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# Notes

## Preface

1. Karl Jaspers, *The Origin and Goal of History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 1-2.

2. For the study of "Sophic and Mantic" the patient reader must await publication of the delinquent writer. It is quite a subject. [Publication of this article is forthcoming in CWHN—ed.]

3. A summary of Gordon's views may be found in Cyrus H. Gordon, *Before the Bible* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

4. Matthew Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (New York: Scribner, 1961), 11-12.

5. See pages 173-75 below, with notes.

6. John M. Allegro, *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), 62.

7. Samuel H. Hooke, ed., *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958).

8. See Hugh W. Nibley, "The Liahona's Cousins," *IE* 64 (1961): 87-89, 104, 106, 108-11.

9. Carleton Beals, *Nomads and Empire Builders* (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1961), 78. For an excellent survey of the whole field of pre-Columbian North American civilization, see Harold E. Driver and William C. Massey, *Comparative Studies of North American Indians*, vol. 47, pt. 2, of *American Philosophical Society Transactions* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1957).

## Chapter 1: An Approach to the Book of Mormon

1. Harry Torczyner, "Das literarische Problem der Bibel," *ZDMG* 10 (1931): 287-88.

2. This is discussed by Harold H. Rowley, *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), 1-3.

3. Hugh W. Nibley, "The Way of the Church," *IE* 58 (May-June 1955): 306-8, 364-65, 384-86, 455-56; reprinted in CWHN 4:241-63.

4. Hugh W. Nibley, "New Approaches to Book of Mormon Study," *IE* 56 (November-December 1953): 830-31, 859-62, 919, 1003.

5. Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 145-46.

6. Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America, the Book of Mormon* (Independence: Zion's, 1942), 267.

7. Hugh W. Nibley, "The Way of the Church," *IE* 58 (December 1955): 902-3, 968; in *CWHN* 4:300-13.

8. *Ibid.*, and Hugh W. Nibley, *The World and the Prophets* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1954), 178-80, reprinted in *CWHN* 3:195-98, for sources.

9. Ernst Percy, *Die Botschaft Jesu* (Lund: Gleerup, 1953), *Lunds Universitets Aarskrift*, N.F. Avd. 1, vol. 49, no. 5, p. 1.

10. Samuel G. F. Brandon, "The Historical Element in Primitive Christianity," *Numen* 2 (1955): 156-57.

11. *Ibid.*, 157. The expression is Brandon's.

12. Herbert J. Paton, *The Modern Predicament*, Gifford Lectures (London: Allen & Unwin, 1955), 374. "Modern humanity is very much of the same opinion as Pliny [*Natural History* VII, 55 (188-190)] in regarding rebirth of life after death as merely a sop for children," writes Poucha with approval. Pavel Poucha, "Das tibetische Totenbuch im Rahmen der eschatologischen Literatur," *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952): 162.

13. Nibley, "The Way of the Church," 903, 968, reprinted in *CWHN* 4:300-13. We quoted at length from a Catholic article of this type, and from recent Protestant writings in *The World and the Prophets*, 180-82, reprinted in *CWHN* 3:197-99. Recently Hugh Sellin, "The Crisis of Civilization," *Hibbert Journal* 54 (1956): 168, writes of Toynbee: "He believes that a new orientation, a new development, in Christianity, will give to the old cultural foundations of Western civilization a new life to vitalize the coming change in our Society. Yet he declares himself a Christian. Surely some confusion enters here. It is of the very nature of Christianity that it claims to be a final revelation, and . . . it does seem to mark the end of the religious road which Western Man has trod during his recorded history."

14. Charles S. Braden, *The Scriptures of Mankind* (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 482.

15. *Ibid.*, 477-84; emphasis added. Braden's own uncertainty is apparent from the fact that while treating Joseph Smith's Inspired Translation of the Bible at considerable length, he has almost nothing to say about the Book of Mormon, an infinitely more ambitious and significant work. In the same spirit, Henry J. Forman, *The Story of Prophecy* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936), while dealing with

prophecy and fulfillment especially in modern times, makes no mention of Joseph Smith at all.

16. Braden, *The Scriptures of Mankind*, 481, mentions with approval the theory that the Book of Mormon manuscript passed through other hands as stolen goods before it reached Joseph Smith. This absurd theory is discussed in the last lesson of this series. Even if it were true, it merely tells us who is supposed to have handled the manuscript, with never a word as to how it was actually produced.

## Chapter 2: A Time for Reexamination

1. " 'We are thankful,' wrote Schweitzer years ago, 'that we have handed down to us only gospels, not biographies, of Jesus.' The scholars have shown by word and deed that they do not want to know any more about Christ than they do; instead of joyfully embracing the priceless discoveries which from the Didache to the Dead Sea Scrolls have brought us step by step nearer to a knowledge of the true Church of Jesus Christ as it existed anciently, they have fought those documents at every step. If the resurrected Jesus were to walk among them they would waste no time beseeching him 'to depart from their coasts' — they have the only Jesus they want, and they will thank you not to complicate things by introducing new evidence." Thus we wrote in Hugh W. Nibley, "The Way of the Church," *IE* 58 (December 1955): 902-3, reprinted in *CWHN* 4:300-13, following Eisler, whose remarks on the subject have been confirmed since he wrote them by the rise of the "existentialist" theology, which rejects as myth anything the individual does not feel is in line with the complex of experiences and emotions that makes up his own existence.

2. Quoted in Egon Friedell, *Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens und des alten Orients*, 4th ed. (Munich: Beck, 1953), 79.

3. *Ibid.*, 130.

4. Walter Otto, "Zur Universalgeschichte des Altertums," *Historische Zeitschrift* 146 (1932): 205. The author of these lines is the fortunate possessor of Otto's own copy of Meyer's great work, extensively annotated with his own pencil markings.

5. *Ibid.*, 205-6.

6. The quote is from Robert J. Braidwood, *The Near East and the Foundations for Civilization*, Condon Lectures (Eugene: Oregon System of Higher Education, 1952), 5.

7. John Paterson, "The Hurrians," in C. J. M. Weir, ed., *Studia Semitica et Orientalia* (Glasgow: Glasgow University, 1945), 2:95.

8. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1913),

vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 131: "Genuine historical literature arose only among the Israelites and Greeks, and among them independently. Among the Israelites (who for that reason enjoy a unique distinction among all the peoples of the Ancient East) this literature took its rise at an astoundingly early period, and brought forth from the first highly significant productions, such as the purely historical accounts in Judges and Samuel."

9. Eduard König, "Ist die jetzt herrschende Einschätzung der hebräischen Geschichtsquellen berechtigt?" *Historische Zeitschrift* 132 (1925): 289-302, treats the subject in a study that deserves to be summarized here. He tells how all the scholars brushed aside the account in Genesis 23 of Abraham's dealings with the Hittites as a fabrication or a mistake—until the Amarna discoveries proved that the Bible was right and they were wrong. The account of Judah's seal-ring in Genesis 38:18 was treated as a clumsy anachronism until around 1913 when the use of seals in early Palestine was proven by excavation. The favorite creed that the early history of Israel rested entirely on oral tradition was blasted by discoveries proving widespread literacy in the earliest days of Israel. The universal belief that Israel had no interest in real history is disproven by the care with which memorial stones, trees, etc., were designated, and by the fullness and detail of early accounts. It was taken for granted that the early histories of Israel did not reflect the ancient times they purported to describe, but depicted actually the much later periods in which they were written; yet archaeological, ethnological, and philological findings in and around Israel show that these texts do *not* depict the Aramaic times but give an authentic picture of a much earlier world. Naturally it was assumed that the early historians of Israel knew nothing about the correct use of sources and evidence; yet they are careful to cite their sources (often now lost), have a keen eye for historical changes, and often include comments and sidelights from various related sources. The prevailing conviction that Israelite history was a "harmonizing and rationalizing" piece of free composition is disproven by the very scholars who make the changes when they claim they are able to detect a great variety of styles and levels of composition—i.e., that the texts have *not* been harmonized. The very common claim that the history of Israel was all painted over and prettied up, so as to quite conceal the original, runs contrary to the many unsavory and uncomplimentary things said about Israel and her founders throughout these writings; the weaknesses of Israel's heroes are not concealed, as such things are in other ancient

histories, and the actions of the nation are certainly not "bathed in a golden light," as the scholars claimed.

10. Eduard Meyer, "Die Bedeutung der Erschliessung des alten Orients für die geschichtliche Methode," *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, no. 32 (Berlin: Verlag der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1908): 653 (italics added). First in 1886 came Meyer's own discovery of the name Jakob-el in a document of Pharaoh Thutmosis III. Then came the Amarna Tablets in 1887—a whole library. Then in 1896 the inscription of Merneptah (1240 B.C.) showing there were actually Israelites in Palestine. In 1906 came the sensational discovery of the great Hittite record hordes, and in 1907 the wonderful Elephantine finds, Tell Halaf in 1911, Kirkuk (Nuzu) and the Hurrians in 1925, Ras Shamra in 1929, Tepe Gawra in 1931, Mari in 1933, the Lachish Letters in 1938, and in our own day the Nag Hammadi library and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Documents casting the most direct light on Lehi's world would be the Gezer Calendar, the Samaritan ostraca, the Siloam Inscription, the Ophel ostrakon, numerous seals, inscribed jar-handles and potsherds both private and royal, weights and measures, inscriptions, the Samaritan ivories, etc. These are all mentioned below. See Sabatino Moscati, *L'Epigrafia Hebraica Antica 1935-1950*, *Biblica et Orientalia*, no. 15 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1951).

11. Peter Meinhold, "Die Anfänge des amerikanischen Geschichtsbewusstseins," *Saeculum* 5 (1954): 85-86.

12. Eugen I. Mittwoch, "Neue aramäische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Achamenidenherrschaft in Ägypten," in *MGWJ* 83 (1939): 93-100; S. Birch, "On Some Leather Rolls," *ZÄSA* 9 (1871): 103-4, 117-18.

13. D. Winton Thomas, "The Age of Jeremiah in the Light of Recent Archaeological Discovery," *PEFQ* (1950), 8-9. "In 1942 there was discovered at Saqqarah a letter written in Aramaic upon papyrus, belonging to the Jeremian period." It was from King Adon to Pharaoh, asking for help against the invading Babylonians. *Ibid.*, 5.

14. William F. Albright, "A Hebrew Letter from the Twelfth Century B.C.," *BASOR* 73 (February 1939): 9-12; cf. Julian Obermann, "An Early Phoenician Political Document," *JBL* 58 (1939): 229; it was "engraved on a metal tablet, of copper or bronze."

15. Arthur E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), xxix-xxx.

16. An excellent photograph of these plates and their box is given in the frontispiece of Sidney B. Sperry, *Ancient Records Testify in Papyrus and Stone* (Salt Lake City: General Boards of M.I.A. of the

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1938). For a general survey of writing on plates in antiquity and a reprinting of the same photograph, see Franklin S. Harris, *The Book of Mormon, Messages and Evidences* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1953), 95-105, photograph is on p. 4.

17. Jean Bottéro, "Deux tablettes de fondation, en or et en argent, d'Assurnasirpal II," *Semitica* 1 (1948): 25-32. Tablet translation is on 26.

18. F. Thureau-Dangin, "Une tablette en or provenant d'Umma," *Revue d'Assyriologie* 34 (1937): 177-82.

19. Jawād 'Alī, *Tārīkh al-ʿArab qabl al-Islām* (Baghdad: Matbaʿat, 1950), 1:14.

20. Eusebius, *Chronicon (Chronicle)* I, 19, in PG 19:181; Karl and Theodor Müller, eds. *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Paris: Didot, 1928), 2:125.

21. Hermann Ranke, "Eine Bleitafel mit hieroglyphischer Inschrift," *ZÄSA* 74 (1938): 49-51. Ranke declares himself completely mystified by this document.

22. Muhibble Anstock-Darga, "Semitische Inschriften auf Silber-täfelchen aus dem 'Bertiz'-Tal," *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 1 (1950): 199-200.

23. André Dupont-Sommer, "Deux lamelles d'argent à inscription hébréo-araméenne trouvées à Agabeyli (Turquie)," *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 1 (1950): 201-17.

24. Inscribed tablets play an important role in the Greek mystery cults. Beside the golden tablets, whose texts are reproduced by Alexander Olivieri, *Lamellae Aureae Orphicae*, in *Kleine Texte*, no. 133 (Bonn: Marius & Tuéber, 1915), were those tablets which were inscribed by the initiates: "All who have gone down to Trophonius are obliged to set up a tablet containing a record of all they heard or saw," Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio (Description of Greece)* IX, 39. When the celebrated traveling seer Apollonius visited Trophonius, he emerged from the underground passages bearing a holy book, which caused a great sensation and drew many sight-seers to Antium, where it was put on display. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* VIII, 19.

25. John S. Morrison, "Parmenides and Er," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 75 (1955): 66.

26. Plato, *Gorgias* 524A. See Michael I. Rostovtzeff, *Mystic Italy* (New York: Holt, 1927), 74.

27. See below, 204.

28. See Hugh W. Nibley, "The Stick of Judah and the Stick of Joseph," *IE* 56 (January-May 1953): 250-51.

29. August von Gall, *Basileia tou Theou* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1926), 77-78.

30. Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), 119-21; reprinted in *CWHN* 5: 105-7.

31. Sten Konow, "Kalawan Copper-Plate Inscription of the Year 134," *JRAS* (1932), 950, 964-65.

32. The fullest account to date is in "Unrolling the Past," *Chemical and Engineering News* (3 September 1956), 4254-59.

33. E. E. W. Gs. Schröder, "A Phoenician Alphabet on Sumatra," *JAOS* 47 (1927): 25-35.

34. Helmuth Bossert, "Zu den Bleibriefen aus Assur," *Orientalia* 20 (1951): 70-77; Walter Andrae, *Hittitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1924).

35. Donald J. Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing-Boards," *Iraq* 17 (1955): 3-13, quote is on 11.

36. *Ibid.*, 13.

37. *Ibid.*, 3; cf. Margaret Howard, "Technical Description of the Ivory Writing-boards from Nimrud," *Iraq* 17 (1955): 14-20.

38. V. Krackovskaya, "Maghrebi Copper Tablet of the Paleography Museum," *Publications of the Asiatic Museum, Ancient Oriental Studies* (Russian) 5 (Academy of Sciences, USSR, 1930): 109-18.

39. Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), 119-21; reprinted in *CWHN* 5: 105-7.

40. Alonzo Bunker, "On a Karen Inscription Plate," *JAOS* 10 (1872): 172-76, who also notes, 175, that a gold and copper plate was the talisman by which the chief held his power over the people: "the plate invests its possessor, the chief, with what authority he holds over his subjects."

41. See "Old World Ritual in the New World," ch. 23 below.

42. Archibald H. Sayce, "The Libraries of David and Solomon," *JRAS* (1931), 783-90. On Meyer's contribution, König, "Ist die jetzt herrschende Einschätzung der hebräischen Geschichtsquellen berechtigt?" 289-302.

43. Frederick E. Pargiter, "A Copperplate Discovered at Kasia, and Buddha's Death Place," *JRAS* (1913), 152-53.

44. Sayce, "The Libraries of David and Solomon," 786

### Chapter 3: An Auspicious Beginning

1. The latter part of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* 5 contains a dis-



cussion of the evolution of human institutions that is hardly to be distinguished from what might be heard in the halls of our western universities today. It must be admitted, however, that the teachings of said universities are a good thirty years behind the thinking of the more advanced centers of thought abroad. The intellectuals of the 18th Century regarded all other ages as "elegant and refined" in direct proportion to their proximity to them in time—a strictly evolutionary pattern. Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: Kelmscott Society), 4:262. Typical is Gibbon's observation at the beginning of the 26th chapter, that "the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger resemblance to themselves and to each other."

2. Two recent and readable discussions of the worldwide diffusion of the earliest civilizations are Paul Herrmann, *Conquest by Man*, tr. Michael Bullock (New York: Harper, 1954), and Carleton S. Coon, *The Story of Man* (New York: Knopf, 1954).

3. This is treated in "The Nature of Book of Mormon Society," and "Strategy for Survival," chs. 29 and 30 below.

4. Eberhard Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903), 169.

5. Cyrus H. Gordon, "The Patriarchal Narratives," *JNES* 13 (1954): 58-59.

6. Herrmann, *Conquest by Man*, pt. 4.

7. T. Walek-Czernecki, "La population de l'égypte à l'époque Saïte," *Bulletin de l'institut d'égypte* 33 (1940-41): 59.

8. *Ibid.*, 37-62, where the population of Egypt in 600 B.C. is placed at 20 to 35 million as a conservative estimate, other estimates exceeding 30 million. Less than a century later, in 525 B.C., the population stood on good evidence at only 16.5 million, and in 1800 A.D. Egypt had only 2.4 million inhabitants! In 1937, on the other hand, it had 15.9 million. Such astonishing fluctuations in population should be kept in mind in reading Book of Mormon history.

9. Thus Lehi's great contemporary and friend Jeremiah denounced the loud boasts of peace: "For they have healed the hurt . . . of my people slightly [lit. lightly, superficially], saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace." Jeremiah 6:14; 8:11. Lehi's son denounces the same complacency in strong terms: "They will say: All is well in Zion; yea, Zion prospereth, all is well." So, says Nephi, Satan "will . . . pacify, and lull them away into carnal security." 2 Nephi 28:21.

10. For the complete text and discussion, Ulrich Wilcken, "Punt-Fahrten in der Ptolemäerzeit," *ZÄSA* 60:90-102.

11. "There is clear evidence, in certain well examined sub-areas [of the Near East], for rapid erosion of parts of the land since the end of the last ice age. This could depend either on greater rainfall or on tectonic movement, but another significant factor was undoubtedly deforestation, probably connected with the appearance of settled villages, husbanded sheep and goats, and expanded human population." Robert J. Braidwood, *The Near East and the Foundations for Civilization*, Condon Lectures (Eugene: Oregon System of Higher Education, 1952), 13. Man himself may have caused "the existing regime of absolute drought" in the Sahara, says V. Gordon Childe. "In fact the rock-pictures just demonstrate the survival of the . . . appropriate vegetation to a time when stock-breeders were actually using the latter as pasture." V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, 4th ed. (New York: Praeger, 1953), 17. The reader is especially recommended to Paul B. Sears, *Deserts on the March* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1947).

12. Georg Ebers, *Ägyptische Studien und Verwandtes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1900), 315.

13. See the discussion by John L. Myres, "The Colonial Expansion of Greece," in *Cambridge Ancient History* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 3:631-84.

14. Homer, *Odyssey* VI, 7-10.

15. Vergil, *Aeneid* I, 202-7.

16. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 631-39.

17. *Eunomia*, in Strabo, *Geography* VIII, 362.

18. Strabo, *Geography* XIV, 634.

19. Pedro Bosch-Gimpera, "Phéniciens et grecs dans l'extrême-occident," *Nouvelle Clio* 3 (1951): 269-96, emphasizes the intense competition between the two.

20. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1901), vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 106-9, reporting that the Greeks in Lehi's day were getting their gold from Tibet.

21. Herodotus, *History* IV, 42, discussed by Herrmann, *Conquest by Man*, 73-76, 79-83.

22. For a recent reconstruction of Hanno's itinerary, G. Marcy, "Le 'Périples d'Hannon' dans le marocantique de M. J. Carcopino," *Journal Asiatique* 234 (1943-45): 1-57.

23. Herrmann, *Conquest by Man*, 130.

24. *Ibid.*, 36. Paul Haupt, "The Ship of the Babylonian Noah," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 10, Heft 2 (1927): 22, thinks that even the

prehistoric sea epics of Babylonia and Greece "both go back to the same source, viz. the yarns of early Tartessian mariners."

25. Herrmann, *Conquest by Man*, 83; cf. Ebers, *Ägyptische Studien und Verwandtes*, 311-38.

26. Josef Partsch, "Die Grenzen der Menschheit," *Abhandlungen der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 68, no. 2 (1916): 62. Jozef M. A. Janssen, "Notes on the Geographical Horizon of the Ancient Egyptians," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 8 (1951): 213-17. Paul Bolchert, *Aristoteles Erdkunde von Asien und Libyen*, Heft 15 of *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1908), 3. For the world-map of Lehi's contemporary Hecataeus, John Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers* (Cairo: Government Press, 1942), 9. For a general survey, Alexander Scharff & Anton Moortgat, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1950).

#### Chapter 4: Lehi as a Representative Man

1. See "Lehi's Affairs: Lehi and the Arabs," ch. 6 below, n. 1.

2. See below, 88-89.

3. "Is it not remarkable," asks Paul Herrmann, *Conquest by Man*, tr. Michael Bullock (New York: Harper, 1954), 27, "that the New World apart from Peru, in spite of its plentiful supplies of copper, never succeeded in discovering bronze on its own account?" It has been noted with wonder that many typical Near Eastern objects, such as bells, are found in the New World, but instead of being of bronze, as they are in the Old World, they are invariably of copper. This, we believe, is a dead give-away of the true nature of the cultural transmission, which must have been by a small group, unacquainted with the secret of making bronze (a very closely-guarded secret, strictly the property of certain nations and groups of specialists), but familiar with the design and use of all sorts of things made from bronze. The form they could imitate; the substance they could not duplicate, for its formula was secret. And so we have Nephi carefully copying the bronze or brass plates he brought with him from Jerusalem, not in bronze, however, but in *ore* (1 Nephi 19:1). Herrmann's book contains a good deal of information on the subject of the extreme secrecy with which ancient traders, merchants, and manufacturers guarded all their knowledge, technical and geographical.

4. *Ibid.*, 21.

5. Eberhard Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903), 169-70.

6. One of the best-known tales of antiquity is the story of Solon's visit to Croesus, the richest man in the world, as told in Herodotus,

*History I*, 30-32, one of the greatest sermons on moderation and humility. Cf. Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 5-6.

7. "No precise date is known for any event in Solon's life. Even the year of his archonship cannot be fixed, and we can only say that it fell within the period between 594 and 590 B.C." Ivan M. Linforth, "Solon the Athenian," *Classical Philology* 6 (1919): 27. See generally, Ivan M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1919). This does mean, however, that Solon reached the peak of his career within ten years of the fall of Jerusalem, which makes him strictly contemporary with Lehi.

8. Contacts between Greece and Palestine were quite close, Fritz M. Heichelheim, "Ezra's Palestine and Periclean Athens," *Zeitschrift für Religion und Geistesgeschichte* 3 (1951): 251-53. Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, tr. Dryden (New York: Bigalow, Brown, n.d.), 1:177-213. Plutarch, *Life of Solon* in *Plutarch's Lives*, and Herodotus, *History II* tell of the great man's wanderings, and are excellent background reading for the world of Lehi.

9. Linforth, "Solon the Athenian," 37.

10. Demosthenes, *De Falsa Legatione* 251-55; Plutarch, *Life of Solon* 8, 2.

11. The quotation is from one of Solon's own poems, quoted by Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 12, 4. Thirty-two years after Solon had given Athens its model constitution, his old friend Peisistratus overthrew the government and made himself dictator. The aged Solon alone stood out against him, and in the end, thanks to him, democracy triumphed, Linforth, "Solon the Athenian," 101. "The marvellous thing," writes Linforth, "is that at so early a day, in the midst of the corruption of a declining aristocracy and the ignorance of an unintelligent populace, Solon should have discerned with such clear insight and maintained with such resolute faith the true principle of equality before the law."

12. Thales can be dated by an eclipse which he predicted in 585 B.C., that is, within a year or two of the destruction of Jerusalem, Herodotus, *History I*, 74. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1, 22, says his mother was a Phoenician, while Herodotus, *History I*, 170, simply says he was of Phoenician descent. His Egyptian education is mentioned by Proclus, *Commentary on Euclid I*, who says he first brought the knowledge of geometry from Egypt to Greece.

13. "When they made fun of him because of his poverty, as showing how useless his philosophy was to him, it is said that he made a study of weather conditions [lit. "astrology" in the broad sense] and estimated what the olive crop would be for the coming

season; and while it was still winter he borrowed a little money and bought up all the olive presses used in oil manufacture in Miletus and Chios, getting them for a song, since nobody thought they were worth very much out of season. But when a bumper crop came along, there was a sudden and overwhelming demand for olive presses and Thales was able to get whatever he asked for his. In this way Thales was said to have shown the value of *sophia* [intellectual application] in action, and indeed, as we have said, the achievement of such a monopoly is a triumph of business intelligence." Aristotle, *Politics* 1259a. This is the earliest known use of the word "monopoly." "That, my dear Theodore, is like the case of Thales," says Socrates in Plato, *Theaetetus* 174a, "who once when he was looking up into the heavens thinking about the stars walked right into a well. A smart Thracian servant-girl saw it and made a joke about the man who would sound the depths of the sky when he didn't even see what was at his feet. That's the way philosophers seem to everybody." That is certainly the way Lehi seemed to his family, who called him a dreamer and even a fool, but still, like Thales, he seems by the accumulation of his "exceeding great wealth" to have given quite adequate evidence of an astute and practical nature when that was necessary.

14. Herodotus, *History* I, 170. The plan seems to have been a good one, worked out on the basis of wide experience. It might have saved the Greeks tragic centuries of senseless wars had it been followed out.

15. The sources for the study of the Seven Wise Men have been gathered by Barkowski "Sieben Weise," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1923), series 2, vol. 2, pt. 2, 2242-44. Actually the concept of the Seven Sages is very ancient, being clearly indicated in early Sumerian temple texts, Alfred Jeremias, *Handbuch den altorientalischen Geistes-kultur* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1913), 81. Beneath the pavement of a building in Ur were found two clay boxes, each containing seven figurines representing the " 'Seven Sages' " (Babylonian *ummâni*) and certainly "connected with the antediluvian kings," called the " 'Seven Ancients' " (*apquallû*) of the seven earliest cities; to them was attributed the "editing of all the secrets of divination, magic, and wisdom." Thus Georges Contenau, *Le Déluge Babylonien* (Paris: Payot, 1941), 46. These seven were thought of as constantly wandering through the world as bearers of wisdom, observing and instructing the ways of mankind. They have often been compared with the seven planets and certainly suggest the seventy wise men of the Jews, who were wandering missionaries to the seventy nations and seventy tongues

of mankind. Cf. Wilhelm H. Roscher, "Die Sieben- und Neunzahl im Kultus und Mythos der Griechen," *Abhandlungen der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft* 24, no. 1 (1904): 114.

16. See Hugh W. Nibley, "Victoriosa Loquacitas: The Rise of Rhetoric and the Decline of Everything Else," *Western Speech* 20 (1956): 60.

17. Carl Niebuhr, "Einflüsse orientalischer Politik auf Griechenland im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert," *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 4 (1899), no. 3. For the general picture, *Cambridge Ancient History* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), vol. 3, especially Henry T. Wade-Gery, "The Growth of the Dorian States," 548-58, and Frank E. Adcock, "The Growth of the Greek City-State," 699-701.

18. Alfred Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1916), 542-43, 605-7.

19. Alexandre Moret, *Histoire de l'orient* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1929), 2:711-12, comparing Zoroaster's political reforms with Solon's. See especially John L. Myres, "Persia, Greece and Israel," *PEFQ* (1953), 8-22.

20. The only serious dispute is about the date of Zarathustra. Eduard Meyer, Andreas, Carl Clemen and others put him between 1000 and 900 B.C., but more recently West, Jackson, and others have put him between 660 and 583 B.C., with an alternative dating of 625 to 548 B.C.; J. Charpentier, "The Date of Zoroaster," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 3 (1923): 747-55. Still more recently Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, "Das Jahr Zarathustras," *Zeitschrift für Religion und Geistesgeschichte* 8 (1956): 14, put his birth in 599 or 598 B.C. The traditional date of his death by violence at the age of 77 is 582, which makes him about the same age as Lehi.

21. Quoted in Stobaeus, *Eclogues* IV, 34; Ivan M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1919), Frg. 41, on page 170.

22. Plutarch, *Life of Solon* 2, 2. The long quote is in Stobaeus, *Eclogues* III, 9 and 23. For the other Wise Men, Barkowski, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2260-62.

## Chapter 5: Lehi's Affairs

1. Alexandre Moret, *Histoire de l'orient* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1929), 2:728.

2. Al-Ḥārīrī of Basra, *Makamāt*, tr. Theodore Preston (London: Madden, 1850), 409.

3. Thus C. Leonard Woolley writes in *Digging Up the Past* (Bal-

timore: Penguin, 1963), 132: "At once there is called up the astonishing picture of antediluvian man engaged in a commerce which sent its caravans across a thousand miles of mountain and desert from the Mesopotamian valley into the heart of India." Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, "The Seafaring Merchants of Ur," *JAOS* 74 (1954): 6; Samuel N. Kramer, "Sumerian Historiography," *Israel Exploration Journal* 3 (1953): 228-30.

4. This view is described by Eduard Meyer, "Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums," in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichtstheorie und zur wirtschaftlichen und politischen Geschichte des Altertums*, 2 vols. (Halle: Niemeyer, 1924), 1:82.

5. Herbert H. Gowen, "Hebrew Trade and Trade Terms in O.T. Times," *JSOR* 6 (1922): 1, quoting Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 1: "We do not dwell in a land by the sea and do not therefore indulge in commerce either by sea or otherwise."

6. Meyer, "Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums," 90-91.

7. Georg Ebers, *Ägyptische Studien und Verwandtes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1900), 315.

8. Meyer, "Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums," 90-91.

9. Ebers, *Ägyptische Studien und Verwandtes*, 316.

10. John Gray, "The Ras Shamra Texts: A Critical Assessment," *Hibbert Journal* 53 (1954): 115.

11. Gowen, "Hebrew Trade and Trade Terms in O.T. Times," 2-3, 6.

12. Alfred Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (Leipzig: Mohr, 1896), 7.

13. *Ibid.*, 22, quoting Isaiah 21:13; Jeremiah 31:21; Numbers 20:19; Exodus 21:8; 14:21; 2 Kings 12:5; Genesis 23:16; 3:16.

14. *Ibid.*, 43, 45-50. Cf. 1 Kings 20:34.

15. For many years the debate has continued about the location of Ophir. One of the main purposes of Bertram Thomas' famous expedition that crossed the Empty Quarter of Arabia in 1930 was to seek for Ophir in the Hadramaut. The decisive factor, according to the latest conclusions, is that not only gold but antimony were brought from Ophir, which fact, along with others, points to the Zambesi mines near the Great Zimbabwe. See Paul Herrmann, *Conquest by Man*, tr. Michael Bullock (New York: Harper, 1954), 67-70. Ebers, *Ägyptische Studien und Verwandtes*, 315, puts it at the mouth of the Indus.

16. Gowen, "Hebrew Trade and Trade Terms in O.T. Times," 4.

Cf. Julius Lewy, "Studies in the Historic Geography of the Ancient Near East: Old Assyrian Caravan Roads in the Valleys of the Hābūr and the Euphrates and in Northern Syria," *Orientalia* 21 (1952): 265-92, 393-425.

17. Meyer, "Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums," 91; cf. Eduard Glaser, *Punt und die südarabischen Reiche in Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 4 (1899), no. 2.

18. This was the greatest trade route for luxury goods in the world, according to Herrmann, *Conquest by Man*, 55, and was of prehistoric antiquity. "It is quite certain," writes Ebers, *Ägyptische Studien und Verwandtes*, 315, "that Sidonian and Tyrian travelling merchants reached south Arabia . . . to fetch their incense, spices, ivory, and ebony."

19. Pinchas Wechter, "Israel in Arabia," *JQR* 38 (1948): 476.

20. *Ibid.*, 473-74.

21. Fritz Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* (Munich: Beck, 1926), 720, 734.

22. Jacqueline Pirenne, "Grèce et Saba," *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, Comptes rendus* (1954), 120-25.

23. Gustav Hölscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, Heft 5 of *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1903), 18, citing numerous sources.

24. De Lacy O'Leary, *Arabia Before Muhammed* (London: Kegan Paul, 1927), 172-73.

25. Wechter, "Israel in Arabia," 473.

26. Hölscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, 17.

27. Meyer, "Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums," 91.

28. See note 14 above.

29. The background of this institution is discussed by the writer in Hugh W. Nibley, "The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State," *Western Political Quarterly* 2 (1949): 335-36.

30. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum* 2271, "hē synodo tōn Tyriōn em-pōrōn kai nauklerōn," cited by Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, 75.

31. Al-Hārīrī of Basra, *Makamāt*, 96.

32. Gustaf H. Dalman, "Aus dem Rechtsleben und religiösen Leben der Beduinen," *ZDPV* 62:61-62.

33. Al-Hārīrī of Basra, *Makamāt*, 130.

34. *Ibid.*, 120.

35. Woolley, *Digging Up the Past*, 78.

36. Wechter, "Israel in Arabia," 473-74.

37. Gowen, "Hebrew Trade and Trade Terms in O.T. Times," 16.



On the ardent missionary activity of these Jewish merchants, see Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, 76, 78.

38. Wechter, "Israel in Arabia," 479.

39. Bernhard Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Grote, 1887-88), 1:376, quoted by Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, 75.

40. Wechter, "Israel in Arabia," 478.

41. Xenophon, *Anabasis* V, 6, 17.

42. Israel Friedlaender, "The Jews of Arabia and the Rechabites," *JQR* 1 (1911): 252-57.

43. Gowen, "Hebrew Trade and Trade Terms in O.T. Times," 16; William W. Tarn, "Ptolemy II and Arabia," *JEA* 15 (1929): 16, 21.

### Chapter 6: Lehi's Affairs

1. Abraham Bergman, "The Israelite Tribe of Half-Manasseh," *JPOS* 16 (1936): 225, 228, 249; Moses H. Segal, "The Settlement of Manasseh East of the Jordan," *PEFQ* (1918), 124.

2. William F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942), 171.

3. David S. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israel Prior to the Rise of Islam*, Schweich Lectures (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), 29; Alfred Guillaume, "The Habiru, the Hebrew, and the Arab," *PEFQ* (1946), 84-85.

4. Eduard Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1906; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), 302, 322.

5. Genesis 16:12. John Zeller, "The Bedouin," *PEFQ* (1901), 198.

6. John L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (London: Colburn & Bentley, 1831), 1:113: "A man has an exclusive right to the hand of his cousin; he is not obliged to marry her, but she cannot, without his consent, become the wife of another person." Richard F. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah*, (London: Tylston & Edwards, 1893), 2:84: "Every Bedawi has a right to marry his father's brother's daughter before she is given to a stranger; hence 'cousin' (*Bint Amn*) in polite phrase signifies a 'wife.' "

7. The retention of tribal identity throughout the Book of Mormon is a typically desert trait and a remarkably authentic touch. Early in their history the people were divided into "Nephites, Jacobites, Josephites, Zoramites, Lamanites, Lemuelites, and Ishmaelites" (Jacob 1:13). Where are the Samites? Why are no groups named after Ishmael's sons as they are after Lehi's? The Jews, like other ancient

peoples, thought of the human race as divided like the universe itself into seven zones or nations, a concept reflected in certain aspects of their own religious and social organization. Can this seven-fold division of Lehi's people, which was certainly conscious and deliberate, have had that pattern in mind? At the end of Book of Mormon history we read that the Nephites, Jacobites, Josephites, and Zoramites were all called Nephites for convenience, while the "Lamanites and the Lemuelites and the Ishmaelites were called Lamanites, and the two parties were Nephites and Lamanites" (Mormon 1:8-9). Still, it will be noted that there were actually seven tribes, strictly speaking, rather than two nations.

8. Thomas Harmer, *Observations on Divers Passages of Scripture . . . by Means of Circumstances Mentioned in Books of Voyages and Travels into the East*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: Johnson, 1776), 1:117.

9. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* 2:118. Today when striking resemblances turn up between peoples no matter how far removed from each other in space and time, scholars are much more ready to consider the possibility of a common origin than they have ever been before. Actual lines of contact have now been proven between so many cultures formerly thought to have been absolutely independent and inaccessible to each other that it is no longer safe to say that cultural transmission even between the remotest parts of the globe and in the earliest times is out of the question. For an interesting treatment of this subject, see Fitz Roy Raglan, *The Origins of Religion* (London: Watts, 1949), 33-38.

10. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 322-23.

11. Paul Haupt, "Heb. *lehî*, cheek, and *lô*, jaw," *JBL* 33 (1914): 290-95.

12. Nelson Glueck, "Ostraca From Elath," *BASOR* 80 (December 1940): 5-6.

13. Edward H. Palmer, "Arabic and English Name Lists," in *Survey of Western Palestine* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881), 8:358.

14. Eliezer ben Yahuda, "The Edomite Language," *JPOS* 1 (1921): 113-15; James A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934), 171, notes that there was an Arabic Massa tribe, but "no Hebrew king Lemuel."

15. Ben Yahuda, "The Edomite Language," 115.

16. See "Proper Names in the Book of Mormon," ch. 22 below.

17. Claude R. Conder, "Moslem Mukams," in *Survey of Western Palestine, Special Papers* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881), 4:272.

18. Palmer, "Arabic and English Name Lists," 40, 17, 66; see "Proper Names in the Book of Mormon," ch. 22 below.

19. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, 5.

20. See "Lehi's Affairs: The Jews and the Caravan Trade," ch. 5 above. Of the ties between the Bedouins, the merchants, and the farmers of Palestine and Egypt, Warren says: "Anybody who takes the trouble to investigate and understand these relationships will find it comparatively easy to make arrangements with tribes in the desert, however far they may be." Charles Warren, "Notes on Arabia Petraea and the Country Lying between Egypt and Palestine," *PEFQ* (1887), 45, n. 23.

21. Adolf Reifenberg, "A Hebrew Shekel of the Fifth Century B.C.," *PEFQ* (1943), 102; Stanley A. Cook, "The Jews of the Syene in the Fifth Century B.C.," *PEFQ* (1907), 68-73.

22. Arthur E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), 226; column XIV, line 1.

23. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, 185, 23.

24. Hugh W. Nibley, "There Were Jaredites," *IE* 59 (January 1956): 30-32, 58-61; reprinted in *CWHN* 5:285-90; cf. Daines Barrington, "Observations on Patriarchal Customs and Manners," *Archaeologia* 5 (1779): 119-36.

25. Immanuel Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (Freiburg i/B: Mohr, 1894), 111.

26. Eberhard Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903), 136.

27. Harmer, *Observations on Divers Passages of Scripture . . . by Means of Circumstances Mentioned in Books of Voyages and Travels into the East*, 1:76-160. It was Harmer who first fully appreciated and demonstrated the possibility of using the unchanging customs of the East as a check on the authenticity of the Bible, a method which we extended to the Book of Mormon in Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), reprinted as volume 5 of *CWHN*.

28. Gustav Hölscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, Heft 5 of *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1903), 18-25, citing Jeremiah 3:1; 1 Kings 10:15; 2 Chronicles 9:14. Job has long been considered an Arabic book; Joseph Reider, "Middad in Job 7:4," *JBL* 38 (1919): 60-65.

29. See "Lehi as a Representative Man," ch. 4 above.

30. In the great Schick relief map of the Holy Land in the Peabody Museum at Harvard, all the country east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea is marked UNEXPLORED—and the map was made in 1925!

Priceless manuscript treasures have been found in what Frank M. Cross calls "the howling wilderness of Ta'amireh," but a scant twelve miles from Jerusalem. Frank M. Cross, "The Manuscripts of the Dead Sea Caves," *BA* (1954), 4.

31. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israel Prior to the Rise of Islam*, 24-25; Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, 12.

32. Philip J. Baldensperger, "The Immovable East," *PEFQ* (1923), 176.

33. William F. Albright, "Recent Progress in North-Canaanite Research," *BASOR* 70 (April 1938): 21.

34. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israel Prior to the Rise of Islam*, 8; Theodor Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1899), 52, 57; Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 305, 307.

35. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, 53, citing D. B. MacDonald, *The Hebrew Literary Genius* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1933), 26-27.

36. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, 47.

37. William F. Albright, *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, American Oriental Series (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1934), 5:50 (ch. 10, C, line 12).

38. W. E. Jennings-Bramley, "The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula," *PEFQ* (1909), 257.

39. Taufik Canaan, "Studies in the Topography and Folklore of Petra," *JPOS* 9 (1929): 139; cf. David G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia* (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1904), 162.

40. Canaan, "Studies in the Topography and Folklore of Petra," 140.

41. C. Leonard Woolley and Thomas E. Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin* (London: Cape, 1936), 86-87; cf. Claude R. Conder, "Lieut. Claude R. Conder's Reports. XXXII," *PEFQ* (1875), 126.

42. Bertram Thomas, *Arabia Felix* (New York: Scribner, 1932), 50.

43. Guillaume, "The Habiru, the Hebrew, and the Arab," 65-67: "I do not think that there is much doubt that the Hebrews were what we should call Arabs, using the term in its widest sense."

44. Albright, "Recent Progress in North-Canaanite Research," 21; cf. Guillaume, "The Habiru, the Hebrew, and the Arab," 77; Stephen L. Caiger, *Bible and Spade* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 83-84.

## Chapter 7: Lehi's Affairs

1. James W. Jack, "The Lachish Letters – Their Date and Import," *PEFQ* (1938), 178.

2. Arthur Keith, "The Men of Lachish," *PEFQ* (1940), 7-12.

3. James L. Starkey, "Lachish as Illustrating Bible History," *PEFQ* (1937), 177-78; Alan Rowe, "Excavations at Beisān During the 1927 Season," *PEFQ* (1928), 73-90; Richard D. Barnett, "Phoenician and Syrian Ivory Carving," *PEFQ* (1939), 4-5, 7; John W. Crowfoot & Grace M. Crowfoot, "The Ivories From Samaria," *PEFQ* (1933), 7, 18; Charles C. Torrey, "A Hebrew Seal From the Reign of Ahaz," *BASOR* 79 (October 1940): 27-28; John Bright, "A New Letter in Aramaic, Written to a Pharaoh of Egypt," *BA* 12 (1949): 46-52; H. Louis Ginsberg, "An Aramaic Contemporary of the Lachish Letters," *BASOR* 3 (1948): 24-27; Abraham S. Yahuda, *The Accuracy of the Bible* (London: Heinemann, 1934), xxix; Stephen L. Caiger, *Bible and Spade* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 83-84, 91-92; James A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934), 1.

4. Archibald H. Sayce, "The Jerusalem Sealings on Jar-Handles," *PEFQ* (1927), 216; J. Garrow Duncan, "Fifth Quarterly Report on the Excavation of the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem," *PEFQ* (1925), 18-20.

5. Yahuda, *The Accuracy of the Bible*, xxix-xxx; see especially by the same author, Abraham S. Yahuda, *The Language of the Pentateuch in Its Relation to Egyptian* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), xxxi-xxxv.

6. William F. Albright, "The Egyptian Empire in Asia in the Twenty-first Century B.C.," *JPOS* 8 (1928): 226-30; and William F. Albright, "Palestine in the Earliest Historical Period," *JPOS* 2 (1922): 110-38.

7. David G. Hogarth, "Egyptian Empire in Asia," *JEA* 1 (1914): 9-12. Cf. R. Campbell Thompson, "The Influence of Babylonia," in *Cambridge Ancient History* (New York: Macmillan, 1925) 3:250; Harry R. H. Hall, in "The Eclipse of Egypt," in *Cambridge Ancient History* (New York: Macmillan, 1925) 3:256-57; "The Restoration of Egypt," in *Cambridge Ancient History* 3:295-99.

8. For the first quotation, Henri Frankfort, "Egypt and Syria in the First Intermediate Period," *JEA* 12 (1926): 96; for the second, Alexandre Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1929), 2:787.

9. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1928), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 132; Hogarth, "Egyptian Empire in Asia," 12.

10. Walter Wreszinski, *Berichte über die photographische Expedition von Kairo bis Wadi Halfa zwecks Abschluss der Materialsammlung für meinen Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Halle: Niemeyer,

1927), taf. 38, p. 80. Hugo Winckler, "Muşri, Meluhha, Máfn," *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (1898), no. 1, for example, pp. 19-27.

11. The old Egyptian gold standard was that used by the Athenians, Heinrich Brugsch, "Das altägyptische Goldgewicht," *ZÄSA* 27 (1889): 95, 4-28; cf. Heinrich Brugsch, "Die Lösung der altägyptischen Münzfrage," *ZÄSA* 27 (1889), in which the identity of Egyptian and Babylonian weights is fully demonstrated. From this same system the Hebrews derived their basic weight, the ephah; Kurt Sethe, "Zur Ägyptischen Herkunft des hebräischen Masses Epha," *ZÄSA* 62 (1927): 61.

12. Alfred F. L. Beeston, "Two South-Arabian Inscriptions: Some Suggestions," *JRAS* (1937), 61.

13. For the text, Walther Wolf, "Neue Beiträge zum 'Tagebuch eines Grenzbeamten,'" *ZÄSA* 69 (1933): 39-45.

14. Eduard Meyer, "Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums," in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichtstheorie und zur wirtschaftlichen und politischen Geschichte des Altertums*, 2 vols. (Halle: Niemeyer, 1924), 1:97; Georg Ebers, *Ägyptische Studien und Verwandtes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1900), 314. Herbert H. Gowen, "Hebrew Trade and Trade Terms in O.T. Times," *JSOR* 6 (1922): 1-16.

15. Paul Herrmann, *Conquest by Man*, tr. Michael Bullock (New York: Harper, 1954), 68-69; Gowen, "Hebrew Trade and Trade Terms in O.T. Times," 6, attributes Israel's dependence on others for ships to the "absence of harbors on the Syrian coast."

16. Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1949), 3, citing Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1931), vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 63.

17. Hölscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, Heft 5 of *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1903), 13, citing Ezekiel 27:8-9.

18. *Ibid.*, 13-14.

19. Albright, "The Seal of Eliahkim and the Latest Preëxilic History of Judah, with Some Observations on Ezekiel," *JBL* 51 (June 1932): 93-95.

20. Norman de G. Davies & Raymond O. Faulkner, "A Syrian Trading Venture to Egypt," *JEA* 33 (1947): 40-41.

21. James H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 2nd ed. (New York: Scribner, 1951), 577.

22. Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), 7, reprinted in *CWHN* 5:6; Davies & Faulkner, "A Syrian Trading Venture to Egypt," 45-46.

23. Gowen, "Hebrew Trade and Trade Terms in O.T. Times," 4.
24. Hölscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, 13.
25. Ulrich Wilcken, "Punt-Fahrten in der Ptolemäerzeit," *ZÄSA* 60 (1925): 101.
26. Davies & Faulkner, "A Syrian Trading Venture to Egypt," 45.
27. Nina M. Davies & Norman de G. Davies, "Syrians in the Tomb of Amunedjeh," *JEA* 27 (1941): 97; and N. Davies, "Nubians in the Tomb of Amunedjeh," *JEA* 28 (1942): 50-52.
28. Davies & Faulkner, "A Syrian Trading Venture to Egypt," 45.

### Chapter 8: Politics in Jerusalem

1. Wilhelm Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archaeologie* (Freiburg i/B-Leipzig: Mohr, 1894), 300.
2. Harry Torczyner, *The Lachish Letters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938).
3. James W. Jack, "The Lachish Letters—Their Date and Import," *PEFQ* (1938), 176. Cf. William F. Albright, "A Brief History of Judah from the Days of Josiah to Alexander the Great," *BA* 9 (February 1946): 4. The title *sar*, of which *sarim* is the plural is obviously the Egyptian *sr*, and is probably related to German *Herr*.
4. Heinrich H. Graetz, "Die Zeit des Königs Chizkija und der zeitgenössischen Propheten," *MGWJ* 19 (1870): 49-51.
5. *Ibid.*, 66.
6. Hugo Winckler, cited in Eberhard Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903), 170.
7. Graetz, "Die Zeit des Königs Chizkija und der zeitgenössischen Propheten," 13.
8. *Ibid.*, 13-14.
9. Solomon Zeitlin, "The Names Hebrew, Jew and Israel," *JQR* 43 (1953): 369-471, discussed in Hugh W. Nibley, "New Approaches to Book of Mormon Study," *IE* 57 (May 1954): 309, 326, 330.
10. Graetz, "Die Zeit des Königs Chizkija und der zeitgenössischen Propheten," 13-15, discusses the rise of this class in opposition to the power of the king in the times of Hezekiah.
11. Kurt Galling, "Die Israelitische Strastsverfassung in ihrer vorderorientalischen Umwelt," *Der Alte Orient*, no. 28, Heft 3-4 (1929): 8, 10-11. See generally, Albrecht Alt, *Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina* (Leipzig: Werkgemeinschaft, 1925).
12. Hugh W. Nibley, "There Were Jaradites," *IE* 59 (January-December 1956), esp. 710-12, reprinted in *CWHN* 5:380, where the "heroic" beginnings of Israel are treated.

13. Eduard Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1906; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), 428-42. Cf. Galling, "Die Israelitische Staatsverfassung in ihrer vorderorientalischen Umwelt," 11.

14. Galling, "Die Israelitische Staatsverfassung in ihrer vorderorientalischen Umwelt," 9, 11, 24. Cf. Judges 11:26.

15. Galling, "Die Israelitische Staatsverfassung in ihrer vorderorientalischen Umwelt," 12-24.

16. Jürgen A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1915) 1:864-67, 872-75. The Amarna Letters are the actual documents of the official correspondence between the Egyptian Government and the rulers of the various principalities of Palestine and Syria about 1400 B.C., at the very time the Hebrews were entering Palestine. They were found on clay tablets at El-Amarna on the middle Nile in 1887.

17. *Ibid.*, 1:864-67.

18. As a matter of fact, there is "a striking disagreement between the canon and the apocryphal literature" regarding the exact birthplace of Jesus, the latter sources, which are often very old, placing it at a point half-way between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. W. Foerster, "Bemerkungen und Fragen zur Stätte der Geburt Jesu," *ZDPV* 57 (1934): 1-7. Foerster thinks that the disagreements are so clear, so persistent and so old that the misunderstanding on the subject goes right back to the beginning, e.g., some sources favor a cave, others a stall. The only thing that sources agree on is that the birth took place "in the land of Jerusalem." So serious are the differences on the subject that they have been the subject of at least one entire (and quite shallow) book, which defends the credibility of the Gospel of Luke; William J. Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* 3rd ed. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905).

19. Galling, "Die Israelitische Staatsverfassung in ihrer vorderorientalischen Umwelt," 12ff; 27-28; cf. 2 Kings 23:1. See generally Kurt Sethe, "Der Titel 'Richter' als allgemeiner Ehrentitel," *ZÄSA* 38 (1900): 54-55.

20. From the eleventh century on, "the High-priest of Amon . . . could and constantly did reduce the king to a position of subservience" in Egypt, Harry R. H. Hall, "The Eclipse of Egypt," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 12 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 3:268. For the rise of the priests to power, see *ibid.*, 253, and Alexandre Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1929), 2:569. The divine patron of the priests was the god Ammon, who "continually intervened directly in the affairs of government by spe-



cific oracles," which put the state completely under priestly control, James H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, 2nd ed. (New York: Scribner, 1951), 539. Some striking illustrations of what he calls the "versatility in wickedness" of the Egyptian priests are given by T. Eric Peet, "A Historical Document of the Ramesside Age," *JEA* 10 (1924): 116. Egypt under the priests "was not only externally exhausted but internally rotten, and simply collapsed on itself," according to Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1928), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 420, who notes that the attempts of the priests to lead the country back to ancient virtues and old-fashioned ways was a complete failure. This was the Egypt of Lehi, confident that it had restored the glories of the past. Cf. Friedrich K. Kienitz, *Die Politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin: Akademie, 1953); and Hermann Kees, *Das Priestertum im Ägyptischen Staat von Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (Leiden: Brill, 1953).

21. Harold M. Wiener, "The Relations of Egypt to Israel and Judah in the Age of Isaiah—I," *Ancient Egypt* (1926), 51-53.

22. *Ibid.*, 70. A good summary of the international picture is by Charles Virolleaud, "L'Asie occidentale avant Alexandre le Grand," *L'Ethnographie*, n.s. 48:6-7. Samuel A. B. Mercer, *Extra-Biblical Sources for Hebrew and Jewish History* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1913), 57-59. John Bright, "A New Letter in Aramaic, Written to a Pharaoh of Egypt," *BA* 12 (1949): 46-48; Robert H. Pfeiffer, "Hebrews and Greeks Before Alexander," *JBL* 56 (1937): 91.

23. Virolleaud, "L'Asie occidentale avant Alexandre le Grand," 7. After the fall of Jerusalem only two independent states remained in all the world to defy Nebuchadnezzar! Alfred Wiedemann, "Der Zug Nebucadnezar's gegen Aegypten," *ZÄSA* 16 (1878): 2.

24. Wiedemann, "Der Zug Nebucadnezar's gegen Aegypten," 2-3, 6.

25. Albright, "A Brief History of Judah from the Days of Josiah to Alexander the Great," 6.

26. William F. Albright, "The Seal of Eliakim and the Latest Preëxilic History of Judah, with Some Observations on Ezekiel," *JBL* 51 (1932): 93-95. Wiedemann for example, in the earlier study, "Der Zug Nebucadnezar's gegen Aegypten," 2, does not believe that Nebuchadnezzar ever took Tyre.

27. Hölscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, Heft 5 of *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1903), 21.

28. Jack, "The Lachish Letters—Their Date and Import," 177-79.  
 29. Albright, "A Brief History of Judah From the Days of Josiah to Alexander the Great," 4.  
 30. Virolleaud, "L'asie occidentale avant Alexandre le Grand," 6-7.  
 31. Geneviève R. Tabouis, *Nebuchadnezzar* (London: Routledge, 1931), 181, 180.  
 32. *Ibid.*, 193.

### Chapter 9: Escapade in Jerusalem

1. J. Dissard, "Les Migrations et les Vicissitudes de la Tribu des 'Amer," *RB*, n.s. 2 (1905): 411-16.  
 2. *Kitāb Taghrib Banī Hilāl* (Damascus: Moh. Hashim, n.d.), 13-15.  
 3. Jawād 'Alī, *Tārīkh al-'Arab qabl al-Islām* (Baghdad: Maṭba'at, 1950) 1:6, 13.  
 4. See below 268-75.  
 5. See below 129-30.  
 6. Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, (Leipzig: Amelangs, 1901), 34.  
 7. Adam Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1922), 190.  
 8. "Just as I came to the gate of Dionysus, I saw a lot of men come out of the Odeion and go over to the Orchestra. Being alarmed at the sight, I drew back into the shadow between a pillar and the side of the wall of the gate, where the bronze statue of the general stands. I saw there must be at least three hundred men, standing around in groups of five and ten, a few maybe of twenty. I recognized most of them, since they faced the moonlight." Deposition given in *Minor Attic Orators I; Andocides, Oration on the Mysteries I*, 38-39. Though a good lawyer could make hash of this witness's testimony, it is plain that there was no downtown lighting in Athens.  
 9. Juvenal, *Satire III*, 268-301. Particularly interesting is the *proseucha* of line 296, which is usually taken to be a Jewish synagogue, since the satirists like to make fun of the Jews in Rome. At any rate, it brings us a step nearer to Lehi's Jerusalem.  
 10. 1 Nephi 4:31. It was Nephi who supervised the making of swords after the manner of Laban's sword, which he so admired. 2 Nephi 5:14.  
 11. Richard F. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* (London: Tylston & Edwards, 1893), 1:11, 19, and throughout vol. 2.

## Chapter 10: Portrait of Laban

1. James W. Jack, "The Lachish Letters — Their Date and Import," *PEFQ* (1938), 168.
2. Heinrich H. Graetz, "Die Zeit des Königs Chizkija und der zeitgenössischen Propheten," *MGWJ* 19 (1870): 16.
3. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1928), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 137.
4. These remarks are based on the instructive essay by Richard J. H. Gottheil, in the introduction to his edition of Al-Kindi's *History of the Egyptian Cadis* (London: Luzac, 1908), especially viii, xiv-xvi;
5. *Ibid.*, xiv-xv.
6. The Wenamon story is told in James H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, 2nd ed. (New York: Scribner, 1951), 513-18; James Baikie, *The Story of the Pharaohs* (London: Black, 1926), 285-87; and James H. Breasted, "The Decline and Fall of the Egyptian Empire," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 12 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 2:193.
7. Joseph Offord, "Archaeological Notes on Jewish Antiquities," *PEFQ* (1916), 148.
8. William F. Albright, "The Seal of Eliakim and the Latest Preëxilic History of Judah, With Some Observations on Ezekiel," *JBL* 51 (1932): 79-83.
9. William Ewing, "A Journey in the Hauran," *PEFQ* (1895), 173.
10. Antonin Jaussen, "Mélanges," *RB* 12 (1903): 259. Cf. Charles S. Clermont-Ganneau, "The Arabs in Palestine," in *Survey of Western Palestine, Special Papers* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881), 4:326-27.
11. Leo Haefeli, *Die Beduinen von Beerseba: Ihre Rechtsverhältnisse, Sitten und Gebräuche* (Lucerne: Räder, 1938), 44.
12. Clermont-Ganneau, "The Arabs in Palestine," 326; Philip J. Baldensperger, "The Immovable East," *PEFQ* (1910), 261. See especially Gustaf H. Dalman, "Aus dem Rechtsleben und religiösen Leben der Beduinen," *ZDPV* 62:59-61.
13. Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York: Random House, 1936), 2:27.
14. Samuel Rosenblatt, "The Relations between Jewish and Muslim Laws Concerning Oaths and Vows," *American Academy of Jewish Research* 7 (1936): 231-38. Cf. Johannes Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten in seinem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1914).

## Chapter 12: The Pioneer Tradition and the True Church

1. See "The Flight into the Wilderness," ch. 11 above.

2. Georg Molin, *Die Söhne des Lichtes Zeit und Stellung der Handschriften vom Toten Meer* (Vienna: Herold, 1954), 140.

3. David Daube, "Concerning Methods of Bible-Criticism, Late Law in Early Narratives," *Archiv Orientalní* 17 (1949): 88.

4. Alfred Haldar, *The Notion of the Desert in Sumero-Accadian and West-Semitic Religions* (Uppsala: Lundequistska, 1950), 14, 25.

5. *Ibid.*, 5.

6. *Ibid.*, 25-26.

7. *Ibid.*, 68.

8. See Hugh W. Nibley, "Strange Ships and Shining Stones," *IE* 59 (September 1956): 672-75; below, chapter 26. Herbert Braun, "Der Fahrende," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 48 (1951): 32-38, comparing the Greek with the scriptural wandering hero. For a wide scope of comparisons, Vladimir Vikentiev, "Le retour d'Ulysse du point de vue égyptologique et folklorique parallèles anciens et moyen ageux," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 29 (1946-47): 189-219. The reader may wonder why we cite pagan rituals and legends to illustrate Jewish, Christian, and Book of Mormon teaching. In this case it is the great and undoubted antiquity of the sources that makes them significant. We do not pretend for a moment that these people had the true Gospel, but we do believe, as Eusebius maintained long ago in the opening sections of his *Church History* I, 2-4, that all the ancients possessed fragmentary bits and distant memories of the true Gospel. This teaching is brought out by President John Taylor in *The Mediation and Atonement* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, 1950). Today scholars everywhere realize for the first time that the scriptures must be read along with all the other old sources. Thus Cyrus Gordon tells us that the Old Testament must be studied "in the light of parallel literatures from the pagan forerunners and contemporaries of the Hebrews, in Bible Lands," if it is to be rightly understood. Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1949), 7. "The Bible strikes root into every ancient Near-Eastern culture," writes Albright, "and it cannot be historically understood until we see its relationship to its source in true perspective." William F. Albright, "Review of Books," *JAOS* 64 (1944): 148. Today, says another scholar, "the Old Testament horizon must be expanded and its history interpreted against this larger background." John Paterson, "The Hurrians," in C. J. Mullo Weir, ed., *Studia Semitica et Orientalia* 2 (Glasgow: Glasgow University, 1945): 97. Theodor Haering, "Das Alte Testament im Neuen," *Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 (1916): 222, goes so far as to suggest that all ancient literature, sacred and profane, Jew and Gentile, may be regarded and should be read

as pages in a single book. All this should give great impetus to Book of Mormon study. In "The Apocrypha and the Book of Mormon," and "Old World Ritual in the New World," chs. 16 and 23 below, we make extensive use of pagan sources as evidence for the Book of Mormon. Just as we find in the writings of many churches today much that is of value in illustrating and proving the true Gospel, which they do *not* possess, so the pagans of old can teach us a great deal.

9. John L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (London: Colburn & Bentley, 1831), 1:360, 363, 367.

10. *Ibid.*, 367, 363.

11. Victor Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins* (Paris: LeRoux, 1931), 182-83.

12. Al-Hāriri of Basra, *Makamāt*, tr. Theodore Preston (London: Madden, 1850), 270-71. These are the opening lines.

13. Claude R. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London: Bentley, 1878), 2:272.

14. Thomas Harmer, *Observations on Divers Passages of Scripture . . . by Means of Circumstances Mentioned in Books of Voyages and Travels into the East*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: Johnson, 1776), 1:101: "When the Arabs have drawn upon themselves such a *general* resentment of the more fixed inhabitants of those countries, that they think themselves unable to stand against them, they withdraw into the *depths* of the great wilderness."

15. *Ibid.*, 102, quoting Jeremiah 49:8, 30; Judges 6:2; 1 Samuel 13:6; Jeremiah 41:7, 9; Isaiah 31:6; Ezekiel 3:5-6; and noting confirmatory passages from writers in the time of the Crusades.

16. De Lacy O'Leary, *Arabia Before Mohammed* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Trubner, 1927), 3.

17. The city people knew the desert from personal contact—and loathed it. The thought of one living his whole life there was simply unendurable. A famous Egyptian text, the *Teaching of Merekaure* says (Sect. 21): "Behold the wretched Aamu [desert-dweller, Asiatic], toilsome is the land wherein he is. . . . He dwells not in a single place, but his legs are [ever] driven wandering (?)," cited by Alan H. Gardiner, "New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt," *JEA* 1 (1914): 30. Cf. Ludwig Keimer, "L'horreur des égyptiens pour les démons du désert," *Bulletin de l'institut d'égypte* 26 (1943-44): 135-47. The attitude of Lehi's family on the subject is very plainly stated. See below [211-14]

18. Hugo Gressmann, "Der Eingang ins Paradies," *Archiv für*

*Orientalforschung* 3 (1926): 12, citing 4 Ezra 13:40-42 and Deuteronomy 29:27.

19. Robert Eisler, *Iesous Basileus ou Basileusas* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1930), 1:14, 479-81, 512-14, for the meaning of the words; 2:267, 493, 571, 575, 787, for the charges against them.

20. Exactly as in other cases "the king's men" spied on them and his armies tried to exterminate them. *Ibid.*, 2:30-31; cf. Mosiah 18:32-34, and below [156]

21. Heinrich H. Graetz, "Die Ebioniten des Alten Testaments," *MGWJ* 18 (1869): 1-20, 49-71, 115-16. He identifies the Ebionites with the Levites, 13, and even the Prophets, 7.

22. Molin, *Die Söhne des Lichtes Zeit und Stellung der Handschriften vom Toten Meer*, 144. The Nasirite vows and ways of life have been the subject of much investigation. The identity of the word with Nazarene has often been insisted on. The Nazarenes were, strictly speaking, those who had taken secret holy vows and entered into sacred covenants.

23. Ernst Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), 137-38. For English translation, see Ernst Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God*, tr. Roy A. Harrisville & Irving L. Sandberg (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 212-15.

24. D&C 1:36. Idumea was both the classic land of rebellion, Josephus, *Wars of the Jews* 2:55; Eisler, *Iesous Basileus ou Basileusas* 1:512-13, and the home of false priests and royal pretenders, the most notable of whom was Herod the Great. "The Idumeans were not originally Jews," says an ancient fragment, quoted by Eisler, *ibid.*, 1:343, n. 1, "but were Phoenicians and Syrians who had been overcome by the Jews and forced to accept circumcision." Cf. Lauri Iktonen, "Edom und Moab in den Psalmen," *Studia Orientalia* 1 (1925): 78-83; Fritz Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* (Munich: Beck, 1926), 182-83, 594, on Idumea as the wicked world.

25. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, 5-8; cf. *The Wandering People of God*, 17-22.

26. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, 11, 15, 24; cf. *The Wandering People of God*, 25-26, 30-32, 44-45.

27. Thus, Manual of Discipline (1QS) 2:1; Barnabas, *Epistola Catholica* (Catholic Epistle) 18, in PG 2:775-78.

28. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, 27-29, 45-47; cf. *The Wandering People of God*, 48-51, 74-79.

29. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, 51; cf. *The Wandering People of God*, 84-86; on wandering as an education device, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, 141, 147; cf. *The Wandering People of God*, 218-19,

226-27; the greatest of all these High Priests was Jesus, of whom Adam was a type, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, 156; cf. *The Wandering People of God*, 239-40.

30. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, 156; cf. 37; and *The Wandering People of God*, 239-40; cf. 62-64.

31. André Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, tr. E. Margaret Rowley (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 61-63. A. Rubinstein, "Urban Halakhah and Camp Rules in the 'Cairo Fragments of Damascene Covenant,'" *Sefarad* 12 (1952): 283-96.

32. See note 12 in "The Apocrypha and the Book of Mormon," ch. 23 below. Henri de Contenson, "In the Footsteps of John the Baptist, Notes on the Rolls of the Dead Sea," *Antiquity and Survival* 1 (May 1955): 37-56, for some wonderful photos. Moses Gaster, "A Gnostic Fragment from the Zohar: The Resurrection of the Dead," in *Studies and Texts*, 3 vols. (1928; reprinted, New York: KTAV, 1971), 1:370.

33. Auguste Sabatier, *Les religions d'autorité et la religion de l'esprit* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1904), 60-61.

34. The avoidance of the theme is very noticeable in the indices of the *PL* 219:233, 672-74. The idea of the Church still looking for its heavenly home was repugnant to the fathers after Augustine, who first established the doctrine that the Church on earth is the Kingdom of God and the heavenly home of the saints. Methodius, *Convivium Decem Virginum (Banquet of the Ten Virgins)* VIII, 11, in *PG* 18:153-58, claims that the woman who flees to the desert is the Church in Paradise!

35. "The Church of Constantine drove into solitude and the desert those who wished to devote themselves to religion," says Adolf Harnack, *Monasticism: Its Ideals and History, and the Confessions of St. Augustine*, tr. E. E. Kellett & F. H. Marseille (London: Williams & Norgate, 1901), 43.

36. Bernhard Kötting, *Peregrinatio Religiosa. Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche* (Munster-Regensburg: Forschungen zur Volkskunde, 1950), Heft 33-35, deals with the pagan background of the Christian pilgrimage, which was not a continuation of ancient Jewish or Christian practices.

37. Hugh W. Nibley, *The World and the Prophets* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1954), 214-15; reprinted in *CWHN* 3:235-37.

38. Thus 1 Nephi 19-22, quoting various prophets.

## Chapter 14: Unwelcome Voices from the Dust

1. The most comprehensive treatment of the controversies and

perplexities of the doctors on these subjects is Olof Linton, *Das Problem der Urkirche in der Neueren Forschung* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1932). See our extended discussion in "The Way of the Church," *IE* 58 (January-June 1955), reprinted in *CWHN* 4:209-322.

2. On the perplexities of Eusebius, see Nibley, "The Way of the Church," 22; *CWHN* 4:213-15.

3. Space will not allow another retelling of the story of the finding of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The most readily available accounts are Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1955), which contains an extensive bibliography, and Edmund Wilson, *Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956). The latter book is available in installment form in the *New Yorker Magazine*, beginning May 14, 1955.

4. G. Lankester Harding, "Introduction" to Dominique Barthélemy & Józef T. Milik, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert I, Qumran Cave I* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 4.

5. The 300 written fragments found in Cave Four in 1952 "range [in date] from the late fourth century to the first half of the second century B.C." Frank M. Cross, "The Oldest Manuscripts from Qumran," *JBL* 74 (1955): 164. The coins run from 125 B.C. to 135 A.D., but the manuscripts "cannot be later than A.D. 68," and there is clear evidence that the main buildings of the community were destroyed for good by the earthquake of 31 B.C., according to G. Lankester Harding, "Where Christ Himself May have Studied, an Essene Monastery at Khirbet Qumran," *Illustrated London News* (3 September 1955), 379. See note 11 below for the possible age of the community.

6. André Dupont-Sommer, "Les manuscrits de la mer morte; leur importance pour l'histoire des religions," *Numen* 2 (1955): 168, who notes, 189, that the study of the scrolls has just begun. See also our article, Hugh W. Nibley, "More Voices from the Dust," *Instructor* (March 1956), 71; reprinted in *CWHN* 1:239.

7. Carl Clemen, *Die Himmelfahrt des Mose* (Bonn: Weber, 1904), in *Kleine Texte*, no. 10, from a Latin palimpsest of the early 7th century.

8. These materials are quoted in Hugh W. Nibley, "New Approaches to Book of Mormon Study," *IE* 57 (1954): 89 (italics added).

9. Harding, "Introduction" to Barthélemy & Milik, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert I, Qumran Cave I*, 4.

10. Grace M. Crowfoot, "The Linen Textiles," in Barthélemy & Milik, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert I, Qumran Cave I*, 25. We emphasized the importance of the Genizahs in the article cited above in note 8, pp. 88-89. The Assumption of Moses is one of the works actually found among the fragments of the scrolls, thus proving that



the people who hid the scrolls were aware of the practices described and may have been consciously imitating them.

11. Hugh W. Nibley, "More Voices from the Dust," 72, in *CWHN* 1:242, citing the study of Peter Meinhold, "Die Anfänge des amerikanischen Geschichtsbewusstseins," *Saeculum* 5 (1954): 86, where he taxes the Book of Mormon with being a fraud and a forgery because it attributes New Testament practices and terminology to people who lived hundreds of years before New Testament times. This is exactly what the Scrolls do, and for that reason were so vigorously opposed. "The battle over the date of the scrolls is decided," says Cross, placing their production between 200 B.C. and 70 A.D. This is "disputed only by a few who, like Southern politicians, still think that an ancient defeat can be reversed by bombastic oratory." Frank M. Cross, "The Scrolls from the Judean Wilderness," *Christian Century* 72 (3 August 1955): 889. The bombast and the fury still continue in the ill tempered discourses of Solomon Zeitlin, the latest to date being "The Dead Sea Scrolls," *JQR* 46 (1956): 389-90.

12. On the sale of the scrolls, Solomon Zeitlin, "The Propaganda of the Hebrew Scrolls and the Falsification of History," *JQR* 46 (1956): 256-58. This article is perhaps the longest and most furious attack yet launched by Zeitlin against the scrolls, which he regards as an utterly worthless piece of Medieval illiteracy.

13. Frank M. Cross, "The Scrolls and the New Testament," *Christian Century* (24 August 1955), 970.

14. Harding, "Where Christ Himself May Have Studied, an Essene Monastery at Khirbet Qumran," 379-81. Quote is on 379.

15. Thus *Time Magazine* (5 September 1955), 34.

16. Cross, "The Scrolls and the New Testament," *Christian Century* (10 August 1955), 920.

17. *Ibid.*, 921.

18. *Time* (5 September, 1955), 33.

19. Frank M. Cross, "The Scrolls from the Judean Wilderness," *Christian Century* (10 August 1955), 890; a distinct undertone of alarm is discernible in such protests as those of Adalbert Metzinger, a Catholic, who writes in "Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer und das Neue Testament," *Biblica* 36 (1955): 481: "Christianity and the Church have nothing to fear from such comparisons [between the New Testament and the Scrolls], if they are carried out with scientific conscientiousness; their peculiar value is in no wise diminished, the unique and original quality of the New Testament is made only the clearer: 'Christianity as a new experience: Insight into the Jewish and Christian contacts: "If any man be in Christ, he is a new

creature" (2 Cor. 5:17).'" Frederick F. Bruce, "Qumrân and Early Christianity," *New Testament Studies* 2 (1956): 190, thinks to dispel misgivings with the irrelevant declaration that Christianity "contained all that was of value in Qumran—and much besides." Who would deny that?

20. Geoffrey Graystone, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Originality of Christ," *Catholic World* (April 1956), 11.

21. Peter Meinhold, "Die Anfänge des amerikanischen Geschichtsbewusstseins," *Saeculum* 5 (1954): 65-86. Meinhold's recent attack (1954) is particularly ferocious. Even the anti-Mormon literature of the last century cannot surpass it for spine-chilling savagery of language.

22. Cross, "The Scrolls and the New Testament," *Christian Century* (24 August 1955), 971.

23. J. L. Teicher, "The Habakkuk Scroll," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 5 (1954): 47-59; quote is from 53.

24. Frank M. Cross, "The Manuscripts of the Dead Sea Caves," *BA* (1954), 3.

25. Zeitlin, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," 390, 392.

26. Hugh W. Nibley, "The Way of the Church," 384, reprinted in *CWHN* 4:253-55. In this series we treated the subject of translation at considerable length in the issues for May 1955, pp. 307-9, *CWHN* 4:244-51, and June 1955, pp. 84-86, *CWHN* 4:217-19.

27. Zeitlin, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," 390.

28. This has been especially studied by Oscar Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginning of Christianity," *JBL* 74 (1955): 213-26. Equally available is Lucetta Mowry, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Background for the Gospel of John," *BA* 17 (December 1954): 78-97, who would read John as part of one big book to which the Scrolls belong, along with other widely scattered writings, especially of Iranian origin. Another attempt to explain certain exact parallels between passages in the Scrolls and New Testament is by William D. Davies, "'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Harvard Theological Review* 46 (1953): 138-39.

29. A list is given in Georg Molin, *Die Söhne des Lichtes Zeit und Stellung der Handschriften vom Toten Meer* (Vienna-Munich: Herold, 1954), 102-66.

30. Oscar Cullmann, "Die neuentdeckten Qumran texte und das Judenchristentum der Pseudo Klementinen," *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann, Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 21 (1954): 35-51.

31. Teicher, "The Habakkuk Scroll," 47. Special code signs are

treated by Roger Goossens, "L'énigme du signe *nun* dans le *Manuel de Discipline*," *Nouvelle Clío* 6 (1954): 5-39; cf. André Dupont-Sommer, *La doctrine gnostique de la lettre "waw"* (Paris: Geunther, 1946); Cross, "The Manuscripts from the Dead Sea Caves," 3, 14.

32. Cross, "The Manuscripts from the Dead Sea Caves," 16 and 3.

### Chapter 15: Qumran and the Waters of Mormon

1. It has recently been maintained that the name Christians did not originate, as has always been supposed, as a mocking nickname, but was actually first applied by the followers of Christ to themselves, "not as 'worshippers' of Christ," but as "the supporter and servants of the King," i.e., those who willingly "took his name" upon them. J. Moreau, "Le Nom des Chrétiens," *Nouvelle Clío* 1-2 (1949-50): 190-92.

2. The weekly observance of another day beside the Jewish Sabbath as a day of religious worship is one of the authentic marks of Alma's Church. Throughout history those Jewish priests who were determined to live the Old Law in its perfection as far as possible insisted on the preeminent holiness of the first day as well as the seventh. The observance of this day in the very earliest times of the Christian Church is not, therefore, to be attributed to innovating practices of the Apostolic Church—it is there from the beginning. Seven days represent the life-span of this world, but the eighth or the first is the new age to follow it is "a beginning of another world," writes Barnabas, *Epistola Catholica (Catholic Epistle)* 15, in *PG* 2:771-72, "wherefore, also, we keep the eighth day with joyfulness." Many examples are given by Oscar Cullmann, *Urchristentum und Gottesdienst* (Zurich: Zwingli, 1950), 11, 14-15. Hermann Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1930), 75-76. TB, *Sabbath* 86b-88a, gives ten reasons for regarding the first day of the week rather than the seventh as the most holy.

3. The great public readings in the Book of Mormon, such as those given by Abinadi and King Benjamin, were in the old established Hebrew tradition. When the High Priest read the law to the people every seven years, all, including women, children, and servants, were expected and required to listen, according to Josephus, *Antiquities* IV, 9, 12; see also Deuteronomy 31:12.

4. Manual of Discipline (1QS) 5:7-8. The term "united order" is a most literal translation of the expression *'etseth ha-yahad*, which Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1955), 377,

renders "council of the community." No word in the scrolls has caused more debate and speculation than *yaḥad*; its basic meaning is oneness or unity, while an *‘etseth* is a body of people organized as a council or the pattern of organization by which a council is formed. It is a closed body or corporation met together to discuss policy. Hence "united order" is as near as one can get to a literal translation of the term. These and related terms having to do with organization have been recently made the object of special study by Robert North, "Qumran 'Serek a' and Related Fragments," *Orientalia* 25 (1956): 90-91. North notes that the terms *‘eda* and *Yaḥad* are not synonymous at all. "The Eda includes wives and children; and its structure is more warlike," 91. Dominique Barthélemy and József T. Milik, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert I, Qumran Cave I* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 116-18, say it is identical with the *Ḥasidim* of 1 Maccabees 5:42, while *Yaḥad* refers specifically to the more peaceful Essenes. North commenting on the expression *‘etseth ha-yaḥad* mentions Dupont-Sommer's theory that *‘eda* and *‘etsah* are the same, the latter being the sources of the Greek word *Essene*; North himself prefers but doesn't insist on viewing *‘etseth* as "an act of counsel" rather than the meeting itself, North, "Qumran 'Serek a' and Related Fragments," 92. At this time the matter is completely up in the air. The expression "Son of Zadok" gives rise to many problems "clustering around the relation between the Qumran community and the name "Sadducee," *ibid.* Schürer claims that the *ṢDWQ* (of the Scrolls) after whom the Sadducees are named is unquestionably a proper name, Sadeq, which in the late Old Testament period began to be pronounced sadduq. Emil Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1924), vol. 2, div. 2, pp. 30-31. Of course frequent attempts have already been made to link this with the name and priesthood of Melchizedek, but to date, to quote North again, "our only conclusion is that we must face honestly and reflectively the Sadducee-links of the Qumran documents, even while granting that the probabilities are far greater in favor of the Essenes." North, "Qumran 'Serek a' and Related Fragments," 93. He is speaking of the latest period, of course. What the name signifies for earlier times remains to be discovered.

5. 1QS 8:15.

6. Georg Molin, *Die Söhne des Lichtes Zeit und Stellung der Handschriften vom Toten Meer* (Vienna: Herold, 1954), 140, 146.

7. 1QS 1:22-23.

8. *Ibid.*, 5:5-6.

9. *Ibid.*, 1:17-18.

10. Ibid., 1:11-12. "Several passages in the Manual of Discipline indicate that the sect practiced community of goods. At the same time it is said that one who has inadvertently destroyed the property of the other shall repay it in full. One naturally wonders how a member who had turned over his private possessions to the order would have anything left with which to pay for such damage. . . . The Damascus Document puts some restrictions on the ownership of property but does not deny the right of private possession. Members of the group who work for wages pay . . . for community purposes the wages of two days out of each month." Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 233-34. The one thing that is clear is that these people had a claim to their own property from which they contributed "of their own free will"; a person who left the community could take his property with him. It was not communism. Everyone had "his own substance" but was expected to impart of it freely for the good of others.

11. 1QS 2:23-24.

12. Ibid., 8:1-4. Cross comments interestingly on this organization, noting with surprise the presence of a presidency of three, a council of twelve, and a general assembly who must vote on all important matters. Frank M. Cross, "The Scrolls and the New Testament," *Christian Century* 72 (24 August 1955): 968-69. He notes also in the Scrolls the practice of *correptio fraterna*, "otherwise unparalleled in Judaism" but found in Matthew 18:15-17: "a brother is to be reprovved in private first of all, then before witnesses, then before the church, after which he may be excommunicated," 968.

13. 1QS 1:7-9.

14. Ibid., 1:18-20.

15. Ibid., 6:8-9.

16. Ibid., 2:19-23.

17. Ibid., 3:4-5.

18. Ibid., 3:7-10. The "waters of NDH" may be read either *nedeḥ*, "a liberal gift, Grace," or *niddah*, "removal, purifying of uncleanness," from the Hebrew root *NADAH*, Cross, "The Scrolls and the New Testament," 969, notes that they "seem to have practiced continual lustrations as well as baptism on initiation into the covenanted community." G. Lankester Harding, "Where Christ Himself May Have Studied, an Essene Monastery at Khirbet Qumran," *Illustrated London News* (3 September 1955), 379, believes that John the Baptist "undoubtedly derived the idea of ritual immersion, or baptism" from Qumran.

19. The Qumran sacramental meal looks to the future, exactly as

the Early Christian sacrament looked both to the past ("in memory") and to the future, according to Oscar Cullmann, *Urchristentum und Gottesdienst*, 19-21. For a good treatment of the anticipation motif, see Cross, "The Scrolls and the New Testament," 969-70; the following is quoted: "The life of the sect is understood as life in anticipation of the Kingdom of God." Their sacrament is "the liturgical anticipation of the messianic banquet," *ibid.*, 989. They "partake in the Kingdom proleptically, anticipating the coming day when the ambiguity will end," *ibid.*, 970. The theme of anticipation receives its fullest treatment in the Book of Mormon.

20. 1QS 8:4-10.

21. *Ibid.*, 8:12-15.

22. *Ibid.*, 9:3-6.

23. *Ibid.*, 5:5-6.

24. *Ibid.*, 9:11.

25. *Ibid.*, 5:10.

26. *Ibid.*, 9:16-17.

27. *Ibid.*, 5:1-2.

28. Georg Molin, *Die Söhne des Lichtes Zeit und Stellung der Handschriften vom Toten Meer*, 162-66.

29. *Ibid.*, 138.

30. *Ibid.*, 140.

31. *Ibid.*, 146.

32. *Ibid.*, 186.

33. *Ibid.*, 158-66.

34. *Ibid.*, 124.

35. *Ibid.*, 146.

36. *Ibid.*, 140; James L. Kelso, "The Archaeology of Qumran," *JBL* 74 (1955): 141-46.

## Chapter 16: The Apocrypha and the Book of Mormon

1. The Apocrypha originally got their name of "hidden" writings from the fact they were considered too sacred to be divulged to the general public. The name does not designate, as it later came to, books of dubious authenticity, but rather scripture of very special importance and holiness, according to William O. E. Oesterley, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1953), 3-5.

2. Thus the Book of Enoch, while it "influenced the thought and diction" of "nearly all the writers of the New Testament," and "is quoted as a genuine production of Enoch by St. Jude, and as Scripture by St. Barnabas," and while "with the earlier Fathers and Apologists

it had all the weight of a canonical book," it was nonetheless disdained and rejected by the schoolmen of the fourth century; "and under the ban of such authorities as Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine, it gradually passed out of circulation and became lost to the knowledge of Western Christendom." Robert H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912; reprinted Jerusalem: Makor, 1973), ix, and n. 1 on that page. It is interesting that President John Taylor frequently quotes from this work, and recognizes its authority in his book *The Mediation and the Atonement* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, 1950).

3. Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses (Against Heresies)* II, 27, in PG 7:803.

4. Moses Gaster, "The Apocrypha and Jewish Chap-Books," *Studies and Texts*, 3 vols. (1928; reprinted New York: KTAV, 1971), 1:280.

5. The most significant recent comment on this much-treated theme is by Friedrich Ebrard, "Bibel, Bibel und Pandekten," *Archiv Orientalni* 18:72. See also note 2 above.

6. See chapter 13 above.

7. George Molin, *Die Söhne des Lichtes Zeit and Stellung der Handschriften vom Toten Meer* (Vienna-Munich: Herold, 1954), 158, 164-66. Typical is the statement in *Recognitiones Clementinae (Clementine Recognitions)* I, 52, in PG 1:1236, that "Christ, who was always from the beginning, has visited the righteous of every generation (albeit secretly), and especially those who have looked forward to his coming, to whom he often appeared." This reads like a sermon out of the Book of Mormon, but the fact that this is a genuine teaching of the earliest Christian Church has only recently been appreciated. See Robert M. Grant, *Second-Century Christianity* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1946), 10.

8. Of recent years, many studies have shown that the name Nasarene by which the earliest Christians were designated was actually a very ancient technical term meaning "keeper of secrets," the secrets in question being "the mysteries of the kingdom." Robert Eisler, *Iesus Basileus ou Basileusas* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1929-30), 2:21-22.

9. Robert H. Charles, "Apocalyptic Literature," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 1:171, citing Daniel 12:4, 9; 1 Enoch 1:4; Assumption of Moses 1:16-18.

10. *Ibid.*, 169.

11. 1QS (Manual of Discipline) 3:15.

12. Charles, "Apocalyptic Literature," 170.

13. David Flusser, "The Apocryphal Book of *Ascensio Isaiae* and the Dead Sea Sect," *Israel Exploration Journal* 3 (1953): 30-47; quote is on 46.

14. Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) 44:1-18; 49:14-15.
15. William H. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation among the Secretaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BA* 14 (September 1951): 60-70.
16. TB 1:464, *Shabbath* VI, 4, 63a, quoting R. Hiya b. Abba.
17. Discussed throughout Hermann Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1930).
18. All this is clearly set forth in 1QS 4:15-16.
19. 1QS 3:9-10.
20. 1QS 3:13-14.
21. William H. Brownlee, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," *BASOR Supplementary Studies* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951), nos. 10-12:16; 1QS 4:17-18.
22. One can find the doctrine of the Two Ways implicit in almost any of the early apocrypha, e.g., Clement, *Epistola I ad Corinthios* (First Epistle to the Corinthians) 36, in PG 1:279-82; Clement, *Epistola II ad Corinthios* (Second Epistle to the Corinthians) 6, in PG 1:335-38; Justin, *Apologia pro Christianis* (Apology) II, 7 and 11, in PG 6:456-63; *Constitutiones Apostolicae* (Apostolic Constitutions) VII, 1, in PG 1:995; Ignatius, *Epistola ad Ephesios* (Epistle to the Ephesians) 11, in PG 5:653-54; Barnabas, *Epistola Catholica* (Catholic Epistle) 18-20, in PG 2:775-80; 1 Enoch 94:1; 92:4-5, and in numerous logia of Jesus. It also turns up in the Classical writers, e.g., Xenophon, *Memorabilia* II, 1, 21-23; Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes* I, 66-67.
23. For a discourse on the Way of Light, 1QS 4:2-8. See Sverre Aalen, *Die Begriffe "Licht" und "Finsternis" im Alten Testament, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus* (Oslo: Dybwab, 1951).
24. 1QS 5:4-5.
25. *Ibid.*, 3:21-23.
26. *Ibid.*, 4:19.
27. *Ibid.*, 5:6-7.
28. *Ibid.*, 8:10.
29. *Ibid.*, 5:10-12.
30. TB, *Shabbath* II, 6, 33a (1:530).
31. *Ibid.*, V, 4, 55a (1:596).
32. *Ibid.*, IX, 4, 88b (1:697): "In the hour in which Israel said: We will do it (i.e., keep the Law), and we will obey! sixty myriads of ministering angels descended and wove for every Israelite two crowns, one for 'doing' and the other for 'obeying.' But when the Israelites later sinned, one-hundred-twenty myriads of angels came down and *took the crowns back again!*" Crowns are a familiar property of early Christian imagery, especially apocalyptic. The doctrine of



lost glory is much emphasized by all the so-called Apostolic Fathers, who harp on the theme: "If the angels kept not their first estate," how can men expect to be secure?

33. This idea figures in the discussion of the Essene point of view by Frank M. Cross, "The Essenes and Their Master," *Christian Century* 72 (17 August 1955), 945. See 1QS 9:11. A Catholic editor of apocryphal writings notes that "one hardly knows whether the Christ is to come before or after the end of the world. It seems that Jesus must come first to the just alone, for they alone will recognize his token, which the wicked will not recognize." At a later time he will come in clouds of glory to judgment. L. Guerrier, "Le testament en Galilée de notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ," in *PO* 9:151.

34. 1QS 2:19.

35. 1QS 4:19; Didache 16:3-6; *Hermae Pastor (Shepherd of Hermas)*, *Visio (Visions)* 2, 2-4, in PG 2:898-99; *Similitudo (Similitudes)* 3 and 4, in PG 2:956-57.

36. All details in Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments*, esp. 51-55; Charles, "Apocalyptic Literature," 170.

## Chapter 17: A Strange Order of Battle

1. Johannes Pedersen, *Israel* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), 227.

2. A partial translation of the text may be found in Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1955), 390-99, and in André Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, tr. E. Margaret Rowley (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 79-84. Eleasar L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1955) is the original text with photographs. For complete translation and commentary, J. van der Ploeg. "La règle de la guerre," *Vetus Testamentum* 5 (1955): 373-420.

3. Harold H. Rowley, *The Zadokite Fragment and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), 19; Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 79-82. Gerhard von Rad, *Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952), 14-33, finds that the ritual practices were used in real war in the period between Deborah and Saul.

4. These and many other titles may be found in Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 392.

5. *Ibid.*, 392.

6. *Ibid.*, 393-94. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 79-82.

7. The rite is mentioned in Varro, *On the Latin Language* V, 15, 25; Livy, *History* I, 32; IV, 30; Cicero, *De Legibus* II, 9.

8. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 395.

9. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 82, 79.

10. *Ibid.*, 81.

11. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 397. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 83. Typical "Asiatic" sentiments in the hymn are: "A multitude of cattle in Thine estates, silver and gold and precious stones in Thy palaces! . . . Open [Thy] gat[es] for ever, to bring the riches of the nations into Thy dwelling! And may their kings serve Thee, and may all Thine oppressors prostrate themselves before Thee, and may they lick [the dust] from Thy feet!"

12. Thus Lucetta Mowry, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Background for the Gospel of John," *BA* 17 (1954): 78-97.

13. For an extensive bibliography of works dealing with this theme, see Carl Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and Its Non-Jewish Sources* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1912), 153-55, 161, 164-66, 174; Wilhelm Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907), 57, 39-41, 114-19, 55-57, 144, 148, 38; and Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1926; reprinted Tübingen: Mohr, 1966), 478-82, 487, 506-16; Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1923; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962), 2:58, 85, 128-36; Alexandre Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1929), 2:782-84.

14. The story is told in Clément Huart and Louis Delaporte, *L'Iran Antique* (Paris: Michel, 1952), 454-55; A. J. Carnoy, *Indian/Iranian Mythology* vol. 6 of *The Mythology of all Races* (Boston: Jones, 1917), 320-24; cf. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1905), 2:213-15. The banner is discussed in sources given in Arthur Christensen, *Die Iranier* (Munich: Beck, 1933), 277.

15. If the expression "Title of Liberty" should seem to the casual reader to have a peculiarly modern and even American ring, he should be reminded that the liberty theme is extremely prominent among the ancient Jews. Thus Josephus, *Antiquities* IV, 6, 11, describes Zimri as saying to Moses: "Thou deprivest us of the sweetness of life, which consists in acting according to our own wills, and is the right of free-men, and of those who have no lord over them." The Greeks and Romans were constantly harping on the theme of liberty in the strictly modern sense, and indeed we have borrowed the word directly from them. The Ancients actually have a good deal more to say about liberty than we do, and it is from them that our Founding Fathers took many of their political ideas, that of the sweetness of liberty being one among them.

16. Thaʿlabi, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlāduhu, 1314 A.H.), 80-81.

17. *Ibid.*, 96.

### Chapter 18: Life in the Desert

1. Georg Ebers, *Ägyptische Studien und Verwandtes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1900), 315-16.

2. "Behold the wretched Aamu, toilsome is the land wherein he is, [a land] troubled with water, [made] difficult by many trees, its ways [made] toilsome by reason of the mountains. He dwells not in a single place, but his legs are [ever] driven wandering [?]. He is fighting [ever] since the time of Horus. He conquers not, nor yet is he conquered." This is No. 21 of the Sayings of Menkaure, given by Alan H. Gardiner, "New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt," *JEA* 1 (1914): 30.

3. This is the East India House Inscription. Richard F. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* (London: Tylston & Edwards, 1893), 1:149-50. He writes: "To the solitary wayfarer there is an interest in the Wilderness unknown to Cape seas and Alpine glaciers, and even to the rolling Prairie,—the effect of continued excitement on the mind, stimulating its powers to their pitch . . . a haggard land infested with wild beasts, and wilder men—a region whose very fountains murmur the warning words 'Drink and away!' What can be more exciting? What more sublime? Man's heart bounds in his breast at the thought of measuring his puny force with Nature's might, and of emerging triumphant from the trial. This explains the Arab's proverb, 'Voyage is victory.' In the desert, even more than upon the ocean, there is present death: hardship is there, and piracies, and shipwreck."

4. Enno Littmann, "Altnordarabische Inschriften," *Abhandlungen der deutsche morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 25.1 (1940); Enno Littmann, *Thamūd und Safā, Safā—Inschriften*, no. 1260.

5. Littmann, *Thamūd und Safā, Safā—Inschriften*, 1.

6. *Ibid.*, no. 701.

7. *Ibid.*, *Thamudische Inschriften*, no. 66.

8. *Ibid.*, no. 70.

9. John L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys* (London: Colburn & Bentley, 1831), 1:185.

10. Claude S. Jarvis, "The Desert Yesterday and To-Day," *PEFQ* (1937), 122.

11. Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York: Random House, 1936), 1:259.

12. Robert E. Cheesman, *In Unknown Arabia* (London: Macmillan, 1926), 24, 52.
13. William J. T. Phythian-Adams, "The Mount of God," *PEFQ* (1930), 199.
14. William F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1942), 97.
15. W. E. Jennings-Bramley, "The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula," *PEFQ* (1907), 30.
16. Philip J. Baldensperger, "The Immovable East," *PEFQ* (1923), 180.
17. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* 1:227-28.
18. Johann J. Hess, *Von den Beduinen des innern Arabiens* (Zürich: Niehans, 1938), 63.
19. Claude R. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London: Bentley, 1878), 2:274.
20. *Ibid.*, 2:288.
21. Norman Lewis, *Sand and Sea in Arabia* (London: Routledge, 1938), 16.
22. Henri Frankfort, "Egypt and Syria in the First Intermediate Period," *JEA* 12 (1926): 81.
23. C. Leonard Woolley & Thomas E. Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin* (London: Cape, 1936), 32.
24. Bertram Thomas, *Arabia Felix* (New York: Scribner, 1932), 141.
25. Cheesman, *In Unknown Arabia*, 338-39.
26. Moritz Mainzer, "Jagd, Fischfang und Bienenzucht bei den Juden der tannäischen Zeit," *MGWJ* 53 (1909): 179-81.
27. Al-Ḥāriri of Basra, *Makamāt*, tr. Theodore Preston (London: Madden, 1850), 276, line 50.
28. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* 1:217-20.
29. Hess, *Von den Beduinen des innern Arabiens*, 57-58.
30. W. E. Jennings-Bramley, "Sport among the Bedawin," *PEFQ* (1900), 369.
31. Mainzer, "Jagd, Fischfang und Bienenzucht bei den Juden der tannäischen Zeit," 305-7; the sword, lance, javelin, and club were used by the Israelites exclusively in warfare.
32. *Ibid.*, 188 (italics added).
33. Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), 66-67, reprinted in *CWHN* 5:59-60.
34. Georg Jakob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1897), 131-32.
35. Frank E. Johnson, tr., *Al-Muʿallaqāt* (Bombay: Education Society's Steam Press, 1893; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1973),

188, line 61. Thus Antarah says in the sixth poem: "Then I left him a prey for the wild beasts who sieze him."

36. Littmann, *Thamūd und Safā*, Safā – Inschriften, no. 1621.

37. *Ibid.*, no. 720.

38. *Ibid.*, nos. 130ff, the whole section being of this type.

39. *Ibid.*, no. 732.

40. At the beginning of the century, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Palaestin Vereins* (1905), 27-29; Mainzer, "Jagd, Fischfang und Bienezucht bei den Juden der tannäischen Zeit," 539-41; P. Heinrich Hänsler, "Noch einmal 'Honig im hl. Lande,'" *ZDPV* 35 (1912): 186-99.

41. Baldensperger, "The Immovable East," *PEFQ* (1925), 82. See note 34 above.

42. Harry S. J. B. Philby, *The Empty Quarter* (New York: Holt, 1933), 249.

43. John L. Burckhardt, *Travels* 2:297.

44. Julius Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1896, 1914), 2:76-80, 92-93.

45. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys* 1:242.

46. Nilus, *Narrationes* 3, in *PG* 79:612.

47. See John H. Widtsoe, "Is Book of Mormon Geography Known?" *IE* 53 (September 1950): 547. For a photograph of the original source, Nancy C. Williams, *After One Hundred Years* (Independence: Zion's, 1951), opposite p. 200.

48. Thomas, *Arabia Felix*, 50-51. See Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites*, 125-26, reprinted in *CWHN* 5:110-11.

49. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* 1:3.

## Chapter 19: Life in the Desert

1. Bertram Thomas, *Arabia Felix* (New York: Scribner, 1932), 137.

2. Robert E. Cheesman, *In Unknown Arabia* (London: Macmillan, 1926), 228-29, 234, 240-41, 280.

3. Carl R. Raswan, *Drinkers of the Wind* (New York: Creative Age, 1942), 200.

4. William G. Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia* (London: Macmillan, 1865; reprinted Farnborough, Eng.: Gregg International, 1969) 1:13.

5. Al-Ḥāriri of Basra, *Makamāt*, 275.

6. Claude R. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London: Bentley, 1878), 2:274.

7. Al-Ḥāriri of Basra, *Makamāt*, 275.

8. John L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, 2 vols. (London: Colburn & Bentley, 1831), 1:134.
9. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* 2:278.
10. Enno Littmann, *Thamūd und Safā*, Inschrift no. 644.
11. *Ibid.*, no. 169.
12. *Ibid.*, no. 306.
13. *Ibid.*, Safā—Inschriften, no. 93.
14. *Ibid.*, nos. 1064ff., most of the 600's and 700's; *Thamudische Inschriften*, nos. 138ff.
15. *Ibid.*, no. 90.
16. Thomas, *Arabia Felix*, 142, 172-73.
17. Frank E. Johnson, tr., *Al-Mu'allaqāt* (Bombay: Education Society's Steam Press, 1893; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1973), 87, line 58.
18. Nilus, *Narrationes* 6, in *PG* 79:669.
19. Philip J. Baldensperger, "The Immovable East," *PEFQ* (1925), 81.
20. Baldensperger, "The Immovable East," *PEFQ* (1922), 168-70.
21. Hans Helfritz, *Land Without Shade*, tr. Kenneth Kirkness (New York: McBride, 1936), 33.
22. Marie J. Lagrange, "Études sur les religions sémetiques," *RB* 10 (1901): 29.
23. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* 1:133.
24. Thomas Harmer, *Observations on Divers Passages of Scripture . . . by Means of Circumstances Mentioned in Books of Voyages and Travels into the East*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: Johnson, 1776), 1:108-9.
25. André Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, tr. E. Margaret Rowley (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 9.
26. J. Dissard, "Les migrations et les vicissitudes de la tribue des 'Amer,'" *RB*, n.s., 2 (1905): 411-12.
27. *Ibid.*, 416. Cf. Harmer, *Observations on Divers Passages of Scripture . . . in Books of Voyages and Travels into the East* 1:101: "They will be quite ready to decamp upon less than two hours warning, and retiring immediately into the deserts render it impossible to other nations, even the most powerful, to conquer them; they not daring to venture far into the deserts, where the Arabs *alone* know how to steer their course so as to hit upon places of water and forage."
28. Johann J. Hess, *Von den Beduinen des innern Arabiens* (Zurich: Niehaus, 1938), 96.
29. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* 1:157-58.
30. Harmer, *Observations on Divers Passages of Scripture . . . in Books of Voyages and Travels into the East* 1:96, 126.

31. Hess, *Von den Beduinen des innern Arabiens*, 96-99; Richard F. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* (London: Tylston & Edwards, 1893), 2:114.
32. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* 1:144-45.
33. *Ibid.*, 1:147, 143, 151.
34. Leo Haefeli, *Die Beduinen von Beerseba: Ihre Rechtsverhältnisse, Sitten und Gebräuche* (Lucerne: Räber, 1938), 144.
35. Interpretations differ, but the general idea is always the same. Frederic D. Thornton, *Elementary Arabic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), 156.
36. Alois Musil, *Arabia Petraea* (Vienna: Hölder, 1908), 3:353-59, 130.
37. This is "the only activity that fills out the time between raiding and hunting expeditions," says Hess, *Von den Beduinen des innern Arabiens*, 111.
38. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* 1:185-86.
39. Albert de Boucheman, *Matériel de la vie bédouine*, Documents d'études orientales de l'institut français de Damas (Syria: L'Institut Français de Damas, 1934), 108. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* 1:101: "The tent-posts are torn up immediately after the man has expired, and the tent demolished."
40. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* 2:275.
41. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* 1:33.
42. W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, Burnett Lectures (London: Black, 1907), 200-201.
43. Raswan, *Drinkers of the Wind*, 237.
44. Antonin Jaussen, "Mélanges," *RB*, n.s., 3 (1906): 109.
45. Nilus, *Narrationes* 3, in *PG* 79:612.
46. See note 39 above in ch. 5.
47. Alfred Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (Freiburg i/B: Mohr, 1896), 70-71, 75.
48. Wilhelm Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie* (Freiburg i/B: Mohr, 1894), 152.
49. Harry S. J. B. Philby, *The Empty Quarter* (New York: Holt, 1933), 219.
50. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* 1:276.
51. W. E. Jennings-Bramley, "The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula," *PEFQ* (1905), 213.
52. Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York: Random House, 1936), 1:272, 282-83.
53. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* 1:354.
54. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* 1:258.

55. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* 1:114.
56. Thus one ancient man of the desert boasts how "he flogged a family, their servants together with their master, and he returned to the waters of Rais by grace of (the deity) Dusares." Littmann, *Thamūd und Safā*, Safā – Inschriften, no. 1135. Burton records matter-of-factly, "We should have made Yambù (the port) in the evening but for the laziness of the Rais (captain). Having duly beaten him, we anchored on the open coast." Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* 1:222.
57. Philip J. Baldensperger, "Women in the East," *PEFQ* (1901), 75.
58. Max von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1939), 1:30.
59. Jennings-Bramley, "The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula," 217.
60. "An Arab often leaves the camp of his friends, out of caprice or dislike of his companions, and joins another camp of his tribe," says Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* 1:118.
61. Antonin Jaussen, "Chronique," *RB* 12 (1903): 109.
62. Victor Müller, *En Syrie avec les bédouins* (Paris: LeRoux, 1931), 188; Haefeli, *Die Beduinen von Beerseba*, 87.
63. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* 2:283.
64. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* 1:139-40.
65. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* 2:94, 141-42.
66. K. Budde, "Die hebräische Leichenklage," *ZDPV* 6 (1883): 180, 190-91. The second quote is from Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* 1:101.
67. Budde, "Die hebräische Leichenklage," 191. Taufik Canaan, "Unwritten Laws Affecting the Arab Woman of Palestine," *JPOS* 11 (1931): 189.
68. Budde, "Die hebräische Leichenklage," 193. Ancient Hebrews and Arabs followed the same burial practices, according to Immanuel Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (Freiburg i/B: Mohr, 1894), 163.

## Chapter 20: Life in the Desert

1. More than thirty references from the poets are given in Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), 47, n. 2, reprinted in *CWHN* 5:137.
2. Enno Littmann, *Thamūd und Safā*, Safā – Inschriften, no. 288.
3. *Ibid.*, nos. 1260, 306.
4. Al-Ḥāriri of Basra, *Makamāt*, tr. Theodore Preston (London: Madden, 1850), 185-86, lines 43, 75.



5. Thus al-Buhturī, cited in Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leipzig: Amelang, 1901), 87-88, and Lebid, cited in *ibid.*, 55-56. The word "maydān" means both "large, spacious field," and "an ample life" in Arabic.

6. *Hermae Pastor (Shepherd of Hermas), Similitudo (Similitudes)* VIII, 3, in PG 2:973-74; *Clementine Recognitions* 2, 23-25, in PG 1:1260-61.

7. Helene Danthine, *Le Palmier-dattier et les arbres sacrés dans l'iconographie de l'asie occidentale ancienne*, 2 vols. (Paris: Geuthner, 1937), 210-11; Andres Alföldi, "Die Geschichte des Throntabernskelo," *Nouvelle Clio* 1-2 (1949-50): 552-54.

8. Georg Jakob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1897), 13.

9. Littmann, *Thamūd und Safā, Safā—Inschriften*, no. 28.

10. *Ibid.*, nos. 152, 156.

11. *Ibid.*, no. 644.

12. *Ibid.*, no. 342.

13. *Ibid.*, no. 233.

14. James A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1934), 6.

15. See our discussion "A Note on Rivers," in Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites*, 91-95, reprinted in CWHN 5:79-83.

16. For many references, Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites*, 47-48, nn. 2 and 3, reprinted in CWHN 5:137.

17. Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen alterarabischer Dichter* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903), vol. 2, no. 30:9-11.

18. F. Wüstenfeld, *Orient und Occident* 1:336-37.

19. Edward J. Byng, *The World of the Arabs* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1944), 64-65.

20. Al-Hamdānī, *Al-Iklīl* VIII (Baghdad: Syrian Catholic Press, 1931), 15-16.

21. *Ibid.*, 16.

22. John L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys* (London: Colburn & Bentley, 1831), 1:186.

23. J. van der Ploeg, review of *The Body and Eternal Life*, by Carl-Martin Edsman, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 6 (1949): 77.

24. Claude R. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London: Bentley, 1878), 2:271.

25. Littmann, *Thamūd und Safā, Safā—Inschriften*, no. 407.

26. Edward Robinson and E. Smith, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, 4 vols. (London: Murray, 1841), 1:259.

27. Al-Ḥāriri of Basra, *Makamāt*, 418.

28. Littmann, *Thamūd und Safā*, Safā—Inschriften, no. 1013.
29. *Ibid.*, no. 206.
30. *Ibid.*, no. 156. There is a large class of inscriptions left by parties describing themselves as "on the lookout" for friends and relatives, e.g., no. 709: "N. was on the lookout for his father . . . So Allat, peace!"
31. Al-Ḥāriri of Basra, *Makamāt*, 298.
32. Richard F. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* (London: Tylston & Edwards, 1893), 1:207. And thus Claude R. Conder, "Lieut. Claude R. Conder's Reports. XXXII," *PEFQ* (1875), 130: "Farther south the country is absolutely impassable, as huge gorges one thousand to fifteen hundred feet deep, and nearly a mile wide in some places, are broken by the great torrents flowing in winter over perpendicular precipices into the sea." Nelson Glueck, Cover Photo, *BA* 18 (1955). This gives a magnificent view of "one of the many Deep Valleys that cut through the [Negeb] area."
33. E. A. Wallis Budge, ed., *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 1:167.
34. Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York: Random House, 1936), 2:229.
35. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, 85.
36. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* 2:274.
37. Norman Lewis, *Sand and Sea in Arabia* (London: Routledge, 1938), 16.
38. Gottlieb Schumacher, "Eine Wetterkatastrophe im Ostjordanland," *ZDPV* 36 (1913): 314.
39. *Ibid.*, 315.
40. Littmann, *Thamūd und Safā*, Safā—Inschriften, no. 435.
41. *Ibid.*, no. 436.
42. *Ibid.*, no. 438.
43. *Ibid.*, no. 1291.
44. Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen alterarabischer Dichter* 3, no. 1.
45. Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), 47-50.

## Chapter 21: Life in the Desert

1. Philip J. Baldensperger, "The Immovable East," *PEFQ* (1925), 81.
2. Richard F. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* (London: Tylston & Edwards, 1893), 1:280.
3. Raphael Patai, *Man and Temple* (London: Nelson, 1947), 172.

4. Claude R. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London: Bentley, 1878), 2:287.
5. Alfred Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1945), 199.
6. David S. Margoliouth, "The Origins of Arabic Poetry," *JRAS* (1925), 449.
7. *Ibid.*, 417-20.
8. Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 103.
9. T. Eric Peet, *Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia*, Schweich Lectures (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), 6, 12.
10. Al-Hāriri of Basra, *Makamāt*, tr. Theodore Preston (London: Madden, 1850), 222.
11. *Ibid.*, 323.
12. Ignac Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (Leiden: Brill, 1896), 1:58.
13. Nilus, *Narrationes* 5, in PG 79:648.
14. Abbé Bourdaid, "La source divine et générale, conception chaldéenne dans les monuments figurés des collections à Paris," *Receuil de Travaux* 21 (1899): 177-93.
15. Ibn Qutayba, *Introduction au livre de la poésie et des poètes (Muqaddimatu Kitābi-l-Shiʿri wa-l-Shuʿarā)* (Paris: L'Association Guillaume Budé, 1947), pt. 15.
16. Bertram Thomas, *Arabia Felix* (New York: Scribner, 1932), 153.
17. Hermann Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke der Aegyptischen* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1924), 60-63: The Egyptians freely refer to tubs and basins as lakes and pools, and to bodies of water in the wilderness as springs and fountains. For them, "a running spring in the desert is like the cavern of the two fountain orifices at Elephantine." Yet Elephantine was not a fountain place but rather one where the water poured through narrows.
18. Al-Hāriri of Basra, *Makamāt*, 167.
19. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 18.
20. Thus Al-Hāriri of Basra, *Makamāt*, 216, says: "Long may you live in plenty's verdant vale." Preston explains the use of *khfd* (valley) in this case, "because low places are generally well watered and fit for habitation in the East."
21. Frank E. Johnson, tr., *Al-Muʿallaqāt* (Bombay: Education Society's Steam Press, 1893; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1973), 71, line 13.
22. Alfred Bloch, "Qasida," *Asiatische Studien* 3-4 (1948): 116-24.

23. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 74.
24. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* 1:67-71.
25. *Ibid.*, 59, 72-75.
26. Qutayba, *Introduction au livre de la poésie et des poètes*, pt. 23; cf. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, 74.
27. Pierre Cersey, "L'Apologue de la vigne," *RB* 8 (1899): 40-47.
28. Emmanuel Cosquin, "Le livre de Tobie et l'histoire du sage Ahikar," *RB* 8 (1899): 54-55.
29. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* 2:99: "I cannot well explain the effect of Arab poetry on one who has not visited the Desert."
30. Gustav Richter, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altarabischen Qaside," *ZDMG* 92 (1939): 557-58. The passage cited is from 'Antara.
31. *Ibid.*, 563-65.
32. Cf. Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, (Leipzig: Amelangs, 1901), 16.
33. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* 1:278-79, n. 3.
34. Richter, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altarabischen Qaside," 58.
35. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 12.
36. James A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1934), 21.
37. Thus, H. Ragaf, in the leading American Yiddish newspaper, *Vorwärts*, 26 April 1953.
38. Friedrich Delitzsch, *Das Land ohne Heimkehr: Die Gedanken der Babylonier und Assyrer über Tod und Jenseits* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1911).
39. Peter C. A. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, 11 vols. (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1900), 80-81. Several English translations of the Descent of Ishtar are also available.
40. Knut Tallquist, "Sumerisch-Akkadische Namen der Totenwelt," *Studia Orientalia* 4 (1934): 3, 14-16.
41. E. Ebeling, "Ein Heldenlied auf Tiglatpileser I. und der Anfang einer neuen Version von 'Ištars Höllenfahrt' nach einer Schülertafel aus Assur," *Orientalia* 18 (1949): 37.
42. Peet, *Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia*, 59.
43. Hermann Kees, "Ein Klagelied über das Jenseits," *ZÄSA* 62 (1927): 76.

## Chapter 22: Proper Names in the Book of Mormon

1. Walter F. Prince, "Psychological Tests for the Authorship of

the Book of Mormon," *American Journal of Psychology* 28 (1917): 373-89, and 30 (1919): 427-28. His findings are accepted as final by Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 144: "Walter F. Prince proved beyond dispute thirty years ago, by a rigorous examination of the proper names and other language in the volume, that even if no other evidence existed, it could have been composed only in Western New York between 1826 and 1834, so markedly did it reflect Anti-Masonry and other issues of the day." Two hundred and fifty proper names plus "other language in the volume" rigorously and thoroughly examined in an article of 22 pages! The psychologists in 1919 must have known just everything.

2. If the reader thinks this is too stringent a censure on the "science of linguistics," we would refer him to the latest summary of things in William J. Entwhistle, *Aspects of Language* (London: Faber & Faber, 1953), esp. ch. 3.

3. T. Eric Peet, *Egypt and the Old Testament* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1922), 169.

4. Harry R. H. Hall, "The Eclipse of Egypt," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 12 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 3:268. See above 102-3.

5. Hugh W. Nibley, "The Book of Mormon as a Mirror of the East," *IE* 51 (April 1948): 203; *CWHN* 5:2, 19-21.

6. William F. Albright, "A Brief History of Judah from the Days of Josiah to Alexander the Great," *BA* 9 (1946): 45.

7. D. Winton Thomas, "The Age of Jeremiah in the Light of Recent Archaeological Discovery," *PEFQ* (1950), 7-8.

8. *Ibid.*, 7.

9. See our lists in Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), 27-30, reprinted in *CWHN* 5:25-28.

10. Alfred F. L. Beeston, "Old South Arabian Antiquities," *JRAS* (1952), 21, according to whom the female name *Drm. t* found recently in a South Arabic inscription "should no doubt be related etymologically to Hebrew *zerem*, 'heavy rain.' "

11. A. Gustavs, "Die Personennamen in den Tontafeln von Tell Ta'annek," *ZDPV* 50 (1927): 1-18, and 51 (1928): 191, 198, 207. In the lists are nine Subaraean (north Mesopotamian), five Hittite-Hurrian, one Egyptian, one Sumerian, one Iranian, one Kossaeon, one Indian, ten Akkadian (Babylonian), two Amorite, five Arabic (Aramaic?), and twenty-one Canaanitish names, including such names as Bi-na-ammi, Zi-im-ri-kha-am-mu (Canaanite-Phoenician); one Edomite king is called Am-mi-na-ad-bi; *ibid.*, 51:209-10; Jews in Babylon in

the 6th century B.C. bore names like Abu-na-dib, Am-mihor, Abila-ma, Zi-im-ri-a-bu-um, etc.; Martin Noth, "Gemeinsemitische Erscheinungen in der israelitischen Namengebung," *ZDMG* 81 (1927): 17, 24-29.

12. See Nibley, "The Book of Mormon as a Mirror of the East," 203-4, 249-50; *CWHN* 5:21-22.

13. Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 437.

14. Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1935); Jens D. C. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques* (Christiania: Brögger & Christie, 1871).

15. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* 1:412, nos. 8, 9.

16. Anton Jirku, "Die Mimation in den nordsemitischen Sprachen und einige Bezeichnungen der altisraelitischen Mantik," *Biblica* 34 (1953): 78-80.

17. James A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1934), 47. Cf. William F. Albright, *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1934), 50 (ch. 10, C, line 12).

18. Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), 33, reprinted in *CWHN* 5:32. Thomas, "The Age of Jeremiah in the Light of Recent Archaeological Discovery," 7-8.

19. Adolf Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Seals* (London: East & West Libraries, 1950), nos. 12-27.

20. Emil O. Forrer, "The Hittites in Palestine, II," *PEFQ* (1937), 100.

21. For sources see Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites*, 33, n. 3, reprinted in *CWHN* 5:32, n. 10.

22. Anton L. Mayer & John Garstang, "Kizzuwadna and Other Hittite States," *JEA* 11 (1925): 24.

23. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites*, 34, n. 8; *CWHN* 5:32, n. 16.

24. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1928), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 553.

25. Judges 15:9, 14, 19. This is Lehai-ro'i, the legendary birthplace and central shrine of Ishmael, which provides an interesting tie-up between Lehi and his friend (and relative) Ishmael—both men of the desert.

26. Nelson Glueck, "Ostraca From Elath," *BASOR* 80 (December 1940): 5-6, fig. 2, with a reproduction of the potsherd.

27. Antonin Jaussen & Raphaël Savignac, *Mission Archéologique en*

*Arabie*, 2 vols. (Paris: Geuthner, 1914), 321, no. 336. Other inscriptions containing the name LḤI are found on p. 313, no. 44 (Minaean); p. 552, no. 251; p. 557, no. 268; p. 564, no. 304; p. 569, nos. 330, 334, 335; p. 570, nos. 336, 338; p. 571, nos. 342, 343; p. 588, no. 429; p. 609, no. 551 (Thamudian).

28. *Ibid.*, p. 441, no. 77: "Lamay son of Nafiyah." Other Nafy inscriptions are p. 499, nos. 256, 259; p. 512, no. 302; p. 322, no. 75; p. 351, no. 178; p. 441, no. 77; p. 236, no. 6; p. 237, no. 6; p. 449, no. 80 is by "Ha-Nafy and Maram-law."

29. Thus in *ibid.*, p. 506, no. 277, 'Alim; p. 595, no. 475 'Alman from 'ALM; p. 620, no. 622 'Almah (a man's name); Enno Littmann, *Thamūd und Safā*, Safā – Inschriften, nos. 394, 430, 984, 1292, all have the name ALM, also found in the diminutive form 'Ulaim, and in the Greek translation Olaimou, 'Allam, 'Allum, *ibid.*, p. 335. Martin Noth, "Gemeinsemitische Erscheinungen in der israelitischen Namensgebung," 29, notes from an inscription, *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* I, 147, 6, the Phoenician-Canaanitish form of 'l'm (pronounced Alam).

30. The name MRM is found also in p. 510, no. 290; p. 514, no. 307; p. 526, no. 361; p. 519, no. 327 of Jaussen and Raphaël, according to whom (p. 450) it is the Arabic *Maram*, "intention, wish, desire" (cf. p. 527, no. 361; p. 508, no. 284), and is certainly cognate with the common Egyptian Mr-, which has the same meaning. It is also cognate, Jaussen suggests, with the Hebrew *Marim*. Thus one might seek the root for "Mormin" in either Egyptian, Hebrew, or Arabic, all of which build proper names with MRM, meaning "desirable," "good." An Egyptian doorkeeper of the XX Dynasty has the name of Mrmnu, of Mormon; Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 13 (1898): 51. Since the nunated -on ending is highly characteristic of Nephite names, the final -on of Mormon may belong to that class, in which case the root must be the Arab-Hebrew MRM, a desert name.

31. Paul Haupt, "Heb. *lehî*, cheek, and *lô*, jaw," *JBL* 33 (1914): 290-95.

32. Edward H. Palmer, "Arabic and English Name Lists," in *Survey of Western Palestine, Special Papers* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881), 4:358.

33. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Paris: Republic, 1889), pt. 2, vol. 1, p. 361, no. 498.

34. Hubert Grimme, "Südarabische Felsgraffiti der Sammlung Glaser und ihre Sakrale Bedeutung," *Le Museón* 48 (1935): 269.

35. Jaussen & Savignac, *Mission Archéologique en Arabie*, no. 77.

36. Charles S. Clermont-Ganneau, "The Arabs of Palestine," in *Survey of Western Palestine, Special Papers* 4:325. Cf. Claude R. Conder, "Moslem Mukams," in *Survey of Western Palestine, Special Papers* 4:272.

37. See above 75-76.

38. Shalom Spiegel, "Noah, Daniel, and Job touching on Canaanite Relics in the Legends of the Jews," in *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1945), 349-50.

39. James R. Harris, *Boanerges* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), 275-76.

40. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pt. 2, vol. 1, p. 239, no. 207.

41. Joseph Offord, "Further Illustrations of the Elephantine Aramaic Jewish Papyri," *PEFQ* (1917), 127.

42. William F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942), 160.

43. Anton Jirku, *Die ägyptische Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1937), 52.

44. Georg Kampffmeyer, "Alte Namen im heutigen Palästina und Syrien," *ZDPV* 15 (1892): 83.

45. Martin Noth, "Gemeinsemitische Erscheinungen in der israelitischen Namengebung," 5, asserts that the study of Israelite names must be made on "the broadest possible basis." See also Solomon Zeitlin, "The Names Hebrew, Jew and Israel," *JQR* 42 (1953): 369-71, discussed in Hugh W. Nibley, "New Approaches to Book of Mormon Study," *IE* 57 (May 1954): 309, 326, 330.

46. Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1912), 42; published also as *Origin and History of the Mormons*, trans. H. Rahde and E. Séaich (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1961).

## Chapter 23: Old World Ritual in the New World

1. Hermann Kees, *Ägypten* (Munich: Beck, 1933), 172-76.

2. For the best general summary, Henri Frankfort, "State Festivals in Egypt and Mesopotamia," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 15 (1952): 1-12; Samuel H. Hooke, ed., *Labyrinth* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1935), see esp. articles by C. N. Deeds, "The Labyrinth," 1-42; Eric Burrows, "Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion," 43-70; and Aubrey Johnson, "The Role of the King in the Jerusalem Cultus," 71-112. Theodor H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York: Gordian, 1950), is good for the ritual side, as is Hans P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (New York: Caratzas, 1982).



3. See our study, Hugh W. Nibley, "The Hierocentric State," *Western Political Quarterly* 4 (1951): 226-53; quote is from 226-27.

4. On the royal proclamation which summons all to the Great Assembly in the presence of the king, see our discussion of "summons arrows," in Hugh W. Nibley, "The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State," *Western Political Quarterly* 2 (1949): 331-34.

5. The transmission of three royal treasures, symbolizing the sacred origin and miraculous preservation of the nation, is found among such widely separated peoples as the ancient Japanese, the "three jewels" passed from king to king being the mirror, the tama, and the sword; R. Grousset, *L'Asie orientale des origines au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1941), 448; and the ancient Norse, whose three treasures of royalty (*thrjá kostgripi*) were a hammer, a belt, and an iron glove, according to the Prose Edda, *Gylfaginning* 21.

6. On the yearly census at the assembly, see Nibley "The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State," 333-37.

7. Thus among our own ancestors, "When Torgin gave the Yule (year) feast the people assembled from all about and lived in booths for half a month." *Erbyggia-saga* 43. Even to modern times people at the great English fairs "universally eat, drink, and sleep in their booths and tents," according to Raymond W. Muncey, *Our Old English Fairs* (London: Sheldon, 1935), 33. When Ariamnus at the time of Christ feasted all the people of Gaul at a great assembly at which they acclaimed him king "he erected booths of vine-props and poles of reed and osiers . . . for the reception of the crowds," Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* IV, 150. In the Middle Ages, William of Rubruck says of the assembly in the presence of the Great Khan: "As among the people of Israel each man knew on which side of the tabernacle to pitch his tents," Manuel Komroff, ed., *Contemporaries of Marco Polo* (New York: Liveright, 1928), 98. Hundreds of examples might be cited from all over the world.

8. There are many ancient parallels to this, of which the best-known perhaps is the annual sermon delivered by the Caliph to the whole believing world from a high wooden *minbar*. That this usage is pre-Moslem and pre-Christian is indicated by the accounts of addresses being delivered from such towers by Roman Emperors on formal occasions, with the specification that the Roman practice was *Phoenicio ritu*, i.e., in imitation of a Syro-Palestinian practice. Herodian, *History* V, 6, 9; Dio, *Roman History* LIX, 25. For some interesting Oriental parallels, see Hugh W. Nibley, "Sparsiones," *Classical Journal* 40 (1945): 527, n. 78.

9. See above, pp. 23-24.

10. Though a Latin word, *silentium* is the proper designation for a solemn assembly in the presence of the Byzantine Emperor; it is taken from the formula with which meetings are formally opened in many Christian churches: "The Lord is in his holy temple: let all the earth keep silence [lit. 'hush'] before him." Habakkuk 2:20. An impressive description of a *silentium* in the presence of King Solomon is given in an Arabic account, Friedrich Dieterici, ed., *Thier und Mensch vor dem König der Genien* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1881), 52. Others in Thomas B. Irving, tr., *Kalilah and Dimnah* (New Jersey: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980).

11. Alfred Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1913), 208-9, 313-17, 171-78. The idea was completely at home in Palestine, A. E. Silverstone, "God as King," *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* 17 (1932): 47-49: "The numerous [Hebrew] Hymns which were intoned during the services on the New Year invariably lay stress on the role of the King which God assumes on that day." This is the very interpretation that Benjamin puts on the business: not that the king is God, as elsewhere in the East, but that God is the king! Even at Uppsala at the Great Assembly "the king was worshipped in the Oriental manner;" Carl C. Clemen, *Religionsgeschichte Europas* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1926), 1:353. If the king failed to preside all the rites were considered null and void and life and property would be withheld from the nation for the coming year; for that reason any king who refused to officiate in the great sacrifice at Uppsala forfeited his throne, according to Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, tr. Francis J. Tschan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 208-10. Even the Welsh *gorseth* seems to have been "but a continuation of a court of which the Celtic Zeus was originally regarded as the spiritual president," according to John Rhys, *The Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, Hibbert Lectures (London: William & Norgate, 1898), 209.

12. The best treatment of the *acclamatio*, with hundreds of examples, is by Ferrarius, in Joannes G. Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, 12 vols. (Trajectus ad Rhenum: Fransciscum Halmam, 1694-99), vol. 6 (1697).

13. "Thou shalt not come into the presence of the king empty-handed" is the universal and stringent rule. The earliest kings of the east and west "showed themselves to their subjects, when they received presents from them, according to the ancient custom."

DuCange, Charles du Fresne, *Dissertations ou réflexions sur l'histoire de S. Louys* (Paris), 4:53-54, citing many sources.

14. Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), treats this theme at length.

15. Nibley, "Sparsiones," 543.

16. For a treatment of the artistic representation of such beliefs, see Anton Moortgat, *Tammuz, der Unsterblichkeitsglaube in der alt-orientalischen Bildkunst* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1949). The theme is also treated in most of the sources mentioned so far in this chapter.

17. The singing of the heavenly choirs is either the model or the copy of the choral events that figure so prominently at the Year celebrations everywhere. This is clear all through Pindar, e.g., *Pythian Ode XI*, 1-16; cf. Georg Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1902), 18-19; Johann Kelle, "Chori Saecularium—Cantica Puellarum," *Akademie der Wissenschaft Wien, Sitzungsbericht* 161 (1909), no. 2.

18. It is this fact which furnishes irrefutable proof of the great antiquity of the apocalyptic tradition of the blissful age to come, as Sigmund O. Mowinckel has recently shown in his study, *Religion und Kultus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953).

19. Geo Widengren, *The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book* (Uppsala: Lundequistska, 1950), 16-17, with special emphasis on Israelitic practice.

20. "The Great Assembly on the Day of Judgment shall be as the day of creation. . . . All things shall be restored on the day of decision." Thus an apocryphal text, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, given in Montague R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925), 512. The scriptures, like the apocrypha, are full of this theme. For a striking pagan parallel, W. Golther gives a most enlightening discussion of the customs of the ancient North in Wolfgang Golther, *Ares Iceländerbuch* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1923), 7-8.

21. Ferrarius, in Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, vol. 6, gives numerous examples: "Forever and forever!" is the closing refrain of almost every ancient acclamation the world over. The walls of royal Egyptian tombs and palaces, e.g., the famous Festival Hall of Osorkon II, are literally covered with it.

22. This is a constant refrain in Babylonian ritual texts: "At thy word all the Igigi cast themselves upon their faces; at thy word all the Anunnaki kiss the earth;" Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg: Winter, 1920-25), 2:166. As the Assyrian King mounts the throne at the New Year, "all throw themselves upon the earth before him, kiss his feet, and cry out: 'Father of the

Fatherland; there is none like unto him!' while the army hails him crying, 'That is our King!' " Ibid., 1:63. All subjects had to come "yearly to Nineveh bringing rich gifts, to kiss the feet of their lord," the king. Ibid., 1:138. In a cylinder of 536 B.C. King Cyrus boasts: "Every king from every region . . . as well as the Bedouin tent-dwellers brought their costly gifts and kissed my feet;" Stephen L. Caiger, *Bible and Spade* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 181. Every year at the great "submission assembly" the Hittite king would prostrate himself before the empty throne in the sanctuary, after which he would mount the throne and receive the prostrations of his subjects in turn; Albrecht Götze, *Kleinasien* (Munich: Beck, 1957), 90, n. 3; 96, 98, 155. To refuse the *proskynēsis* was an act of rebellion; Xenophon, *Agesil I*, 34. The Byzantine Emperors continued it; Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum I*, 11, in *PG* 6:1040-41. J. P. Balsdon, "The 'Divinity' of Alexander," *Historia* 1 (1950): 374, argues that *proskynein* means simply "to blow a kiss," yet we are specifically told that "sovereigns coming into the presence of the Emperor at Constantinople were required to kiss his knees;" DuCange, *Dissertations* 25:201. Even among the Germanic nations, those who came to submit to a king were required to fall to the earth before him; C. R. Unger, ed., *Saga Thidriks Konungs af Bern* (Christiana: Feilberg & Landmarks, 1853), ch. 54.

23. Nibley, "Sparsiones," 516-18.

24. "And he will summon all the hosts of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, and the Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophanim, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on earth and over the water. On that day shall they raise one voice: ' . . . Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed forever and ever! " All flesh must join in this acclamation. Enoch 61:10-12. This is exactly the way the Emperor was acclaimed at Constantinople: "All the people cried out their assent with a single voice, saying, 'As thou hast lived, so reign, O lord! " Georgius Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*, 2 vols., Immanuel Bekker, ed., vols. 4-5 of *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn: Weber, 1838), 1:626. "All the people young and old vied in approval and with a single voice and single mind . . . crying out: 'Conquer, Justin! " Flavus C. Corippus, *Justin II*, II, 345-57. "All the people, as with a single sound, chant hymns to thy divinely bestowed power." Georgii Pisidae, *De Expeditione Persica* 2:76-79. In Rome innumerable voices proclaim at once that they acknowledge the Emperor as their "ruler

and sacred lord"; Dracontius, *Satisfactio ad Guntharium Regem Vandalorum*, 193-96, in *PL* 60:921.

25. For the broadest treatment of this theme, see Hooke, *Labyrinth, passim*; and *Myth and Ritual*, 8ff.

26. For very ancient instances of this, see the Samuel A. B. Mercer, tr., *Pyramid Texts* (London: Longmans, Green, 1952), 1:*passim*. Characteristic of the Great Assembly is the strict arrangement by order and rank observed there; Dieterici, *Thier und Mensch vor dem König der Genien*, 37, 43-44, 48-50, 51-53, 69; Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses* XL, 28-29, 32-40; for other sources, Nibley, "The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State," 343, n. 86. Cf. *Shepherd of Hermas*, III, 5, 5-6; and 6, 3; and 9, 1, 8, in *PG* 2:961-68, 979-82, 987-88.

27. On the importance of everyone's having a seal at the Year Feast, see Nibley, "The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State," 334-37.

28. A. J. Wensinck, "The Semitic New Year and the Origin of Eschatology," *Acta Orientalia* 1 (1925): 172; Midrash Jubilee 19:9; 30:20ff. Enoch 103:2; Leo Koep, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1952), 46-54, 68-72, 97-100.

29. The main purpose of priestly colleges throughout the world is to rehearse the Year Feast at shorter intervals and to keep its significance alive among the people. This is very clear in the case of the Arval and Salian colleges at Rome, and in the Asvamedha of India, Paul E. Dumont, *L'Asvamedha* (Paris: Geuthner, 1927), vii, 50, & *passim*.

30. Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1949), 4-5.

31. "We find that the Ras Shamra festivals exhibit that same 'ritual pattern' which has been detected also in Babylonian and Israelitic cultus, and which has been postulated, by Professor S. H. Hooke and others, as the common basis of seasonal ceremonies throughout the ancient Near East. The essential elements of this pattern are: (a) a battle-royal between two rival powers, each claiming dominion over the earth; (b) the formal installation of the victor as king; (c) the erection of a new habitation for him; (d) the celebration of a seven-day festival." Theodor H. Gaster, "Ras Shamra, 1929-39," *Antiquity* 13 (1939): 314-15. A Catholic writer has recently tried to disassociate Israel from this pattern, which does obvious damage to the conventional ideas of the history and religion of Jew and Christian alike. Jean de Fraine, "Les Implications du 'patternism'," *Biblica* 37 (1956): 59-73.

## Chapter 24: Ezekiel 37:15-23 as Evidence for the Book of Mormon

1. The classic illustration of this type of argument is to be found throughout Justin Martyr's *Dialogus cum Tryphone* (*Dialogue with Trypho*), in PG 6:471-800. For the other interpretations, see Hugo Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905), 302-12. Recently the argument was the subject of a special feature article "The Book of Mormon and the Bible," *Awake!* (22 January 1953), 20-23. For the fullest treatment of the two sticks, see Hugh W. Nibley, "The Stick of Judah and the Stick of Joseph," *IE* 56 (January-May 1953).

2. William A. Irwin, "Ezekiel Research since 1943," *Vetus Testamentum* 3 (1953): 62, 56, 61.

3. This is the description of Hölscher's methods, as discussed in Volkmar Hertrich, "Ezechielprobleme," in Beiheft zur *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 61 (1932): 23-30. Attempts at rewriting and deletion are treated by the author in Nibley, "The Stick of Judah and the Stick of Joseph," 16-17, 38-41.

4. Franz Zorell, *Lexicum Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1946), 618.

5. Gregorius Magnus (Gregory the Great), *Ex Eius Scriptis Adornata* III, 9, in PL 75:394.

6. Carl F. Keil, *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Ezekiel*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1885), 2:130.

7. Donald J. Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing-Boards," *Iraq* 17 (1955): 11.

8. Eusebius, *Demonstrationis Evangelicae* X, 479-82, in PG 22:741-48. Jerome, *Commentarius in Ezechielem* XI, in PL 25:351-53.

9. Keil, *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Ezekiel* 2:130.

10. Geo Widengren, *The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book* (Uppsala: Lundequistska, 1950), 38-39, 9.

11. *Ibid.*, 38-39, 8-12.

12. *Ibid.*, 11.

13. W. B. Kristensen, *De Slangenstaf en het Sprackvermogen van Mozes en Aäron*, Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandae Akademie van Wetenschappen, n.s. 16, no. 14 (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Vitg. Mij., 1953), 2.

14. Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Der Stabkultus bei den Aegyptern," *Recueil de Travaux* 25 (1903): 184-90.

15. Widengren, *Ascensio Isaiah*, 9; Kristensen, *De Slangenstaf en het Sprackvermogen van Mozes en Aäron*, 7-8.

16. Stewart Culin, "Chess and Playing Cards," in the *Report for the U. S. National Museum for 1896* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 887-88.

17. Nibley, "The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State," *Western Political Quarterly* 2 (1949): 328-44, for many examples.

18. Friedrich Blass, "Palaeographie, Buchwesen und Handschriftenkunde," in Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* (Munich: Beck, 1892), 1:334.

19. Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909-46), 6:54; cf. 3:19, where the Rod of Moses bears no less than thirty-two separate inscriptions.

20. James M. Freeman, *Handbook of Bible Manners and Customs* (New York: Nelson & Phillips, 1877), 309, no. 583.

21. For the ancient North, see Karl Weinhold, "Beiträge zu den deutschen Kriegsaltertümern," *Sitzungsbericht der Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin*, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, no. 29 (1891), 548. For the general Asiatic practice, see George N. Roerich, *Trails to Inmost Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), 352. For Japan, Fritz Rumpf, tr., *Japanische Volksmärchen* (Jena: Diederich, 1938), 43; among the American Indians, Garrick Mallery, "Picture Writing of the American Indians," in the *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1888-89* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), 367, fig. 375. These are typical instances in which writing space on an original message-stick or arrow was augmented by an attached cloth, skin, or roll of bark.

22. Ludwig Blau, "Scroll of the Law," in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (New York: Funk & Wagnall, 1901-6), 132.

23. F. S. Burnell, "Staves and Sceptres," *Folklore* 59 (1948): 165.

24. In a large class of Semitic seals bearing the inscriptional form "for So-and-so" (the identical formula employed in Ezekiel), that formula "indicates thereby that the seal belongs to that man whose name is thus presented," and is not, as some have suggested, a dedicatory term. M. de Vogüé, *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Paris: Reipublicae Typographeo, 1889), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 56.

25. Numbers 17:2. A remarkable illustration of this may be found in the *Hermae Pastor* (*Shepherd of Hermas*), *Similitudo* (*Similitudes*) VIII, 1-6, in *PG* 2:971-78. For the same practice among the heathen nations, See Nibley, "The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State," 334-36.

26. Numbers 34:13-29. The practice is dramatically described in one of the oldest of all Christian writings, Clement, *Epistola I ad*

*Corinthios (First Epistle to the Corinthians)* 43, in PG 1:395-96. Cf. Robert Jamieson, et al., *A Commentary, Critical and Explanatory, on the Old and New Testaments*, 2 vols. (Hartford: Scranton, n.d.), 611.

27. William L. Wardle, "Ezekiel," in Frederick C. Eiselen, ed., *The Abingdon Bible Commentary* (New York: Abingdon, 1929), 740.

28. Herbert C. Alleman & Elmer F. Flack, *Old Testament Commentary* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1948), 770.

29. Wardle, "Ezekiel," 740.

30. See our long notes on this subject in Nibley, "The Stick of Judah and the Stick of Joseph," 126-27. To these we should add Justin's remark, Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 86, in PG 6:679-82, that "the rod of Aaron bearing blossoms showed him to be the High Priest. A rod from the root of Jesse became the Christ. . . . By the wood God showed himself to Abraham. Moses with a rod went to liberate the people; and holding the rod in his hands as commander of the nation he divided the Red Sea. By its power he struck water from the rock, and by throwing it into the waters of Merara he made them sweet. . . . Jacob boasted that he passed through the river on this staff." Innocent III in the thirteenth century says that the pontifical staff signifies the power of Christ, and quotes Psalms 2 and 44 as proof, Innocent III, *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio* VI, 45, in PG 217:790. Yet it is well known that the Pope of Rome has no official staff, a peculiarity explained by the legend of Eucherius of Trier, see PL 250:600. The Bishop's crozier or staff makes its first appearance in the Christian Church no earlier than the fifth century; E. Power, "The Staff of the Apostles," *Biblica* 4 (1923): 266, and by its earliest forms clearly betrays its borrowing from pagan cults; Nibley, "The Stick of Judah and the Stick of Joseph," 126-27.

31. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* 2:291; 5:412; 6:106.

32. E.g., by joining together the two broken ends, Wardle, "Ezekiel," 740; or else "the two sticks are to be joined lengthwise in the hand," George A. Cooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel*, International Critical Commentary, 2 vols. (New York: Scribner, 1937), 2:401; or by simply carrying the sticks together in one hand, Henry A. Ironside, *Expository Notes on Ezekiel the Prophet* (New York: Loizeaux, 1949), 261; or "by a notch, dovetail, glue, or some such method," Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible, A Commentary and Notes*, 6 vols. (New York: Abingdon), 4:525; or by being tied together with a string, according to the Septuagint and many commentators. John Skinner, *The Book of Ezekiel* (New York: Armstrong, 1895), 352-53, suggests that "when the rods are put together, they miraculously grow into one." On the other hand, some go so far as to say that



"it is no longer necessary to assume that the action was really performed at all"! Thus Skinner, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 352-53, and Andrew B. Davidson, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892), note on Ezekiel 37:20.

33. Godfrey R. Driver, "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Ezekiel," *Biblica* 19 (1938): 183.

34. Hilery Jenkinson, "Exchequer Tallies," *Archaeologia* 62 (1911): 367.

35. Hilery Jenkinson, "Medieval Tallies, Public and Private," *Archaeologia* 74 (1925): 305; Jenkinson, "Exchequer Tallies," 373-74, 370.

36. Jenkinson, "Exchequer Tallies," 374, 369, 371-72; and "Medieval Tallies, Public and Private," 315. On the meaning of "bill," *ibid.*, 305.

37. Jenkinson, "Exchequer Tallies," 374, 371, 369; and "Medieval Tallies, Public and Private," 315.

38. Emile F. Kautzsch, tr., *Die Heilige Schrift des alten Testaments*, 2 vols., 4th ed. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1922), 1:975, and Wardle, "Ezekiel," 741, and John R. Dummelow, *A Commentary on the Holy Bible* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 515-16; and Rabbi S. Fisch, *Ezekiel* (London: Soncino Press, 1950), 249, all favor Judah; against which the Cambridge Bible notes that the passages lay very heavy stress on the equality of the contracting parties, and not on the ascendancy of Judah. Both Davidson, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, note on Ezekiel 37:19, and Cooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel* 2:401, favor "in my hand," though Cooke confesses that "it sounds surprising," 401.

39. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* 3:307.

40. The best known source for the study of private tallies is the Jewish Plea Roll. Moreover, while tallies in England had to be inscribed in Latin, and even English and French were not permitted, *Hebrew* writing was allowed; and this special favor shown to an alien language shows that the Jews already had their own system of tally marking in the Middle Ages. Jenkinson, "Exchequer Tallies," 378; and Jenkinson, "Medieval Tallies, Public and Private," 313-14, 293.

41. It is mentioned in the colophon of the oldest text of the Pentateuch in existence, the Aleppo Codex (cir. 930 A.D.): "Rab Asher, may his soul be bound in the Bundle of Life with the righteous and wise prophets." Paul Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Kohlhamer, 1927-30), 1:3-5; "May their souls be bound in the Bundle of Life in the Garden of Eden beneath the Tree of Life," *ibid.*, 6. For the great antiquity of the idea, See Margaret A. Murray, "The Bundle of Life," *Ancient Egypt* (1930), pt. 3, pp. 66-69.

42. See above, ch. 2.
43. Herntrich, "Ezechielprobleme," 118.
44. Shalom Spiegel, "Noah, Daniel, and Job," in *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1945), 320.
45. Eusebius, *Demonstrationis Evangelicae* X, in PG 22:745-48.
46. Jerome, *Epistolae (Letters)* 74, 3, in PL 22:683-84; *Commentariorum in Ezechielem (Commentary on Ezekiel)* XL, 37, in PL 25:350-54. The two sticks are Judah and Israel, who are no longer called Judah and Israel "but called by the single name of Judah: and in the figurative language of the prophet, a type and foreshadowing of our Lord and Savior, are held not in two hands, but in the single hand of Christ." To prove that their descendants shall be brought back to an original state of unity, Jerome then cites the pagan poet Vergil, *Aeneid* IV! Moreover, this unit "shall not be after the manner of the flesh but of the spirit, by which the tribe of Ephraim is rejected and that of Judah is chosen, as in Psalm 78:67-68: 'And he rejects the tabernacle of Joseph and chooses not the tribe of Ephraim,' " etc., *ibid.*, 353. All this is the exact antithesis to what Ezekiel tells us!
47. Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses (Against Heresies)* V, 17, in PG 7:1171.
48. Migne's commentary, in PG 6:681, n. 43.
49. Origen, *Peri Archon (De Principiis)* II, 3, 6, in PG 11:194.

### Chapter 25: Some Test Cases from the Book of Ether

1. See Hugh W. Nibley, "There Were Jaredites," *IE* 59-60 (January 1956-February 1957), reprinted in *CWHN* 5:283-443.
2. Jubilees 10:25: "For this reason the whole land of Shinar is called Babel, because the Lord did there confound all the languages of the children of men, and from thence they were dispersed into their cities."
3. Bedrich Hrozný, *Über die älteste Völkerwanderung und über das Problem der proto-Indischen Zivilisation*, Monografis Archivu Orientalniho (Prague: Orientalisches Institut, 1939), no. 7, p. 6.
4. *Ibid.*, 7-8.
5. An authoritative treatment of the natural forces that caused these migrations is the massive work of Claude F. A. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparee et chronologie de l'asie occidentale* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948). A good popular treatment with chronological charts and maps is Robert J. Braidwood, *The Near East and the Foundations for Civilization*, Condon Lectures (Eugene: Oregon State System of Higher Education, 1952).
6. Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites*

(Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), 167-74; *CWHN* 5:174-81. Many studies written since this one, including the two cited in the previous footnote, support our conclusions completely.

7. See our discussion in Hugh W. Nibley, "There Were Jaredites: Egypt Revisited," *IE* 59 (February-June 1956): 152; *CWHN* 5:315; and Hermann Grapow, *Die Bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1924), 38-39, 41, 49.

8. Pyramid Text no. 298b-c, 299a-b, in Samuel A. B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary*, 4 vols. (New York: Longmans, 1952), 80-81.

9. Rosa Klinke-Rosenberg, *Das Götzenbuch Kitāb al-Asnam des Ibn al-Khalbi* (Winterthur: Buchdruckerei Winterthur, 1942), 58.

10. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, "Die älteste Ägyptische Geschichte nach den Zauber und Wundererzählungen der Araber," *Orient und Occident* 1:331.

11. Alfred Haldar, *The Notion of the Desert in Sumero-Accadian and West-Semitic Religions* (Uppsala: Lundequistska, 1950), 22-23.

12. *Ibid.*, 28.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, 19.

16. *Ibid.*, 24.

17. *Ibid.*, 21-22.

18. *Ibid.*, 29.

19. *Ibid.*, 32.

20. B. Lewis, in *Bulletin Or. & Afr. School*, 23:318-20, with much more to the same effect.

21. Robert Eisler, *Iesus Basileus ou Basileusas* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1929-30), 2:105, 107-9, 114, 662, 686. Sibylline Oracles 3:101.

22. Jubilees 10:26.

23. Sources in Eisler, *Iesus Basileus ou Basileusas* 2:109, n. 1. Eisler surmises that *ram* means "high" and *rud* means "wanderer," the same as Jared.

24. Jubilees 4:23. Among others, E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1:3-4, reports that this happened in the days of the fall of the Tower.

25. See Hugh W. Nibley, "There Were Jaredites: Epic Milieu in the Old Testament," *IE* 59 (October 1956): 712, reprinted in *CWHN* 5:385-91, for a number of cases in which these first kings (Hittite, Greek, Indian, Persian, Roman) always advance to the roar of thunder in the sky, swept along with the storm-wind, like the "raging

lords" who first invaded Mesopotamia. Nibley, "There Were Jaredites: The Babylonian Background," 509. For similar cases in Egypt, see Nibley, "There Were Jaredites: Egypt Revisited," 152; CWHN 5:350, 310.

26. Ether 2:3; Nibley, "There Were Jaredites: Egypt Revisited," 244-45, 252-60, reprinted in CWHN 5:319-22; Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites*, 184-89, in CWHN 5:189-94.

27. Nibley, "There Were Jaredites: Egypt Revisited," 390-91, 460-61; CWHN 5:343-46.

28. See *ibid.*, 152 for sources; CWHN 5:310-16.

29. Hermann Kees, *Ägypten* (Munich: Beck, 1933), 172-85. This is the most authoritative work to date on Egyptian economy and politics.

30. Ether 2:16; 6:7. Discussed in Nibley, "There Were Jaredites: The Babylonian Background," 566-67, 602, reprinted in CWHN 5:360-64.

31. *Ibid.*, 566; CWHN 5:360. A long and valuable Babylonian account of the building of the ark was copied very badly many years ago by George Smith; the original has vanished, but the text has been carefully studied with an eye to reconstruct the boat, by Paul Haupt, "The Ship of the Babylonian Noah," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 10 (1927), pt. 2, pp. 1-30. All the main features of the prehistoric Maghur-boats seem to have survived in some of the huge river-craft still found on the streams of southeast Asia, to judge by the material in James Hornell, "Primitive Types of Water Transport in Asia: Distribution and Origins," *JRAS* (1946), 124-141; especially pl. 14, fig. 2, looks like a typical maghur-boat. Speaking of the most "primitive" boats, Carleton S. Coon, *The Story of Man* (New York: Knopf, 1954), 162, writes: "Dogs howled, pigs grunted, and cocks crowed on these seagoing barnyards." The idea that the oldest boats might have been built for the specific purpose of transporting large numbers of animals strikes any reader as strange at first, yet there is ample evidence now that such was the case.

32. H. Freedman & Maurice Simon, trs., *Midrash Rabbah*, 10 vols. (London: Soncino, 1939), 1:244.

33. Sources for the statements that follow are given in Nibley, "There Were Jaredites: The Babylonian Background," 567, 602, and "There Were Jaredites: The Shining Stones," *IE* 59 (September 1956): 630-32, 672-75, reprinted in the notes for CWHN 5:434-36.

34. Talmud Jerushalmi, *Pesahim* I, i, cited in Eugène Mangenot, "Arché de Noé," in Fulcran G. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 5 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1894), col. 924.

## Chapter 26: Strange Ships and Shining Stones

1. John C. Bennett, *History of the Saints* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 126-27; T. W. P. Taylder, *The Mormon's Own Book* (London: Partridge, Oakey, 1855), 11.

2. Joseph Johnson, *The Great Mormon Fraud* (Manchester: Butterworth & Nodal, 1885), 8.

3. C. Fenwick Ward, *Mormonism Exposed* (Manchester: Kemp, 1897), 65.

4. Henry C. Sheldon, *A Fourfold Test of Mormonism* (New York: Abingdon, 1914), 61-62; William E. Biederwolf, *Mormonism under the Searchlight* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), 13.

5. Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York: Knopf, 1945), 70-71.

6. See our article, Hugh W. Nibley, "Just Another Book?" *IE* 62 (May 1959): 345-47, 388-91.

7. C. W. Ceram, *Gods, Graves, and Scholars* (New York: Knopf, 1967), 277. Mr. Ceram still believes it.

8. Hermann V. Hilprecht, *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story and the Temple Library of Nippur*, vol. 5, fasc. 1 of *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1910), 61.

9. To Hilprecht's three oldest Babylonian accounts, we add a Sumerian version reproduced in Cyril J. Gadd, *A Sumerian Reading Book* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1924), 130-33. A long and very valuable Babylonian account of the building of the ark was copied very badly by George Smith many years ago; the original has vanished, but the texts have been carefully studied with an eye to reconstructing the vessel, by Paul Haupt, "The Ship of the Babylonian Noah," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 10 (1927), pt. 2, pp. 1-30.

10. The quotations in the list when not otherwise designated are all from Hilprecht, *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story and the Temple Library of Nippur*, 51-55.

11. For illustrations, James Hornell, "Primitive Types of Water Transport in Asia: Distribution and Origin," *JRAS* (1946), 124-41, especially pl. 14, fig. 2.

12. Gadd, *A Sumerian Reading Book*, 130-31.

13. Carleton S. Coon, *The Story of Man* (New York: Knopf, 1954), 162.

14. They can't make up their minds whether the ark was a boat or a box or a bizarre combination of the two. See our illustration in Nibley, "There Were Jaredites: The Babylonian Background," *IE* 59

(July-August 1956): 511. The very word "ark" means, according to Webster, "a close receptacle," Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1970), 1, s.v. "ark," "a closed receptacle," being a literal translation of Hebrew *tevah* "box," a word borrowed from the Egyptians.

15. H. Freedman & Maurice Simon, trs., *Midrash Rabbah*, 10 vols. (London: Soncino, 1939), 1:244.

16. *Ibid.*, citing Midrash Rabbah 31:11.

17. Talmud Jerushalmi, *Pesahim*, I, 1, Schwab, tr. (Paris, 1882), cited by Eugène Manguet, "Arché de Noé," in Fulcran Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 5 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1894), 1:923. Manguet's own reflection is that "it is ridiculous to say with Rabbi Aha-ben-Zeira that in the midst of the darkness of the Ark Noah could distinguish day from night by the aid of pearls and precious stones, whose luster grew pale by day and shone forth by night."

18. Moses Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud* (New York: Bloch, 1968), 62.

19. *Ibid.*, 92.

20. The vastly more popular and familiar Babylonian Talmud, "so rich in dialectical subtleties, and so full of technicalities and elliptical expressions, offers to the translator almost unsurmountable difficulties. . . . It would sometimes require a whole volume of commentary to supplement the translation of a single chapter. . . . This explains why the various attempts at translating the whole of the Babylonian Talmud have, thus far, proven a failure, so that as yet only comparatively few Masechtoth of this Talmud have been translated, and their translations are in many cases not intelligible enough to . . . the reader who is not yet familiar with the original text." *Ibid.*, 89-90. Who in America in 1830 could have read and interpreted the infinitely more difficult Jerusalem Talmud?

21. *Ibid.*, 92.

22. "Melt" would not do, since he did not melt the stones; "mold" implies that the stones were plastic or that he carved or otherwise shaped them; "cast" emphasizes "a particular shape," according to the dictionary; only the archaic word "molten" combines the essential ideas of great heat and free if not primitive metallurgical techniques. The participle form, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 12 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 6:594, means "liquified by heat; in a state of fusion. Now said of metals or other bodies that require great heat to melt them; not, e.g., of wax or ice." "Melt" would thus be too weak to use here. For the use of the archaic infinitive in verse 1, see *Oxford English Dictionary* 6:324-25, s.v. "melt."

23. "The old Indian literature is full of the theme," according to Johann J. Meyer, "Das unverbrennbare Herz und der Edelstein Pyrophilus," *ZDMG* 86 (1932): 97.

24. Though many precious stones have been suggested as the original firestone – sapphire, smaragd, etc., the favored candidate in Indian lore is the ruby, called the sun stone because of its fiery nature. Regardless of the original substance, however, it was the hardening and purifying action of the fire that achieved the transformation: it was believed that even hailstones, clear crystalline pellets, could be used to create jewels by fire. *Ibid.*, 95-97.

25. Whatever the raw material, the result was always a clear, pure crystal. *Ibid.*, 99.

26. *Ibid.*, 97. About the supernatural powers of such precious stones, see Wilhelm Printz, "Gilgamesh und Alexander," *ZDMG* 85 (1931): 196-206.

27. Meyer, "Das unverbrennbare Herz und der Edelstein Pyrophilus," 99; Printz, "Gilgamesh und Alexander," 200.

28. Printz, "Gilgamesh und Alexander," 196-204, quoting relevant passages from Albertus Magnus, Thomas Cantimbratensis, Conrad of Megenberg, Vincent of Beauvais, Volmar, and others, all of whom give slightly varying versions.

29. The lost passage is often referred to as a source by later writers and is actually quoted by an unnamed scholar of the 14th century in a passage reproduced by Printz, "Gilgamesh und Alexander," 197.

30. The pre-Alexander version (not cited by Printz or Meyer) is given by a Scholiast to a lost play of Sophocles, in Augustus Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1889; reprinted Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), 209-10.

31. Text in Peter C. A. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, 11 vols. (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1900), 6:250-53. These are lines 282-93, 302-7 from the ninth tablet of the epic.

32. H. Stocks, "Studien zu Lukians 'De Syria Dea'," *Beyrutus* 4 (1937): 12, discussing Kombabos as Attis.

33. Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, 12-13.

34. *Ibid.*, 13.

35. *Ibid.*, 32. Carl Clemen insists that the existence of such a shining stone in the shrine was "naturally an impossibility." Carl Clemen, *Lukians Schrift über die syrische Göttin*, Heft 3-4 (1938) of *Der Alte Orient*, no. 37, p. 42.

36. Stocks, "Studien zu Lukians 'De Syria Dea'," 6.

37. Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, 32. Anton Jirku, "Der Kult des Mond-

gottes im altorientalischen Palästina-Syrien," ZDMG 100 (1951): 202-4, demonstrates that this Syrian moon-cult is of great antiquity.

38. Hilprecht, *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story*, 52-55.

39. Cited in Stocks, "Studien zu Lukians 'De Syria Dea,'" 14-15.

40. J. Schoneveld, in *Orientalia Neerlandica*, 222.

41. Anton Jirku, "Die Mimation in den nordsemitischen Sprachen und einige Bezeichnungen der altisraelitischen Mantik," *Biblica* 34 (1953): 78-80.

42. Stocks, "Studien zu Lukians 'De Syria Dea,'" 7-8.

43. Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, 12. He discusses various traditions of the Flood story, 12-27.

## Chapter 27: The Way of the "Intellectuals"

1. On the little understood paradox of good men as false prophets, see Hugh W. Nibley, *The World and the Prophets* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1954), 230-32; reprinted in *CWHN* 3:253-56.

2. Walter M. Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna* (Leiden: Brill, 1897), reviewed by Ignac Goldziher, "Anzeigen," ZDMG 52 (1898): 155-60, has treated this strange theme. More readily available are the comments of Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, *The Last Days of Hitler* (New York: Collier, 1956).

3. *Recognitiones Clementinae* (Clementine Recognitions) I, 42, in *PG* 1:1231.

4. See above, 10-12.

5. Christ's teachings were utterly strange and hostile to the world into which they were introduced, a slap in the face to all conventional thoughtforms, as the celebrated Karl Holl puts it; Karl Holl, "Urchristentum und Religionsgeschichte," *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 2 (1924): 402-3; cf. Nibley, *The World and the Prophets*, 146; *CWHN* 3:160, n. 20.

6. Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* (Dialogue with Trypho) 52, in *PG* 6:589-92.

7. *Ibid.*, 29-30, in *PG* 6:537-40.

8. *Ibid.*, 56, in *PG* 6:596-605.

9. *Ibid.*, 58-60, in *PG* 6:605-13.

10. *Ibid.*, 49, in *PG* 6:581-85.

11. *Ibid.*, 43, in *PG* 6:565-68.

12. *Ibid.*, 11, in *PG* 6:497.

13. *Ibid.*, 45, in *PG* 6:572-73.

14. *Ibid.*, 80, in *PG* 6:664-68.

15. *Ibid.*, 120, in *PG* 6:753-56.



16. Ibid., 71-72, in PG 6:641-45.
17. Ibid., 82, in PG 6:669-72.
18. Ibid., 51, in PG 6:588.
19. Ibid., 39, in PG 6:560-61.
20. Ibid., 51, 52, 87, in PG 6:588-92, 681-85.
21. Ibid., 17, in PG 6:512-13.
22. TB, *Shabbath*, 104b.
23. Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 46-47, in PG 6:572-80.
24. Ibid., 117, in PG 6:748.
25. Ibid., 19-20, in PG 6:516-20.
26. Ibid., 114, 46-47, in PG 6:737-40, 572-80.
27. Ibid., 55, in PG 6:596.

### Chapter 29: The Nature of Book of Mormon Society

1. For a full and vivid account of this, see Paul Herrmann, *Conquest by Man*, tr. Michael Bullock (New York: Harper, 1954), 241-54.
2. See above, 74, 136, 141-42, 159.
3. C. Leonard Woolley, *Digging up the Past* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1963), 66.
4. An almost identical picture is presented in a recently discovered text from Ras Shamra, in which the hero Keret "goes up to the top of the tower, . . . lifts up his hands unto heaven and sacrifices to Tor, his father, Il." Then he "goes down from the roof(s). He prepares food for the city, wheat for the community." Krt 166-73, in Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1949), 71.
5. "There is clear evidence, in certain well-examined sub-areas [of the Near East], for rapid erosion of parts of the land since the end of the last ice age. This could depend either on greater rainfall or on tectonic movement, but another significant factor was undoubtedly deforestation, probably connected with the appearance of settled villages, husbanded sheep and goats, and expanded human population." Robert J. Braidwood, *The Near East and the Foundations for Civilization*, Condon Lectures (Eugene: Oregon State System of Higher Education, 1952), 13. Man himself may have caused "the existing regime of absolute drought" in the Sahara; "In fact the rock-pictures just demonstrate the survival of the . . . appropriate vegetation to a time when stock-breeders were actually using the latter as pasture." V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient Near East*, 4th ed. (New York: Praeger, 1953), 17. The reader is especially recommended to Paul B. Sears, *Deserts on the March* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1947).

6. Eugene Ayres, "The Fuel Situation," *Scientific American* 195 (October 1956): 43-45.

7. See our discussion in Hugh W. Nibley, "There Were Jaredites: Our Own People," *IE* 60 (February 1957): 94-95, 122-24, reprinted in *CWHN* 5:395-423.

8. Exactly the same picture is given in the apocryphal description of Abraham at home in Beersheba which, since it was written in the Holy Land, reflects actual conditions, not necessarily in Abraham's time but at the time of writing. *Jasher* 22:11-12.

9. See below, "The Archaeological Problem," appendix, 433-34.

10. See above, "Politics in Jerusalem," ch. 8.

### Chapter 30: Strategy for Survival

1. See Appendix 1 below, 436-37.

2. Christopher Hawkes, "Hill-Forts," *Antiquity* 5 (1931): 60-97; Prescott W. Townsend, "Bur, Bure, and Baris in Ancient North African Place Names," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 13 (1954): 52-55; Kurt Galling, *ZDPV* 62:112, all point to a single and uniform type of communal fortification throughout Europe and the Near East.

3. At the end of the fourth century John Chrysostom speaks of 3,000 people joining the Church in one day and 5,000 in another as typical of the growth of the Church once it had been favored by the Emperors. John Chrysostom, *Expositio in Psalmos* (*Exposition on the Psalms*) 148, in *PG* 55:483.

4. From the Tower of Psephinus at Jerusalem one could see Arabia and all the Hebrew territories, right up to the sea, according to Josephus, *Jewish War* V, 159-60.

5. For other examples, see Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), 231-38, reprinted in *CWHN* 5:231-37. In our own day the complete extermination of some nationalities has again become if not yet a reality at least a definite part of the program of some governments.

### Appendix 1: The Archaeological Problem

1. John H. Rowe, "Archaeology as a Career," *Archaeology* 7 (Winter 1954): 234.

2. *Ibid.* The areas are so specialized that "the M.A. degree, which primarily qualifies the holder to teach at the secondary school level, is of no direct value in archaeology." *Ibid.*, 231, 234, 236.

3. These are the conventional approaches to archaeology, which is never taught as an independent major: "Because it is important for archaeologists to have a solid grounding in the ancient languages

of the areas where they intend to work, it is convenient to have the archaeology of those areas taught in direct association with the language." *Ibid.*, 230, 234.

4. Theophile J. Meek, "The Challenge of Oriental Studies to American Scholarship," *JAOS* 63 (1943): 83.

5. Robert J. Braidwood, *The Near East and the Foundations for Civilization*, Condon Lectures (Eugene: Oregon System of Higher Education, 1952), 6-7, defining archaeology as "the discipline which reclaims and interprets the material remains of man's past." That pretty well covers everything, since there are no immaterial remains: the immaterial part is purely a matter of modern reactions to ancient materials, including written documents.

6. Rowe, "Archaeology as a Career," 229.

7. Meek, "The Challenge of Oriental Studies to American Scholarship," 86.

8. John W. Wilson, "Archaeology as a Tool in Humanistic and Social Studies," *JNES* 1 (1942): 6.

9. Robert E. M. Wheeler, "What Matters in Archaeology?" *Antiquity* 24 (1950): 128-29.

10. Siegfried J. de Laet, *L'archéologie et ses problèmes* (Berchem-Brussels: Latomus, 1954), 7-9, 93. For an English translation, see Siegfried J. de Laet, *Archaeology and its Problems*, tr. Ruth Daniel (New York: Macmillan, 1957), 13-15, 82.

11. *Ibid.*, 88, page 78 in English.

12. *Ibid.*, 89-92, pages 78-81 in English.

13. Samuel N. Kramer, "New Light on the Early History of the Ancient Near East," *American Journal of Archaeology* 52 (1948): 156-57.

14. C. Leonard Woolley, *Digging up the Past* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1963), 119.

15. Henri Breuil, "La conquête de la notion de la très haute antiquité de l'homme," *Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45): 687. He is speaking of course of prehistoric archaeology, but his study bears out what Woolley says about archaeology in general.

16. Kramer, "New Light on the Early History of the Ancient Near East," 157.

17. Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), 238-54, reprinted in *CWHN* 5:237-52.

18. Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (Lund: Gleerup, 1950), 6-7.

19. Hector M. Chadwick & Nora K. Chadwick, *The Growth of*

*Literature*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1932-40), 1:173, 296, 404, 424.

20. Osbert G. S. Crawford, "Barrows," *Antiquity* 1 (1927): 419; and Eliot C. Curwen, "Neolithic Camps," *Antiquity* 4 (1930): 22, for typical confusion of types.

21. Daines Barrington, "Observations on the Welch Castles," *Archaeologia* 1 (1770): 281-82, 286-87.

22. *Ibid.*, 290.

23. James Essex, "Remarks on the Antiquity and the Different Modes of Brick and Stone in England," *Archaeologia* 4 (1777): 74; Cyril Fox & C. A. Raleigh Radford, "V.-Kidwelly Castle, Carmarthenshire," *Archaeologia* 83 (1933): 107, placing the *Pre-stone* period of castle-building in England between 1106 and 1275 A.D.

24. Typical is the tremendous Viking border fort of Iborsk, which flourished first from 860 to 900 A.D., yet did not receive its rim of stone reenforcement until 1330 A.D., L. Tudeer, "Isborsk—A Viking Stronghold," *Antiquity* 8 (1934): 310-14.

25. Jacques de Morgan, *La préhistoire orientale*, 3 vols. (Paris: Geuthner, 1926-27), 2:163-211.

26. Leonard Whibley, *A Companion to Greek Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931), 261.

27. Werner Vycichl, "Notes sur la préhistoire de la langue égyptienne," *Orientalia* 23 (1954): 218.

28. Martin Noth, "Die Wege der Pharaonenheene in Palästina und Syrien," *ZDPV* 60 (1937): 196.

29. Old prints show enormous Megalithic ruins such as those of Stonehenge and Avebury standing almost intact as late as the eighteenth and even mid-nineteenth centuries. Their disappearance in the last hundred years is an astonishing phenomenon. Carl Schuchardt, *Alteuropa* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1935), has much to say on this theme.

30. Warren K. Moorhead, *Fort Ancient* (Cincinnati: Clark, 1890), 107.

31. *Ibid.*, 102-3.

32. Christopher Hawkes, "Hill Forts," *Antiquity* 5 (1931): 93.

33. *Ibid.*, 95: "The Dark Ages were in many ways the Early Iron Age restored," with the people moving back again into the old fortifications and reconditioning them for use, exactly as in the Book of Mormon (3 Nephi 6:7-8).

34. Arie A. Kampman, "De historisch beteekenis der Hethietische vestingsbouwkunde," in *Kernmomenten* (Leiden: Brill, 1947), 142.

35. Friedrich Wagner, "Pre-historic Fortifications in Bavaria," *Antiquity* 2 (1928): 43, 55.
36. Raymond Firth, "Maori Hill-Forts," *Antiquity* 1 (1927): 66.
37. Robin G. Collingwood, "Town and Country in Roman Britain," *Antiquity* 3 (1929): 274.
38. Edward King, "Observations on Ancient Castles," *Archaeologia* 4 (1777): 365.
39. Paul Herrmann, *Conquest by Man*, tr. Michael Bullock (New York: Harper, 1954), 15.
40. C. Leonard Woolley, *Digging Up the Past*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Penguin, 1963), 132-37; Herrmann, *Conquest by Man*, 179.