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Notes

1. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1946), 4:461.
2. *Discourses of Brigham Young*, ed. John A. Widtsoe (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1941), 128.
3. See Lynn C. Layton, “An ‘Ideal’ Book of Mormon Geography,” *The Improvement Era* 41 (July 1938): 394–95, 439.
4. See Ezra Taft Benson, “A New Witness for Christ,” *Ensign*, November 1984, 6–8.
5. Summaries of seventy of these maps are included in my *The Geography of Book of Mormon Events: A Source Book* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1992), 37–206.
6. See Orson Pratt, *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon* (Liverpool: R. James, 1850), 22; Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses*, 14:298. See also Orson Pratt’s footnotes in the 1875 edition of the Book of Mormon, particularly 1 Nephi 18:23 n. k; Omni 1:12 n. g; and Omni 1:13 n. h.
7. See John Lloyd Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan* (London: John Murray, 1841).
8. See “Extract from Stephens’ ‘Incidents of Travel in Central

America,” *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 September 1842): 914–15, 921–22.

9. “To Subscribers,” *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 March 1842): 710.

10. “Zarahemla,” *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 October 1842): 927. Elder John A. Widtsoe observed, “The interesting fact . . . is that the Prophet Joseph Smith at this time was editor . . . and had announced his full editorial responsibility for the paper. This seems to give the . . . article an authority it might not otherwise possess.” *Evidences and Reconciliations: Aids to Faith in a Modern Day* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1951), 3:96.

11. “Zarahemla,” 927.

12. For example, Parley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology: A Voice of Warning* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), 15, said that “Lehi and Nephi came out with a colony from Jerusalem . . . and finally landed in safety on the coast of what is now called Chile, in South America.” Pratt was absent from Nauvoo in the fall of 1842, and at that same time his brother Orson was also out of touch by virtue of his brief excommunication over the issue of polygamy.

13. George Q. Cannon, “Editorial Thoughts: The Book of Mormon Geography,” *Juvenile Instructor* 25/1 (1 January 1890): 18.

14. George D. Pyper, “The Book of Mormon Geography,” *The Instructor* 73 (April 1938): 160.

15. John A. Widtsoe, “Evidences and Reconciliations: Is Book of Mormon Geography Known?” *The Improvement Era* 53 (July 1950): 547.

16. John A. Widtsoe, foreword to *Cumoram—Where?* by Thomas Stuart Ferguson (Oakland: Author, 1947).

17. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, comp. Bruce R. McConkie (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956), 3:203.

18. There is one often noted spot in the text that I believe is an editorial slip by Mormon (the 1979 edition eliminates the error). Alma 53:6 formerly read, “The city of Mulek which was one of the strongest holds of the Lamanites in the land of Nephi” (*Book of Mormon Critical Text: A Tool for Scholarly Reference*, [Provo, Utah:

FARMS, 1984], 2:849). Yet Alma 50:11 and 51:24–27 confirm that the city was actually part of the land of Zarahemla, which lay north of the land of Nephi. The textual mistake may have sprung from the fact that until shortly before this point in time, Lamanites had inhabited the Mulek area, called the “east wilderness.” They were expelled by Moroni₁’s forces as a defensive measure (see Alma 50:7). Presumably, while Lamanites lived there, the city of Mulek and neighboring areas constituted de facto extensions of the Lamanite-ruled “land of Nephi” (Alma 22:28).

19. See Sorenson, *Geography of Book of Mormon Events*.

20. See, for example, *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged*, s.v. “island,” meaning 1a. The Hebrew term read in English as “isles of the sea” was used in the Bible to denote any lands that were “washed by the sea,” including both the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean Sea (see LDS Bible Dictionary, 707), even when land access to those existed. Also see B. H. Roberts, “Remarks on the Foregoing Article,” *The Improvement Era* 7 (February 1904): 267–79. Before Columbus’s day, a Moorish noble referred to the Iberian peninsula as “this Island of Spain.” L. P. Harvey, “Yuse Banegas: Un Moro noble en Granada bajo Los Reyes Católicos,” *Al-Andalus* 21 (1956): 301.

21. They also encountered Jaredite survivor Coriantumr near the east sea (see Omni 1:21; compare Ether 9:3; 15:11).

22. The easterly position of the narrow pass is confirmed in references to the position of Teancum. It “lay in the borders by the seashore; and it was also near the city Desolation” (Mormon 4:3; see 4:2). In fact, it was adjacent to the city Desolation, which was at the narrow pass (see Mormon 3:5–6; 4:6–8, 13–14). Thus the city Desolation and the narrow pass were just one city away from the borders by the seashore, apparently only a short march distant. (While no statement is made that this was the east seashore, the geographical context points consistently toward that location but never toward the west seashore.)

23. Someone might claim that Moroni₁ was designating by

these words all of North and South America, but the context provided by his situation and concern at the moment when he made the statement confirms the narrower meaning.

24. See Sorenson, *Geography of Book of Mormon Events*, 238–39.

25. Comparison of Alma 51:26 and 59:5 exposes what appears to be a scribal error. The former says that the Lamanites captured Nephiah in their first strike, but 59:5 has the place still in Nephite hands some five years later. I suppose that the historian listed Nephiah too hastily in the former passage, a natural enough response to the dismay felt at the smashing success of Amalickiah's initial campaign.

26. See Sorenson, *Geography of Book of Mormon Events*, 224–27.

27. When verse 25 says they reached “the land of Zarahemla,” I suppose this refers to the local land near the city of Zarahemla rather than to the general land of Zarahemla, which began above the city of Manti. Had the latter meaning been intended, I think the record would have noted an additional few days for the final leg of their journey.

28. See John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1985), 8–9; *Geography of Book of Mormon Events*, 393–97.

29. See Sorenson, *Ancient American Setting*, 193–97; *Geography of Book of Mormon Events*, 230.

30. The intricate question of the placement of the city of Aaron is discussed in Sorenson, *Geography of Book of Mormon Events*, 235.

31. See John E. Clark, “A Key for Evaluating Nephite Geographies: A Review of F. Richard Hauck, *Deciphering the Geography of the Book of Mormon*,” *FARMS Review of Books* 1 (1989): 35.

32. For example, George Reynolds, *A Complete Concordance of the Book of Mormon*, ed. Philip C. Reynolds (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 7, notes that “the name City of Aaron . . . appears from the context to apply to widely separate places.”

33. For example, Clark, “Key for Evaluating Nephite Geographies,” 30, suggests that “the failure to mention the east ‘sea’ is not

due to mere grammatical parallelism or elliptical thought based on word order,” given that three rather parallel phrasings omit the word “sea”: “east to the west sea” (Alma 22:32); “east even unto the west sea” (Alma 22:33); and “west sea, even unto the east” (Helaman 4:7). The phrase in Alma 22:32 thus seems to have omitted the word “sea” not by chance but by intention.

34. Many examples for individuals and groups are documented in my “The Problem of Establishing Distances,” in *Geography of Book of Mormon Events*, 393–97.

35. See Louis-Jacques Dorais, “Some Notes on the Semantics of Eastern Eskimo Localizers,” *Anthropological Linguistics* 13 (March 1971): 92.

36. See Eckhard Unger, “Ancient Babylonian Maps and Plans,” *Antiquity* 9 (1935): 311–22.

37. Evon Z. Vogt, “Summary and Appraisal,” in *Desarrollo Cultural de los Mayas*, ed. Evon Z. Vogt and Alberto Ruz L. (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1971), 414.

38. For further examples and documentation of cultural variation in directional concepts and terminology, consult appendix C, “The Problem of Directions,” in my *Geography of Book of Mormon Events*, 401–12.

39. For example, note the numbers of times the text uses various directional terms: east and west, 64; eastward and westward, 3; south and north, 65; southward and northward, 65.

40. See John L. Sorenson, “Seasonality of Warfare in the Book of Mormon and in Mesoamerica,” in *Warfare in the Book of Mormon*, ed. Stephen D. Ricks and William J. Hamblin (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1990), 445–77.

41. See my article, “When Lehi’s Party Arrived in the Land, Did They Find Others There?” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 1/1 (1992): 1–4, 26–28.

42. See my article, “The Book of Mormon as a Mesoamerican Record,” in *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for*

Ancient Origins, ed. Noel B. Reynolds (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997), 391–521.

43. David Wilkinson, “Central Civilization,” in *Civilizations and World Systems: Studying World-Historical Change*, ed. Stephen K. Sanderson (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 1995), 47–48; see 46–74.

44. The best treatments of the concept of civilization are conveniently found in Sanderson, *Civilizations and World Systems*.

45. See Ze’ev Herzog, “Cities: Cities in the Levant,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1:1031–43.

46. The Jerusalem of Lehi₁’s day has been hypothesized to have had a population on the order of twenty-five thousand. See Magen Broshi, “Estimating the Population of Ancient Jerusalem,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 4/2 (June 1978): 10–15.

47. See James F. Strange, “Nazareth,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 4:1050–51.

48. See John L. Sorenson, “The Composition of Lehi’s Family,” in *By Study and also by Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1990), 2:174–96.

49. See E. B. Banning, “Towers,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6:622–24; Sorenson, *Ancient American Setting*, 171–74.

50. See A. Brent Merrill, “Nephite Captains and Armies,” in *Warfare in the Book of Mormon*, 268–71.

51. See *ibid.*, 165–66.

52. See Sorenson, “When Lehi’s Party Arrived.”

53. These points are discussed in greater detail in John L. Sorenson, “The ‘Mulekites,’” *BYU Studies* 30/3 (1990): 6–22.

54. See John A. Tvedtnes, “Book of Mormon Tribal Affiliation and Military Castes,” in *Warfare in the Book of Mormon*, 296–326.