man before in the manner and way he did to that prophet.[4]

Elder Bruce R. McConkie interpreted the verse by restating it as follows: "'Never have I showed myself in the manner and form now involved; never has there been such a complete revelation of the nature and kind of being I am; never before has the veil been lifted completely so that a mortal man has been able to see my spirit body in the full and complete sense of the word.'"[5] This approach is expressed in similar terms by other Latter-day Saint commentators.[6]

As another possible interpretation, Sidney B. Sperry suggested that the word "man" in Ether 3:15a may mean "unbelieving man." Never had the Lord shown himself to those who did not believe on his name, whereas to the faithful—presumably including individuals like Adam and Enoch—he had indeed shown himself as he did to Mahonri Moriancumer.[7]

Daniel H. Ludlow pointed out one aspect of the brother of Jared's experience that perhaps was unprecedented and may have something to do with the statement in Ether 3:15a. Emphasizing verses 19, 20 ("he could not be kept from within the veil"), and 26 ("the Lord could not withhold anything from him"), Ludlow wrote that the Lord "never *had* to show himself unto man before."[8] This explanation probably tells us more about *why* the Lord gave him this unique experience than what was unique about it.

These proposals are not, of course, mutually exclusive, and a correct understanding of the verse may entail elements of more than one of them. A starting point for interpretation is the idea that the Lord showed himself to the brother of Jared to a greater *degree* than to any earlier prophet. Yet that interpretation requires the addition of several modifiers to the Lord's seemingly unequivocal and absolute statement, "Never have I showed myself unto man whom I have created." I would like to propose an explanation that builds on this interpretation yet allows us to take the Lord's statement literally as it stands.

In order to avoid ambiguity in the following discussion, I will follow traditional Latter-day Saint usage and employ the name "Elohim" exclusively for God, the Father of our spirits, and "Jehovah" exclusively for the Lord Jesus Christ.[9] This approach is necessary for clarity because the scriptures refer to Christ as both "God" and "the Father."

In Ether 3 the brother of Jared was speaking with Jehovah, who, according to King Benjamin, is "the Lord Omnipotent who reigneth, who was, and is from all eternity to all eternity, . . . the Father of heaven and earth, the Creator of all things from the beginning" (Mosiah 3:5, 8; see also Alma 11:39). Under the direction of Elohim, Jehovah is God of the universe, presiding over all things. Having been endowed by Elohim with infinite power, glory, and

authority, Jehovah *is* the Father, as the Book of Mormon designates him frequently.[10] He is God who speaks to the prophets, who establishes and reveals laws for the blessing of the world, and who directs the affairs of the human family.

We know also that Jehovah is the same being who later was born into the world as Jesus Christ. He became a being of dual nature: he is both *Father* and *Son* as he is also both *God* and *Man* (see D&C 93:3–4).[11] Prior to his birth, he was the Lord Jehovah (Father, God); while he walked the earth, he was also the mortal Jesus Christ (Son, Man).[12]

The standard Latter-day Saint view of Jehovah's role as God was expressed by President Joseph Fielding Smith:

> All revelation since the fall has come through Jesus Christ, who is the Jehovah of the Old Testament. In all of the scriptures, where God is mentioned and where he has appeared, it was Jehovah who talked with Abraham, with Noah, Enoch, Moses and all the prophets. He is the God of Israel, the Holy One of Israel; the one who led that nation out of Egyptian bondage, and who gave and fulfilled the Law of Moses. (1 Ne. 19:10; 3 Ne 11:10, 14; 15:2–9.) The Father [Elohim] has never dealt with man directly and personally since the fall, and he has never appeared except to introduce and bear record of the Son.[13]

He noted further: "The Father [Elohim] has honored Christ by placing his name upon him, so that he can minister in and through that name *as though he were the Father*; and thus, so far as power and authority are concerned, *his words and acts become and are those of the Father*."[14] When the Lord appeared in ancient times, he did so as the Father, and when he gave revelation to prophets, he spoke of the mortal mission of Jesus Christ in the third person, with the words of and from the perspective of God the Father, as though Jesus Christ were someone else. This explains Jehovah's words concerning Jesus in difficult passages such as Moses 1 and Isaiah 53.[15]

Each of the above-mentioned explanations of Ether 3:15a presupposes a theology similar to that of Joseph Fielding Smith: "All revelation since the fall has come through Jesus Christ. . . . The Father [Elohim] has never dealt with man directly and personally since the fall, and he has never appeared except to introduce and bear record of the Son."[16] Assuming that such is the case, this appearance to the brother of Jared is the first recorded manifestation of Jehovah in which he appeared and identified himself as *the Son*. Elsewhere the scriptures record him appearing or speaking as God the Father (for example, Moses 6:50–52, 58–59; 7:4, 32–33, 39; see also 1:1–6). But to the brother of Jared he said, "Behold, *I am Jesus Christ*. I am the Father and the Son. In me shall all mankind have life, and that eternally, even they who shall believe on my name; and

they shall become my sons and my daughters. And never have I showed myself unto man whom I have created, for never has man believed in me as thou hast" (Ether 3:14–15).

The uniqueness of this situation lies in the fact that Jehovah appeared to Mahonri Moriancumer in his role as Jesus Christ—rather than as the Father. Never before, as far as we can tell from the scriptures, had *Jesus Christ* shown himself unto man. (And, interestingly, nowhere else in the scriptures do we have a clear example of Jehovah appearing as Jesus until his coming in the flesh.)[17] As Moroni reported, "Having this perfect knowledge of God, he could not be kept from within the veil; *therefore he saw Jesus*" (Ether 3:20). To the brother of Jared, Christ revealed his complete nature: God who would become Man—Jehovah, the Father, who would become Jesus, the Son.

Perhaps the unprecedented nature of this appearance is a reason why the Lord commanded that the account not be made known in the world until after his mortal ministry (Ether 3:21).

NOTES

[1]All italics in scripture citations in this article are my own emphasis.

[2]Our earliest source for the name Mahonri Moriancumer is George Reynolds, who reported a reminiscent account of the Prophet Joseph Smith identifying that as the name of the brother of Jared ("The Jaredites," *Juvenile Instructor* 27 [1 May 1892]: 282n.). As the name is commonly used in the Church, I will use it in this article for the sake of convenience, though I am not unaware of the late, secondhand nature of the story.

[3]Moroni was writing at least twenty-five hundred years after the experience of the brother of Jared (depending on when one dates the Jaredites, which I will not attempt here) and about four centuries after Christ's coming to Lehi's children.

[4]Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation,* comp. Bruce R. McConkie, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954–56), 1:37. See also Joseph Fielding Smith, *Answers to Gospel Questions,* 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1957–66), 2: 123–26.

[5]Bruce R. McConkie, *The Promised Messiah: The First Coming of Christ* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978), 599–600.

[6]Sidney B. Sperry cited President Smith's *Doctrines of Salvation* quotation and presented it as one of two possible interpretations (*Answers to Book of Mormon Questions* [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967], 48; published earlier under the title, *Problems of the Book of Mormon* [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964]; see also pp. 47–51). Daniel H. Ludlow repeated President Smith's statement from *Answers to Gospel Questions* (see n. 4 above) in A *Companion to Your Study of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 318–19. The most recent *Book of Mormon Gospel Doctrine Teacher's Supplement* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 173, cites President Smith's *Doctrines of Salvation* statement, and the Church Educational System *Book of Mormon Student Manual* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 137–38, cites the quotation from *Answers to Gospel Questions.*

[7]Sperry, *Answers to Book of Mormon Questions,* 48–49. This is Sperry's preferred explanation in his *Book of Mormon Compendium* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968), 467–68. Sperry mentioned but did not endorse another possibility in which the Lord appeared in vision to the brother of Jared in the very body that he would have when he later came in the flesh (*Answers to Book of Mormon Questions,* 49–51). A statement by President Harold B. Lee may shed additional light on this approach: "And then he was amazed because he said he saw not only the finger of a spiritual being but his faith was so great that he saw the kind of a body that He would have when He came down to the earth. It was of flesh and blood—flesh,

blood and bones. And the Master said, 'No man has had this kind of faith'" ("To Be on Speaking Terms with God," devotional address, Salt Lake Institute of Religion, 12 October 1973, 8–9).

[8]Ludlow, *A Companion to Your Study,* 318; italics in original.

[9]See "The Father and the Son: A Doctrinal Exposition by the First Presidency and the Twelve," in James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith,* 12th ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1924), 466–73; James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ,* 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1915), 38. See also Talmage, *Jesus the Christ,* 32–41; Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine,* 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 224, 392; Bruce R. McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1985), 59, 61, 66–67.

[10]Some important Book of Mormon passages that discuss Jesus as God, or the Father, are the Title Page; 1 Ne. 19:10; 2 Ne. 9:5; Mosiah 3:5–9; and Alma 11:38–39.

[11]This is precisely the point that Abinadi made in Mosiah 15:1–5. Rodney Turner describes Jehovah's father-son roles as follows: "Literally possessing his Father's name and powers, the Son was worthy and able to act as the Father's divine surrogate. To this end, he became the Only Begotten Son in the flesh when he was conceived by Mary, a mortal woman. Begotten of an immortal Father and a mortal mother, Jesus possessed *two natures* (one divine, one human) and, therefore, *two wills* (that of the Father, and that of the Son). He could manifest either nature 'at will.' . . . The atonement required the subjection and sacrifice of the fleshly will of the 'Son' to the spiritual will of the 'Father.' . . . The *Son* willed to let the cup pass; the *Father* willed that it should be drunk to its dregs. Abinadi described Jesus' submission as 'the will of the Son being swallowed up in the will of the Father' (Mosiah 15:7; see also Luke 22:42; 3 Ne. 11:11). In a sense, it was not the Son as Son, but the Father *in* the Son who atoned. That is, Jesus not only did the will of his Father *in heaven,* but the will of the Father *in himself.* The Father and the Son—being 'one God'—came to earth in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. 'God himself'—in perfect unity—atoned for the sins of the world" ("Two Prophets: Abinadi and Alma," in *Studies in Scripture: Volume Seven, 1 Nephi to Alma 29,* ed. Kent P. Jackson [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1987], 245–46; italics in the original).

[12]Paul described Christ's movement from God to Man to God in Philip. 2:5–11; see also Col. 1:12–20.

[13]Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation* 1:27.

[14]Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation* 1:29–30; italics added.

[15]For a detailed discussion of the role of Christ as Father, see Robert L. Millet, "The Ministry of the Father and the Son," in *The Book of Mormon: The Keystone Scripture,* ed. Paul R. Cheesman (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1988), 44–72.

[16]Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation* 1:27. If it was Elohim, rather than Jehovah, in the earlier appearances, then Ether 3:15a is easily understood: "Never have I [Jehovah] showed myself unto man."

[17]Obviously our scriptural record does not contain an account of every sacred event. We do not know all that transpired in the recorded theophanies, nor what the prophets understood when they experienced them. See, for example, 2 Ne. 11:2–3. The voice of Christ is heard in 2 Ne. 10:7; 31:12, 14; Mosiah 26:14–32; 3 Ne. 1:12–14.

Explicating the Mystery of the Rejected Foundation Stone: The Allegory of the Olive Tree

Paul Y. Hoskisson

Because the tame olive tree, the central image in the allegory of Zenos,[1] represents a historical people, the house of Israel (Jacob 5:3), it follows that at least some of the other symbols and allusions in the allegory concern actual events and people in history. In fact, the reason the prophet Jacob delivered Zenos' allegory of the olive tree to the Nephites was to explain a mystery, namely, how Israel "after having rejected" Jesus Christ as their "sure foundation" (Jacob 4:17), could ever return and build on him in this world.[2]

If the allegory is meant to explain actual events in the temporal and spiritual history of the house of Israel, the allegory must be understandable in a temporal and spiritual sense. Nevertheless, though Jacob did comment tangentially on the allegory, no satisfactory explanation of the historical significance and the temporal referents in the allegory exists.[3] One treatise on the subject even states that "it is impossible to ascribe a timetable to the various allegorical scenes described by Zenos."[4] I will demonstrate that many of the historical metaphors in the allegory can be placed in time with relative precision, that some can be located in space, and that much can be said about their significance.

With one exception, I will not discuss at length the metaphors in the allegory. Most of them have been identified previously and do not require lengthy explanations, but rather are accepted here with little commentary.[5] The tame olive tree, the dominant metaphor in the allegory, symbolizes the house of Israel (Jacob 5:3). The wild olive trees therefore refer to non-Israelites. The vineyard in which the olive trees, both wild and tame, have been planted is the world (Jacob 6:3; 5:77). The decay in the tame tree represents apostasy from the gospel of Jesus Christ. Several commentaries equate the

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roots with progenitors. No doubt this interpretation comes from a prosaic belief that if the word *root* means "progenitors" in Malachi 4:1, it must mean that in all scriptural contexts. Departing from this interpretation, *The Book of Mormon Student Manual* suggests that the roots represent the covenants associated with the house of Israel.[6] I would suggest that the symbol of the roots represents a broader referent, namely, the gospel of Jesus Christ, including its covenants. This suggestion is based on the assumption that the "good word of God" (the gospel) in Jacob 6:7 that nourished the tree must refer to the roots.[7] The other elements of the allegory either require no explanation or no consensus has yet been reached.[8]

Assignment of the events in the allegory to approximate historical time periods, a prerequisite to any interpretation, must start by determining the dates of the beginning and the end. The allegory begins in verse 3 with the founding of the house of Israel by the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob/Israel.[9] Because the most probable time period for the Patriarchs lies within the Middle Bronze Age, 2100–1600 B.C., the historical beginning of the allegory must fall in that period.[10] The allegory ends with the last verse of the chapter, when the good and bad fruit are gathered and then fire destroys the vineyard. Therefore, since the vineyard stands for the world, the allegory concludes with the destruction of the earth by fire after the Millennium.[11] All other time periods of the allegory must fit within these parameters.

The time sequences represented in the allegory from the first cultivation of the tame olive tree to the destruction of the vineyard can be conveniently divided into seven periods:[12] (1) *verse 3*, the founding of the house of Israel (the "taking and nourishing" of the tame olive tree) sometime in the first half of the second millennium B.C. and the aging thereof in the latter half of the same millennium; (2) *verses 4–14*, the nurturing, starting approximately 1200 B.C., through the scattering of the house of Israel, culminating near 600 B.C.; (3) *verses 15–28*, the Day of the Gentiles,[13] approximately the first century of the Christian Era; (4) *verses 29–49*, the Great Apostasy, up to about 1820; (5) *verses 50–74*, the gathering of Israel beginning in 1820; (6) *verses 75–76*, the Millennium; and (7) *verse 77*, the end of the world. I will discuss these periods in this order.

FIRST PERIOD: THE FOUNDING AND AGING OF THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL (VERSE 3)

The founding years of the house of Israel, the starting point of the allegory, date to the first half of the second millennium B.C., the most likely setting for the Patriarchal Age. By the end of verse 3,

however, the tree had already "waxed old," an indication that considerable time had passed since the tree was first cultivated, probably four to six hundred years or more.[14] In addition, the tree had begun to decay; that is, apostasy against the gospel of Jesus Christ had arisen in the house of Israel. If the Lord of the vineyard did not take appropriate measures, the tree would continue to decay and eventually die. At this point, long after the planting of the tree, the Lord paid a visit to his vineyard, thus initiating the second period.

SECOND PERIOD: THE NURTURING AND SCATTERING OF THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL (VERSES 4–14)

The Lord of the vineyard, on seeing his now venerable tree and the decay therein, outlined a course of action to correct the situation, to rejuvenate the tree, and then to plant offshoots of the tame olive tree in other parts of his vineyard. In the first stage of his efforts, he stimulated the aged tree to produce younger branches that could bear good fruit: "And it came to pass that the master of the vineyard went forth, and he saw that his olive-tree began to decay; and he said: I will prune it, and dig about it, and nourish it, that perhaps it may shoot forth young and tender branches, and it perish not" (v. 4). Beginning with prophets such as Moses, Samuel, Elijah, Isaiah, and others, the Lord attempted to reclaim the house of Israel from apostasy. Even with this effort and after working a period of "many days," the Lord met with only minimal success: "[The olive tree] began to put forth somewhat a little, young and tender branches" (v. 6), while most of the tree continued to deteriorate. As the allegory also makes clear, the rulers and the ruling class, the "main top" of the tree, were with few exceptions almost beyond recovery (v. 6).

Two examples of this apostasy suffice. Jeroboam, the initial king of the Northern Kingdom, introduced calf icons at the cultic sites of Dan and Bethel, thus establishing one of the great political/cultic sins of king and people in the Old Testament (1 Kgs. 12:25–33; 15:30).[15] Manasseh, a king of the Southern Kingdom, ushered in one of the most condemned reigns in Biblical history, summarized in one verse, "But they [the Kingdom of Judah] hearkened not: and Manasseh seduced them to do more evil than did the nations whom the Lord destroyed before the children of Israel" (2 Kgs. 21:9).[16] It is no wonder that the Lord of the vineyard grieved that he "should lose this tree" (v. 7), that is, that the house of Israel should cease to exist as a cultural entity.

At this juncture the Lord of the vineyard instructed the servant to take three additional measures: "Go and pluck the branches from a wild olive-tree, and bring them hither unto me; and we will pluck

off those main branches which are beginning to wither away, and we will cast them into the fire that they may be burned. And behold, saith the Lord of the vineyard, I take away many of these young and tender branches, and I will graft them whithersoever I will" (vv. 7–8). These three steps entailed cutting out those parts of Israel in apostasy (mainly the upper classes) and destroying them, grafting into Israel other peoples, and placing some of the young and tender natural branches of the house of Israel in other parts of the vineyard.

The first step was accomplished, at least in part, when the Lord through the Assyrians brought about the destruction of Israel by about 720 B.C. and of parts of Judah within the next twenty years, and through the Babylonians the final destruction of Judah in approximately 586 B.C.

In at least two stages after 720 B.C., the Assyrians helped fulfil the second set of instructions by moving other peoples into the territorial vacuum created when they substantially depopulated Israel.[17] These imported peoples, at least to some extent, intermarried with the remaining Israelites, producing a new cultural melding. The Israelites that were carried into captivity by the Assyrians as well as the Judahite captives of the Babylonians probably intermarried with their non-Israelite neighbors and accepted new cultural elements.[18]

The third measure the Lord of the vineyard proposed involved transporting puerile groups of Israelites to other lands away from Palestine. We certainly do not know the full extent or all of the means the Lord used to scatter Israel. The deportation of people from Israel and Judah was part of this process, as was the departure of the Lehites, alluded to in the allegory. Certainly other groups were led away also.

If it is possible from the allegory to make observations about the nature of the scattering of Israel, I would suggest two conclusions. First, the apostate branches of Israel were not scattered but destroyed: "We will pluck them off and cast them into the fire" (v. 7). This statement does not necessarily refer to apostate individuals, but certainly it applies to cultic, political, and cultural continuity. Second, the branches that were scattered were "young and tender" (v. 8), that is, they were at the time of their scattering still formable and capable of bearing good fruit.

With parts of the house of Israel scattered over much of the surface of the earth, with intermarriage between Israelites and non-Israelites, and with the subsequent cultural shifts both in and outside of Palestine, perhaps the tree would be saved. For the result we must turn to the next period.

THIRD PERIOD: THE DAY OF THE GENTILES (VERSES 15–28)

The allegory provides three bits of information that add precision to the dating of the period I have termed the Day of the Gentiles. First, after the nurturing of Israel and the scattering of the puerile and pliable branches of Israel, the Lord allowed "a long time" to elapse before coming to inspect the vineyard (v. 15).[19] If the removal of the decayed parts of the house of Israel from Palestine was essentially completed and the scattering of the young and tender branches of Israel well underway by about 586 B.C., then the Day of the Gentiles must have been considerably later than this date. How much later can be determined by the next indication.

Second, when the Lord eventually returned to the vineyard, he discovered that the mother tree, with the Gentiles grafted in, had produced "tame fruit" (v. 18). The only historical period when Israel with Gentile grafts produced good fruit came at the time of Christ's mortal ministry and in the decades following. Thus, the tentative dates for the third era in the allegory, the Day of the Gentiles, can be placed around the time of Christ, about six hundred years after the closing of the previous period.

This dating is confirmed by the third bit of information in this section. The last transplanted tree, placed in "a good spot of ground; yea, even that which was choice unto [the Lord] above all other parts of the land of [his] vineyard" (v. 43), produced at this time part good and part evil branches.[20] The choicest spot of land on the whole earth in which the transplanted branch of Israel produced both a good and an evil culture can refer only to the righteous and unrighteous Lehites in the Americas,[21] and the historical setting can only have been before the Great Apostasy.[22] The date for this part of the allegory must also be the first Christian century.

After seeing that the good fruit of all the trees was gathered and that the last transplant was nurtured so that its evil parts might bring forth good fruit, the Lord left his vineyard, not to return for some time. Upon his return, the fourth period received definition.

FOURTH PERIOD: THE GREAT APOSTASY (VERSES 29–49)

When the Lord arrived again after "a long time" (v. 29) to inspect his vineyard, he found that the mother tree had "brought forth much fruit, and there is none of it which is good. And behold, there are all kinds of bad fruit" (v. 32). This is precisely the situation of the (Christian) world as described by the Lord to the Prophet Joseph in the Sacred Grove (JS-H 1:19). The mother tree in Israel, after having born much good fruit in the early Christian era, had

become entirely corrupt. As for the first transplanted branches, they also carried nothing but bad fruit. In addition, the good section of the last tree, the righteous Lehites, had been entirely destroyed by the evil branch, the apostate Lehites, so that nothing but wild fruit remained on it. The apostasy had been complete and universal in all the trees representing Israel.

The allegory suggests a reason for the apostasy. When the Lord of the vineyard asked his servant what caused the corruption of his vineyard, the servant answered, "Is it not the loftiness of thy vineyard—have not the branches thereof overcome the roots which are good? And because the branches have overcome the roots thereof, behold they grew faster than the strength of the roots, taking strength unto themselves" (v. 48). In general, pride, arrogance, and vanity—all synonyms of "loftiness"—allowed branches of the house of Israel to usurp the authority of the gospel of Jesus Christ, nullifying any restraints the gospel might have exerted to stem the spread of the apostasy. The proud, arrogant, and vain branches appropriated strength from their own conceits and not from the gospel of Jesus Christ.

It is at this point that the Lord proposed a total destruction of the trees in his vineyard: "Let us go to and hew down the trees of the vineyard and cast them into the fire, that they shall not cumber the ground of my vineyard, for I have done all. What could I have done more for my vineyard?" (v. 49). What need did he have of trees that produce only unprofitable fruit? Better to cut down the trees, burn them, and make something else out of the vineyard.[23] After all, the Lord had done everything possible to save the world from apostasy. Yet the Lord's servant counseled him to spare the world for a little time, and the Lord accepted the advice. Now began the fifth era of time in the allegory.

FIFTH PERIOD: THE GATHERING OF ISRAEL (VERSES 50–74)

The text states explicitly that between the Scattering of Israel and the Day of the Gentiles and again between the Day of the Gentiles and the Lord's acknowledgment of the Great Apostasy, "a long time passed away" (v. 15). Unlike the long passages of time between these previous periods, the allegory makes it clear that no significant time transpired between the acknowledgment of the Great Apostasy and the beginnings of the gathering of Israel (vv. 49 through 52). This assessment is, of course, exactly how Latter-day Saints read history. On a spring day in 1820 the world turned away from total submersion in apostasy and took the first steps that would begin the gathering. To be sure, the aggregate of the first decade was minuscule, but the gathering had commenced.

The gathering described in the allegory is also deliberately slow:

> Wherefore, dig about them, and prune them, and dung them once more, for the last time, for the end draweth nigh. And if it be so that these last grafts shall grow, and bring forth the natural fruit, then shall ye prepare the way for them, that they may grow. And as they begin to grow ye shall clear away the branches which bring forth bitter fruit, according to the strength of the good and the size thereof; and ye shall not clear away the bad thereof all at once, lest the roots thereof should be too strong for the graft, and the graft thereof shall perish, and I lose the trees of my vineyard. (Vv. 64–65)

From the transplanted tame trees that had become wild, natural branches would be cut and grafted back into the mother tree, and from the mother tree that had also become wild, branches would be grafted into the transplanted tame trees. As these branches gained strength and as the roots could bear it, the branches that continued to produce wild fruit would eventually be pruned out and destroyed.

This process is observable not only in the history of the Church, but also in contemporary stakes and missions. Through the missionary program individuals are brought into the Church. These new members remain in the Church and serve more or less faithfully for a number of years. But some of these new twigs and boughs fail to progress with the rest of the membership. As was the case during the Great Apostasy, pride prevents them from changing and repenting. They leave the Church or just fade away, usually taking their posterity with them. In time, such boughs are pruned out of the tree. At the same time, the Lord of the vineyard continues to work with those branches and individuals that can still be reclaimed or improved.

This period is, however, the last time the Lord of the vineyard will, through grafting and pruning, clean and purify the vineyard (vv. 62–63). He will continue this process until the vineyard is free of degeneracy or corruption and the whole earth is full of his glory. When the earth no longer produces evil, the sixth or penultimate epoch of the allegory will commence.

SIXTH PERIOD: THE MILLENNIUM (VERSES 75–76)

Unlike the other periods so far discussed, the benefit of hindsight is not available at present. However, lack of hindsight does not prevent discussing the points made in this section of the allegory. Of this thousand year period the allegory simply states that the Lord will "for a long time . . . lay up of the fruit of [his] vineyard unto [his] own self" (v. 76).[24] There will be no corruption on the earth during this time. "The Lord of the vineyard saw that his fruit was good, and that his vineyard was no more corrupt, . . . and the bad [was] cast away" (v. 75). When after this "long time," branches of

the tree again begin to degenerate and bad fruit appears, the Millennium will have concluded and the seventh and final epoch of the allegory will have begun.

SEVENTH PERIOD: THE END OF THE WORLD (VERSE 77)

Again, the benefit of hindsight is not available. During the ultimate stage of the earth's existence, when the world will have degenerated from its Millennial state, the good and the bad will be separated. The Lord will take the good fruit to himself, and the bad he will destroy by fire along with the world that spawned it.

CONCLUSIONS

Contrary to the statement quoted in the opening paragraph of this treatise that "it is impossible to ascribe a timetable to the various allegorical scenes," all of the past and current periods of the allegory can be assigned with relative certainty to specific historical times. But, however interesting these historical correlations might be, the allegory was delivered with a far greater purpose in mind, namely, to explain how it is possible that the Jewish people, "after having rejected . . . the stone [Jesus Christ] upon which they might build and have safe foundation. . . . can ever build upon [him], that [he] may become the head of their corner" (Jacob 4:15–17). The answer, according to the allegory, is simple. In the latter days, when the Lord of the vineyard sets his hand for the last time to rid this world of apostasy and evil, he will begin by grafting natural branches into the tame olive trees and by pruning out the more corrupt parts of Israel. Whether the branch has been grafted into the tame tree or whether it is one of the original natural branches, the branch must accept the nourishment of the roots, the gospel of Jesus Christ, and produce good fruit in order to stay on the tree, that is, to build on the foundation of Jesus Christ. That is how those who have rejected Christ can come to know of his goodness.

In addition to this explanation of how the grace of Christ can purge men's souls of evil, the allegory holds a specific message for members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In nonallegorical terms, the Church is the institution through which members nourish and are nourished by the gospel of Jesus Christ with its covenants, doctrines, and responsibilities. If the members are to be purged of evil and thus remain in the Church, pride (the loftiness of the vineyard), the cause of the Great Apostasy, can have no place. Furthermore, only in the Church can members continue to let the purging and healing balm of the gospel excise, often

painfully, each of their favorite sins. Consequently, for individuals who are still in the Church, that is, who have not been cut off yet, there is hope, for only the worst cases of unregeneracy are pruned out of the tree.

In conjunction with this message, the rhetorical question of the Lord of the vineyard should be rephrased to apply to us, the present members of the Church: Is there any way in which the Lord has failed to provide us with every opportunity to become good fruit (v. 41)? As our husbandman, has he in any measure been found wanting?

NOTES

[1]Though Jacob recorded the allegory in Jacob 5, the allegory was originally given by Zenos, apparently a prophet of Old Testament times whose writings were recorded on the Brass Plates. No known Old World source mentions him, though he is mentioned elsewhere in the Book of Mormon: 1 Nephi 19:10, 12, 16; Alma 33:3, 13, 15; 34:7; Helaman 8:19; 15:11; and 3 Nephi 10:16. Though Jacob is the first author in the Book of Mormon to connect this allegory to Zenos, Jacob was most likely not the first Book of Mormon prophet to mention the allegory's content. Nephi said that his father, Lehi, spoke about an olive tree that represented the house of Israel from which "branches would be broken off and should be scattered upon all the face of the earth" (1 Ne. 10:12).

[2]Jacob 4:15–18. Catherine Thomas treated this particular aspect of the allegory in "Jacob's Allegory: The Mystery of Christ," read at the 1988 Brigham Young University Annual Book of Mormon Symposium, unpublished manuscript.

[3]As part of the discourse (Jacob 4–6) of which the allegory is an integral part, Jacob does build on the allegory in chapter 6, applying it to his audience. This discourse, however, falls short of explaining the time periods and the central message of the entire discourse. Though Zenos is not mentioned, in 1 Nephi 10:12–14 Nephi records in summary form teachings of Lehi that seem to be based on a knowledge of the allegory. John W. Welch has suggested that none of the biblical material (for example Rom. 11:16–24) is as complete as the version in the Book of Mormon and that therefore the biblical accounts draw on an ancient source, perhaps the same source on which the Book of Mormon depends (personal communication to author).

The best previous correlations can be found in Kent P. Jackson, "Nourished by the Good Word of God (Jacob 4–6)," in *Studies in Scripture: Volume Seven, 1 Nephi to Alma 29,* ed. Kent P. Jackson (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1987), 190–94; Monte S. Nyman, *An Ensign to the People* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1987), 24–34, and the summary table on page 36. See also Joseph Fielding McConkie and Robert L. Millet, *Doctrinal Commentary on the Book of Mormon,* 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1988), 2:46–82; Ariel Crowley, *About the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1961), 150–52; and *Living Truths from the Book of Mormon* [no author listed] (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1970), 119–26. Richard K. Wilson has prepared a not-yet-for-publication, unique, and wide-ranging discussion of the allegory, of which I have a copy.

[4]*Living Truths,* 123. In spite of the above statement, this treatment of the allegory *does* assign several of the episodes to historical periods. Though McConkie and Millet warn in reference to Jacob 5:3 that "the exact historical time period to which Zenos is making reference is unclear" (50), they do suggest correlations.

[5]For a convenient summary, see Nyman, *Ensign to the People,* 35, table 1. His reasons for the identifications can be found on pages 22–24. See also the summary in Jackson, "Nourished," 190; and *Book of Mormon Student Manual,* 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 140. The interpretations of the elements of the allegory of Zenos in the 1989 edition of the student manual are essentially the same as in the old manual (see pp. 47–48). In the text that follows, I have identified various symbols used in the allegory. To identify the symbols, I have consulted the above commentaries. I cannot, however, agree with the usual identification of the "Lord of the vineyard" as Jesus Christ and the "servant" as the prophets. I believe the "Lord" is God the Father and the "servant" is Jesus Christ. A complete discussion here of this issue would require too much space; therefore, suffice it to say that the servant appears to be the same person, not a series of persons, throughout the allegory. It should also be borne in mind that the titles used in the allegory should not necessarily be equated on a one-to-one basis with other occurrences of the same title in other Holy Writ. Note that *About the Book of Mormon,* pages

150–51, uses the generic "God," and Jackson, on page 190, uses "Lord" for the Lord of the vineyard, thus avoiding the issue.

[6]*The Book of Mormon Student Manual,* 140.

[7]Chauncey C. Riddle suggested to me privately that the roots of the trees represent the various scriptural traditions. This interpretation happily departs from the "progenitor" symbol. While Riddle's suggestion on the surface diverges from the suggestion I offer above, the two are in essence very close. His scriptural tradition is a subset of the Gospel traditions because the different scriptural traditions stem from different Gospel traditions, i.e., Old Testament, New Testament, Book of Mormon, etc. If, then, the roots do not represent people but rather the Gospel of Jesus Christ, then the main branches and/or trees also do not represent individuals but rather could stand for different cultures. (For this latter observation I thank Bruce Wilson, who in a private conversation expressed this opinion, based at least in part on Richard K. Wilson, unpublished study, 30.)

[8]For example, this lack of consensus allows the fruit to be called "good works" (*The Book of Mormon Student Manual,* 140), or, as I would suggest and Jackson has written (190), "people."

[9]For the house of Israel beginning with Abraham and continuing with Isaac and Jacob, see Bruce R. McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1985), 503: "Israelite history begins not with father Jacob, who is Israel, nor with his tribal descendants who adopted his name as theirs, but with Abraham, their father. In the true and spiritual sense of the terms, Abraham was the first Hebrew, the first Israelite, and the first Jew." Reviewers to whom I have given this paper have suggested variously that the house of Israel began with Adam or Noah or Moses. It seems to me that the allegory makes it clear that only the house of Israel is being discussed and that therefore the allegory begins with the founding of the house of Israel.

[10]Though the "Bible Dictionary" of the Latter-day Saint edition of the Holy Bible (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), 636, places the Patriarchs in the first half of the second millennium B.C., as I propose, this date is not unanimous among scholars. Cyrus H. Gordon, for instance, dates many of the events of the Patriarchal Narratives to the Late Bronze Age ("Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," *Journal of Near East Studies* 17 [January–October 1958], 31). However, I accept the likelihood that the pharaoh of the Exodus was Rameses II, who reigned in the middle of the thirteenth century B.C. Such dating would place the *Eisodus* at the very beginning of the Late Bronze Age (allowing, with Gen. 15:13 and Exo. 12:40, 400 to 430 years for the sojourn in Egypt) and would push the Patriarchs back into the Middle Bronze Age. See also Nyman, *Ensign to the People,* 24, for placing the beginning of the allegory at "about 1800 B.C., when the twelve sons of Jacob were living in Canaan."

[11]For this same conclusion see Jackson, "Nourished," 193–94. The destruction of the earth by fire after the millennium is mentioned at least once in the standard works, "For the great Millennium, of which I have spoken by the mouth of my servants, shall come. For Satan shall be bound, and when he is loosed again he shall only reign for a little season, and then cometh the end of the earth. And he that liveth in righteousness shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye, and the earth shall pass away so as by fire. And the wicked shall go away into unquenchable fire, and their end no man knoweth on earth, nor ever shall know, until they come before me in judgment" (D&C 43:30–33). For the theological underpinnings of the destruction of the earth by fire, see Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 210, 251; the references there to Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, comp. Bruce R. McConkie, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954–56), 1:72–89; and Parley P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning and Instruction to All People* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1950), chap. 5.

If the destruction of the earth by fire, mentioned in verse 77, refers to the destruction by fire before the Millennium (see for example McConkie, 692, 735), then one could argue that the end of the allegory coincides with the beginning of the Millennium. The unlikelihood of this interpretation becomes evident from an internal examination of the allegory. As I demonstrate below, verses 75 and 76 refer to the Millennium. Therefore, verse 77 must refer to the period after the Millennium.

[12]Nyman also divides the allegory into seven periods, but we agree on only three of the divisions. He separates the allegory into the following time periods: (1) verses 3–14: "From Jacob to the end of the prophets," about 1800–400 B.C.; (2) verse 15: "A long time passed away"; (3) verses 16–28: "The ministry of Jesus Christ," about A.D. 30–34; (4) verse 29: "A long time passed away"; (5) verses 30–75: "The Restoration, about A.D. 1820 to the Millennium"; (6) verse 76: "A long time passed away"; and (7) verse 77: "The end of the earth."

[13]I have purposely chosen the phrase *Day of the Gentiles* because it is not found in the standard works or in the *History of the Church,* nor was it ever used by the Prophet Joseph Smith as far as I can determine, and, therefore, it should not necessarily be connected with the "times of the Gentiles" spoken of in D&C 45:24–30. The allegory speaks of the blood lines in their respective cultures, the branches, and therefore the Day of the Gentiles is an apt designation for the only period in the allegory when the Gentiles, who had been grafted into the house of Israel, do bear good fruit.

[14]That four to six hundred years is plausible and even probable seems likely from personal observation of olive trees in present-day Palestine. Like contemporary olive trees, it is likely that ancient olive trees, when cared for properly, could not only live for hundreds of years (not the decades of most domestically cultivated trees), but could also produce valuable crops for the life of the tree. See also Arthur Wallace, "The Allegory of the Tame and Wild Olive Trees Horticulturally Considered," in *Scriptures for the Modern World,* ed. Paul R. Cheesman and C. Wilfred Griggs (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center,

Brigham Young University, 1984), 113–20. Therefore, if the olive tree had "waxed old," its life would be measured by centuries.

[15]To see how Jeroboam influenced subsequent Israelite history, see 2 Kings 10:29–31.

[16]Josiah's reforms at about 620 B.C. certainly must have been a breath of fresh air after the abominations of Manasseh (2 Kgs. 22–24; see also 2 Chr. 33), but it was too little, too late.

[17]As part of their foreign policy, the Assyrians deported rebellious subjects to areas within their empire that had previously been partially depopulated because those inhabitants had been rebellious. This relocation policy was meant to discourage other insurrections and make further revolt difficult. The Babylonians, on the other hand, did not shift rebellious subjects around. Rather, they sent all deported peoples to a central location, the land of Babylon, thus leaving a vacuum in the respective homelands. This practice made it possible for the deportees eventually to return when the Babylonian Empire collapsed. For this and other reasons, the Northern Kingdom deportees could not return to their homeland, but the Jews of the Babylonian captivity could.

[18]An example of the adoption of new cultural elements is seen in the fact that the Babylonian calendar is still used today by Jewish people.

[19]We can gain some idea of how long a "long time" is by looking at verse 76, where it is said that during the penultimate period of the allegory, the Lord of the vineyard would gather good fruit "for a long time." I will argue below that this period is the Millennium. Accepting this interpretation would indicate that "a long time" is to be measured in centuries and not in decades.

[20]Some exegetes of this allegory have found only three transplanted branches, taking for their reason verse 39, where the first, second, and the last natural branches are mentioned. This explanation disregards the four branches clearly set off with "Behold these" in verse 20, "Look hither" in verse 23, "Look hither" in verse 24, and "Look hither" in verse 25, and ignores the possibility of an extended merism in verse 39. The distinct parallelism between 20, 23, 24, and 25 cannot be overlooked because verses 23–25 are the only verses in the standard works that contain "look" and "hither" together. To do away with the parallel in verse 24 and combine it with verse 25 would do violence to the poetic structure of the allegory. However, whether there are three or four transplanted trees is not relevant to this discussion, though a conclusion would be necessary before a more detailed explanation of the identities of these transplants could be made.

[21]*Living Truths,* 122–23.

[22]There is a slight discrepancy in the time here if the allegory is seen as strictly consistent and chronologically exacting. (Wilson, 38–39, also notes this apparent inconsistency.) The period in the Old World when the mother tree (with Gentiles grafted in) bore nothing but good fruit must be placed between A.D. 35 and A.D. 100. Yet during this period the majority of the Jews rejected Jesus Christ and his message. This same time period in the New World saw *all* the people "converted unto the Lord, upon all the face of the land" (4 Ne. 2). This discrepancy exists only because, with the advantage of hindsight, we want to impose on the Near Eastern allegory our occidental training that insists on logical, consistent, and chronological interpretations. The telescoping of time and the less-than-sharp depth of field of received versions of prophecies should certainly allow us to view these episodes as accurate, general characterizations of the historical periods discussed. Thus we see in Book of Mormon history from roughly 600 B.C. to A.D. 400, the division of this transplanted branch of the house of Israel into the righteous and the apostate cultures. (For this same interpretation, see Jackson, 192.) The only exception to this division is a short interlude when the Nephites and Lamanites became one people between approximately A.D. 36 and about A.D. 190 (4 Ne. 19–21), about 155 years, not the traditional 200 years often cited by Latter-day Saints. The New Testament, on the other hand, if we ignore the Jews and Gentiles who rejected Christ and his messengers, presents a fairly unified and righteous community of Israelites and Gentiles, notwithstanding cultural rifts and the early signs of apostasy that gave rise to Paul's polemics.

[23]If the allegory is to be taken literally in all respects, this account would not be the first time God had threatened to destroy all the inhabitants of the earth (Gen. 6:7) or all of his chosen people (Ex. 32:9–11).

[24]See Revelation 20:2–7; D&C 29:11,22; 88:110; Moses 7:64–65.

A Stirring to Remembrance

Helaman 11:4–17

Out of love's abundance came the famine
Sent to save them from their own hands
Clenched like stone around their hearts.

Blossoms on the fruit trees curled and withered
Drifting through the air toward the dust,
Where seeds of all variety
Lay parched and tightening like fists.

Whole fields of wilted grain,
The pale stalks kneeling in the unrelenting sun,
Burned whiter,
Their shriveling kernels hardening in the husk.

Dwindling flocks and herds, half starved and wild with dryness
Reeled and fretted in a frenzy maddening as the sun.

And children, thin as the shadows of noon,
Lay wrapped in whimpering and fear.

Still, the people waited until thousands
Drifted stubbornly beyond the edge of death
Before they sacrificed their grasp
And let their proud hearts break.

— Randall L. Hall

On Verifying Wordprint Studies: Book of Mormon Authorship

John L. Hilton

In 1980 Wayne A. Larsen, Alvin C. Rencher, and Tim Layton published the first complete analysis of the Book of Mormon using the then adolescent tool of computerized stylometry, or wordprinting.[1] They analyzed author-specific word-use rate to show that the purported authors in the Book of Mormon are statistically different—that not one but many authors contributed to the book. Since then the science of wordprinting has continued to undergo considerable critical evaluation, particularly in its application to the Book of Mormon.

Shortly after *BYU Studies* published Larsen, Rencher, and Layton's pioneering work, I joined forces with a small group of scientists in Berkeley, California, who were attempting to verify the accuracy of wordprinting in general and to check the Larsen-Rencher-Layton results specifically. After seven years of study and development, we concluded that wordprint measurements are now at the stage where scholars can use such tests confidently and without personal bias to analyze contested authorship in many literary works, including the Book of Mormon. This paper explores our conclusion by (1) discussing some general ideas about wordprints and wordprinting, (2) reviewing some early wordprint studies in the evolution of wordprint science, (3) summarizing the development of a new measurement technique, including important control studies to verify the objectivity of that technique, and (4) setting forth some verified Book of Mormon measurements. Before proceeding, I will establish the need for wordprints for the Book of Mormon and also discuss one important caveat.

John L. Hilton is now an adjunct professor in the statistics department at Brigham Young University. He notes, "This paper would not be possible were it not for seven years of critical work by Kenneth Jenkins, a gifted scientist with an untiring demand for accuracy, and by Lewis Carroll, whose time and knowledge of information theory contributed significantly to the statistical accuracy of our wordprint model. Thanks is expressed to all of the many participants who worked on each of the projects of the Berkeley Group. The editorial assistance and continuing encouragement from my wife Jan, my son Courtland Hilton, Dow Wilson, and John Welch is gratefully acknowledged."

The need for rigorous, legitimate wordprint measurements is obvious in attempting to settle some of the most prominent controversies surrounding the Book of Mormon: Are the word patterns of Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, or Solomon Spaulding measurable in the Book of Mormon? Can wordprinting show that different sections of the Book of Mormon were written by different authors? Does Joseph Smith's role as translator obfuscate patterns unique to ancient authors? Fortunately the Book of Mormon is a near-ideal document for such objective wordprint studies, provided the measurement is made correctly.

Of course, wordprint analysis, while it can measure certain facts objectively, cannot prove the holiness of the Book of Mormon. The understanding that the Book of Mormon has a divine origin is obtainable only by developing faith. Thus, while valid and objective wordprinting is no substitute for faith, wordprinting can, nevertheless, bolster the establishment of faith by rigorously demonstrating factual information about the book.

WORDPRINTS AND WORDPRINTING

Wordprinting is a developing science, notwithstanding that the first written suggestions that something like wordprinting might be useful in objectively identifying authors appeared at least as early as 1851. Yet, because of the complexity of the measurements, the first credible studies had to await the availability of modern computers with their precise counting accuracy and high-speed computation. Therefore, wordprinting has undergone almost all of its significant development during the last thirty years.

As is common in all developing sciences, wordprinters have had to identify and abandon those preliminary methods and theories that were later shown to be inaccurate. However, while wordprinting will undoubtedly continue to evolve toward ever-increasing reliability and sensitivity, the science has now developed to the point where one can construct a conservative, rigorous, measuring technique which yields reliable answers when measuring singly authored documents of at least a few thousand free-flow, original words.[2] (In the context of wordprinting, *free-flow* words are written without outside influence or superimposed structures that change an author's personal word selection.)

Many people have difficulty believing that a clever author cannot fool a rigorous, quantifiable approach to measuring fixed writing habits. After all, when we read the fictional words of characters created by a good author, we all think the narrative sounds like different people telling the story. Nevertheless,

wordprint measurements taken with our most recent methodology continue to show that there are extensive noncontextual word patterns hidden in the narrative that are unique to each author regardless of the character portrayed. Our wordprinting technique has shown that most highly skilled authors (e.g. Twain, Johnson, Heinlein, etc.), when intentionally trying to imitate the writings of different persons, are unable to successfully change their own free-flow noncontextual word patterns enough to simulate a different wordprint. Because of the mind's inability to consciously recognize the extent of word patterns that are tabulated in the computer-assisted wordprint measurement, wordprinting is practically immune to deception by a forger.[3]

Most modern wordprint techniques measure only the placement of "noncontextual" words. Noncontextual words like *the, and, a, of,* etc. are often capable of being interchanged or even dropped without a loss of overall meaning; they seem to add little in context information, often being consciously ignored by writer and reader alike. Obviously, measuring noncontextual words makes wordprinting less sensitive to the subject matter. In addition, the technique improves statistical accuracy. Noncontextual words typically make up 20 to 45% of the total text, thereby providing a high number of statistical "events," and the larger the statistical measurement is, the more reliable the results are. Wordprint measurements made from large numbers of noncontextual words continue to show that an author's free-flow writings use these words in a habitual, nearly subconscious, unique way.[4] However, if the author consciously imposes an external structure, the free flow of the author's wordprint pattern is modified, and accurate wordprint measurements become more difficult to obtain.

Wordprinting measures the difference in the way noncontextual word patterns occur in two compared texts. Usually one of the texts is of disputed authorship while the other is by an author suspected of writing the disputed text. If the same word pattern is found to be statistically different between the two texts, we identify the difference as a *rejection*.[5] The total of the rejections measured when the two texts are tested for a large number of word patterns is identified as the *number of rejections*. The larger the number of rejections, the more likely the disputed text was not written by the author of the other compared text. Thus, testing a contested document against comparable texts from all possible candidate-authors will identify the most likely writer by eliminating authors whose texts generate high numbers of rejections.

Finding the most likely writer depends on the wordprinting technique's accuracy. The accuracy (and usefulness) of a wordprint

measuring technique critically depends on the statistical reliability in detecting which of its tested text pairs are not written by the same author. Statistical reliability is rigorously demonstrated by using the technique with a large number of control-author texts for the purpose of verifying the authorship of known texts. These texts correspond in size and include examples of the different literary parameters (genre, subject matter, writing period, position in an author's career) that are to be studied later. The verifying measurements made between two control texts written by the same author are identified as *within-author* tests. The tests between texts written by different authors are called *between-author* tests. The statistical separation measured between the overall distributions of a large number of the within-author and between-author tests is the valid measurement of what will be expected when a contested author is later tested with the same technique. In other words, the difference between the number of rejections found between texts by the same author and texts by different authors will serve as a standard. This standard is used to evaluate the numbers of rejections found when testing texts of contested authorship.

Measuring the differences in word patterns between texts is the basic process of a wordprinting technique. Verifying such a technique, while straightforward in principle, is in practice very tedious. Thus, during the years of wordprinting development, many proposed wordprint measuring systems were verified only superficially on a narrow set of texts. Unfortunately, researchers often assumed that a wordprint measuring technique shown valid for one set of literary parameters would also be valid for all others. We now realize such assumptions are not valid; we must successfully verify each wordprint measuring methodology with control texts which represent all the literary parameters that are to be reliably measured later on.

SOME EARLY WORDPRINT STUDIES

Perhaps one of the earliest successful wordprint studies in the United States was the classical work by the statisticians Frederick Mosteller and David L. Wallace, who published their work on author identification in 1964.[6] While not the first scholars to attempt computer-assisted stylometry, they published one of the first complete and internally consistent studies on a set of historically important documents. Their work convincingly identified the author of several anonymously published *Federalist Papers*. Mosteller and Wallace measured the rates at which simple, noncontextual words were used per 1000 words of text. This

statistical model appeared adequately sensitive and valid to unambiguously show that James Madison was the author of the disputed documents. They showed that the other two possible candidate-authors were overwhelmingly excluded as authors of any of the twelve disputed documents.

The wordprint study on the *Federalist Papers* had several advantages which facilitated statistical measurements. First, the documents are lengthy, were written in the same genre on the same subject, and have essentially the same vocabulary. Additionally, for control texts Mosteller and Wallace were able to use uncontested writings by the suspected authors, writings which are of the same length, genre, subject, and vocabulary as the suspect texts. That the simple Mosteller and Wallace wordprint technique had been shown to be valid only for their single, nearly ideal class of texts was at first not appreciated as important.

Not all succeeding studies had documents that presented as favorable a situation as did that of Mosteller and Wallace. In addition, most later wordprinters did not execute their studies in such a thorough way. Many omitted any independent control studies to confirm that their wordprint techniques were valid for their given case. As a consequence, some published studies purportedly giving objective answers later proved to be inaccurate.

Rev. A. Q. Morton of Edinburgh, Scotland, a long-time contributor to the development of wordprinting, was one of the scholars who recognized that the simple, noncontextual word-use rate (i.e., the frequency with which each of the noncontextual words is used per 1000 words of text), as studied by Mosteller and Wallace, was not always reliable for authorship measurements.[7] Working with several colleagues, he discovered that better "stylometric" measurements were obtained when he extended his studies to measure carefully chosen noncontextual word-pattern ratios. By 1985 he had studied several different types of word patterns and recommended a battery of about 65 word patterns which had been successfully used in many different literary situations. We have found his 1985 list to be generally reliable. (See Appendix 1.)

A recent study (1986) that further verified the usefulness of Morton's word-pattern ratios over the simple noncontextual word-use rate is the methodical work of Kendra L. Lindsay. She studied noncontroversial Greek documents of seven classical writers chosen for their comparability to the writings of Paul of the New Testament. She found that by using the standard statistical assumptions and analyzing the texts by counting the simple noncontextual word-use rate, she was able to correctly identify only 2 of the 7

authors. However, when she measured the ratios of word-pattern counts, she correctly identified 6 of the 7.[8]

The first extensive wordprint measurements of the Book of Mormon appeared in 1978 when Alvin C. Rencher and Wayne A. Larsen began reporting their pioneering study in author identification. This work was followed by their complete report in 1980.[9] They also coined the term *wordprint,* and introduced to Church and world scholars the interesting possibility of objective author identification in the Book of Mormon. They used information gained from earlier approaches and applied the simple noncontextual word-use rate of Mosteller and Wallace's technique but coupled it with a powerful, multivariate statistical analysis.

Unlike previous studies which introduced the concept of hand-tabulated word measurements to the Book of Mormon,[10] the 1980 wordprint study published by Larsen, Rencher, and Layton was widely recognized as important both within and without the Church.[11] If the measurement technique was in fact objective and verifiable, any competent student could duplicate the calculations to determine answers to a number of questions that have remained controversial among Book of Mormon believers and detractors.

Along with others who found the reported work of the BYU team of Larsen-Rencher-Layton interesting and challenging was a small group of scientific researchers in northern California to which I belonged. Our group, later known as the Berkeley Group, included major contributors from different scientific disciplines and differing religious persuasions. All of us shared the scientific curiosity which led us to test the intriguing Larsen-Rencher-Layton claim. In the fall of 1980, we began our study. As the major LDS contributor in the group, I was little different from my agnostic and Jewish colleagues: each of us seriously questioned whether objective measurement could determine who did or did not write a controversial document like the Book of Mormon. Therefore, armed with a healthy skepticism, we began a confirmational study—the kind of study scientists typically perform in the physical sciences—to recalculate the wordprint measurements while correcting any procedural or calculational flaws which could potentially have confused the results of the original study.

Because most members of the Berkeley Group doubted that stable wordprints could be objectively measured in the writings of most authors, we were not willing to accept the standard assumptions of the Larsen-Rencher-Layton study. Therefore, we began developing a completely new set of computer codes based on a very conservative, independently derived and verified theoretical model. While we tentatively thought that our study to verify Book of

Mormon wordprints could be completed in a year, it soon became apparent that, with the redevelopment of wordprint theory as part of the work, the study would take much longer. It was not until September 1987, after perhaps 10,000 hours of work, that a paper describing the results of our efforts was completed.[12]

While one part of our Berkeley Group was redeveloping and verifying wordprint theory, others of us prepared a computer file of the earliest available Book of Mormon manuscripts (see Appendix 2). All reported Book of Mormon wordprint measurements in this paper were computed from files of the needed length, author, and literary form taken from this "Most Primitive Book of Mormon Manuscript."[13]

During the time our Berkeley Group was doing its work, other Book of Mormon scholars were also studying the approach proposed by the Larsen-Rencher-Layton team. One of the most notable of these is the University of Utah statistician, D. James Croft. His work is that of a competent scholar as well as a conscientious believer in the divinity of the Book of Mormon. His published work is a carefully reasoned critique of the Larsen-Rencher-Layton paper.[14] As would be expected from a scholar of the exact sciences, he cautioned his LDS readers about the unverified nature of the methodology: "Close scrutiny of the methodology of the BYU authorship study reveals several areas which seem vulnerable to criticism." After calling for a redevelopment of methodology which could circumvent the specific areas he found questionable, he concludes, "Certainly any research done in the future will be indebted to Larsen, Rencher and Layton, who called our attention to an interesting and challenging area of Book of Mormon study. At the present time [1981], however . . . it would be best to reserve judgment concerning whether or not it is possible to prove the existence of multiple authors of the Book of Mormon" (21).

We kept in close contact with Dr. Croft and others[15] who were contributing to the continuing refinement of wordprinting during the years when our independent methodology was under development. We appreciated the continuing contributions of these scholars as they helped us insure that the suspect areas recognized in the earlier methodologies would be avoided and that the verification of our new wordprint measuring technique would be complete enough to insure reliable answers.

The rationale for our wordprint model and methodology was developed from basic information theory and basic statistics. Our resulting model was conservative and yet still able to calculate answers for the Book of Mormon authorship questions with very high statistical certainty. All results reported in this paper were

calculated using this methodology. A detailed description of the evolution of the model and methods is reported in "On Maximizing Author Identification by Measuring 5000 Word Texts" by John L. Hilton and Kenneth D. Jenkins.[16]

Our new conservative measurements incorporate six points which were not used in earlier Book of Mormon wordprint studies. These points contribute to improved reliability when 5000-word texts are tested. They are (1) measuring the author's wordprint by studying the use rate of sixty-five noncontextual word-pattern ratios as proposed by Morton (1985); (2) abandoning the commonly accepted statistical assumption of "normality" of word distribution and instead using the Mann-Whitney nonparametric statistic, which does not require the unverifiable normality simplification; (3) developing a "wrap-around" word-group counting method which helps break apart clusters of similar words in the sampled text words (this method helps provide the statistically required word-group homogeneity); (4) making comparison measurements between just two texts at a time; (5) using the oldest extant Book of Mormon manuscripts (the texts used do not include the repetitive use of the phrase *and it came to pass*, nor do they include significant direct quotations from the King James Bible—including such text would distort the noncontextual word counts for each author); and (6) verifying the sensitivity of the computer coding and measurement methodology by measuring a diverse set of texts of nondisputed authorship which represent the appropriate literary parameters.

DEVELOPING AND VERIFYING THE TECHNIQUE

Deriving the model becomes relatively unimportant compared to designing the control studies which verify or disprove the validity of the method. For our control studies, we specifically chose a representative set of literary texts which would test the extremes found in English-language writings. When we tested these control texts, we found that our technique yielded well-defined, bell-shaped distributions, showing that our new wordprint technique is essentially insensitive to the textual changes introduced by the differing literary parameters of genre, subject matter, writing period, position in an author's career, or normal publication editing.

Specifically, this extended verification study tested the validity of our model by calculating 325 diverse wordprint tests. These tests studied 26 noncontroversial 5000-word texts which had been written under various conditions by nine different control authors (see Appendix 3). The within-author and between-author results

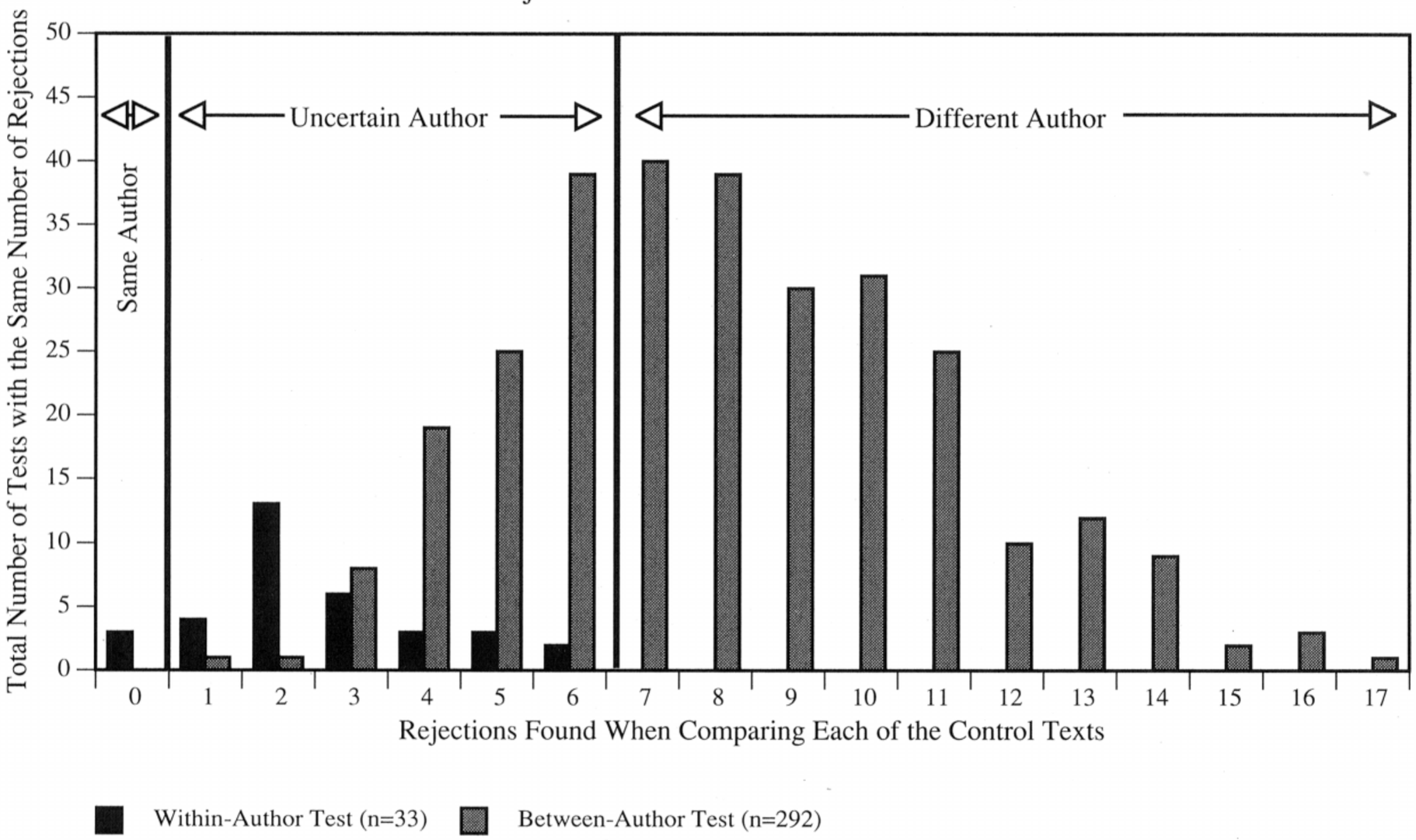
rigorously supported the basic wordprint assumption: although all authors have many writing habits in common, they each show measurably unique, stable rates for some noncontextual word patterns. Among the nondisputed documents that were used in the testing were texts by Oliver Cowdery and samples of Joseph Smith's autographic and dictated writings.

We also studied English translations of semiclassical texts written by different German authors. These academic translations were all carefully done by the same German-to-English translator. The wordprint measurements regarding translations provided three significant results: (1) each translated author is consistent within himself; (2) when several German authors are translated by the same person, the English rendition of each author is clearly separable from the others; and (3) the translator's other English writings have consistent wordprints that differ from any of his translated works.[17] These findings demonstrate that, at least when an academic translator tries to produce a close translation from one modern language to another, the uniqueness of an original author's wordprint can actually survive the translation process.[18]

The results of our verification tests are displayed in figure 1. Thirty-three of these tests are made by comparing texts written by the same author; 292 of the tests compared one author's writing against that of another author. The black bars represent the 33 within-author measurements, which yield a statistically smooth distribution peaking at about 2 rejections, a result that is theoretically expected.[19] The distribution peak for between-author comparisons is about 7 rejections. Therefore, about two thirds of the true between-author measurements fall above even the extremes of the within-author distribution. This result means that when any 5000-word disputed text is tested against a known author's comparable works and measures 7 or more rejections, the two texts are very likely not written by the same author.[20] The lower the number of rejections, the greater the likelihood that the two texts were written by the same author; the higher the number of rejections, the more likely that different authors composed the two compared texts.

If we have only two 5000-word texts and their paired testing measures 1 to 6 rejections (as is expected for a true between-author pair in about one third of the cases), we cannot assign authorship unambiguously because the within-author and between-author distributions overlap each other in this range. Similarly, for the few tests (about ten percent of the true within-author cases) that measure zero rejections, there is a high probability that the compared texts were written by the same author.

FIGURE 1. Results of Verification Tests Showing the Contrasting Distributions of Rejections for Within-Author and Between-Author Tests



SOME BOOK OF MORMON WORDPRINT MEASUREMENTS

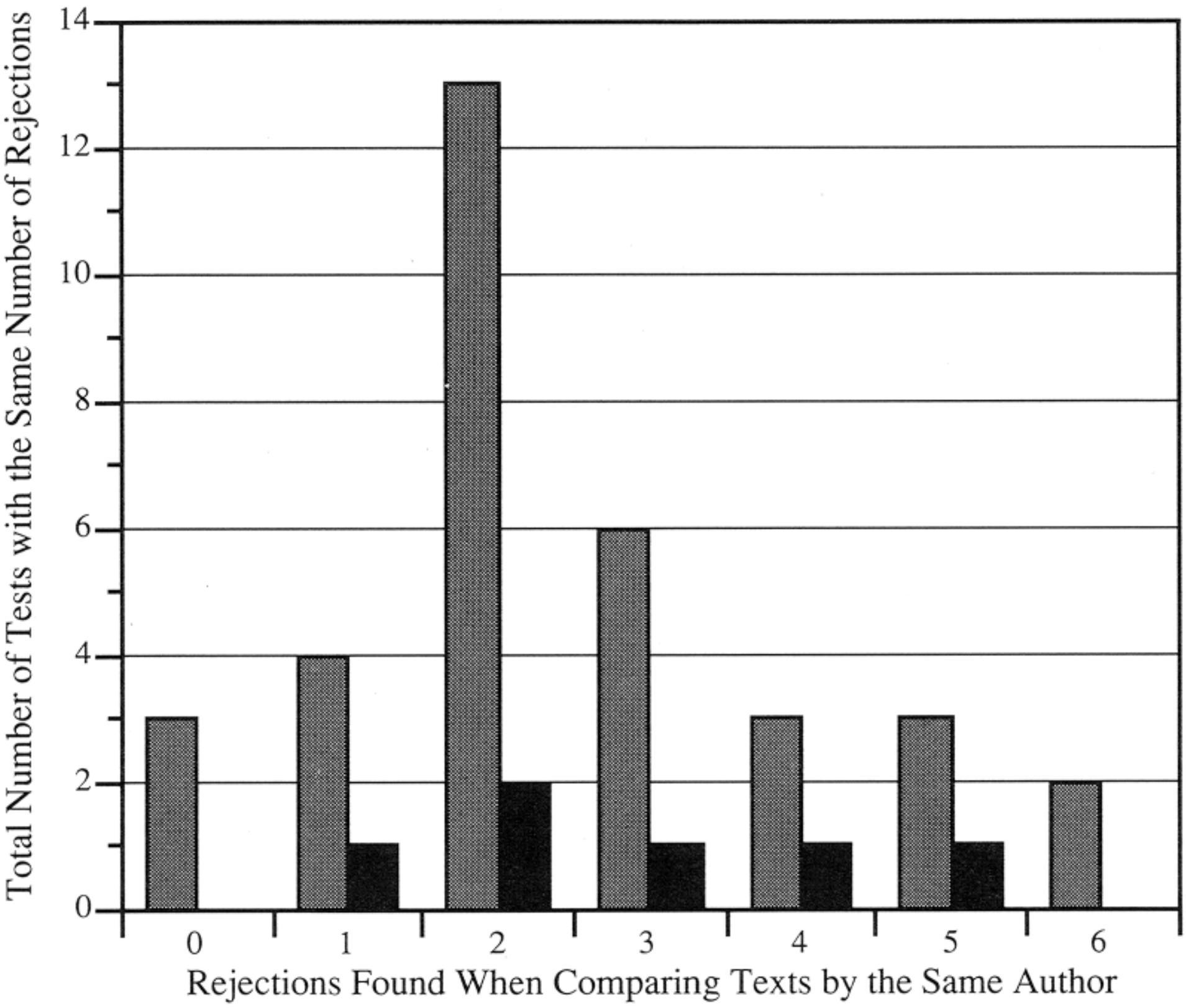
We wished to make the most conservative measurement possible; therefore we compared the two Book of Mormon authors who have the largest number of 5000-word texts. Further, even though our verification testing showed that our new wordprint measuring technique is not unduly sensitive to normal changes of genre, we still chose the more conservative comparison by testing only within the same literary form. Therefore, we selected for our critical Book of Mormon verification measurements three independent, 5000-word texts from the didactic writings of each of the two major purported Book of Mormon authors, Nephi and Alma. Those texts are the largest same-genre pair in the book. Besides eliminating any possible lingering concern that changing genre might artificially cause additional rejections, the use of the didactic genre has the advantage of essentially excluding the possibly troublesome phrase *and it came to pass*. This phrase is the only phrase used repetitively enough in the Book of Mormon to be troubling to wordprint measurements.

Our results are displayed starting with figure 2, which shows the distribution of the number of wordprint rejections for the six possible within-author tests of Nephi against Nephi and Alma against Alma. The within-author tests for both show the same distribution as the within-author tests of our control studies, shown in grey in figure 2.

Figure 3 is a plot of the rejection distribution calculated from the between-author tests of direct interest to the Book of Mormon authorship question. The black bars show the comparisons of the texts purportedly written by Nephi when tested against those purportedly written by Alma. The tests show the same relatively large number of rejections found in the between-author distribution in figure 1 (shown in figure 3 in grey), which was derived from the comparisons made between the texts of the different control authors.

Table 1 shows the measurements for the individual wordprint tests used in producing figures 2 and 3. Taking the comparisons of Nephi versus Alma, we found that in eight of the nine tests, 5 or more rejections resulted. Four of these tests produced 7, 8, 9, and 10 rejections. These four high-rejection tests (which yielded 7, 8, 9, and 10 rejections) independently measure a statistical confidence of greater than 99.5%, 99.9%, 99.99%, and 99.997% probability that these texts from Nephi were written by a different author than wrote Alma.[21] Therefore the Book of Mormon measures to be multiauthored according to its own internal claims.

FIGURE 2. Distribution of Rejections Resulting from the Book of Mormon Within-Author Tests and the Within-Author Control Texts



For the within-author comparisons of the Nephi vs. Nephi and Alma vs. Alma texts, the rejections range from 1 to at most 5, with the most numbers of rejections peaking at 2. Similarly, the other within-author tests show a tight internal consistency between the two Oliver Cowdery, two Solomon Spaulding, and three Joseph Smith 5000-word texts.[22]

CONCLUSIONS

By using a new wordprint measuring methodology which has been verified, we show that it is statistically indefensible to propose Joseph Smith or Oliver Cowdery or Solomon Spaulding as the author of the 30,000 words from the Book of Mormon manuscript texts attributed to Nephi and Alma. Additionally these two Book of Mormon writers have wordprints unique to themselves and measure statistically independent from each other in the same fashion that other uncontested authors do. Therefore, the Book of Mormon measures multiauthored, with authorship consistent to its own internal claims. These results are obtained even though the writings of Nephi and Alma were "translated" by Joseph Smith. We also described control studies of modern language academic translations where, in practice, a single translator can consistently preserve the unique wordprints of the several original authors he has translated.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1

Useful noncontextual word patterns meet the following conditions: they yield an unambiguous count, they occur frequently, they have common alternate expressions, their use rates tend to become habitual, and they are minimally affected by the period of the writer's career, the subject matter, and the genre. Therefore, useful word patterns are typically made up of key words such as common articles, conjunctions, and prepositions. Measurements are calculated from the ratio of the overall key-word-use rate against the same key-word-use rate in certain sentence positions, word collocations, proportional pairs, or the use of key words adjacent to certain parts of speech and novel vocabulary words.

FIGURE 3. Distribution of Rejections Resulting from the Book of Mormon Between-Author Tests and the Between-Author Control Tests

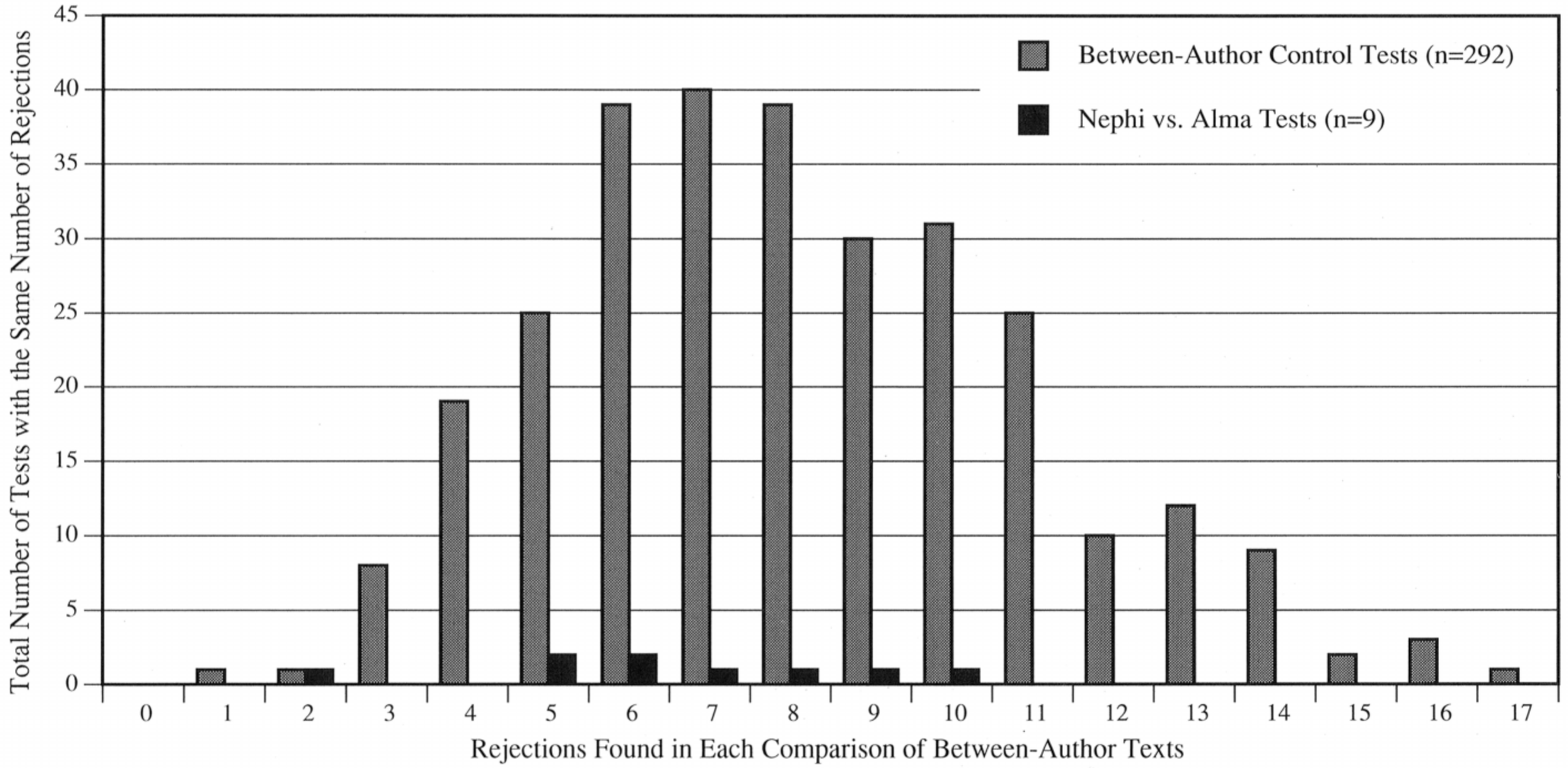


TABLE 1. Results of Book of Mormon Wordprint Study

Text vs. Text	Number of Rejections															
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Nephi vs. Nephi			1		1	1										
Alma vs. Alma		1	1	1												
Smith vs. Smith	1		2													
Cowdery vs. Cowdery		1														
Spaulding vs. Spaulding			1													
Nephi vs. Alma		1				2	2	1	1	1	1					
Smith vs. Nephi					1				2		1	1	1			
Smith vs. Alma				2	1	1		2								
Cowdery vs. Nephi							1	1				2		1	1	
Cowdery vs. Alma								4	1	1						
Spaulding vs. Nephi											1	1	1		1	2
Spaulding vs. Alma							3		2				1			
Conclusion	Same Author	Uncertain Author						Different Author								

After defining *sentence* as all groups of words ending in a logical full stop, Morton (1985) lists the symbols used to interpret his battery of word-pattern ratios as follows:

> # represents the number of end of sentence markers
>
> *fws* represents the first word in a sentence
>
> *lws* represents the last word in a sentence
>
> *2nd lws* represents the second to last word in a sentence
>
> *fb* means "followed by"
>
> *pb* means "preceded by"
>
> *x* represents any word
>
> *r+l* means that the word to the right and left are unique within the original 1000-word block.

For example, the test "A(fws)/#" yields this ratio: the number of times *A* appears as the first word in a sentence divided by the total number of sentences. Morton's word-pattern ratios follow:

A(fws)/#
AN(fws)/#
AND(fws)/#
IN(fws)/#
IT(fws)/#
IT(lws)/#
OF(fws)/#
OF(2nd lws)/#
THE(fws)/#
THE(2nd lws)/#
WITH(2nd lws)/#
A(2nd lws)/A
A(fb adj)/A
A(fb x AND)/A
A(fb x OF)/A
A x A/A
A x x A/A
AND(fb adj)/AND
AND(fb THE)/AND
AND(fb x OF)/AND
AND x AND/AND
AND x x AND/AND
AS x AS/AS
AS x x AS/AS
BE(fb A)/BE
BE(pb TO)/BE
BUT(fb A)/BUT
BY(fb THE)/BY
I(fb AM)/I
I(fb HAVE)/I
I x I/I
I x x I/I
IN(fb A)/IN
IN(fb THE)/IN
OF(fb A)/OF
OF(fb THE)/OF
OF(fb x AND)/OF
THE(pb AND)/THE
THE(pb OF)/THE
THE(pb IN)/THE
THE(pb TO)/THE
THE(fb x AND)/THE
THE(fb x THE)/THE
THE(fb x x THE)/THE
TO(fb BE)/TO
TO(fb THE)/TO
TO x TO/TO
TO x x TO/TO
YOU x YOU/YOU
YOU x x YOU/YOU
TO(between)VERBs/TO
AN/AN+A
ANY/ANY+ALL
NO/NO+NOT
UP/UP+UPON
WITH/WITHOUT+WITH
A(r)/A(r+l) use only
AND(r)/AND(r+l) only
IN(r)/IN(r+l) only
IT(r)/IT(r+l) only
I(r)/I(r+l) use only
OF(r)/OF(r+l) only
THAT(r)/THAT(r+l)
THE(r)/THE(r+l) only
TO(r)/TO(r+l) only

APPENDIX 2

The photonegative of the 1966 filming of the Book of Mormon printer's manuscript was courteously supplied, without endorsement, by the History Commission of the RLDS Church. By October

of 1982, a board of seven editors prepared a primitive Book of Mormon text using the following sources: (1) a computer file of the 1830 Palmyra first printed edition of the Book of Mormon developed in the BYU Language Research Center by L.K. Browning, (2) the photo-offset copy of the first edition printed by Wilford C. Wood, (3) a copy of the text of extant sections of the original dictation manuscript collected by L.K. Browning, and (4) the complete printer's manuscript. The editors prepared a composite file of the oldest sections from each manuscript to complete a Book of Mormon text computer file which we named "The Most Primitive Book of Mormon Manuscript Text." The editors also prepared and verified line headers which identified the apparent original author, the literary form, modern book, chapter, verse, and line notation for each line of text. Similar line headings are now published in *Book of Mormon Critical Text: A Tool for Scholarly Reference,* Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (hereafter cited as FARMS) STF-84aa, 3 vols. (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1984–87).

APPENDIX 3

All control-author samples were drawn from what were thought to be statistically independent source texts from each author's heretofore noncontested works. Care was taken in author and text selection so as to represent a wide variety of writing ability, general background, time period, literary training, genre or literary form, working vocabulary, and apparent purity of the nominally specified single author. The authors and texts (of 4998 words each unless marked otherwise) used in the verification study are as follows:

I. Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain)
- A. *Does the Race of Man Love a Lord?* an essay on American and European mores (1902) in *The Complete Humorous Sketches and Tales of Mark Twain,* ed. Charles Neider (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1961), 686–96.
- B. "Early Days," a narrative (1875) in *Mark Twain's Autobiography* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1875), 81–123.
- C. "Extracts from Adam's Diary," fanciful fiction, a spoofing translation, likely a satire on the Book of Mormon (1893) from "The Diary of Adam and Eve" in *The Complete Short Stories of Mark Twain,* ed. Charles Neider (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1985), 272–80, 288–94.
- D. "Eve's Diary (Translated from the Original)," companion to "Extracts from Adam's Diary" (C. above), author attempting to write for two different people (1905), 281–88.

II. Oliver Cowdery
- A. Written religious discourse and biographical essays from *Messenger and Advocate* (1830).
- B. A second selection from the same article series as used in (A) (1830).

III. Dr. William Dodd
- A. *Life of William Shakespeare,* an essay, only 3528 words (about 1770). Photocopy in possession of the author, original found in Yale Library.

IV. Robert Heinlein
- A. *The Number of the Beast,* fanciful science-fiction narrative; first-person narrative chapters simulating the writing of his character Hilda (New York: Ballantine, 1980).
- B. A second selection from *The Number of the Beast,* chapters simulating the first-person narrative of his character Deety (A. above).

V. Samuel Johnson
- A. *The Rambler,* first part of the newspaper essays (1750).
- B. A second selection from *The Rambler* (1751).
- C. *The Idler,* newspaper essays (1758).
- D. *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland,* a personal travelogue (1775).
- E. A second selection from (D) above (1775).
- F. *The Fountains: A Fairy Tale,* fanciful narrative (1766), only 4879 words (London: Elkin Mathews and Manot, 1927), 9–48.

VI. Joseph Smith
- A. Autographic letters to wife Emma, friends, and the Church (1834–38) in *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith,* comp. and ed. Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984).
- B. A second selection from (A) above (1836).
- C. *Pearl of Great Price,* Joseph Smith—History 1:1–75, dictated and carefully polished with the assistance of his clerks (1834–38).

VII. Harry Steinhauer
- A. "The Novella," an essay, written in English, in *Twelve German Novellas,* ed. and trans. Harry Steinhauer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), Introduction, ix–xxiii.
- B. A second selection from (A) above plus 1000 words from (C) below (1977 and 1974).
- C. *Heine and Cecile Furtado: A Reconsideration,* biographical essay, written in English, *Modern Language Notes* 89 (April 1974): 422–47.

VIII. Heinrich Von Kleist
- A. *Michael Kohlhaas,* novella, written in German (about 1850), trans. Harry Steinhauer (1977—see VII. A. above).
- B. A second selection from (A) above (about 1850).
- C. A third selection from (A) above (about 1850).

XI. Christoph M. Wieland
- A. *Love and Friendship Tested,* novella, written in German (about 1770), trans. Harry Steinhauer (1977—see VII. A. above).
- B. A second selection from (A) above (about 1770).

NOTES

[1]For Larsen, Rencher, and Layton's Book of Mormon wordprint study, see "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon? An Analysis of Wordprints," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 225–51.

[2]For a detailed discussion of wordprinting single-authored texts with a few thousand words, see John L. Hilton and Kenneth D. Jenkins, "On Maximizing Author Identification by Measuring 5000 Word Texts," FARMS (Provo, Utah: FARMS,1987).

[3]Works known to be written prior to computer-aided authorship are essentially immune. In principle one can argue that a modern, computer-assisted forger could manufacture a document capable of deceiving an authorship measurement. To attempt such a forgery would be an enormous task and would still leave the forger unsure beforehand as to which of all of the possible word patterns the wordprinter would ultimately use to test the manufactured document. Of course, such a fraudulent document would be susceptible to detection by the standard procedures now used to identify any pastiche.

[4]To be a valid measurement, the words must be essentially the free-flow choice of the purported author. Extensive quoting of someone else's words is different from free paraphrasing and, of course, tends to produce a wordprint closer to the pattern of the one being quoted. Further, deliberately writing to an externally imposed pattern which restricts the normal noncontextual word choices of the writer or repetitively using normally noncontextual words in textually important ways can also change the wordprint patterns. For an example of deliberate change in a wordprint, see Tim Hiatt and John Hilton, "Can Authors Alter their Wordprints? Faulkner's Narrators in *As I Lay Dying*," *Selected Papers from the Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Symposium,* ed. Melvin Luthy (Provo, Utah: Deseret Language and Linguistic Society, 1990). Examples of these wordprint problems found in the Book of Mormon are the extensive quotations from the King James Bible and the repetitive use of the phrase *and it came to pass*. Proper wordprint testing must take these special problems into account.

[5]A rejection results from the statistical calculation of a null-hypothesis rejection ($p<.05$) for any one of the tested word patterns as the two texts are compared. A rejection is considered statistically useful only for word patterns that can be found five or more times in either of the compared 5000-word texts.

[6]For the 1964 study, see F. W. Mosteller and D. Wallace, *Inference and Disputed Authorship: The Federalist Papers* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1964); second edition published as Frederick Mosteller and David L. Wallace, *Applied Bayesian and Classical Inference: The Case of the Federalist Papers* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1984).

[7]Morton's arguments for using word-pattern ratios instead of simple word-use rates are found in A. Q. Morton, *Literary Detection: How to Prove Authorship and Fraud in Literature and Documents* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978).

[8]Kendra L. Lindsay, "An Authorship Study of the Pauline Epistles" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1986).

[9]Larsen, Rencher, and Layton, "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon? An Analysis of Wordprints."

[10]Perhaps the most significant of the precomputer studies was Glade L. Burgon's "An Analysis of Style Variations in the Book of Mormon" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1950).

[11]Some publications that support Larsen, Rencher, and Layton's work, besides those referenced in nn. 8 and 14, include *New Era* 9 (November 1979): 10–13, and Noel B. Reynolds' *Book of Mormon Authorship: New Light on Ancient Origins,* Religious Studies Monograph Series vol. 7 (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1982).

Perhaps the latest neutral reference to their work, representing those in the scholarly community, would be Joseph Rudman at the Dynamic Text Conference, Toronto, Canada, 7 June 1989. In his presentation on authorship attribution in the literary computing session, Rudman noted their work as significant.

Among the anti-Book of Mormon references, likely the most extensive work provoked by the Larsen-Rencher-Layton study was an attempt at a wordprint measurement by Ernest H. Taves as reported in his book *Trouble Enough: Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1984), 225–60. Unfortunately, the Taves study was fundamentally flawed as described in the critique of his work (John L. Hilton, "Review of Ernest Taves' Book of Mormon Stylometry," FARMS HIL-86 [Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1986]), and therefore did nothing to add to or detract from their work.

[12]Hilton and Jenkins, "On Maximizing Author Identification."

[13]The Berkeley Group prepared extended word listings and counts from this composite Book of Mormon manuscript computer file during the time of its preparation and verification. These studies are in my possession. Representative of these studies are the following: "A Listing of the (Salt Lake) Book of Mormon References to Passages from the Text of the Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon for the Twenty-Four Major Authors, Their Literary Forms and Word Counts"; "Differences between the 1830 Edition and the Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon"; "Word Counts and Listings of Modern (Salt Lake) Book of Mormon References to Passages from the Text of the Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon for Each of the Nineteen Authors Having More than 2000 Words in a Single Literary Form"; "Individual Vocabularies and Word Counts for Each of the Twenty-Three Sections Which Were Assigned as a Single Literary Form from Text Taken from the Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon"; "Common Phrases between the King James Bible and the Book of Mormon."

[14]D. James Croft, "Book of Mormon 'Wordprints' Reexamined" *Sunstone* 6 (March–April 1981): 15–21.

[15]Significant assistance was received from Yehuda Radday of the Department of General Studies, Technion University, Haifa, Israel; Kenneth R. Beesley, graduate student working with Sidney Michaelson and A.Q. Morton, University of Edinburgh, School of Epistemics, Edinburgh, Scotland; and A.Q. Morton, The Abbey Mannse, Culross, Fife, Scotland. Personal communications.

[16]Hilton and Jenkins, "On Maximizing Author Identification."

[17]Subsequent to our study of the works of two German authors, we extended our work to include three more semiclassical German novella authors, all of whom had been translated by the same German-to-English translator, Harry Steinhauer. All of our new measurements gave the same results as before: each German author's translated work was internally consistent but distinctly different from all other translated authors' measurements.

[18]Not all translators need show these differing patterns. Some translators think their nonliteral "free translation" is preferable. Complete free translations could be expected to yield only the translator's personal paraphrase of the ideas from the original text. In the extreme, free translations would produce only a single wordprint pattern for all of the translator's personal writings and translations of different foreign authors' works.

[19]Typically between 40 to 47 of Morton's 65 word patterns are measured often enough to be accepted as statistically useful. We therefore expected that true within-author comparisons show an average rejections number at slightly over 5% (i.e. .05 x 40 = 2) as we compared the two texts, at alpha .05 or 95% probability. Our results confirmed our expectations.

[20]The level of confidence that two texts were written by different authors is calculated using the number of measured rejections against the full within-author distribution of rejections. Using a one-tailed student "t" test from xbar=2.58, s=1.60, df=32, we find:

> 7 rejections (t=2.76) gives >99.5% confidence that the two texts are statistically different and therefore written by different authors.
>
> 8 rejections (t=3.39) gives >99.9% confidence that the two texts are statistically different and therefore written by different authors.
>
> 9 rejections (t=4.02) gives >99.99% confidence that the two texts are statistically different and therefore written by different authors.
>
> 10 rejections (t=4.64) gives > 99.997% confidence that the two texts are statistically different and therefore written by different authors.

[21]Furthermore, because the data are categorical and in a statistical sense (approximately) independent, the probability is vanishingly small that Nephi and Alma could have had the same author in spite of all four texts measuring with high rejections. The combined probability would approach 1.3×10^{-14}. (This calculation is simply the product of each of the four probabilities for same authorship—one minus the probability for different authorship reported above—which would be $.005 \times .001 \times .0001 \times .00003 = 1.3 \times 10^{-14}$.) Approximate independence of the four paired-test texts is assumed, as is customary in wordprinting (see A. Q. Morton, 154–55, n.7). This approximate simultaneous calculation shows an enormous statistical overkill, demonstrating overwhelming statistical separation between the didactic writings of the purported Book of Mormon authors Nephi and Alma.

[22]Care was taken to insure that the texts used to represent the free-flow writing of Oliver Cowdery, Solomon Spaulding, and Joseph Smith were correctly chosen for minimal editorial rework and that they were correctly entered into the computer. In the case of Joseph Smith two of the three 5000-word files were taken from his own autographic writings, the third from the earliest version of his dictated work used for *Pearl of Great Price,* Joseph Smith—History 1:1–75. Solomon Spaulding was sampled from a certified transcript of his manuscript labeled "Manuscript Story." Oliver Cowdery is represented from bylined articles taken from numbers of the Kirtland, Ohio, newspaper *Messenger and Advocate* printed during the time he was the active editor.

His Name

What will ye that I shall give unto you?
3 Nephi 27:2

And they said, give us a name,
And He gave them His

as The Bridegroom gives
to his bride,
Israel.
as the father gives
to his children—
the Father of this world
to the children of men.

And what's in a name? A rose by any other . . .
But a name is more than this—it's

a powerful totem,
the mark of who we are,
Adam's first task,
Jacob's transformation,
the Word of creation.

And He gave us His Name as a key
To unlock our hearts to Him,

to remember that He is the fulcrum,
to know that His is the only name,
in all the world of names,
that lets us in.

—Sally Taylor

Laman Struggles Towards Morning

Mornings are no time for a sick, old man's rejoicing.
Mercifully there may not be another,

For all night I have struggled in and out of sleep
Or death—
A fever and a darkness seeping through my soul—
Troubled by what seemed to be my father's voice
Spreading with sorrow through the tangled images
Of slender trees with sweet fruit burning with whiteness
And blackened visions of Jerusalem in flames.

O Jerusalem, Jerusalem!

How bitter to be dying here
So far from my Jerusalem
So far from all the ease, and comfort
And the pleasure of my younger days

Clasping tightly to this single ruby
Taken quietly from all the silver, gold and precious stones
We placed in front of Laban's short lived greed.

It is a bitter gem,
So hard and red.

I have held it often to the sun
And seen the light glint crimson through its heart

And cursed my father and a younger brother
And cried my rage and misery toward the sky
Lamenting even loud enough for God to hear.

— Randall L. Hall

The Exodus Pattern in the Book of Mormon

S. Kent Brown

The memory of Israel's exodus from Egypt runs so deeply and clearly in the Book of Mormon that it has naturally drawn the attention of modern students. A major focus of recent studies has fallen on the departure of Lehi's family from Jerusalem as a replication, almost a mirror image—even in small details—of the flight of the Hebrews.[1] Such interest is reasonable because Nephite teachers themselves drew comparisons between Lehi's colony and their Israelite forebears. For instance, in an important speech, King Limhi referred to Israel's escape from Egypt and immediately drew a parallel to Lehi's departure from Jerusalem (Mosiah 7:19–20). Alma, in remarks addressed to his son Helaman, also consciously linked the Exodus from Egypt with Lehi's journey (Alma 36:28–29). More than once a prophet or teacher who wanted to prove to others that divine assistance could be relied on appealed to God's acts on behalf of the enslaved Israelites. This replication was the technique used by Nephi, for example, in his attempt to convince his recalcitrant brothers that God was leading their father, Lehi (1 Ne. 17:23–35). Furthermore, it was teachers in the Book of Mormon who first saw that the Exodus—the most wondrous of all God's acts on behalf of any people—was to be transcended by the grandeur of the Atonement.[2] In what follows, I propose to sketch out some of the primary colors of the wonderfully variegated vista of the Exodus that is portrayed in the Book of Mormon.

LEHI'S FAMILY REENACTS THE EXODUS

There is no clear statement indicating that the members of Lehi's immediate family understood that their departure from Jerusalem was a reenactment of Israel's flight to freedom. It is necessary, therefore, to sift through the evidence piece by piece.

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In the one passage that might form the base of an argument for conscious reenactment, 1 Nephi 4:1–3, the comparisons are rather narrowly drawn.[3] Chapter four opens with Nephi's brief address of encouragement to his brothers, who were understandably discouraged after their second unsuccessful attempt to obtain the plates of brass from Laban. Declaring that the Lord could overcome the strength of Laban and any fifty of his men, Nephi mentioned Moses and the miraculous crossing of the sea that led to deliverance for the Israelites and to death for "the armies of Pharaoh" (4:2). Nephi then tried to shore up his brothers' resolve by pointing out that they had also been instructed by an angel, then added that "the Lord is able to deliver us, even as our fathers, and to destroy Laban, even as the Egyptians" (4:3). With these words, Nephi made clear his belief that the Lord would assist the efforts of his brothers and himself just as He had aided their Israelite forebears. But that is as far as Nephi pursued the analogy.[4] Even so, commentators from Hugh Nibley[5] to Tate and Szink have drawn together an impressive array of evidence that points to Lehi's exodus as a replication of that of the Israelites. But it was not Nephi or Jacob, members of Lehi's immediate family, who made this connection explicitly; instead, it was others who came five hundred years later.[6] In the writings of Nephi and Jacob, however, allusions plainly abound,[7] and I believe the case for conscious reenactment can be made by examining the total picture in a way that accurately represents the views of the founding generation as well as the views of later Nephite writers.

We can list an extended series of similarities and echoes between the experiences of the Israelites and those of Lehi's family: the call to the responsible leader through a revelation accompanied by fire (Ex. 3:2–4; 1 Ne. 1:6); the despoiling of the Egyptians and the taking of Laban's possessions (Ex. 12:35–36; 1 Ne. 4:38; 2 Ne. 5:12, 14); deliverance on the other side of a water barrier (Ex. 14:22–30; 1 Ne. 17:8; 18:8–23, in which the driving wind surely is divinely directed); an extended period of wandering (Ex. 16:35; Num. 14:33; 1 Ne. 17:4); complaints along the way (Ex. 15:24; 16:2–3; 17:2–3, etc.; 1 Ne. 2:11–12; 5:2–3; 16:20, 25, 35–38; 17:17–22); outright rebellion (Num. 16:1–35; 25:1–9; 1 Ne. 7:6–16; 18:9–21); and a new law that was to govern the Lord's people (Ex. 20:2–17; 1 Ne. 2:20–24; etc.). Of course, other similarities and allusions could also be listed.

However, in order to demonstrate decisively whether members of Lehi's family were aware of the high drama of their own exodus, several factors must be taken into account. Nephi wrote his two books on the small plates apparently within a fixed period of his life, some thirty years after departing from Jerusalem (2 Ne. 5:28–32).

As a result, the full account of 1 and 2 Nephi must be seen holistically, Nephi having benefited from many years of reflection and from writing in his other, more detailed account of the same incidents (2 Ne. 5:29, 33). Considering Nephi's knowledge as he wrote the narrative brings us to a tricky issue: was there a gradual or a sudden dawning in Nephi's consciousness that, in Tate's words, he and "his own family [would] replicate the Exodus?"[8] We do find constant reminders of the Exodus throughout Nephi's narrative, both by direct reference, as Tate and Szink have shown, and through language and description that are at home in the biblical account.[9] Nevertheless, since we possess no undeniably explicit statement from Nephi—or from Jacob his brother, for that matter—but do possess a substantial number of allusions and quotations connected to the exodus account, the case must be made cumulatively.

NEPHITE BONDAGE AND THE EXODUS

The exodus pattern occurs also in the account of the Nephite colony that left Zarahemla under the leadership of a man named Zeniff (Mosiah 7–24). The avowed purpose of the colonists was to return to the land of Nephi, where Nephite civilization had grown up, in order "to go up to possess the land" (Mosiah 9:3).[10] In this account we read of the subsequent escape and return to Zarahemla of two different groups of colonists. One consisted of the people who followed Alma. They fled from the armies of King Noah (Mosiah 18:31–35; 23:1–5, 19) and later from Lamanite captors.[11] The second group was led by King Noah's son Limhi, who, with the aid of sixteen warriors from Zarahemla, also eluded their Lamanite overlords (Mosiah 22:1–13).[12] In each case, the text makes it clear that the Lord orchestrated events and maneuvered people in the period leading up to deliverance from bondage.[13]

This is precisely the way events in the Book of Exodus are to be read.[14] For example, the Hebrew slaves in Egypt quickly learned that Pharaoh and his officers could not be trusted to maintain long-standing agreements.[15] The Nephite colonists similarly viewed themselves as victims of capricious overlords. Limhi explicitly compares the Nephites to the captive Israelites in his impassioned speech at the temple in the city of Lehi-Nephi where he rehearses what God has done for His two peoples in the past, referring first to the events of the Exodus from Egypt and then to the events of Lehi's departure from Jerusalem:

> Lift up your heads, and rejoice, and put your trust in God, in that God who was the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; and also, that God who brought the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, and

> caused that they should walk through the Red Sea on dry ground, and fed them with manna that they might not perish in the wilderness; and many more things did he do for them. And again, that same God has brought our fathers out of the land of Jerusalem, and has kept and preserved his people even until now.[16]

Turning next to the situation of his own people, Limhi notes that the Lamanite king had entered into an agreement with his own grandfather "for the sole purpose of bringing this people into subjection or into bondage" (Mosiah 7:22). Limhi clearly saw the parallels between the difficulties that the people of his colony faced in their bondage and those that both the earlier Israelites and the family of Lehi had faced. Of course Limhi knew the reason for the suffering of his people. He laid it squarely at the feet of his father and the earlier generation's rejection of the word of the Lord brought by the prophet Abinadi (Mosiah 7:25–28).[17] Even so, King Limhi was determined to escape, and he was given hope by the successes of his forebears (Mosiah 7:33).

Several similarities between the Israelite exodus and that of the two Nephite colonies are immediately obvious. In all instances the captives escaped into the wilderness with flocks and herds (Ex. 12:32, 38; Mosiah 22:10–11; 23:1; 24:18). Escaping with their livestock was no small matter, for according to David Daube, taking one's possessions was one of the rights of a slave when freed.[18] In addition, according to Psalm 105:37, there was not a feeble person among the departing Hebrew slaves, a clear indication of God's care and protective guidance.[19] The same is plainly implied about the flight of everyone in the two Nephite groups. Furthermore, the Lord softened the hearts of those who stood in the way of the captives' departure, and the Lamanite overseers and guards treated their captives more gently and kindly (Ex. 11:3; 12:36; Mosiah 21:15; 23:29). Finally, and perhaps most important, in each instance the events prior to departure were orchestrated by the Lord on his terms, a clear feature of the exodus narrative. For instance, even when sixteen soldiers arrived from Zarahemla, Limhi was quick to recognize in his speech at the temple that the way out was not with the aid of swords or armor. As a matter of fact, he instructed his people to "put your trust in God, . . . that God who brought the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt" (Mosiah 7:19).

It is possible, indeed, to see Alma the elder as a type of Moses. While I do not wish to press this point too far, the parallels are intriguing. Each was a member of a royal court and was forced to flee because of an injustice. Each led his people from the clutches of enslaving overlords. Each led them through the wilderness to the land from which their ancestors had originated. Moreover, each

gave the law to his people and placed them under covenant to obey the Lord.[20] In addition, because of his unusual spiritual gifts, Alma was commissioned by King Mosiah, whom he had never met prior to his arrival in Zarahemla, to lead and direct the affairs of the church there, even superseding in position and authority those priests who surrounded Mosiah and were obviously in positions to influence and make policy.[21] Moses, too, was placed by the Lord at the head of his people who had been served by other priests.

One of the most important Book of Mormon passages consists of the Lord's assurances to a troubled Alma. This passage further underscores the connection with Moses. In this case, Alma was seeking to know what to do with members of the church who had gone astray and forsaken their covenants. Even though by this time Alma and his people had been delivered from physical bondage years before, in his reply to Alma's prayers the Lord makes certain kinds of promises for those who are willing to bear his name and remain faithful to their covenants. And these promises are guaranteed in a particular way: by the Lord using his name "the Lord" as the ultimate assurance that he could be trusted (Mosiah 26:26).[22] Beginning in verse 17 of chapter 26 and continuing to the end of the Lord's revelation in verse 32, there is a consistent pattern of the pronouns *I*, *my*, and *mine*, which stand out in this part of the account. A similar phenomenon occurs in the sixth chapter of Exodus, beginning with verse 1 and ending with verse 8. Here, too, a prophet—Moses—has come before the Lord with a troubled heart. To be sure, the occasion of his appeal to God is different, for in this instance he is simply seeking to learn why Pharaoh has succeeded not only in rejecting and rebuffing him but also in making life more difficult for the Hebrew slaves. From Moses' query (Ex. 5:22–23), it is evident that he had initially thought that he would have an easier time overcoming Pharaoh's intransigence. In the Lord's answer to Moses, there is a striking series of pronouns in the first person, a divine response richly clothed with references to *I* and *my*. Perhaps most importantly, as a signal both to Moses and to Alma, the Lord identifies himself by saying, "I am the Lord," the ultimate assurance to the hearer that God is to be trusted and relied upon.[23]

Thus there are a number of strands running through these chapters of Mosiah that not only chronicle the stories of a Nephite colony in the land of Nephi, but that also lead the reader to understand that the colonists' escape and deliverance from bondage are to be understood as something of a reenactment—and thus a reassurance—of an earlier age, an earlier people, an earlier series of acts by a kind God towards a downtrodden people. Doubtless Mormon, the editor of these reports, saw an important purpose in

narrating them. He himself may have taken comfort from their content, seeing as he did his own people charging toward the abyss of extinction (Morm. 5:1–5; 6:17–22). In these accounts, he must have seen a story of hope for those who stand in need of divine deliverance.

EXODUS AS PROOF OF GOD'S POWER

Nephite teachers and prophets also cited the exodus account as a proof of God's ability to fulfill his promises. God's faithfulness is apparent in Nephi's remarks of encouragement to his despairing brothers (1 Ne. 4:1–3) and in several other passages. For example 1 Nephi 17 chronicles the arrival of Lehi's family at the seashore, the Lord's command to Nephi to build a ship, and the brothers' belligerent reaction to this news. Nephi's rather long response offers the exodus experience as his first and chief proof of "the power of God" and the power of "his word" (vv. 23–51). Again in 2 Nephi 25:20, Nephi refers to elements of the exodus experience—specifically the healing of those bitten by the poisonous serpents that had invaded Israel's camp (Num. 21:6–9)[24] and the miraculous flow of water from the rock struck by Moses—as surety of God's unerring power.[25]

Nephi, son of Helaman, also draws upon the exodus tradition in words spoken while he was upon the tower in his garden. His audience consisted largely of passersby (Hel. 7:11–12) and included "men who were judges, who also belonged to the secret band of Gadianton" (Hel. 8:1). After he had warned his hearers that, because of their sins, they could expect destruction (7:22–28)—a fact he knew by revelation (7:29)—he was rebutted by those who claimed "that this is impossible, for behold, we are powerful, and our cities great, therefore our enemies can have no power over us" (Hel. 8:5–6). In his response to these notions, Nephi unfolded a series of proofs, all drawn from scripture, to the effect that God has power to fulfill his word.[26] His chief example consisted of the exodus account, specifically the miracle at the sea:

> Behold, my brethren, have ye not read that God gave power unto one man, even Moses, to smite upon the waters of the Red Sea, and they parted hither and thither, insomuch that the Israelites, who were our fathers, came through upon dry ground, and the waters closed upon the armies of the Egyptians and swallowed them up? (Hel. 8:11)

Thus far, Nephi had only drawn attention to this single incident to demonstrate God's marvelous power over nature and people. But for his immediate purposes, he carried it one step further: "And now behold, if God gave unto this man such power, then why should ye dispute among yourselves, and say that he hath given unto me no

power whereby I may know concerning the judgments that shall come upon you except ye repent?" (Hel. 8:12). With this comment, Nephi makes it clear that the acceptance of God's power as manifested at the Red Sea also leads to acceptance of his ability to reveal or make known "the judgments that shall come." In other words, it is the same divine power that brings about both the miracles and the revelations of what is yet future. Nephi subsequently points out another event associated with the Exodus, the raising of the "brazen serpent in the wilderness," that points prophetically to the coming Son of God (Hel. 8:14–15). Most important for our discussion, once again, is the centrality of the Exodus as a proof.

The final passage I shall review in this light appears in the instructions of Alma the younger to his son Helaman (Alma 36).[27] This passage has been examined by others, though with a different set of questions.[28] The first and last verses in this chapter restate the promise that "inasmuch as ye shall keep the commandments of God ye shall prosper in the land." The last verse adds, "And ye ought to know also, that inasmuch as ye will not keep the commandments of God ye shall be cut off from his presence" (Alma 36:30). These scriptures summarizing the teachings of Alma concerning promises and penalties find a detailed counterpart in Moses' last instructions to his people in the book of Deuteronomy. Significantly, the Israelites were about to take possession of a promised land, and Moses' words were not only full of promises to those who would obey the Lord, but also bristling with penalties for those who might disobey.[29] Thus even the words that open and close Alma 36 are linked to the larger exodus experience. Moreover, verses 1 and 2, along with verses 27 and 29 at the chapter's end, all speak of God's marvelous power to deliver and support those in bondage and afflictions. The key terms are words such as *bondage, captivity,* and *afflictions* on the one hand, and *trust, power,* and *deliverance* on the other. At the heart of this chapter, of course, lies the remarkable story of Alma's dramatic conversion, in which he was "born of God." And this story, as Alma recounts it, includes reminiscences of the Exodus. For instance, he testifies that trusting in the Lord leads to divine support and deliverance (vv. 3, 27).[30] Further, Alma's early life was characterized by rebellion, certainly a dimension of Israel's experience. In addition, the matter at issue in the Lord's intervention with Alma was not His own worthiness. The same must be said of the Israelites. Finally, the entire chapter consists of Alma's recitation of his own story; it therefore resembles in a general sense the memorized recitations learned by Israelites of God's wondrous acts performed on their behalf during the Exodus.[31]

EXODUS AND THE ATONEMENT

A review of Alma 36 leads naturally to the observation that the Exodus was linked typologically to the effects of Jesus' atonement. Alma's autobiographical recitation of his experience here, joined with the biographical account narrated in Mosiah 27, forms a transparent example.[32] As I have noted, Alma's rehearsal of his remarkable experience of being born of God (Alma 36) is bracketed by both the mention of the Deuteronomic promise of prosperity (vv. 1, 30) and the appeal to his son Helaman to remember "the captivity of our fathers" (vv. 2, 28).[33] Between these brackets, Alma recalls his experience in a way that not only demonstrates the effectiveness of the Atonement before Jesus worked it out but also links his deliverance from the bonds of sin to Israel's deliverance from the bondage of slavery.[34]

As far as I can determine, Jacob, son of Lehi, was the first writer to link exodus language with the Atonement. Although any discussion is limited to the texts selected and edited for the Book of Mormon record, and although it is possible that someone else in Jacob's family—such as his father or elder brother Nephi—saw the connection initially, the texts at hand point directly to Jacob.

The tie between the two concepts is made in Jacob's long speech in 2 Nephi 6–10. In this address, Jacob quotes Isaiah 50–52:2, a passage that speaks of Israel's new exodus or gathering when "the Messiah will set himself again the second time to recover" the house of Israel (2 Ne. 6:14). These particular verses of Isaiah brim with allusions to the Exodus even as they speak of the gathering. After quoting this extensive segment from Isaiah, Jacob turns to "things to come" (9:4), first reviewing the implications of the Fall (vv. 6–9) before he turns to address the broader picture that includes the "power of resurrection" (v. 6) and the "infinite atonement" (v. 7): "O how great the goodness of our God, who prepareth a way for our escape from the grasp of this awful monster; yea, that monster, death and hell, which I call the death of the body, and also the death of the spirit" (2 Ne. 9:10). The notion of "our escape," while not mirroring specific vocabulary associated with the Exodus, certainly evinces the image of Israel's flight from Egypt. And Jacob's use of the phrase *I call* plainly indicates that this association of the second exodus, spoken of in the prior two chapters, with the Atonement is an interpretation that he has arrived at independently of others. At this moment Jacob chooses to illustrate how closely these ideas are linked together:

> And because of the way of deliverance of our God, the Holy One of Israel, this death, of which I have spoken, which is the temporal, shall

> deliver up its dead; which death is the grave. And this death of which I have spoken, which is the spiritual death, shall *deliver* up its dead; which spiritual death is hell; wherefore, death and hell must *deliver* up their dead, and hell must *deliver* up its *captive* spirits, and the grave must *deliver* up its *captive* bodies, and the bodies and the spirits of men will be *restored* one to the other; and it is by the power of the resurrection of the Holy One of Israel. (2 Ne. 9:11–12; italics added)

The first word that catches the eye in this passage is *deliverance,* a term whose verbal root is fully at home in the exodus narrative. An apparently related verbal form then appears four times as "deliver up" in the next few lines.[35] Moreover, the adjective *captive* obviously echoes Israel's bondage. Even though this term does not appear in the exodus narrative per se, it is used in Isaiah's prophecy concerning the new exodus (Isa. 51:14), which Jacob has just quoted (2 Ne. 8:14). In addition, the notion of being "restored," while again not reflecting specific vocabulary associated with the Exodus, is certainly the central notion lying behind the concept of a new exodus or gathering back to former lands. Indeed, Jacob plainly understands the issue in this way because he observes that those "carried away captive" from Jerusalem "should return again" (2 Ne. 6:8–9) and that "the Messiah will set himself again the second time to recover them" (6:14).

It is worth noting that the whole of Jacob's address is laced with allusions to and echoes of the Exodus. At the outset, he states that he will speak "concerning things which are, and which are to come" (6:4) as well as "concerning all the house of Israel" (6:5). It is to achieve the latter purpose that he quotes a long segment from Isaiah. Of at least thirty-three allusions to the Exodus that appear in Jacob's words (2 Ne. 6, 9–10) and in Isaiah 50:1–52:2 (2 Ne. 7–8), the following are especially significant:

1. Israel is to "return again" (2 Ne. 6:9).

2. The Lord God is to "manifest himself," a self-disclosure that recalls the self-disclosures on the holy mount (6:9).

3. The scattered of Israel are to "come to the knowledge of their Redeemer" (6:11, 15, 18).

4. They will return "to the lands of their inheritance" (6:11, 10:7–8).

5. The Lord is to "be merciful" to his people (6:11).

6. The Messiah is "to recover them" a second time (6:14).

7. Pestilence is mentioned, recalling the plagues (6:15).

8. The phrase added to Isaiah 49:25 that appears in 2 Nephi 6:17 clearly points to the Exodus: "the Mighty God shall deliver his covenant people."

9. The Lord is able to redeem (7:2), and "the redeemed of the Lord shall return" (8:11).

10. The Lord is able to deliver (7:2; 9:11–13, 26).

11. The Lord is able to dry up "the sea," "rivers," and "waters" (7:2; more explicit in 8:10; compare "waves" in 8:15).

For the believers among the Nephite and Lamanite peoples, the one event that transcended all others—including the Exodus—was the Atonement, revealed as a surety in the risen Jesus' visit to the temple in the land of Bountiful. An intriguing feature in the report of this event is the rich set of allusions to the Exodus,[36] beginning with the widespread destruction that formed a prelude to Jesus' arrival in the Americas. Though Mormon does not include an evaluation of the devastation to food supplies for both humans and animals, the account can legitimately be read as pointing to such disruption since "the whole face of the land was changed" and "the face of the whole earth became deformed" (3 Ne. 8:12, 17). Further, the entire infrastructure was ruined: "the highways were broken up, and the level roads were spoiled, and many smooth places became rough . . . and the places were left desolate" (8:13, 14). The plagues that were a prelude to the Exodus also resulted in at least the interruption of normal living and in some cases destruction among all forms of life. The plague of hail was especially ruinous, decimating "all that was in the field, both man and beast; and the hail smote every herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field" (Ex. 9:25). The locusts that followed "did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left," completing the devastation of crops necessary to sustain both human and animal life (Ex. 10:15).

Jesus' quotations from the Old Testament, particularly the work of Isaiah, also include allusions to the Exodus.[37] In 3 Nephi 16, which rehearses the Father's plans for both Gentiles and Israel, the ancient covenant people, the conclusion of Jesus' sayings—as well as those attributed to the Father (vv. 7–15)—consists of a quotation of Isaiah 52:8–10. In Isaiah this passage stands in a context that refers to the Exodus on the one hand (Isa. 52:2–4, 11–12) and on the other to the coming Servant of the Lord, the Messiah-king (Isa. 52:13–53:12). General themes include the redemption of Zion "without money" (52:3) and the departure of God's people from the unclean to the clean (v. 11). Besides mentioning Egypt as the place

of Israel's sojourning (v. 4), the Lord affirms that he "will go before you [redeemed of Israel]; and the God of Israel will be your rereward" (v. 12), a clear reference to the divine protection the Israelite camp received during the Exodus. Moreover, in the new redemption two features of the former exodus are to be reversed: "For ye shall not go out with haste, nor go by flight" (v. 12).

An allusion to the Exodus also occurs in Jesus' miraculous provision of bread and wine on the second day of his visit to the Nephites and Lamanites. While the analogy between this act and Jehovah's provision of water and manna to the children of Israel in the wilderness has already received some attention,[38] I propose to follow additional dimensions of the account as it is narrated in 3 Nephi 20. The gifts of water and manna in the desert brought life to the fleeing Hebrews. In the case of Jesus' gifts, although the bread and wine in a sense commemorate his death, more importantly they celebrate his life with the accompanying promise that the partakers will "be filled" (20:8) and thus nourished. And they were indeed filled, for on both the first and second day the whole multitude ate and drank until their hunger and thirst had been satisfied.[39] It was in an effort to provide for Israel's physical needs that the Lord made the water and manna available, with obvious accompanying spiritual blessings. The miracle of Jesus' producing bread and wine (20:3–7) recalls the manna and water in the wilderness all the more emphatically when we note that on the first day of his visit he had asked for bread and wine to be brought (3 Ne. 18:1–3). Indeed, the reader is left with the impression that bread would also have been available on day two—unless it were the Sabbath—and therefore Jesus went out of his way to make his point when providing the elements of the sacrament.

The final distinctive similarity that I wish to explore arises from the legal customs associated with recovering a person enslaved abroad.[40] In such cases, one or more envoys were supplied with credentials that they were to present as representatives of the one seeking recovery. The envoys were sent by the protector at home to entreat with the captor. Moses returned to Egypt as one empowered to recover those enslaved: "That God, himself outside Egypt, at the burning bush, should send Moses accords with the normal procedure in these affairs."[41] Significantly, Jesus came to the gathering in the land of Bountiful as a Moses, an observation that he emphatically underscores in 3 Nephi 20:23, where he applies to himself the prophecy of Moses recorded in Deuteronomy 18:15, with slight variation: "Behold, I am he of whom Moses spake, saying: A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, *like unto me*" (italics added).

In the exodus account, Moses and Aaron are sent as envoys (Ex. 3:10; 4:10–16) and, in unusual fashion, present to Pharaoh the "credentials" that demonstrate they represent the Lord (Ex. 7:8–12). In a related vein, it was sometimes necessary to convince the prisoner himself of the representative's authority. In Moses' case, Moses had anticipated the need to win over the Hebrew slaves and consequently had been equipped by the Lord with tokens that the Israelites would recognize as coming from their God, including knowledge of God's name and power to perform three signs.[42] When we turn to 3 Nephi, the need and the effort to recover those who are captives of sin become clear.[43] The principal differences, of course, are that the risen Jesus, the one who seeks the recovery, comes in person rather than sending a messenger and there is no captor to whom he needs to present his credentials.[44] Important features of Jesus' visit grow out of the scene in which he presents his "credentials" and the tokens of his mission to those whom he seeks to rescue. Note the overtones in the wonderful moments just after his arrival: "Behold, *I am* Jesus Christ, whom the prophets testified shall come into the world. And behold, *I am* the light and the life of the world" (3 Ne. 11:10–11; italics added). The similarities with Moses' situation are obvious. Jesus identifies himself as the one whom the gathered crowd has been expecting. Moses, too, had to identify himself as the envoy of Israel's God (Ex. 4:29–31). Further, Jesus announces himself specifically by using the divine name I AM, the same name Moses carried from his interview on the holy mount (Ex. 3:14).[45] Additionally, as Moses had carried at least one token of his commission in the form of a physical malady—his arm that could be made leprous (Ex. 4:6–8)—so Jesus bears the tokens of his crucifixion in his person. Moreover, to demonstrate the validity of his wounds, Jesus asks the entire crowd of twenty-five hundred people (3 Ne. 17:25) to come forward so that "ye may thrust your hands into my side, and also that ye may feel the prints of the nails in my hands and in my feet" (11:14). Finally, as the children of Israel had "believed" Moses and had then "bowed their heads and worshipped" (Ex. 4:31), so the people in Bountiful, after "going forth one by one . . . did know of a surety and did bear record, that it was he, of whom it was written by the prophets, that should come" (3 Ne. 11:15). They, too, "did fall down at the feet of Jesus, and did worship him" (11:17).

Even though this study has not pushed into all the corners and byways of the Book of Mormon text, I believe that I have explored enough to show that the theme of God's mighty acts in the Exodus, performed on behalf of ancient Israel, colors many accounts in the Nephite record. Not only do certain expressions and words suggest

that the family of Lehi and Sariah—particularly Nephi—saw connections between their experiences and those of their ancient forebears, it is apparent that the Exodus came to be seen as the paradigm for God's deliverance of Nephite peoples whenever they found themselves in bondage. The events of the Exodus were regularly appealed to by prophets and teachers as the proof *par excellence* that God is capable of seeing his own purposes to their divinely appointed ends. The Book of Mormon makes clear that the Exodus is surpassed by the Atonement of Jesus as the most momentous event in the history of salvation. Yet, the descriptions of the Atonement and its significance are woven into tapestries of awe-inspiring hues by using threads and strands which also formed the warp and weft of the exodus account. Once again, we see the Book of Mormon as the repository of an extraordinarily rich tradition with ancient roots, a work of stunning complexity and nuanced subtlety.

NOTES

[1]Notable are George S. Tate, "The Typology of the Exodus Pattern in the Book of Mormon," in *Literature of Belief: Sacred Scripture and Religious Experience,* ed. Neal E. Lambert, Religious Studies Monograph Series, vol. 5 (Provo: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1981), 245–62; a summary of work by George S. Tate, John W. Welch, and Avraham Gileadi in "Research and Perspectives: Nephi and the Exodus," *Ensign* 17 (April 1987): 64–65; Noel B. Reynolds, "The Political Dimension in Nephi's Small Plates," *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987), particularly the Moses-Nephi typology on 22, 24, 29, 33; Terrence L. Szink, "To a Land of Promise (1 Nephi 16–18)" in *Studies in Scripture: Volume Seven, 1 Nephi to Alma 29,* ed. Kent P. Jackson (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1987), 60–72.

[2]Tate, "Typology," 254–59, has drawn attention to Christ's fulfillment of the exodus pattern in the Book of Mormon.

[3]Reynolds has suggested that at this point "Nephi practically likens himself to Moses" ("Political Dimension," 22, 24). Compare Tate's observations: "Though the correspondences between the exodus of the Israelites and this exodus are compelling, Nephi's conscious sense of reenacting the pattern is even more striking. . . . But at this point [1 Ne. 4:2] he cannot have known how apt the allusion (to the Red Sea incident) really is. . . . As his awareness grows, he alludes with increasing frequency to the Exodus" ("Typology," 250). In my view, the notion of a conscious reenactment is difficult to maintain since Nephi's principal interest here is to cite Moses' experience as proof that the Lord can and will aid him and his demoralized brothers. However, in other passages to which Reynolds has drawn attention ("Political Dimension," 29, 33), the possible comparisons—consciously noted by Nephi—between himself and Moses are stronger.

[4]The issue turns additionally on the understanding of the word "also" in 1 Nephi 5:15, hardly a feature upon which to erect a thesis. If Nephi means that the Israelite slaves had been led by God, as his family had, then it would be possible to conclude that the first generation or two plainly saw the family's departure to a promised land as a replication of the earlier exodus. But the passage can readily be understood in other ways. Compare also 1 Nephi 17:13–14, 37.

[5]Hugh W. Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon,* 3d ed., vol. 6 of *The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley,* ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City and Provo, Utah: Deseret Book Co. and Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1988), 135–44.

[6]Note the words of King Limhi, Mosiah 7:19–20, and the words of Alma the younger, Alma 36:28–29.

[7]Tate notes twelve exodus features that are touched on or replicated in 1 Nephi; of these, fully nine are linked more or less closely with chapter 17 (see column 3 of his chart, "Typology," 258–59).

[8]Tate, "Typology," 250.

[9]Szink's observation, for example, on the use of the verb *to murmur* is compelling ("Land of Promise," 64–65).

[10]The first region settled by Lehi's family was called both the land of Nephi (2 Ne. 5:8; Omni 1:27) and the land of Lehi-Nephi (Mosiah 7:1; 9:6). After approximately four hundred years, Nephite inhabitants were forced to abandon this region because of military pressures (Omni 1:12–13).

[11]In Mosiah 24:10–25 the vocabulary alone echoes that of the Israelite exodus: they *cried* to the Lord (vv. 10–11; compare 23:28 and Ex. 3:7, 9) because of their *bondage* (vv. 13, 16, 17, 21; compare Ex. 1:14; 2:23; 6:5–6; etc.); and he set about to *deliver* them (vv. 13, 16–17, 21; compare 23:23–24, 27, and Ex. 3:8).

[12]In this case, too, certain key terms recall Israel's exodus: *bondage* (22:1–4), *cry* (21:14–15), and *deliver* (22:1–2; compare 21:5, 14, 36).

[13]For Limhi's situation, see Mosiah 21:5, 14–15; for Alma's, see Mosiah 23:23–24; 24:13, 16–17. The difference in the relative prominence of the Lord's involvement in the deliverance of the two peoples may be due to the fact that Alma's group was blessed with a prophet and Limhi's people were not. Note King Mosiah's views on the matter in his public letter (Mosiah 29:19–20).

[14]See J. Coert Rylaarsdam, "The Book of Exodus: Introduction and Exegesis," in *The Interpreter's Bible,* ed. George Arthur Buttrick and others, 12 vols. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952), 1:854, 856–57, 895, 900; and S. Kent Brown, "Trust in the Lord: Exodus and Faith," in *The Old Testament and the Latter-Day Saints,* Sperry Symposium 1986 ([Salt Lake City]: Randall Book Co., 1986), 85–94.

[15]Exodus 5:6–19; see Rylaarsdam, "The Book of Exodus," 886–87.

[16] Mosiah 7:19–20. In Mosiah 8:1, Mormon notes that Limhi had said a good deal more on this occasion.

[17]Incidentally, Limhi immediately quotes in succession three sayings of the Lord that are not part of Abinadi's recorded preaching, nor do they come from any known source (vv. 29–31). Furthermore, the three passages all share a concern for "my people," a term familiar from the exodus narrative that also denotes a covenant relationship (see Ex. 6:7; 8:20–21, 23; 9:13; 10:3–4; etc.).

[18]David Daube, *The Exodus Pattern in the Bible* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), 48–61. Deuteronomy 15:16 makes it clear that the slave should have been happy under the master's rule. Because the Lamanites were harsh, in the view of the Mosaic code this aspect of the relationship was ruptured as well, justifying the Nephites' desertion.

[19]See Daube, *Exodus Pattern,* 55.

[20]The terms of the covenant are rehearsed in Mosiah 18:8–10; the sign of the covenant consisted of baptism (18:12–16); the name of the covenant people was "the church of God, or the church of Christ" (18:17); and the terms of the new law, including the priesthood offices, are outlined in 18:18–28.

[21]See reference to such priests with whom Mosiah consulted regularly on touchy religious matters in Mosiah 27:1.

[22]The passage reads: "And then shall they *know that I am the Lord* their God, that I am their Redeemer." The parallel words to Moses in Exodus 6:7 are "And I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God: and ye shall *know that I am the Lord* your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians" (italics added). In addition, this seems to be the principal objective in both the Exodus of the Israelites and that of Lehi's family; compare 1 Nephi 17:14 with Exodus 7:5; 8:22; 9:29; 14:4, 18 (the Egyptians, too, were to know that the Lord is God); 16:12; 20:1–2; 29:45–46; Leviticus 25:38; 26:13; Numbers 15:41; Deuteronomy 4:35; etc.

[23]In giving the law to Moses, after the covenant made at Sinai, the Lord consistently uses the phrase *I am the Lord* as the ultimate authority for the various legal and religious requirements that his people, now reclaimed, are to follow in order to retain their favored status; see, for example, Leviticus 18:1–6; 19:3–4, etc.

[24]See also 1 Nephi 17:41. Interestingly, it is not Nephi but Alma the younger who, as far as I know, makes the connection between Moses' raising the serpent on the pole, which if looked upon brought healing, and the Messiah's mission "to redeem his people" and "atone for their sins" (Alma 33:19–22); see also the words of Nephi, son of Helaman, in Helaman 8:14–15 as well as John 3:14–15, where the remarks have a different focus.

[25]According to the biblical text, Moses struck a rock and water flowed out on two occasions, once at the holy mount (Ex. 17:5–6) and once at Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin (Num. 20:1–11). It is obviously to one of these that Nephi refers in 1 Nephi 17:29. The biblical sequence of the incident at the rock and of the report of the serpents is maintained only in 1 Nephi 17:29, 41, whereas 2 Nephi 25:20 reverses them. Clearly, the context of 2 Nephi 25:20 is that of oath-making to prove a point, while Nephi's recital of God's acts in 1 Nephi 17 follows the main points of the story of the Exodus as well as of the conquest. In fact, this latter passage seems steeped in the (memorized) Israelite recitations summarizing God's actions on behalf of his people when he rescued them from slavery (see Deut. 6:21–24; 26:5–9; Josh. 24:2–8).

[26]The order of the proofs is interesting, for the first and principal proof—the Exodus—is out of chronological order, underscoring its importance: (1) Moses and the Exodus (vv. 11–15); (2) Abraham (vv. 16–17); (3) those who preceded Abraham (v. 18); (4) those who followed Abraham, including Zenos, Zenock, and others (vv. 19–20); (5) the forebear Mulek who escaped Jerusalem's destruction, an event prophesied (v. 21); and (6) Lehi, his son Nephi, and the Nephite prophets (v. 22). Except for Jeremiah, who

prophesied of Jerusalem's fall (v. 20) and was vindicated by the testimony of Mulek, son of Zedekiah (v. 21), all of the persons mentioned in this passage are affirmed by Nephi to have known of the coming Messiah (v. 23). The list of proofs, in this order, raises the interesting question whether the Nephite believers had developed catalogs of such topics taken from scripture.

[27]Alma's instructions to his sons (Alma 36–42), as well as Lehi's last words to his children (2 Ne. 1–4:11), fit the genre known as testament literature, which consists of accounts of various patriarchs giving their last instructions and blessings to their children. These passages invite careful examination in light of what is now known about this literary genre.

[28]See, for example, John W. Welch, "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," in *Book of Mormon Authorship: New Light on Ancient Origins,* ed. Noel B. Reynolds, Religious Studies Monograph Series vol. 7 (Provo: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1982), 49–50; and Tate, "Typology," 254–55, where a number of typological connections between the conversion of Alma the younger and the exodus pattern are reviewed.

[29]While the results of obeying and disobeying are spelled out in various passages of Deuteronomy, the list of promised blessings is collected together in Deuteronomy 28:1–14 and the curses or penalties for disobedience appear conveniently in Deuteronomy 28:15–68. To these latter are added the curses that were to be recited by the Levites (Deut. 27:14–26). The entire issue of the Deuteronomic flavor of the Book of Mormon is yet to be tested, especially in light of the fact that the book of the law discovered in the temple in 621 B.C. (2 Kgs. 22:8–23:3), which led to a major religious reform (2 Kgs. 23:4–24), was likely Deuteronomy or an abbreviated version of it; and would have been known to Lehi and recently included with the plates of brass (implied in 1 Ne. 5:11).

[30]The theme of deliverance is woven tightly into the story of the Exodus. In Alma 36, the verb *to deliver* appears three times in the verses that summarize Israel's exodus (vv. 2, 28). In the Old Testament, the Hebrew root translated "to deliver" (*natsal*) occurs regularly in the exodus narrative (Ex. 3:8; 12:27; 18:8–10; Deut. 23:14; compare Ps. 18:48; 34:7, 17, 19; 97:10).

[31]See Deuteronomy 6:21–24; 26:5–9; Joshua 24:2–14; compare Amos 2:9–10; 3:1–2.

[32]Tate has drawn attention to these reports ("Typology," 254–55).

[33]The phrase comes from verse 2 where the forceful emphasis is on the absolute inability of Israel to deliver herself: "For they were in bondage, and *none could deliver* them except it was the God of Abraham, . . . and *he surely did deliver them* in their afflictions" (italics added). The other bracketing passage, verses 28–29, emphasizes the Lord's continual and continuing care both for individuals, such as Alma, and for his people as a whole, whoever they are: "And I know that he will raise me up at the last day . . . for he has brought *our fathers* out of Egypt . . . by his power . . . yea, and he has delivered *them* out of bondage and captivity *from time to time*. Yea, and he has also brought *our fathers* [Lehi's family] out of the land of Jerusalem; and he has also, by his everlasting power, delivered *them* out of bondage and captivity, *from time to time even down to the present day*" (italics added).

[34]The biographical account in Mosiah 27 exhibits allusions to the Exodus that are in some ways even more impressive than those in the first-hand report of Alma 36. While we must bear in mind that Alma's experience included only himself and his four friends while an entire people was involved with Moses, the similarities are nevertheless rather impressive. The description of the apparition of the angel bears stronger resemblances to the experience of the Israelites at Sinai than to other similar experiences such as the Lord's call of Jeremiah (Jer. 1), Isaiah (Isa. 6), Lehi (1 Ne. 1), or even to Ezekiel (Ezek. 1–3). For instance, the angel who confronts the five young men "descended" to meet them (Mosiah 27:11); in a similar way, "the Lord *came down* upon mount Sinai" (Ex. 19:20; italics added). Second, the angel appears to the youths "as it were in a *cloud*" (v. 11; italics added), the same way the Lord had come both to Moses and before the people. Third, the angel speaks as if "with a *voice* of *thunder,* which caused the earth to *shake*" (Mosiah 27:11; italics added). Similarly, the voice of the trumpet from the holy mount was "exceeding loud" and "sounded long, and waxed louder and louder" (Ex. 19:16, 19; also 20:18). At the sound of God's voice (Ex. 19:19), all of the Israelites grew afraid and trembled; and they "stood afar off," requesting that God not speak to them "lest we die" (Ex. 20:18, 19). Further, at God's presence on the mount, "there were thunders and lightnings" (Ex. 19:16; also 20:18) and "the whole mount quaked greatly" (Ex.19:18). Fourth, the angel mentions specifically the "bondage" of Alma's forebears (Mosiah 27:16), a clear recollection of terms used to describe the plight of the Israelite slaves. This very point raises one of the clearest links between the Exodus and the Atonement. All of the words describing Israel's bondage derive from the root *'bd*. A noun from this same root is translated "servant" in Isaiah 53, which Abinadi quotes at length and then immediately links to Jesus' ministry. It is clear here that Jesus is the expected servant (*'ebed*) who, by paying the price of redemption, frees all those who will follow him from bondage (*'abodah*), the very term used in the exodus account. There are, of course, further echoes of exodus themes, but space and time do not allow a full review.

[35]*Deliver up* also appears twice in the following verse (2 Ne. 9:13) and is used to refer to the new exodus in Isaiah 50:2 (2 Ne. 7:2).

[36]Taking his lead from others, Tate has drawn attention to the echoes of exodus not only in the gospel accounts of Jesus' ministry but also in the recitation of his visit to the people in Bountiful ("Typology," 255–57, and columns 2 and 7 of the chart, 258–59).

[37]I sense that the entire body of Jesus' quotations from Old Testament sources, when properly reviewed, will reveal that the passages cited point consistently to the period of either the new exodus or

the end time. For example, all of the following passages—taken in the order in which they are quoted by the Savior—have to do with the new exodus: Isaiah 52:8–10 (3 Ne. 16:18–20); Micah 5:8–9 (3 Ne. 20:16–17); Micah 4:12–13 (3 Ne. 20:18–19); Isaiah 52:9–10 (3 Ne. 20:34–35); Isaiah 52:1–3 (3 Ne. 20:36–38); Isaiah 52:7 (3 Ne. 20:40); Isaiah 52:11–15 (3 Ne. 20:41–45); Isaiah 52:15 (3 Ne. 21:8); Isaiah 52:14 (3 Ne. 21:10); Micah 5:8–14 (3 Ne. 21:12–18); and Isaiah 52:12 (3 Ne. 21:29). Chapters 3 and 4 of Malachi, quoted by Jesus in 3 Nephi 24–25, can also be understood as anticipating the new exodus. For instance, reference to the way prepared by the expected messenger (Mal. 3:1; 3 Ne. 24:1) can be seen as an allusion to "the way of the Lord" to be prepared in the desert, which is mentioned in Isaiah 40:3. Further, the reference to purifying "the sons of Levi" as a preparatory step before they "offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness" finds clear echoes in the selection and setting apart of the Levites in the desert (Num. 3:41, 45; 8:6–22).

[38]See Tate, "Typology," 257.

[39]During the second day, we are told only that "the multitude had all eaten and drunk" and were thereafter "filled with the spirit" (20:9). But the text seems clear enough. In the case of the first day, the statement is clearer still. The disciples were the first to partake of the bread and be filled, afterwards giving the bread to the multitude of twenty-five hundred people until they were filled (3 Ne. 18:3–5). The wine was similarly abundant (18:8–9). We must bear in mind that by this point in the day the crowd had been without food for several hours, having gone forward "one by one" and felt Jesus' wounds (11:15), listened to his "sermon on the mount" address (chapters 12–14) and to his further words (15–16), seen him heal the infirm among them (17:5–10), and witnessed him blessing their children (17:11–24). Hence, when the record says that the multitude was "filled"—whether on day one or day two—by partaking of the bread and wine, it is to be understood at least in terms of satisfying their hunger and thirst.

[40]The whole issue of slavery abroad is reviewed in Daube, *Exodus Pattern,* 39–41. One important dimension that still must be explored in the Book of Mormon concerns the social and legal bases for the Lord's acts of deliverance. Such links are clearly visible in the exodus account, as Daube has pointed out: "God was seen as intervening, not like a despot, but in the faithful exercise of a recognized privilege—which would, in turn, impose lasting obligations on those on whose behalf he intervened" (13). One example of a direction to pursue this sort of tie between the Lord and all the descendants of Lehi would be to investigate the notion that they were *the Lord's people* whose relationship was rooted in covenant (Mosiah 24:13). Other passages that exhibit this feature and are also connected to the exodus theme include 2 Nephi 8:4 (Isa. 51:4) and Mosiah 7:29–31; see also Mosiah 11:22; 12:1, 4; 14:8; 24:13–14; 26:17–18, 30, 32; Alma 5:57; 10:21; compare Exodus 6:7.

[41]Daube, *Exodus Pattern,* 40. Even the ages of Moses and Aaron, eighty and eighty-three respectively, may have been an important factor, for as Daube writes, "Envoys were . . . carefully selected for their distinction and fitness for the task. . . . A minimum age was sometimes required."

[42] Moses learned that God's name was I AM (Ex. 3:13–14) and also bore three signs: the rod that would turn into a serpent, his hand that could be made leprous, and the power to turn water to blood (Ex. 4:1–9). See the relevant remarks in Daube, *Exodus Pattern,* 40.

[43]See 3 Nephi 9:21, where the "voice heard . . . upon all the face of this land" (9:1) says: "Behold, I have come unto the world to bring redemption unto the world, to save the world from sin." Samuel the Lamanite's words serve to underscore the point: "Behold, the resurrection of Christ redeemeth mankind . . . and *bringeth* them *back* into the presence of the Lord" (Hel. 14:17; italics added). It is important to note that the verb *to bring back* or its counterpart *to bring out* often appears describing God's actions in the Exodus (see Daube, *Exodus Pattern,* 32–33). Especially the verb *to bring out* is used in the Book of Mormon to summarize the Exodus (1 Ne. 17:25, 40; 2 Ne. 25:20; Mosiah 7:19; etc.), to outline Lehi's departure (1 Ne. 17:14; 2 Ne. 1:30; Mosiah 2:4; etc.), and to describe the Atonement (3 Ne. 28:29). Compare Jesus' impassioned words to the survivors in 3 Nephi 10:4–6.

[44]Even though no captor is mentioned, except perhaps the devil and his angels (3 Ne. 9:2), Jesus quotes a key passage from Isaiah that bears on the issue: "For thus saith the Lord: Ye have sold yourselves for naught, and ye shall be redeemed without money" (3 Ne. 20:38; Isa. 52:3), a passage that is surrounded by Isaiah's prophecies of the second exodus. Plainly, there was no captor to whom Jesus could come. Even so, Jesus presents himself to the survivors almost as if he were presenting his credentials to one with whom he must negotiate for the release of captives (see 3 Ne. 9:15–18; compare 11:14–16). Speaking of Jesus during his earthly ministry, Daube observes, "From Jesus sent by God to save mankind, from his legitimation, or refusal to furnish legitimation, before adversaries and followers, from the insistence on the necessity of belief in him, one line of many . . . leads back across the centuries to the practices of international commerce in the matter of prisoners of war" (*Exodus Pattern,* 41).

[45]Some may object to this interpretation, but it is in keeping with the general consensus of New Testament scholarship that when Jesus is quoted—particularly in John's gospel—using the phrase *I am,* he is employing the name revealed to Moses on the holy mount (John 4:26 [the KJV obscures this]; 6:35, 48, 51; 8:12; etc.). To hold that the mortal Jesus used the phrase in clear reference to the divine name and then, when he visited the Americas as resurrected Lord and King, used the phrase only in the sense of a grammatical copula, seems to strain one of the plain senses of the text. For Jesus' words to the survivors resemble the language of the gospel of John more than that of the Synoptics (3 Ne. 9:13–22; only the sayings in 3 Nephi 10:4–7 are clearly stamped as being from the Synoptic gospels). In addition, his opening words to those in Bountiful clearly resemble the vocabulary of the Gospel of John (3 Ne. 11:10–11).

Book Reviews

F. RICHARD HAUCK. *Deciphering the Geography of the Book of Mormon: Settlements and Routes in Ancient America.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co.,1988. xv; 239 pp. 40 figures. $12.95.

JOHN L. SORENSON. *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon.* Salt Lake City and Provo: Deseret Book Co. and the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985. xxi; 415 pp. 34 figures, 15 maps. $16.95.

Reviewed by Bruce W. Warren, president of the Society for Early Historic Archaeology.

A common theme shared by the authors of the two books under review is the creation of a geographical model for the historical and cultural setting of the Book of Mormon. Both authors have advanced degrees in archaeology and anthropology and a knowledge of the contents of the Book of Mormon. They are thus well qualified to deal with this research topic. Both authors place the lands and events of the Book of Mormon in the cultural area of Mesoamerica (central and southern Mexico and northern Central America) but with some significant differences in the location of specific lands and cities.

Three important questions will be posed to evaluate the approach and results of the two authors' research. First, What type of society is described in the Book of Mormon? Second, Are the authors justified in limiting the historical events and geographical locations of the Book of Mormon to Mesoamerica? Third, To what extent have the authors used the dimensions of historical or cultural geography in analyzing the ancient setting of the Book of Mormon?

Both authors use the word *civilization* when they refer to Book of Mormon peoples.[1] Just what is a civilization? K. C. Chang writes, "I would refer to civilization, as archaeologically recognized, as the cultural manifestation of these contrastive pairs of societal opposites: class-class, urban-nonurban, and state-state. In other words, economic stratification, urbanization, and interstate relations are three of civilization's necessary societal determinants."[2]

Does the text of the Book of Mormon satisfy Chang's definition ? I believe that it does as indicated by the following references:

1. *civilization:* Alma 51:22; Moroni 9:11

2. *classes/inequalities:* Mosiah 29:32; Alma 4:12, 15; 3 Nephi 7:10–14; 4 Nephi 1:26

3. *cities:* Jaredites-Ether 9:23; Nephites-Alma 8:7; 50:1; 62:32; Helaman 3:9; 4:9, 16; 8:6; 3 Nephi 6:7; 8:8–10, 14–15; 9:3; 4 Nephi 1:7–9; Mormon 8:7

4. *kingdom/nation/governor:* Jaredites-Ether 1:43; 7:20; Nephites-Mosiah 29:6–9; Alma 2:16; 9:20; 50:39; 61:1; 3 Nephi 1:1.

If the Jaredites and Nephites in the course of their history developed into a civilizational type of society, their lands and cities must have been located in an area of Ancient America that has ruins representing a civilizational level of development.

Only two areas of Ancient America developed societies that can be characterized as civilizations: Mesoamerica and the Andean area of South America. Travel distances based on the number of days it took the people to journey from one land to another or from one city to another indicate the overall lands mentioned in the Book of Mormon were confined to a relatively small area. For example, Alma the Younger and about "four hundred and fifty souls" traveled from the Waters of Mormon to the Land of Zarahemla in twenty-one days (Mosiah 18:35; 23:3; 24:20, 25). Book of Mormon textual information requires us to select either Mesoamerica or the Andean area as the geographical setting for the Jaredites, Nephites, Lamanites, and Mulekites. Either area is large enough to accommodate all the lands and cities mentioned in the record.

Mesoamerica is the easy choice since it has the surrounding seas, writing systems, topographical patterns, and surviving written traditions that parallel the textual requirements of the Book of Mormon. The Andean area lacks the surrounding seas, writing systems (dating to the Book of Mormon period), and appropriate topographical patterns and has no surviving written traditions. Further, Andean civilizational development did not begin with an agricultural economy but with a maritime economy. Irrigation agriculture as a subsistence base came later. Finally, the languages of the Mesoamerican and Andean areas are not related to each other. So the authors are justified in focusing on Mesoamerica as the key area for Book of Mormon historical events.

This conclusion does not suggest that descendants of the three Book of Mormon colonies did not eventually settle in South America or North America. The Jaredites started out with twenty-

four families (Ether 6:14–16) and the Nephites and Lamanites with seven tribes (Jacob 1:13). We have in the Book of Mormon the abridged record of one Jaredite family and only one of the seven tribes. We do not have the specific history of the other twenty-three Jaredite families or the other six tribes of the Lehi colony. Further, we know next to nothing about the Mulekite colony. We don't know if they came in one ship or many.

The third question posed for the authors relates to their use of the dimensions of historical or cultural geography in developing their models of Book of Mormon geography. J. E. Spencer and William L. Thomas, Jr., state that "cultural geography is concerned with the systems of human technologies and cultural practices as these are developed in particular regions of the earth through time by human populations conceived as culture groups."[3] Spencer and Thomas believe that studies in cultural geography can be pursued using four concepts and six interrelationships between the concepts. The four concepts are

1. *population:* a human population group occupying a territory that is spatially defined

2. *physical-biotic environment:* the processes and phenomena of a physical and biotic character which, although neutral to population survival, offer resources potentially useful for the maintenance of life

3. *social organization:* the way in which the population is integrated and functions; the interdependence of units (families, kin groups, associations) in a more or less elaborated division of labor. This is an aspect of culture, since individuals are unequipped to survive in isolation.

4. *technology:* the set of techniques (abilities, ideas, tools) employed by the population to gain sustenance from its environment. This also is an aspect of culture, yet a dependent variable.[4]

The six interrelationships are

1. population↔environment
2. population↔social organization
3. population↔technology
4. organization↔technology
5. environment↔organization
6. environment↔technology.[5]

Figure 1 will help the reader visualize the Spencer and Thomas approach to cultural geography. Their four concepts would represent the population and ecological (environmental) dimensions on

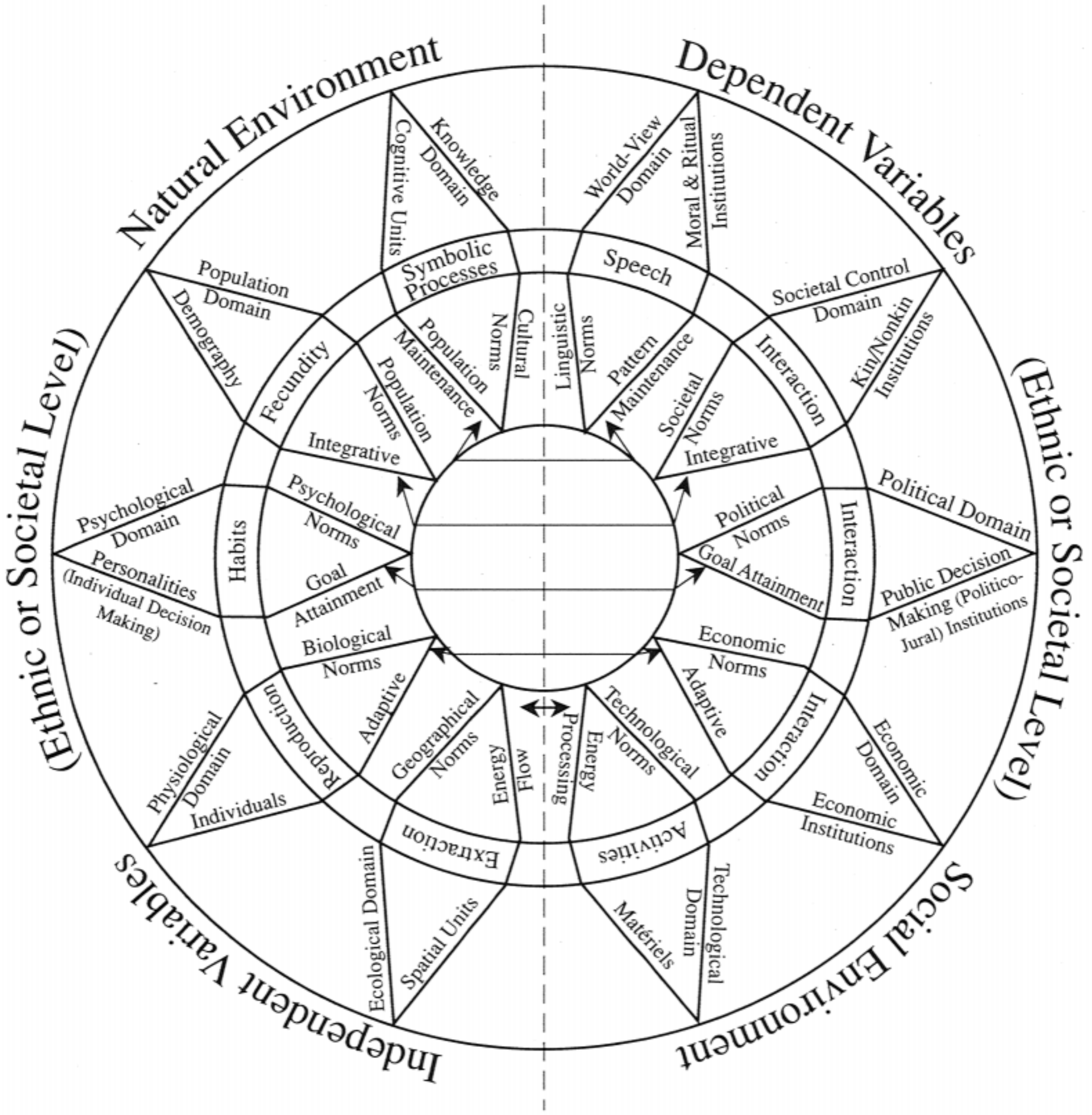


Figure 1. Warren's analytical sociocultural model.

the left side of the figure and the social control (organization) and technological dimensions on the right side of the figure.

Hauck's model of Book of Mormon geography can be studied in map 1 and Sorenson's model can be viewed in map 2. The two models correspond to each other in the general location of the land and hill Cumorah and the identification of the west sea. Otherwise the authors disagree on the specifics of all other geographical units mentioned in the Book of Mormon.

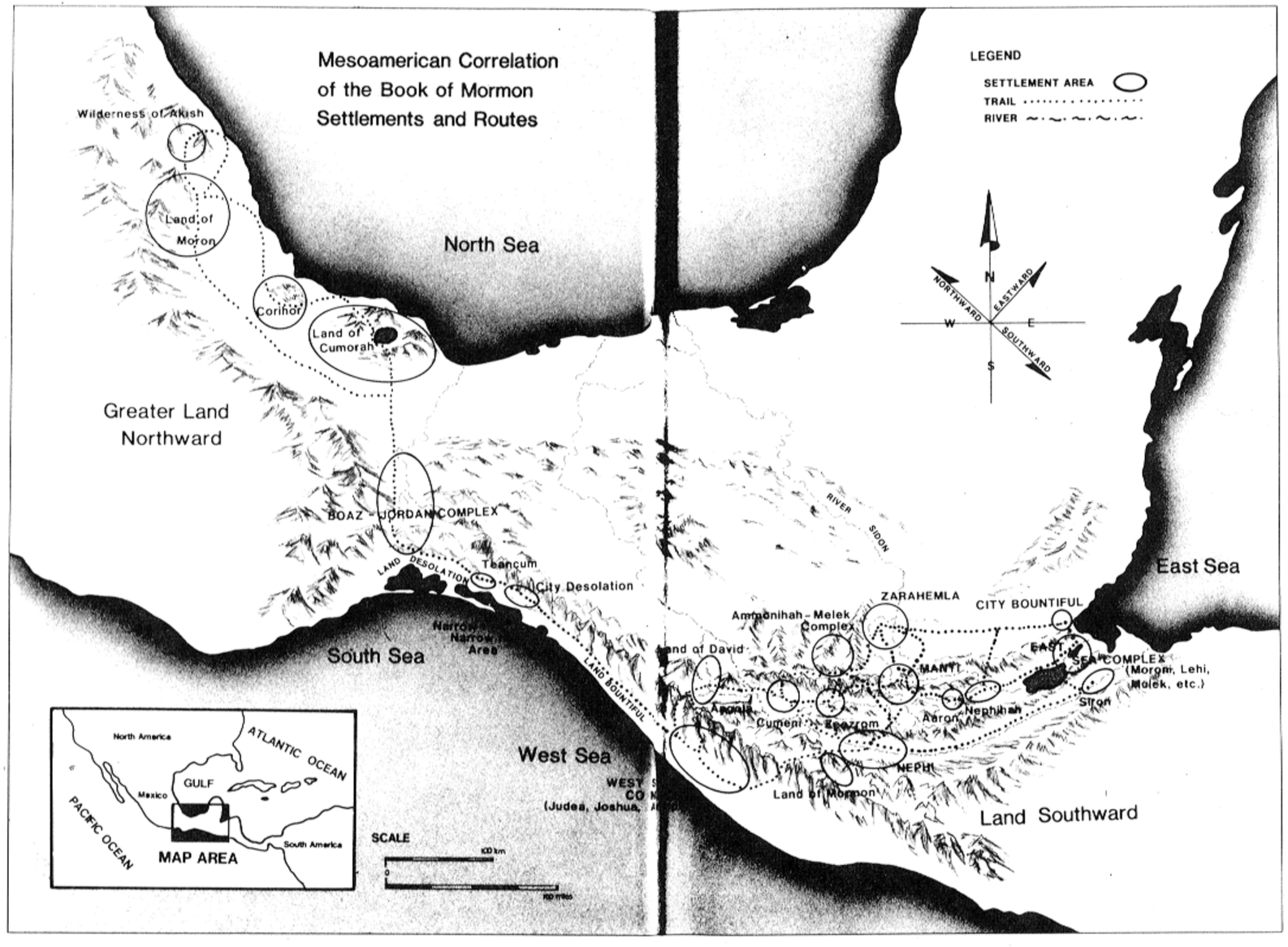
Hauck's model does not incorporate any of the four concepts of cultural geography. He does not discuss population, environment, technology, or social organization in terms of either the Book of Mormon or Mesoamerica. And it goes without saying that he does not analyze any of the six interrelationships between these four cultural geographical concepts.

What Hauck has attempted to do with the Book of Mormon text is to take the place names and topographical features mentioned in the book and arrange them into a network based on directional and distance information. This is an important procedural operation, but the resulting network patterns are slightly misleading because very little specific directional and distance information is available in the Book of Mormon text. Instead of one line or one path connecting each place or topographical feature, there should probably be two connecting lines or paths, one for direction and the other for distance. When the direction is given in the Book of Mormon text, the line would be solid, and when the directional information is lacking, the line would not be solid. The same conditions would hold for the distance lines. If there is information, the lines would be solid; otherwise the lines would be broken. In reality probably more than ninety percent of Hauck's models of Book of Mormon locational networks should have been composed of broken lines or paths since directional and distance information is so scarce.

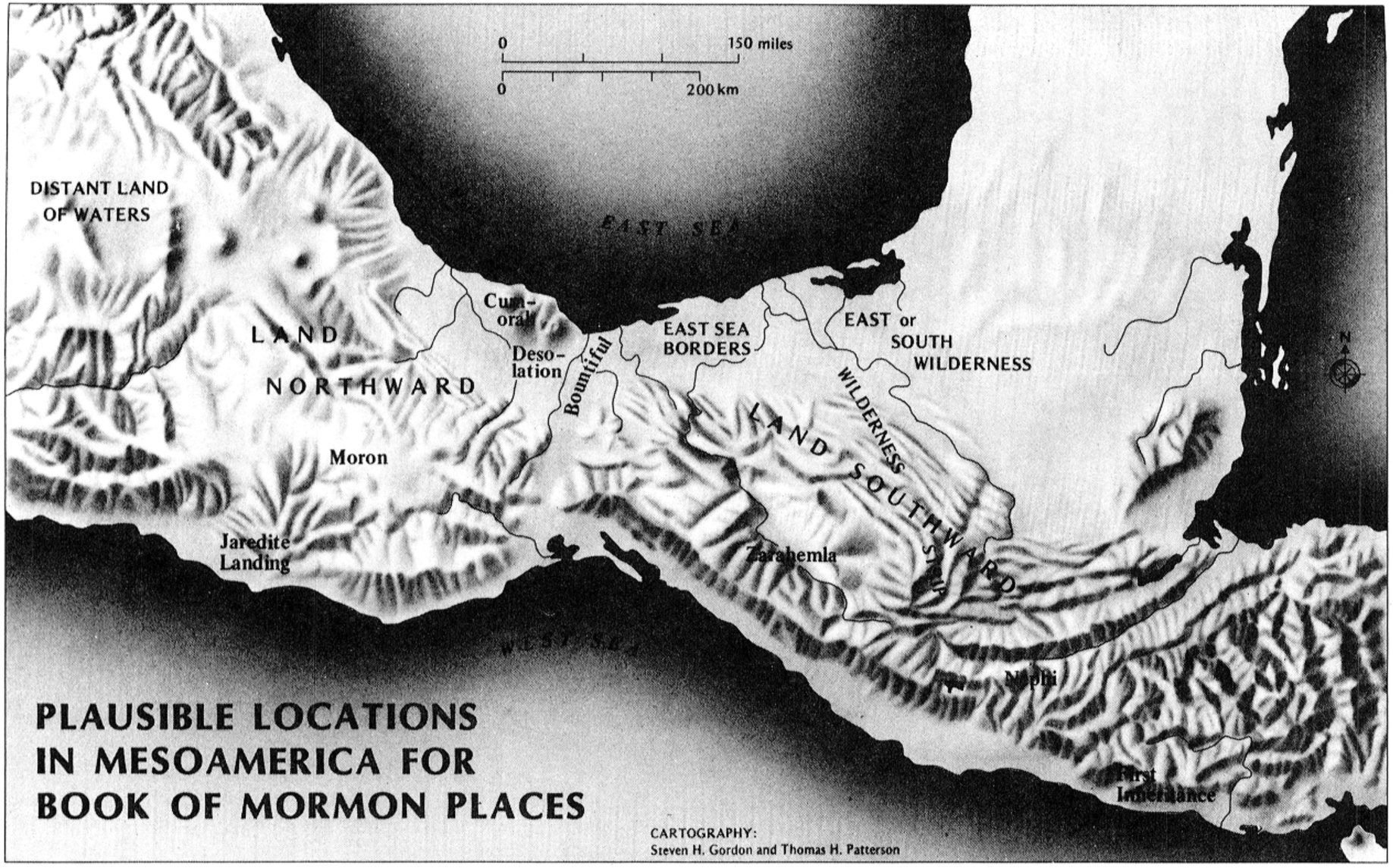
One would expect that Hauck will use in future publications on the Book of Mormon relevant Mesoamerican information from the fields of archaeology, ethnography, linguistics, and ethnohistory. In the book under review, he does not make use of these resources to test his network models.

Sorenson's geographical model for the Book of Mormon does deal with the four cultural geographical concepts and to some degree with the interrelationships between these concepts. Additionally, Sorenson uses archaeological, ethnographic, linguistic, and ethnohistoric documents from Mesoamerica to support his geographical model.

The main differences between Hauck's and Sorenson's models of Book of Mormon geography center on the relationship of four



Map 1. Hauck's model of Book of Mormon geography.



Map 2. Sorenson's model of Book of Mormon geography.

geographical regions in Mesoamerica with Book of Mormon events and the identification of three topographical features described in the Book of Mormon. The four geographical regions are the Valley of Guatemala, the central depression of Chiapas, the Oaxaca Valley, and the Yucatan Peninsula. The three topographical features are the narrow strip of wilderness, the river Sidon, and the narrow neck of land.

The archaeological evidence of Mesoamerican trade in obsidian, ceramics, etc., in the Book of Mormon time period supports Sorenson's use of the Valley of Guatemala, the central depression of Chiapas, and the Oaxaca Valley in Book of Mormon geography. I fail to see how Hauck can ignore these regions in his attempt to create a model of Book of Mormon geography. The Yucatan Peninsula remains a "sore thumb" for both Sorenson and Hauck and all other students of Book of Mormon research. The base of the peninsula has two of the biggest archaeological sites in Mesoamerica dating to the latter part of Book of Mormon history, El Mirador, Guatemala, and Calakmul, Mexico. Sorenson considers this region to be part of "the east wilderness full of Lamanites," and Hauck ignores the region.

The narrow strip of wilderness for Sorenson is basically the linguistic boundary between the Zoque and Maya tribes. For Hauck the narrow strip of wilderness is a mountain range in Guatemala that runs from the Pacific Ocean to the Caribbean Sea. Sorenson's river Sidon is the Grijalva river of Chiapas, and Hauck's river Sidon is the Usumacinta river that borders the state of Chiapas, Mexico, and Guatemala. Sorenson's narrow neck of land is the Isthmus of Tehuantepec whereas Hauck's is the Pacific coast of Chiapas.

At the present time, most of the evidence for or against these two differing models of Book of Mormon geography would be classified as circumstantial. What is imperative for eventually producing a provable model of Book of Mormon geography is to find place names in languages, codices, written documents, emblem glyphs, or art symbolism from Mesoamerica that parallels in meaning and pattern the place names in the Book of Mormon. No one would object to a revelation on the matter.

What is the current state of affairs in Book of Mormon geography? I believe Hauck's book falls short of approaching a geography of the Book of Mormon. He neglects too many dimensions of cultural geography in his study. His book would have been better labeled *Locational Networking and the Book of Mormon*. Sorenson's book has a good historical and cultural geographical approach to the problem. He does not use any of the current mathematical or statistical approaches of contemporary geography.

However, Hauck's statistics are premature because they are designed for use in cases where extensive information is available for processing. At the present time such information is inadequate for statistical procedures of a sophisticated nature.

Currently, three regions in Mesoamerica have interesting prospects for locating some Book of Mormon lands. These regions are the Valley of Guatemala, the Oaxaca Valley, and the Tuxtla mountains of southern Veracruz. Sorenson's model incorporates all three of these regions, but Hauck's model only involves one (the Tuxtla mountains).

Two stelae are significant to Book of Mormon geography studies. A recent book by Munro S. Edmonson dates the first one, Stela 10, at Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala, in three separate calendars at 10 November 147 B.C. Kaminaljuyu is an archaeological site located on the western edge of Guatemala City in the Valley of Guatemala. Stela 10 at this site is really a royal throne with hieroglyphic writing that cannot be read at the present time, but the throne does depict a person who is dead by fire and a second figure of a king. This monument has parallels to an episode in Mosiah chapter 17 which describes the death of the prophet Abinadi by fire at the hands of King Noah about 148 B.C. according to the dates at the bottom of the page of chapter 17. The implications of this monument for the Book of Mormon is that Kaminaljuyu could be the city of Nephi.[6]

Edmonson dates Stela 13 at Monte Alban in the Oaxaca Valley at 563 B.C. following Alfonso Caso or 251 B.C. based on Edmonson's own research. The stela shows the capture of a king at Monte Alban by a foreign Olmec ruler from the lowlands of Veracruz. This event could parallel the capture of king Coriantumr in the land of Moron (Ether 14:6). However, until the choice between the two different dates can be resolved, Stela 13 cannot contribute to the question of whether the Jaredites destroyed themselves at the coming of the Mulekites in the sixth century B.C. or at the time of king Zarahemla in the third century B.C. As far as this monument goes, students of the Book of Mormon could have it either way for the time being.[7]

Finally, in the Tuxtla mountains of southern Veracruz, the name of a river emptying into the lagoon system near Alvarado is *Hueyapan* which means "large waters" and parallels the Jaredite name "waters of Ripliancum, which by interpretation, is large, or to exceed all" (Ether 15:8). One of the volcanic mountains in the Tuxtla region bears the Aztec name *Cintepec* which means "corn hill." The Aztecs were latecomers in Mesoamerica, and the earlier name in Maya could have been *'shim*. This word is very close to the Book of Mormon hill Shim in the land Antum (Morm. 1:3, Ether

9:3). It is worth repeating that both Sorenson and Hauck locate the land of Cumorah in the Tuxtla mountains region.

NOTES

[1]Hauck, 7; Sorenson, 107.
[2]Kwang-chih Chang, *Shang Civilization* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980), 365–66.
[3]J. E. Spencer and William L. Thomas, Jr., *Cultural Geography: An Evolutionary Introduction to Our Humanized Earth* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969), 4.
[4]Spencer and Thomas, *Cultural Geography,* 111.
[5]Spencer and Thomas, *Cultural Geography,* 111–12.
[6]Munro S. Edmonson,*The Book of the Year: Middle American Calendrical Systems* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 25–27.
[7]Edmonson, *Book of the Year,* 22, 117.

JOSEPH L. ALLEN. *Exploring the Lands of the Book of Mormon.* Orem, Utah: S. A. Publishers, 1989. $39.95 hardback; $24.95 paperback.

Reviewed by David A. Palmer, a senior researcher at Amoco Chemical Co. and past leader of two expeditions to Mexico.

Exploring the Lands of the Book of Mormon ought to be on the bookshelf of everyone interested in Book of Mormon geography. This significant volume, a large book of 437 pages with 147 maps, is a pleasure to read. Allen makes convincing arguments in a style that is generally easy to understand. On controversial issues he states the alternative views and then argues for his own. He is quick to admit that we are still stumbling somewhat and that many answers remain elusive (30).

Allen is not a professional archaeologist, but he has had considerable experience visiting the sites and has learned a great deal from archaeologists such as John L. Sorenson, Bruce W. Warren, and Garth L. Norman. In addition some of his own insights appear to have real merit. However, the volume has some shortcomings. The discussion of the ancient Nephite directional system is inadequate and leads to questionable conclusions, particularly those regarding the location of the city Bountiful. Of the book's many drawn figures, some are passable, but others are not up to the detail achieved in 1840 by Frederick Catherwood. For example, Figure 5-2 does not show a beard, which the actual monument has (57). Photographs would have been better than most of the drawings. Typographical errors also haunt the text.

Allen places all Book of Mormon events within Mesoamerica except for Moroni's trip to the Palmyra, New York, area. Mesoamerica encompasses the southern part of Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras. It is the only New World area, Allen states, where writing was present in early times. This area also had a great number of the cultural features mentioned in the Book of Mormon. In taking this position, Allen essentially agrees with the views of Ferguson, Hunter, Warren, Sorenson, Norman, and Palmer.[1]

Most of Allen's dating scheme seems to be valid. He proposes 3114 B.C. as the date of Noah's flood, which could be correct. The estimate of 2700 B.C. for the landing of the Jaredites also appears to be very reasonable. Those dates are supported both by archaeological evidence and by the chronologies in the Greek Septuagint version of the Bible used by the Jews in Christ's day. Allen's date for King Mosiah I leading the Nephites down to the land of Zarahemla is 200 B.C. This date is not explicit in the Book of Mormon, so it is a matter of some guesswork. If the date is pushed back to 240-220 B.C., the archaeological data at Kaminaljuyu makes more sense. Those data could lead to some impressive correlations that Allen missed.

Allen's dating of the final Jaredite destruction is probably two hundred years too late. Radiocarbon dates corrected to the most recent half life and further corrected by tree-ring dating (MASCA dates) have led to the conclusion that La Venta really began about 1000 B.C. and was destroyed about 600 B.C.[2] To these dates we would have to add the normal uncertainty of plus or minus fifty years. Thus, the culture could have existed from 1050 B.C. down to 550 B.C.

The information on the ending date accords with Stela 13 at Monte Alban, period I, which gives a date for destruction of 4 August 563 B.C.[3] That date could be the year when Shared overthrew King Coriantumr's people in the highlands (Ether 14:6) and leads to a postulated time for the Jaredite final destruction of 550 B.C. +/-3. This dating would correspond well with Coriantumr's encounter with the Mulekites (Omni 21-22), who arrived in America about that time.

Part of Allen's proposed geography agrees with Palmer, Warren, Clark, and Sorenson. Allen proposes that the land of Desolation is in the province of Veracruz, northwest of the River Coatzacoalcos. He locates the land of Zarahemla in the central depression of Chiapas and the land of Nephi in the highlands of Guatemala, centered at the present Guatemala City. These locations are based on the hypothesis that the "narrow strip of wilderness" (Alma 22:27) extended from the area of Izapa on the Pacific Coast

to the Caribbean. His land of Bountiful, then, needs to encompass the entire zone from the Caribbean to the River Coatzacoalcos. Assuming that Nephite north was true north, he places the cities of Mulek and Bountiful along the eastern shores of the Yucatan Peninsula, in contrast to the Sorenson-Warren-Palmer hypothesis. They place those cities on the Gulf of Mexico coast just east of the isthmus. The latter approach puts the cities in a much more strategic location, and there are ruins to support such a proposition. The main argument against Allen's view, however, is that it requires a shift in the Nephite coordinate system.

The question of directional systems in the Book of Mormon is vital to a correct understanding of Nephite geography, for the difference in directional systems is the distinguishing difference between truly different geographies. Was Nephite north aligned with the North Pole or not? If not, where was it? Was it a specific direction? Allen proposes that Nephite north is true north. This position requires that the cities designed to defend the entrance to the land northward be placed in Belize. But is that site reasonable?

My own study of the directional systems employed during the Nephite time period suggests that use of true north for orientation was rare. Because of the twenty-five millennia precession of the axis of the earth (it wobbles like a top), Polaris was not a pole star in Lehi's time. Instead, it described a circle of about twenty-four degrees in the night sky. In the absence of a visible pole star, directions would have been difficult to determine from just the sun's rising and setting, which vary by fifty degrees over the course of a year. Serious investigation of Mesoamerican ruins built before the time of Christ suggests that the inhabitants based their directions on the solstice readings, the extremes of the sun's travel on 21/22 June and 21/22 December. That solstitial direction is sixty-five degrees west of true north and was probably used as "Nephite north."

The archaeoastronomer Vincent Malmström has discovered that many of the important preclassic sites in Mesoamerica were deliberately placed so that the solstice could be measured when the sun passed over nearby peaks. Basically he found that many, but not all, sites in Guatemala and Mexico are aligned sixty-five degrees west of north. An example is in the impressive ruin at Cholula, where the largest pyramid is aligned with the highest peak of the volcano Ixtaccihuatl sixty-five degrees west of north. That alignment corresponds to the summer sunset solstice. The temple face is at right angles to that direction. Other sites similarly placed relative to volcanic peaks with the sixty-five degrees west of north orientation include El Meson, Nopiloa, Remojadas, Tlatilco, and Tlapacoya. Tres Zapotes, Cerro de la Piedra, and Cerro de las Mesas

are all lined up solstitially with the hill Vigia (probably the Hill Cumorah).[4] The probable city of Nephi, Kaminaljuyu, also had this solstitial orientation to its buildings. The important late preclassic site of Dainzu, near Oazaca, has a sixty-three degree west of north orientation to its main facade. At the ruins of Lambityeco, the alignment is sixty-five degrees. Izapa, considered by its chief excavator, Gareth Lowe, "to have been a 'Greenwich' and 'Mount Palomar' for its time . . . also something of a New World Athens or Alexandria in the crucial intermediate era of pre-Classic Mesoamerican learning and artistic development,"[5] was also solstitially oriented.

A careful protractor-aided study of detailed maps, correcting for use of compass north rather than true north, suggests that a great number of sites in Allen's land of Zarahemla have an orientation of sixty-five degrees west of north. These include La Libertad (probable Manti), Laguna Francesa, Sitio Colónia Niños Heroes, Chapatengo, San Francisco, Santa Isabel, El Salvador, San Felipe, Laguna Dolores, and the possible site of Zarahemla, Santa Rosa.

Malmström noted that "there are probably few other regions of the world where the principles of architecture, astronomy, and calendrics found so intimate and dramatic a blending as they did in pre-Columbian Mesoamerica."[6] This blending is manifested in the many calendar stones, which virtually always show directional symbols. Further, the solstice readings tie directly to the importance of the intercardinal points. The famous Aztec calendar can be easily observed to have the directional signs at the intercardinal points.

Thus, we cannot assume that Nephite north was true north as we know it today, and so we must question the overall orientation of Allen's sites and his positioning of the narrow neck of land. A more likely site for the land of Bountiful places the River Tonala on its east side, the River Coatzacoalcos on its west (with which Allen agrees), the Gulf of Mexico on its north, and the Pacific on its south (all in modern coordinates). The city of Mulek appears to have been La Venta. This location makes sense from many points of view. It was first an Olmec (probable Jaredite) city of great importance with many monuments (223). Especially noteworthy is its Stela 3, where the man holding the baton of authority may be King Coriantumr. The bearded man on the right may be King Mulek. (See fig. 1.)

The location of La Venta is important in determining the location of the land and city of Bountiful. The location of La Venta just east of the River Tonala places it outside of the land of Bountiful but still close to it (Alma 51). The most likely location for the city of Bountiful appears to be at the modern village of Tonala. It is at the exit of the river to the Gulf and has a large lagoon protecting a

third side. Ancient ruins are abundant, but the site is not reported on archaeological maps. It is exceptionally close to La Venta, though the river and some lagoons prevent a straight-line march.

The battle described in Alma 52 fits this area, as it is fourteen kilometers from the coast and another six kilometers from the Tonala river. The strategy developed by Captain Moroni to tire out the Lamanite army, effortlessly capture the city of Mulek, and then defeat the Lamanites with fresh armies fits this geographic scenario. Location of the Nephite cities along the Gulf Coast between Coatzacoalcos and Villahermosa makes all of the action more plausible. In the context of archaeologically known settlements on the Gulf Coast, the trails are reasonable and certainly present practical distances. Most of the action could have taken place in less than a week.

By contrast, the trails of Morianton and Teancum that Allen shows in figure 24-4 (283) appear to be unreasonable. Teancum would have crossed rough terrain and gone over a high mountain pass to arrive in the Land of Zarahemla. He would have traveled right past the city of Zarahemla and all other major Nephite settlements. Then his army would have crossed over to the Pacific Coast and finally gone through the narrow neck of land before finally meeting Teancum near the Atlantic Coast. None of these events, such as passing through Zarahemla, is mentioned in the text. This trip would have taken three to four weeks, when a fresh army from Zarahemla could have arrived in half the time! The important point to be made is that cities located along the Gulf of Mexico just east of the isthmus would have had strategic importance. Those in Belize would not.

Thus, the location of the city Bountiful is a crucial factor in pinning down the details of Book of Mormon archaeology, and its location relates directly to the directional system accepted. Allen needs to make a stronger case for his directional system before it will be very plausible.

On the positive side, Allen has made some good points with Book of Mormon words. He notes that two Jaredite names, Shule (Xul) and Com, have survived the millennia and may be represented in the Maya cultures of Guatemala and Yucatan (8). There are also correspondences in place names. A common ending for words in both Maya and the Book of Mormon is *ha*. For example, Xel(ha), Balam(ha), Altun(ha), Pulsi(ha), etc., are mirrored by Book of Mormon names such as Nephi(hah), Moroni(hah), and Ammoni(hah). There is reported to be a community in the frontiers of Mexico and Guatemala named Cumen. It may have been established by one of the Lord's twelve disciples who was called

FIGURE 1. Detail from the La Venta Stella 3 showing a person of high status with a beaked nose and a beard.

Kumen. There is also an archaeological site in Belize called Lamanai. It dates to 100 B.C. when there was a Lamanite king by the name of Lamoni. Names beginning with *Co* or *Ko* are rather common in the Mayan language. For example, there is a town in the Yucatan peninsula called Co-Com. Book of Mormon names beginning with *Co* include (Co)hor, (Ko)rihor, (Co)rianton, and (Co)riantumr.

Whether these are valid correspondences can be judged only by others more knowledgeable in language studies. However, the distribution of the Mayan language over the years makes Allen's description of the land of Bountiful less likely than that developed by Sorenson; the Mayan language frontier came to approximately the area where the land of La Venta was located.

As Allen states, we cannot absolutely prove the truth of the Book of Mormon with archaeological, geographical, or cultural evidence. That must come by spiritual witness. However, Allen's book exposes new evidences and thought-provoking hypotheses that can contribute to our understanding of the setting in which the events chronicled in the Book of Mormon took place.

NOTES

[1]See Thomas Stuart Ferguson, *Cumorah Where?* (Independence, Mo.: Zion's Printing, 1947); Milton R. Hunter, *Archaeology and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1956); V. Garth Norman, "Izapa Sculpture: Part 1 Album and Part 2 Text," Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation, no. 30 (Provo, Utah: New World Archaeological Foundation, Brigham Young University, 1976); David A. Palmer, *In Search of Cumorah: New Evidences for the Book of Mormon from Ancient Mexico* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1981); John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City and Provo, Utah: Deseret Book Co. and the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985); and Bruce W. Warren and Thomas Stuart Ferguson, *The Messiah in Ancient America* (Provo, Utah: Book of Mormon Research Foundation, 1987).

[2]R. Berger, J. A. Graham, and R. F. Heizer, "A Reconsideration of the Age of the La Venta Site," *Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility* 3 (1967): 1-24.

[3]Munro S. Edmonson, *The Book of the Year: Middle American Calendar Systems* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 22.

[4]Vincent H. Malmström, "A Reconstruction of the Chronology of Mesoamerican Calendrical Systems," *Journal of the History of Astronomy* 9 (June 1978): 105-16.

[5]Gareth W. Lowe, Thomas A. Lee, Jr., and Eduardo Martinez Espinosa, "Izapa: An Introduction to the Ruins and Monuments," Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation, no. 31 (Provo, Utah: New World Archaeological Foundation, Brigham Young University, 1982), 269.

[6]Vincent H. Malmström, "Architecture, Astronomy, and Calendrics in Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica," in *Archaeoastronomy in the Americas*, ed. Ray Williamson (Los Altos, Calif.: Ballelna Press, 1981), 258.

The River Sidon

they did cast their dead into the waters of Sidon
Alma 44:22

many were baptized in the waters of Sidon
Alma 4:4

High in green mountains
Clear water seeps quietly from springs
Or drips and trickles through a scattering of rocks
Like new blood spilling from a wound.

Gathering from myriad sources, the river swells
And brings itself in offering toward the valley floor.
It glides beneath the overhanging branches of low trees and
Washes over stones in perpetual anointing.

Its ripples rise and melt and form and fall away
Beneath a floating, undulating cloak of light.

It is the pure simplicity of water,
The deep simplicity of blood.

Thousands upon thousands have been buried here,
Their bodies eased below the surface,
Lost from view.

Some have risen quickly, born again,
Breaking softly through the water like the whispered sound of joy
Their first new breath a fiery, buoyant gift of grace!

— Randall L. Hall

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