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Part 4: The Text Verse by Verse: Geographical Relationships, Extents and Characteristics, with Commentary

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Part 4

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The Text Verse by Verse: Geographical Relationships, Extents and Characteristics, with Commentary

Assumptions and Editorial Considerations:

1. The original text was produced by men who often had first-hand knowledge of the events and scenes of which they spoke. Other parts of the text they based on reports and records from others who were direct observers, even though their words have not always been passed on to us.

2. Thus I consider that, minor slips of the “pen” aside, all the information on geography will prove to be consistent.

3. When the text uses the expressions “up,” “down,” and “over” in a geographical context, these refer to elevation. Neither in the text itself nor in the Hebrew background of its authors do we find reason to expect idiomatic usage that would otherwise consistently explain these prepositions. For example, from the land of Nephi to the land of Zarahemla is always either “down” or else any indication of elevation is missing. We do not know enough about the process by which Joseph Smith translated the Book of Mormon into English from the original plates to be able to explain how these topographical prepositions in the English were arrived at. But they are there, and, like the consistencies which have been demonstrated in “word prints” within the writings of the various authors credited in the text, they are phenomena to be dealt with in any discussion of translation.

4. There will be terms in the translated text that cannot be straight-across equivalents of the original words. This is obviously true of any ancient, or other-cultural, text when translated. Such terms as *cumom* and *neas* which Joseph Smith left untranslated are obvious examples of one problem faced by the translator in dictating the English text. Yet it should be equally obvious that there are other words for which we draw meanings that remain ambiguous. They represent reasonable approximations in English of the concepts in the language of the original record. Joseph Smith was like other translators in being limited in the precision with which he could find equivalents (compare Doctrine and Covenants 1:24: revelations are “given unto my servants in their weakness, after the manner of *their* language”—emphasis added). Moroni himself was acutely aware of the difficulty of getting his words “right” in the original record (see Ether 12:23-25). All the more should we realize that every expression in the Nephite text has not been rendered to English with equal clarity (examples of imprecision, for us, are “sanctuary,” “synagogue,” “dragons,” “flocks of herds” [Enos 1:21], “cimeter,” “fountains,” and “machinery”).

5. The previous general point has particular relevance as we think about directional terms in the Book of Mormon. The matter is discussed at some length in Appendix C. We realize with a little thought that direction terminology in the text is not perfectly clear-cut. (Just as our own everyday discourse about directions is not obvious. Is Los Angeles south or west from Salt Lake City? What is "north" about the "North Sea" off England? Where does "the West" begin in the USA?) At the least we must realize that in the Nephite record "northward" is not the same concept as "north." The Book of Mormon English edition refers to "land north" five times but to "land northward" thirty-one ("land south" five and "land southward" fourteen). So, I must suppose that there is significant ambiguity in many of the translated directional terms.

6. I assume too that all the relations and phenomena known in present day nature prevailed in Book of Mormon times. That is, water ran from mountains to seas, the "headwaters" of the river Sidon had to be higher in elevation than any point downstream, and the river ultimately debouched into a sea, while a "continental" divide must have run through both the land southward and the land northward such that streams on one side of the divide flowed to the west sea on the one hand or the east sea on the other.

7. Logic governs in geographical analysis as much as in literary or theological analysis. So, if land A is indicated in the narrative to be northward from land B, then land C, which is later encountered enroute from A to B, must also be northward from A. Likewise, the river Sidon must have its own drainage basin, with elevated lands on its bounding sides. It may seem absurd to spell out such a basic assumption, yet sound logic has been absent from so many correlations in the past that we can not simply suppose that "anybody would know that." Evidently not.

8. Any discussion of the geography must be exhaustive; selective citation of the scriptures treating lands, elevations, etc., will not do, for each clue ultimately should fit with every other. (However, the text we now have available may be too short in terms of its geographical information to permit complete elucidation. But what there is should be consistent.)

9. The spelling and capitalization of place names is that used in recent LDS editions of the Book of Mormon

10. Reference numbers are provided below to facilitate reference and discussion of elements of the text.

<u>Reference #</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Relation/Extent/Characteristic—</u> <u>Commentary</u>
1 Nephi 1N1 18:23- 24	promised land	Extent—Weary sea-travelers, including aged Lehi and perhaps Sarai and Ishmael’s wife, would not “go forth” on the land more than a few miles before settling and planting their seeds.
1N2 18:25	promised land	Extent—The handful of men in the company (there were no more than ten) would have felt uncomfortable about leaving their families alone in camp in a strange land in order to split off more than a tiny exploring party. Besides, they had crops to care for, so explorations would have been of very limited duration and distance (est.: one night away from base, a radius of ca. 25 miles?). Within this range they found interesting animals and ores.
2 Nephi 2N1 5:5-7	[land of] Nephi	To the first settlement site—Nephi’s party fled into the wilderness “for the space of many days.” How far was that? Nephi’s party had only three adult males; the rival group left behind had only five to seven. So no distant flight would be required for safety. We know from later statements that where they settled was “up,” which means up from the landfall. Still, “the place of their fathers’ first inheritance”(Alma 22:28), surely the same place as the first landing spot or Lehi’s “promised land,” was later considered to be “in” the land of Nephi (22:28). Hence the “many days” does not indicate a great distance. Some of the days surely were consumed just getting bearings and learning to move through unfamiliar terrain, though near. It seems to me that a journey of about 100 miles on the ground

(airline distance half or less that much) is all that is called for. With no map knowledge and through strange vegetation, a journey of this distance would consume “many days” and at the same time would take them to a distance they considered safe.

2N2

5:11-15 land of Nephi

Characteristics—The area included native animal life such that they were enabled to “raise [native] flocks, and herds, and animals of every kind,” for they had brought no such with them. Minerals were “in great abundance” at least from the point of view of the handful of men looking at the resources (iron, copper, brass, steel, gold, silver and other “precious ores”). (Cf. Jacob 2:12)

2N3

5:13 land of Nephi

Extent—While they began “to multiply in the land,” obviously their absolute numbers remained tiny. [Nephi lived ca. 45 years after landing (i.e., to ca. 540 B.C.), but by then the three original couples in his party, plus four unmarried singles (all brothers and sisters), could not have done more than, say, double the adult population by the time of his death—hardly dramatic in an objective sense. We would consider their settlement still a mere hamlet.]

2N4

5:14 land of Nephi

To the first settlement site—Nephi expected that his brothers would soon be in contact with his new colony, hence he was aware that his journey of “many days” had not separated them by any great distance.

2N5

5:20-24 land of Nephi

To the Lamanite-inhabited area in the wilderness—Nephi had sufficient contacts with his brothers’ party to know of their change in skin color and their subsistence (hunting) and other activities (cf. also Jacob 2:35; 3:5). [The Lamanite party, if unmixed with “natives,” could not have numbered more than twice as many as the Nephites.]

2N6 5:34	land of Nephi	To the Lamanite area—The two groups had already had “wars and contentions” within 30 years of landing. With a combined adult male population of probably no more than 60 (not counting any possible “natives” attached), the groups must have been only scores of miles apart in order for “wars” even to be feasible.
Jacob Jb1 1:18; 2:11	land of Nephi	Extent—All the Nephites were being served by only two religious officeholders, and all met at one site.
Jb2 3:13	land of Nephi	Extent—Nephites “began to be numerous” in Jacob’s later days (ca. 530?). Wars went on. But the Nephite population still could not have exceeded 100 adults unless foreign people had been incorporated; they formed a single temple-centered prime village plus perhaps a few hamlets.
Jb3 7:1	land of Nephi	To Sherem’s home community—He “came. . . among the people of Nephi,” from where? He calls Jacob “brother” yet had not spoken to him previously (v. 6), although the community remains small. Meaning?
Jb4 7:24-26	land of Nephi	To the Lamanite area—Wars (“continually”) and fortifications against the Lamanites are mentioned, implying near adjacency?
Enos En1 1:20,24	land of Nephi	To the Lamanite area—Wars and intercultural communication continue through ca. 420 B.C., still implying adjacency.

Jarom			
Jm1			
1:6	land of Nephi		Extent—After 190 years (about nine biological generations) since landing, the Nephites “were scattered upon much of the face of the land.” This must mean the land (valley?) of their initial and primary settlement since no other is mentioned. [It is possible that their population could now be 3000 adults, but not 5000, and probably nearer 1500.]
Jm2			
1:6	Lamanite area		Extent—Lamanites were also “scattered upon much of the face of the [their?] land” and were “exceedingly more numerous” than the Nephites. No indication is given that they occupied much more than their original area—cf. vs. 6 and 13 with Alma 22:28 which refers to three centuries later. Still, it is likely that the Lamanites had shifted or drifted along the coastal/piedmont zone somewhat closer to the city of Nephi area, for the frequent warring by so few men implies quite close proximity; if they shifted, it could have been out of antagonistic pursuit of Nephi or, much more likely, in search of better living conditions than they found at the landing site.
Omni			
O1			
1:2-3, 5,7	land of Nephi		To the Lamanite area—Wars continue between the two groups; the descriptive language used makes the relationship between the two lands sound no different than in Nephi’s time.
O2			
1:12	land of Nephi		To the land of Zarahemla—Mosiah came “down into” Zarahemla.
O3			
1:24	land of Zarahemla		To the Lamanite area(s?)—War now reaches the land of Zarahemla; whether the attackers originated in Lamanite-occupied

		upland Nephi or came from the original Lamanite (low)lands is not indicated.
O4	1:27-28 land of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—A party “went up” into the wilderness to return to the land of Nephi, “to [re]possess the land of their inheritance.”
O5	1:27 land of Zarahemla	Characteristic—The desire to return from Zarahemla to Nephi could well reflect dissatisfaction with the very different climatic and ecological conditions they faced in Zarahemla.
Words of Mormon		
WM1	1:13 land of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—Lamanite invaders now definitely occupied Nephi, in addition to their original lowland area, for they “came down” from Nephi to battle the Nephites under Benjamin.
Mosiah		
M1	1:10 local land of Zarahemla	Extent—All Mosiah’s subjects gather on one day’s notice. The edge of the local land is unlikely to have exceeded twenty miles along the river from the center and probably was less.
M2	7:4 city of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—Forty-days was a maximum journey, when wandering, i.e., without knowing the route well.
M3	7:5 city of Zarahemla	To the city of Lehi-Nephi—Route ends at a “hill” immediately north of the land Shilom; from there one goes “down” direct to the city (see M17). The city is implied to be visible from the hill.
M4	9:3,4 city of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—The party looking for the Zeniffites traveled “many days,” “wandering” in the wilderness and suffering “famine.”

M5		
9:3	city of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—"Go up."
M6		
7:17	local land of Lehi-Nephi (including Shilom)	Extent—Limhi's people gather on one day's notice. The territory would probably not have exceeded twenty miles in its maximum dimension.
M7		
8:7-11	local land of Lehi-Nephi	To Zarahemla—Confusing route options must have existed, presumably in the intervening wilderness, so Limhi's exploring party bypassed Zarahemla.
M8		
8:7-11	city of Lehi-Nephi	To the place where Shiz was slain [which was southward from the hill Ramah as per Ether 15:27-30, 33; I suppose the spot to be perhaps fifteen miles from the hill and that Ether left the plates there]—Total distance from Zarahemla is of the same order of magnitude as from the city of Lehi-Nephi to the city of Zarahemla [on the logic that had they gone much more than double that distance, the ("diligent") party would not have supposed upon their return that they had only reached Zarahemla; the maximum believable limit seems to me three times the distance to Zarahemla]. We can only conjecture without basis what route they might have taken to miss Zarahemla, but it almost certainly would have been to the city's east, in the wilderness.
M9		
9:14	land of Shemlon	To a point "away on the south of the land of Shilom"—Lamanites attack there directly; no doubt their own land (Shemlon?) was adjacent, or almost.
M10		
9:14	land of Shilom	To the city of Lehi-Nephi—Refugee farmers from south of Shilom fled directly to the capital for protection (not to the city Shilom).

M11 9:15-18	attack point	To the city of Lehi-Nephi—The city must be quite close because Zeniff’s retaliatory force went straight to the scene and found the Lamanite marauders still present.
M12 10:7	land of Shemlon	To Zeniffite territory, probably the land of Shilom—Zeniffite watchmen were set “round about” the land of Shemlon to warn of invasion out of Shemlon, hence Shemlon was adjacent or near (cf. M9, M13, M16).
M13 10:8,10	land of Shemlon	To the city of Lehi-Nephi—One went “up” from Shemlon “upon the north of the land of Shilom,” apparently to the same hilly area of M3 and M17.
M14 10:8,10	city of Lehi-Nephi	To the battleground of M13—The Zeniffite army also comes “up” to this spot, which was not so rugged that the Lamanites would not choose it for battle.
M15 10:9 cf. 19:6	city of Lehi-Nephi	To wilderness—The city was very near a wilderness area, for women and children were hidden there even while their men were mustering to go meet the Lamanite threat, which presumably was coming from a direction opposite to this wilderness.
M16 11:12	city of Lehi-Nephi	To Shilom and Shemlon—From the top of Noah’s “very high tower” near the temple in the city from, he could “overlook” the lands of Shilom and Shemlon and “even look over all the land round about.” [But of a second great tower that he built on the landmark hill north of the land Shilom nothing is said about the view from there.] So the distance implied from the viewing tower to, or even across, Shemlon could not be great. About twenty miles fits both this criterion and previous ones about Shilom and Shemlon. The order of elevation is: Shemlon lowest, Shilom higher, Lehi-Nephi higher still, and north of the land of Shilom

(M3, M25) highest. A sound inference is that Shemlon was nearest the coast, from whence Nephi had originally come.

M17

11:13 the hill north of Shilom To the local land of Lehi-Nephi—The hill was “a place of resort” (staging point) for the people of Nephi (see Omni 1:12) at the time they fled, under Mosiah, to the land of Zarahemla. So the Zeniffites likely inhabited only the local land of Nephi (and perhaps also Shilom), for the hill was convenient only to those two localities.

M18

18:4 place of Mormon
cf. 18:30-32
cf. 23:1-2

To the local land of Lehi-Nephi—Mormon was “in the borders of the land,” in a northerly direction, and where wild beasts (had formerly?) dwelt. It was far enough from the capital that their activities were not known to the king for some time, nor were they close enough to hear incidentally that they had been discovered by the king’s men. When discovered, Noah sent a (necessarily small—due to their losses) army to destroy them. Apparently after the army was ready or en route, Alma’s group still had time to gather goods and depart hastily, barely outdistancing the pursuit. All this seems to me to call for a distance from the capital of more than one but less than three days normal travel, say between 20 and 40 miles afoot or two-thirds that on a straight line. It was near the main route to Zarahemla which probably was the least rugged route option.

M19

18:5,30 place of Mormon

Characteristic—“The waters of Mormon” was adjacent to the place (the mode of mention by name implies that no other body of water thereabouts was similarly notable). The “forest” or “thicket” of “small trees” had to be extensive enough for Alma to hide successfully from daytime searches (no less than a quarter mile in diameter?)

		yet a distinct copse in order to deserve being called " <i>the forest of Mormon.</i> "
M20 18:24, 34	place of Mormon	Characteristic—The immediate area had to provide a living by agriculture for at least 450 adults plus children; yet it was compact because Alma's followers responded quickly when he warned them they must flee (23:1). [By Alma 5:3 "place" had become "land," no doubt with a sizable population.]
M21 19:6	land of Shemlon	To the city of Lehi-Nephi—Noah from the tower near the temple saw the Lamanites coming from Shemlon and already near, for the fleeing populace was soon overtaken. The Lamanites must have got within a few miles of the city without warning. Shemlon is again seen as only limited miles away.
M22 20:1, 4-5	land of Shemlon	To wilderness—The wilderness where the priests of Noah lurked (in broad terms likely also where the women and children of 10:9 were hidden?), was westerly (or southerly?) from the city Lehi-Nephi, because it was adjacent to the part of Shemlon where the daughters of the Lamanites assembled and Shemlon was down, i.e., likely on the way to the west sea.
M23 20:8-9	city of Lehi-Nephi	To Shemlon—Limhi could see into the land of Shemlon clearly enough that he could "see all their preparations for war," or at least their departure to attack. Distance implies some limited number of miles.
M24 20:8-9	local land of Lehi-Nephi	Characteristics—Fields and forest were intermixed on the one predictable route the Lamanites would take from Shemlon (probably through Shilom).
M25 20:7, 9,15	land of Shemlon	To the local land of Lehi-Nephi—"Up."

21:25-26

See M8

M26

22:6-11 city of Lehi-Nephi

To the route northward toward Zarahemla— A Lamanite military post guarded the obvious exit leading northward (implying that there was only one such route), called the “back pass.” This was no doubt the entry for Ammon. The “front” way would presumably have been straight down toward Shemlon. The “secret pass” seems a third route away from the city, an obscure alternative way to Shilom. But these refugees veered round Shilom, then “bent their course” to get on the main (“Ammon”) route to Zarahemla beyond the Lamanite guards. (See Map 8 in *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon*.)

M27

22:13 land of Lehi-Nephi

To the local land of Zarahemla—Limhi’s people traveled “many days” (cf. M4).

M28

22:15-16 land of Lehi-Nephi

To wilderness in the northward direction— The Lamanite army pursued Limhi’s party northward “into the wilderness,” but after two days (from when and where?) they could no longer follow the traces of the fleeing group and found themselves lost. Note: at a distance of two hard days pursuit (from the city Lehi-Nephi?), perhaps forty miles (?) northward, the territory was completely unfamiliar, at least to (lowland dwelling?) Lamanites. Hence Mormon (“in the borders of the land”) likely is within that range. (These Lamanites may have been unusually inept, since they could not even follow their own track backward!)

M29

23:1-3 place of Mormon

To the land of Helam—Eight days’ journey at a speedy pace (“fled”) but with flocks limiting the pace through broken country, headed northerly toward the narrow strip

of wilderness headwaters of the Sidon. (Airline distance of perhaps 65 miles?) If Helam was (a segment of?) a small valley where mountain springs formed or fed a river, that could account for the "land of pure water."

M30
23:1-3 place of Mormon

To the land of Lehi-Nephi—Mormon must have been on the northerly (Zarahemla) side of Lehi-Nephi, for Alma's people had a head start on their pursuers that could only be accounted for by such direction.

M31
23:25-26 land of Helam

Characteristics—Cultivated fields were "in the land . . . yea, in the city," showing that the "land of Helam" was little extended beyond "the city." Its population was only about 450 adults (later supplemented by guards, supervisors and their families, totaling perhaps 700 adults). When the Lamanites appeared, the cultivators fled directly to the city center to find Alma.

M32
23:30-1, land of Amulon
35

To the land of Lehi-Nephi—The Lamanite pursuers of Limhi's party, which was headed northward as directly as possible, stumbled into the land settled by the priests of Noah. Amulon had to be off to one side of the usual route to Zarahemla, for neither Alma's party nor Limhi's encountered it. It was not close to Lehi-Nephi, for neither the Amulonites nor Lamanites knew the way to the capital. But Amulon must have been in the northerly quadrant from the capital, for that was the direction taken by Limhi and the pursuing Lamanites.

M33
23:30-1, land of Amulon
35

To the land of Lehi-Nephi—Since Amulon was discovered by the Lamanite army sometime after two days of pursuit of Limhi plus some wandering, and thereafter the combined party came across Helam (about ten days from Lehi-Nephi), Amulon

was probably on the order of five to seven days from Lehi-Nephi.

M34

23:30-1, land of Helam
35

To the land of Lehi-Nephi—Being in the same general direction as Amulon (and on the way to Zarahemla), Helam also was northerly from the capital. (Plus it was only thirteen days from Zarahemla.)

M35

22:13; land of Helam
23:30

To the usual route between Zarahemla and Lehi-Nephi—Limhi's party never encountered Alma's group, hence Helam was off to one side of the Limhi route.

M36

24:1-2 land of Amulon

To Shemlon and Shilom—The Amulonites' being appointed teachers over Shemlon and Shilom implies some geographical proximity of those two places to the Amulonites' own land. The logical connection is that while Amulon was northward from the other two, like Shemlon it was close to the Lamanite-inhabited west lowlands (M37, A50) which served as a routine way to reach Shemlon and Shilom.

M37

24:1-2 land of Shemlon

To the Lamanite king's homeland—The fact that the Lamanites had "taken possession" of Shemlon, Shilom and Amulon and that these were ruled by sub-kings means that the supreme king of the Lamanites now lived in another land. [A safe presumption is that this would be nearer their homeland, if not in, then related to, the coastal land of first inheritance where they had dwelt when Nephi fled. This is supported by the fact that Lamanite attacks on Lehi-Nephi always came "up" through Shilom and apparently also via Shemlon.]

M38

24:18- valley of Alma
20

To the land of Helam—A single day's hard travel, with flocks, from Helam, obviously northward in the direction of Zarahemla. This would be through mountain

wilderness (above the “headwaters” of the Sidon). This valley was never permanently settled that we know of but was only a way station, not far from the halfway mark between Lehi- Nephi and Zarahemla, thus near the watershed.

M39
24:23 valley of Alma

To the land of Zarahemla—The Lamanites’ stopping in this valley may have been because of their unease at the prospect of pressing on into territory visibly of a different watershed.

M40
24:25 land of Zarahemla

To the local land of Nephi—From the valley of Alma, Alma’s group was twelve days “in the wilderness.” Add to this one day to the valley of Alma from Helam, eight days from Mormon and two or three days from Nephi to Mormon, we have a total of approximately twenty-two days between the two capitals. Assuming a well-documented rate for travel by such groups in broken (“wilderness”) country of ten to twelve miles per day, we arrive at a ground distance of 225-250. Part of their journey was in flight, however, so the distance might be slightly more, say, 240-260. However, neither Mormon nor Helam were on the main route between the two key lands (that taken by Limhi’s group?), which presumably was somewhat more direct and smoother. Thus the normal distance along the main (“Ammon”) trail likely was around 230. But the beeline distance would have been substantially less, on the order of 150-170.

M41
27:35 land of Zarahemla

Extent—The sons of Mosiah traveled “throughout all the land of Zarahemla, *and* among all the people who were under the reign of king Mosiah” (emphasis added); this wording could mean there were now subjects more widespread than in “all the

		land of Zarahemla" (including Bountiful, for example?)
M42 28:1, 5,9; 29:3	land of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—"Up."
M43 29:37, 39	land of Zarahemla	Extent—King Mosiah now did not try to assemble all the people but "sent these things forth" (in writing—v. 33); then the people "assembled themselves together in bodies throughout the land" to vote. It is apparent that the land is now too extensive for all to come to the capital (cf. vs. 41, 44).
Alma A1 1:15	hill Manti	To the city of Zarahemla—Nehor was condemned at the capital, then "they carried him upon the top" of this hill, an action which makes the place sound within a very few miles.
A2 2:9, 13,15	Amlicite zone	To the city of Zarahemla—They gathered in one area, then "came" to the hill Amnihu near Zarahemla. Thus they were not scattered at random among the population but occupied a distinct area. [This area quite surely was downstream along the river. Had it been upstream, the Amlicites could simply have joined the Lamanite army up there as it came down toward Zarahemla. There is no reason to think that serious settlement areas were east of the river, given A 4. Nor on the west away from the river is there mention of major settlement other than Melek. Most logically the Amlicites occupied the area down-river from Zarahemla called in H6 "the most capital parts of the land."]

<p>A3 2:15, 17</p>	<p>hill Amnihu</p>	<p>To Zarahemla—East of the Sidon, implied (see vs. 18-27) to be near (just across from?) the city of Zarahemla. Since (v. 17) the battle occurred “on” the hill, it must have been more a butte or plateau than a steep-sided hill.</p>
<p>A4 2:15</p>	<p>river Sidon</p>	<p>To the land of Zarahemla—The river ran “by” the land of Zarahemla, which can only mean that the land lay essentially on one side of the river, i.e., the west (see vs. 25-27).</p>
<p>A5 2:19-20</p>	<p>valley of Gideon</p>	<p>To the hill Amnihu—Nephites engaged, then pursued, the Amlicites from the hill to the valley of Gideon from the beginning of the battle (8 AM?) to dark (but slowed by cleaning out stragglers en route and traveling uphill, for they went “in[to]” the valley, so the pace and distance was less than expectable for normal battle travel). Distance: about 20 miles.</p>
<p>A6 2:25-27</p>	<p>valley of Gideon</p>	<p>To the city of Zarahemla—The Nephite army departs “out” of the valley headed full tilt downhill to a precise point on the river upstream from the city, obviously a ford (probably <i>the</i> ford across that stretch, for they knew just where to head). If they left the valley in the morning (v. 23, “morrow”), headed on the shortest route to the river, they had time to fight at the crossing and then pursue the enemy to the wilderness of Hermounts all in the one day. So from the valley to the river would be a distance perhaps a bit less than the 20? miles of A5.</p>
<p>A7 2:24</p>	<p>land of Minon</p>	<p>To the valley of Gideon—The spies traveled in pursuit of the Amlicite army and returned to Alma’s camp in the valley, without rest and in the dark, in not more than about 12 hours. They had to go from the valley down to the river well upstream</p>

from Zarahemla where they observed in the dark (how close did they get?) the enemy linking up with a Lamanite army, the combined force then advancing down the west bank. The men then returned to the valley by "the morrow," i.e., soon after light? The distance from the valley of Gideon to Minon could not have been more than 15 (?) miles to allow all this.

A8

2:24 land of Minon

To the city and land of Zarahemla and river Sidon—The spies said Minon was "above (upriver from) the (local) land of Zarahemla," Moreover, Minon must have been on the west bank of the river, down which the enemy was coming (the same side where the city of Zarahemla was located. [Nothing is said about the land of Manti, which must have been farther upstream than Minon.] The timing of the spies' observations—made downstream from Minon—and their return to the valley of Gideon, followed by the Nephite army's fast trip down to the river would not allow Minon to be more than 20-25 miles above Zarahemla.

A9

2:36-37 wilderness called
Hermounts

To the city of Zarahemla—Intercepted before they could reach the city, the enemy fled away from the river "towards the wilderness which was west and north, away beyond the borders of the (local) land (of Zarahemla)." Since this flight apparently took place in the later afternoon, the nearest edge of this wilderness, and thus the borders of the local land, must have been not more than 10-15 miles from the river ford battle site and essentially mainly west from the city. [The Lamanites would have wanted to head back to Nephi but veered north and west to gain the cover of "wilderness" before circling fully southward toward their homeland?]

A10 2:36-7	wilderness called Hermounts	To the larger wilderness on the west—Hermounts was only a part of the whole, probably a salient or exclave of the larger wilderness (Alma 22:27-28) jutting to near the city/local land of Zarahemla on the west.
A11 3:2;4:2	local land of Zarahemla	Characteristic—A zone (strip) adjacent to the river just upstream from the city was so highly productive of crops that the destruction caused by the battle there (2:35-36) seriously impacted the food supply of the entire local land during the following year. The total cultivated support area for the city of Zarahemla thus could not be very large (depended on the river for transport of food to the city?)
A12 3:20-23	land of Zarahemla	To the upriver zone (including Minon)—A new Lamanite army comes in on the Nephites at the same place where the former army met the Amlicites; thus this Lamanite access route must have been obvious and regularized (largely the same as “the Ammon route?”) [Again there is no note of Manti (which is first mentioned six years later, hence it may not yet have been a Nephite site but may have been settled in part as an early warning trigger for Nephite defenses against these Lamanite thrusts). In any case, this entry point into the Sidon basin had to be above Minon.]
A13 5:3	land of Mormon	To the local land of Nephi—Mormon was now termed a land and was in “the borders of Nephi.”
A14 6:7	valley of Gideon	To Zarahemla—Alma went east across the river “over” “into” the mountain valley (which the Amlicite battle tells us was “up”). The route from Zarahemla seems to cross a distinct lip of the valley, judging by this phrase. Furthermore, he returned

directly to Zarahemla (8:1). Evidently there was no other place on the east of the river within the land of Zarahemla to which he felt it worthwhile to go. [This agrees with 2:15 , at A 4, that the river ran "by" the local land of Zarahemla, i.e., on the land's east side]

A15

8:3 land of Melek

To the city of Zarahemla—Alma traveled "over into" Melek, indicating at least crossing an intervening elevation, thus it lay some distance from the river. The text also indicates that west, not some odd angle, was the primary direction of Alma's journey: Melek was "on the west by the borders of the wilderness." [Note that they did not go "over into" the wilderness of Hermounts, so 8:3 would refer to the main wilderness, that of Alma 22:28, "on the west of the borders of the land of Zarahemla."] Thus it appears that Melek was considered as far west as Nephite settlement extended in the basin of the Sidon, at least at that time.

A16

8:4-5 land of Melek

Extent—No city is mentioned (Alma does explicitly mention the city at Ammonihah where he next stopped), though there may have been one. Rather, Alma taught "throughout all the land," apparently going to certain villages, to which the most scattered inhabitants of the region came, from "throughout all the borders of the land which was by the wilderness side." This seems to refer to a considerable stretch of foothill country north and south, of, or in, Melek, along the basin's western mountain range.

A17

8:6 city and land of Ammonihah

To the land of Melek—Three days journey to the north brought Alma to Ammonihah, perhaps 35-40 miles. His route would have taken him parallel to the western arm of the wilderness (22:28-29), hence Ammonihah

ought also to be on or near the extreme west. Verse 7 refers to the “land” of Ammonihah, but verse 6 mentions his arrival at the city first; the land apparently was not extensive or at least not important as against the city (cf. also land and city in v. 18).

A18

8:13 city called Aaron

To the city of Ammonihah—No direction is indicated toward which Alma departed, but it would not have been south, considering verse 18: Alma was not to appear to the people to be returning after once leaving but to enter afresh, and his reentry was from the south. Further, since the west was apparently the wilderness side, he would not be likely to go there, so Aaron must have lain in either the northern or eastern quadrants from Ammonihah. But the nearer straight north it lay, the greater the problem in articulating it with Nephihah, as in Alma 50:14.

A19

15:1 city of Ammonihah

To the land of Sidom—Alma and Amulek departed from (“came out” of) the city/land of Ammonihah and “into” the land of Sidom. Other believers had preceded them; Sidom was an obvious gravitating point with established connections to Ammonihah—one expects an obvious route connecting them at no great distance. Clearly this was a logical destination from Ammonihah, yet no connection is indicated to Aaron, which must have been farther away and reached by another route (or the refugees would have gone there). “Came out” may imply that the land of Ammonihah was in a valley.

A20

15:1,
13-14 land of Sidom

Extent and characteristics—Coming “into” (rather than merely “to”) Sidom may hint that it is in a depression. That would be logical if the name Sidom relates to Sidon

(referring to the Phoenician port, analogizing to Sidom as a shipping point on the river?). The emphasis on baptisms at Sidom in v. 14 may reflect a riverine setting. Moreover, v. 14 (people came “in from all the region round about Sidom”) suggests that Sidom, like Melek, was more a district than only a city; in fact no city is explicitly mentioned, although v. 17’s statement “at Sidom,” rather than “in [the land of] Sidom,” may indicate that there was one.

A21
15:18 land of Sidom

To the city of Zarahemla—Upon concluding at Sidom, Alma and Amulek “came over” to the capital, indicating that they did not travel strictly along the river but by land across an intervening elevation.

A22
16:2-3 city of Ammonihah

To the west wilderness—Lamanite armies came “in upon the wilderness side, into the borders of the (general) land” of Zarahemla, “*even* into the city of Ammonihah.” Given the relation of the city to Melek (see A17), Ammonihah too must be on or near the extreme western side of the general land, hence the Lamanites can only have traveled from the land of Nephi via the west wilderness (coastal) strip (without contact with Melek). The wilderness must be a line of mountains, since it bounds the Sidon basin on the west (cf. 22:27-28); of course it would also then have a coastal strip paralleling the mountains on their west. The expression “*even* into the city” indicates that certain settled territory of the land of Ammonihah was first penetrated, after which finally the invaders reached the city.

A23
16:3 land of Noah

To Ammonihah—The Lamanite attack on Ammonihah spilled over to “the borders of Noah,” so the latter would be in the same general sector as the former. Noah would not be to the west, or else it rather than

Ammonihah would have been the prime target. The account of Alma's movements in the area never mentions Noah (although it might have lain between Ammonihah and Sidom and went unmentioned in the record because Alma and Amulek, anxious to get to Sidom to find their refugee associates, passed through it without making note). It is also not likely to have been on the north, for in that case the Lamanites would have taken their prisoners right back into the adjacent west wilderness, thence to Nephi. But they did not (see A24). Noah might be south of Ammonihah, but in that case Alma probably would have stopped there on his way from Melek to Ammonihah. But he didn't. The only option seems to be that Noah was generally eastward (inland) from Ammonihah.

A24
16:3-7 land of Noah

To the land of Zarahemla—There is lack of clarity about the course followed by the Lamanites from Noah. Holding prisoners from the Noah area (v. 3), the Lamanites did not retreat to the west wilderness whence they had come but plunged through some other part of Nephite territory termed wilderness where they were hard to track. In their course they "had many battles with the Nephites," apparently only local militia, for the central Nephite commanders had lost track of them (see 16:4-6 and 25:3, which gives another version of the same campaign). They emerged at a point east of the extreme upper Sidon, apparently going to cross westward (v. 6). They would not have been moving eastward, because they had originally moved down the west coastal wilderness, so from above Manti they must have been working back toward the west coast in Nephi. One possibility is that from Noah they crossed the Sidon, perhaps via

the Aaron route, and proceeded through the wilderness east of the central land of Zarahemla, skirting Gideon and thus up toward Manti, clashing along the way with small groups of Nephites in unnamed lands. [However, for another option, see A55.] The Nephites, alerted by Alma's seership, moved along a shorter track via Gideon, aided by knowing exactly where to go. Thus gaining ground on the Lamanites, they got into advance position above Manti at an obvious crossing point on the upper river (v. 7). The Lamanite-Amulonite group, surprised and defeated and their prisoners gone, scattered back into "the east wilderness" of the general land of Nephi (25:5). In relation to Noah, all this indicates that it was inland from Ammonihah. Once that far in, the Lamanites must have decided on a risky, unorthodox escape route as indicated rather than having to pass the defenders of Ammonihah on their way west should they try to get back to the west wilderness by which they had arrived.

A25
16:3-7 land of Manti

To the south wilderness and headwaters of the Sidon river—The Sidon existed as a named river "away up beyond the borders of the land of Manti" within the "narrow strip of wilderness" on the extreme south of the land of Zarahemla (22:27), here called merely "the south wilderness."

A26
17:1 land of Manti

To the city of Zarahemla—Alma was going from Gideon to Manti; as Alma's home was in Zarahemla, we may presume that he was taking a (likely the) regular route to Manti. Evidently that way rose from Zarahemla, at river level, up into the valley of Gideon, then through the valley, finally descending to Manti on the Sidon. The evidence is that this route via upland Gideon was normal, for the sons of Mosiah were moving along the same route. (If the Anti-Lehi-Nephies

followed the same route, it would explain how they bypassed Zarahemla to go straight down to Jershon—see A93.) We may also safely assume that the sons of Mosiah were returning via the same route they had used going up to the land of Nephi (Mosiah 28:9). These movements, with no others mentioned, attest that via Gideon was the normal road from the city of Zarahemla to Manti.

- A27
17:7-9 land of Nephi To the city of Zarahemla—The sons of Mosiah leave the land of Zarahemla into the wilderness strip, going up to Nephi, a journey of many days. No problems are mentioned; evidently they had information about the route.
- A28
17:13 dispersal point To Lamanite lands generally—The party arrives “in the borders of the land of the Lamanites” (cf. Mosiah 18:31). [Note that it is now called land of Nephi, not Lehi-Nephi as under the Zeniffites.] From this point they each went a separate direction (headed broadly southward). This can only be where a number of obvious trails diverged, for they had no personal knowledge of the local geography.
- A29
17:19 land of Ishmael To the dispersal point—Ammon went directly to the land of Ishmael. Nothing intervening is mentioned.
- A30
17:20 land of Ishmael Characteristic—“As he entered the land,” he was seized; this implies a fairly definite boundary, probably ecological, such as a pass or a valley lip.
- A31
17:26 land of Ishmael To the water(s) of Sebus—In the territory spoken of, presumably within a few miles of the king’s dwelling (cf. v. 39), only this specific watering place was consistently available (“*the place of water . . . and all the Lamanites drive their flocks hither,*”

emphasis added), suggesting a countryside perhaps grass-covered (v. 39) and lacking consistent stream drainage. Whether “the water” was in the form of a well, pond, or spring is unclear, but access to it was limited to a single spot.

A32
18:9l and of Ishmael

To the local land of Nephi—Lamoni had commanded his servants to “conduct him forth” to Nephi. Up, down or over is not used to relate the lands here, but compare 20:1-2 below.

A33
20:1-2 land of Ishmael

To the local land of Nephi—Lamoni headed “to” the land of Nephi, yet the voice of the Lord said to Ammon “go up to” there. Some elevation difference might exist, although it would appear not marked, given A32. Or just possibly “up” was in this one case in deference to the political eminence of the king’s capital.

A34
20:2 land of Ishmael

To the land of Middoni—The spirit said “go to” Middoni (cf. vs. 4, 15, 28).

A35
20:7 land of Ishmael

To the land of Middoni—Lamoni said “go . . . down” to Middoni. Again, the elevation difference is probably limited.

A36
20:8 land of Ishmael

To the local land of Nephi—The king, coming from Nephi to Ishmael, encounters Lamoni and Ammon while they are en route to Middoni. Thus the same route out of Ishmael led to both Nephi and Middoni, until reaching a fork where travelers chose one or the other destination. And since Ammon had come to Ishmael from the north, the king’s home in Nephi must have been southward from Ishmael, thus Middoni also must have been southward.

A37
21:1 land of Jerusalem

To the missionaries’ dispersal point—Aaron seems to have gone directly to Jerusalem. At least no intervening settlement is

		indicated (thereafter he mentioned even the “village” of Ani-Anti, so had there been one in this area, he probably would have noted it).
A38		
21:1	land of Jerusalem	To Mormon—Jerusalem was “away joining the borders of Mormon.” The “away” suggests that Jerusalem was notably farther from Nephi, Mormon itself being only “in the borders of the land” of Nephi (see M18).
A39		
21:2	land of Jerusalem	To the general land of Nephi—The involvement of Amalekites and Amulonites in building the city of Jerusalem links its geographical position to Helam and Amulon as one of the lands “round about” (i.e., some significant distance from the capital?) as mentioned in Alma 24:1.
A40		
21:11	village called Ani-Anti	To Jerusalem—Leaving Jerusalem, Aaron “came over” to Ani-Anti, indicating an intervening elevation. For a mere village to deserve mention in the itinerary implies that there was no larger settlement near, hence the area was lightly populated.
A41		
21:11	village called Ani-Anti	To the missionaries’ dispersal point—Aaron found at least four missionaries at Ani-Anti; they had arrived by one or more routes other than Aaron’s, drifting to this convergent point from initial individual (?) destinations.
A42		
21:12	land of Middoni	To Ani-Anti—The missionaries “came over” from Ani-Anti “into” the land of Middoni. An intervening elevation is signaled.
A43		
21:12	land of Middoni	Characteristic—“Into” may carry a sense of down into a depression or other fairly sharply marked area. Cf. A47.
A44		
21:13	land of Middoni	To surrounding areas—Some missionaries fled “out” of Middoni “unto [not into] the

		[inhabited but unnamed and presumably minor] regions round about." [Other such unnamed areas are indicated in 20:30—Lamanites in the land of Mormon would be in position to be referred to here—and in 21:16.]
A45 21:21	land of Ishmael	Extent—Unnamed areas “round about” the formal land of Ishmael were included under Lamoni’s rule, though not (conceptually) “in” that land.
A46 22:1	land of Middoni	To the local land of Nephi—Aaron and others were led from Middoni “to” Nephi, without the expectable “up.” [Compare discussion at 20:1-7 as well as 22:3.]
A47 22:3	land of Middoni	To the local land of Nephi—The king at Nephi says “come up out of Middoni,” qualifying 22:1 and clearly suggesting that Middoni was in a depression. Cf. A43.
A48 22:4	land of Ishmael	To Nephi and Middoni—From Middoni to Ishmael one went “another way” than through Nephi. (Compare 20:8.)
A49 22:27	greater land of Nephi	Extent—“All the regions round about” implies that there were more places than those named to this point.
A50 22:27- 28	greater land of Nephi	To the wilderness strip on the west—Three segments of the lowland west wilderness strip are distinguished: (1) that “in the land of Nephi;” (2) that “on the north by the land of Zarahemla”(v. 27), i.e., “on the west of the land of Zarahemla in the borders by the seashore;” and (3) “on the west in the land of Nephi in the place of their fathers’ first inheritance.” Note that (1) and (3) are both “in” the land of Nephi. (1) may be distinguished from (3) by (3)’s being more southerly, in light of Nephi’s traveling “many days” from the initial landing site to the city of Nephi. Consequently, in order

for (1) and (3) to be “in” Nephi while (2) was definitely not in Zarahemla, we may infer that the distance from local Nephi to the west coast was less than the west coast was from Zarahemla (see A51).

A51

22:28 west wilderness strip

To the land of Zarahemla—This strip is “*on the west of the land of Zarahemla,*” not in that land, hence the greater land of Zarahemla was not conceptualized to reach the west coast, while the general land of Nephi was. No hint is ever given that Nephites settled or traveled in the strip between the west sea and the (obviously mountain) boundary of the (Sidon basin or) land of Zarahemla. In the fourth century A.D. the Nephites occupied Joshua at the north end of the strip (Mormon 2:6). In the first century B.C. to the south near Antiparah we have indicated a military clearing operation (Alma 50:11) and possible Nephite garrison at the coast (56:30-32). The Lamanites may have controlled this west strip formally from early on, as 22:28 suggests, or perhaps only Lamanite squatters occupied it. Either arrangement would explain how their armies could move to attack Ammonihah undetected by Nephites (16:2; 49:1). But possibly the territory was neutral, occupied primarily by a population unconnected politically with either Nephites nor Lamanites, the inhabitants not sufficiently strong to oppose a large Lamanite army if it determined to pass through, let alone to cause any problem for the Nephites on the other side of the wilderness mountain barrier (see A52).

A52

22:28; land of Melek
cf. 35:13

To the west coastal wilderness—the people of Ammon were later moved from Jershon, where they were vulnerable to Lamanite attack, to Melek for safety. Yet Melek bordered on the wilderness west of the land

of Zarahemla. Why were they safe from Lamanites in Melek, while Ammonihah, three days northward, was not (it was twice attacked)? An obvious reason is that the range of mountains constituting the west watershed for the Sidon (and probably the “continental divide”) was so nearly impassable at that point as to preclude Lamanite armies crossing it (they could cross farther north, when they got to Ammonihah, by a pass, likely the same one used and then defended by Mormon and his Nephites in their last retreat—Mormon 2:6). Note that in Alma 22:28 the Lamanites are specifically said to have dwelt “in the borders by the seashore,” to the apparent exclusion of the mountainous portion of the west wilderness.

- A53
22:28 general land of Nephi Extent—Lamanites now also occupied areas “bordering even to” the east sea, although only later do we get any details about their being in the extensive stretch between local Nephi and the east sea (Alma 25:5; 35:10; 43:4-5; 50:7,9).
- A54
22:27-28 narrow strip of wilderness To the greater lands of Nephi and Zarahemla—The statement is of course from a land of Nephi perspective, so the strip across is “north [of Nephi] by the land of Zarahemla, through the borders of Manti.” Connecting to it is continuous wilderness along the west coast, from the land of first inheritance on the south northward to near Bountiful (see A57). Given the overall size of the promised land, this west strip must be on the order of 300 or 400 miles long.
- A55
22:29 land of Zarahemla To the wilderness bordering the sea east of the land of Zarahemla—The Lamanites once occupied more of this territory, but the Nephites “had driven them” into a strip “east by the seashore.” (Later Moroni drove

them completely out; see 50:9.) When this took place is not specified, perhaps only shortly before the time of chapter 22. In fact the expulsion may have been triggered when the Nephites lost track of those Lamanites who took the prisoners around Noah (see A24).

- A56
22:29 land of Zarahemla To wilderness areas—"Thus the Nephites were nearly surrounded by the Lamanites," with wilderness arms on two sides nearly pinched together near the isthmus; the transverse narrow strip made a third side. But the Nephites held the northern edge of each wilderness segment, so the Lamanites could not expand northward (v. 34).
- A57
22:29 land called Bountiful To the land of Zarahemla—Bountiful was held by the Nephites and was the northerly cap on Lamanite expansion toward the crucial neck area via the wilderness strips on either coast.
- A58
22:30 land called Bountiful To the land called Desolation—Bountiful bordered upon it, whether at one point only or all along their facing borders is not clear, nor is it clear here whether either or both lands reached completely across the neck.
- A59
22:30 land called Bountiful To the land called Desolation—All three uses of "it" in the first half of this verse refer to Bountiful; any other reading requires special pleading. Thus Bountiful reached so far north as to abut the land northward—"it came *into* the land which had been peopled and been destroyed" (emphasis added). That implies either that Bountiful came right up against the ruins zone or perhaps that some of the ruins were within Bountiful.
- A60
22:30 land called Desolation To the land northward—The "it" in the final clause refers to "the land which had been peopled and been destroyed." The

ancestors of the people of Zarahemla (“Mulekites”) had first landed in the area of destruction or desolation. In light of this verse, it seems likely that the area bearing the name land of Desolation was only the southernmost part, not the entirety, of the “land northward” (to which there is no explicit reference here).

A61
22:31 the south wilderness

To the “Mulekite’s” first landing place—It might be supposed that this statement refers to the people of Zarahemla coming “up” just to the area on the Sidon where Mosiah found them, but that is not specifically said. Probably it is intended, but a slim alternative is that “the south wilderness” referred to consisted of precisely the area so called by the Nephites, i.e., south (above) Manti, in the highlands on toward Nephi, and not just halfway “up” as the city of Zarahemla was. [Notice that Zeniff, a descendant of Zarahemla, called the land of Nephi “the land of *our* fathers’ first inheritance” (Mosiah 9:1), raising the possibility that some Zarahemlaite ancestors had actually moved way up to “the south wilderness” to settle, as per 22:31.]

A62
22:31 land called Bountiful

To Desolation—Speaking only of these two lands, Bountiful was “the land on the southward” (not the same as the land southward generally but only a part of it) and Desolation “the land on the northward” (not the same as the land northward generally but only a part of it).

A63
22:31 land called Bountiful

Characteristic—It qualified as wilderness at this time, it appears, in the same sense as the east wilderness along the coast to its south (v. 29), because largely unpopulated (but compare Alma 31:3; wilderness need not mean without any settlers).

- A64
22:32 narrow neck of land To Bountiful and Desolation—Here called a “small neck of land, “the isthmus is still clearly being described. “The line Bountiful and the land Desolation” seems formed chiefly by a river, for, as unsettled as the area was at this time, the boundary must have been a natural not a mere political one, and a river comes to mind easily as providing a “line” (cf. 50:11?)
- A65
22:32 narrow neck of land Extent—This language is unclear; opinions among Latter-day Saint readers of this text have differed widely. “From the east to the west sea” seems to me probably the equivalent of “from the east *sea* to the west sea,” particularly when we pay attention to the end of the sentence: “*thus* the [greater] land of Nephi and the [greater] land of Zarahemla [together constituting the land southward] were nearly surrounded by water.” The day and a half’s “journey for a Nephite” then likely was effectively all the way across (although it would be silly to demand that it mean from salt-water to salt water; perhaps from garrison coastal settlement to a similar defense point on the other, which could be a number of miles from actual shore). However, without more information, such as explanation of “a journey for a Nephite,” we cannot specify the distance with confidence. [But logic allows us to bracket the distance. When we know on the one hand that Limhi’s exploring party passed through the isthmus without even realizing it (Mosiah 8:7-9; 21:25-26), we see that it was of substantial width. On the other hand, that the neck was *relatively* narrow was clear to knowledgeable Nephites.] A width as low as 50 miles seems too small; a more likely minimum is 75, while “a day and a half’s journey” could range up to 125 miles,

		depending on who traveled how (e.g., a messenger relay?)
A66 22:33	land of Bountiful	To lands to its south—See A57.
A67 22:33	land of Bountiful	Extent—“Even from the east unto the west sea” may indicate that Bountiful ran across the full isthmus (cf. A57), although some interpreters hold that “from the east” is not the same as “from the east sea.” But the fact that the “borders of the land Bountiful” were very close to if not right at the east sea (51:32) largely settles, for me, the question of “east (sea)” in both vs. 32 and 33. Cf. A265.
A68 22:33- 34	land of Bountiful	To the land northward—The Nephite view is clearly manifest here (as at 50:32; 52:14; and 53:3-5) that retention of Bountiful, the gateway to the land northward, was their most crucial strategic need.
A69 23:9	land of Ishmael	Characteristic—No city is mentioned; only the land, although 19:17-18 mentions a servant going “from house to house” near “the house [not palace] of the king,” implying a substantial settlement.
A70 23:10	land of Middoni	Characteristic—No city is mentioned.
A71 23:11	local land of Nephi	Characteristic—Here the people converted were in the city only; perhaps there was no scattered population at this time? [V. 13 says, “these are the names of the cities of the Lamanites which were converted”; it is unclear whether “cities” refers only to Nephi, Lemuel and Shimnilom mentioned just previously, or whether the implication is that there were unmentioned cities in each land. The latter seems doubtful, for it

		would render the distinctions between land and city meaningless.]
A72		
23:12	land of Shilom	Characteristic—No city is mentioned, although Mosiah 7:21 and 9:8 assure us there was one (and see A70).
A73		
23:12	land of Shemlon	Characteristic—No city is mentioned (but see A70 and A72).
A74		
23:12	city of Lemuel	Characteristic—No land is mentioned. Since Lemuel is mentioned in connection with Shilom and Shemlon, both of which were close to Nephi, probably this city was too.
A75		
23:12	city of Shimnilom	Characteristic—No land is mentioned. Since Shimnilom is mentioned in connection with Shilom and Shemlon, both of which are close to Nephi, probably this city too was close. Cf. A87.
A76		
23:14 34	dwelling areas of Amulonites	To the lands of Nephi, Shemlon and Shilom—The Amalekites and Amulonites dwelt in a certain part of the land and controlled their own villages and cities inhabited by Lamanites.
A77		
24:1	land of Amulon	To the lands of Nephi, Shemlon and Shilom—Implies (cf. v. 20) that this land, with others unconverted, lay apart from the core area where the converts lived.
A78		
24:1	land of Amulon	Characteristic—Amalekites, Amulonites and Lamanites dwelt together here.
A79		
24:1	land of Helam	To the lands of Nephi, Shemlon and Shilom—Implies (cf. v. 20) that this land, with others unconverted, lay apart from the core area where the converts lived.
A80		
24:1	land of Helam	Characteristic—Amalekites, Amulonites and Lamanites dwelt together here.

A81 24:1	land of Jerusalem	To the lands of Nephi, Shemlon and Shilom—Implies (cf. v. 20) that this land, with others unconverted, lay apart from the core area where the converts lived.
A82 24:1	land of Jerusalem	Characteristic—Amalekites, Amulonites and Lamanites dwelt together here.
A83 24:1	lands round about	To the lands of Nephi, Shemlon and Shilom—Implies (cf. v. 20) that these lands, with others unconverted, lay apart from the core area where the converts lived. A reasonable conjecture is that this “lands round about” includes the core homeland of the Lamanites in the lowlands (including the land of first inheritance) near the land of Shemlon (also cf. 21:13 and 22:27).
A84 24:5	land of Midian	To Nephi and Ishmael—The missionaries gathered for a strategy conclave in the face of preparations for war by the unconverted against the people of God; those from all the areas (Nephi, Shilom, Shemlon, Lemuel, Shimnilom, Middoni—see 23:9-12) except Ishmael first gathered to Midian, a place nowhere else mentioned. From there they moved to Ishmael. We may presume that Midian was a convenient gathering point intermediate between the cluster mentioned and Ishmael. No up or down relations are indicated.
A85 24:20	lands of the unconverted Lamanites	To the lands of Nephi, Shemlon, Shilom and Middoni—The unconverted gathered themselves together and then “came up” as a body to the land of Nephi to destroy the king. [Having been warned (v. 5), presumably the converts in Shemlon, Shilom and Middoni had gathered together at Nephi. Probably the route followed by the aggressor Lamanites was the same as in 19:6 and 20:7-9, through Shemlon and Shilom.]

25:2	lands of the unconverted Lamanites	To the lands of Nephi and Zarahemla—The lands of these Amulonite-Amalekite-Lamanites, indicated in 24:20 as in the west sea lowlands and adjacent highland areas in the land of Nephi, fits logically there since they formed an expeditionary army that headed along the west wilderness coast to come in on Ammonihah (cf. A22).
A87 25:13	lands of the unconverted Lamanites	To the lands of Ishmael and Nephi— After their unsuccessful expedition to Ammonihah and being driven into the east wilderness (vs. 2-5), the Lamanite army returned to their own lands (cf. 24:1; 27:1), then many “came over” to live in the lands of Ishmael and Nephi. [In light of what happened in the east wilderness where many Amulonite overlords were killed, I surmise that the land from which these Lamanites came “over” most likely was the land of Amulon.
A88 27:14	general land of Nephi	To the lands of the Anti-Nephi-Lehies—The fact that all the Anti-Nephi-Lehies departed together as a body confirms the picture in Alma 23-24 that the converts were all from a fairly compact central area.
A89 27:14	narrow strip of wilderness	To the general land of Nephi and land of Zarahemla—The Anti-Nephi-Lehies departed “out of the land [of Nephi]” “into the wilderness which divided the land of Nephi from the land of Zarahemla” then “came over” near the borders of the general land of Zarahemla. [Clearly this separating wilderness is mountainous, hence “over.”]
A90 27:16	Anti-Nephi-Lehi camp	To the route to Gideon and Zarahemla— Ammon and his brethren met Alma “over in the place” on the way previously mentioned. [This “over” likely refers to the route’s going from the camp—perhaps not far from Manti—to Gideon, which we know

was up from the river, and then down to Zarahemla city.]

A91
27:21 greater land of
Zarahemla

Extent—The chief judge sent out to communities “throughout all the land” to approve where to settle Ammon’s group. To have reached the entire population, given them a chance to decide, then get the word back to the chief judge could have taken weeks. Meanwhile thousands of Anti-Nephi-Lehies were sitting in a temporary camp. That may be what happened, but the pressure would have been on to speed up the polling process, so perhaps the more distant places only belatedly gave their approval.

A92
27:22 land of Jershon

To the east sea—Jershon is said to be “on the east by the sea,” but nothing is said about “seashore” in relation to it. It must have been all but empty of Nephites for it to have been given up so easily. Probably they wanted it occupied as part of the “clear the east” strategy which Moroni later carried out fully (50:7-9). [Note differing terminology about this area which needs systematic examination: Antionum was “nearly bordering upon the seashore” (31:3); later Moroni sent colonists “into the east wilderness, even to the borders by the seashore” (50:9); the city Moroni was “in the borders by the seashore (51:22; but cf. 50:13, “by the east sea”; see 62:32); Amalickiah attacked “down by the seashore” capturing a series of cities “all of which were on the east borders by the seashore” (51:25-26; cf. v. 32, 50:15, and 52:23); Nephihah, however, was not “down” by the seashore (50:14; 51:25).]

A93
27:23 land of Jershon

To the general land of Nephi—The Lamanite-occupied general land of Nephi at this time was conceived as reaching right to the border of Jershon, necessitating an army to protect it. Inasmuch as Jershon was the

		only named territory south of Bountiful at this point in time, it actually may have encompassed much that later was divided off to form Nephihah, Lehi, etc.
A94 27:25	Anti-Nephi-Lehi temporary camp	To general land of Zarahemla—Said in verse 14 to be in the borders of the land of Zarahemla, the camp is here said, consistently, to be in “the wilderness.”
A95 27:26	land of Jershon	To the Anti-Nephi-Lehi camp and land of Zarahemla—They went from the camp, no doubt via the valley of Gideon but probably past the local land of Zarahemla (not going down into it), and so “down” to Jershon.
A96 30:6	local land of Zarahemla	Extent—Korihor “came . . . into the land of Zarahemla.” This probably means the local land, for it is not evident where Korihor would have come from except some peripheral Nephite-controlled land.
A97 30:19	land of Jershon	To the local land of Zarahemla—Korihor “went over” an intervening elevation to Jershon from Zarahemla.
A98 30:21	land of Gideon	To the land of Jershon—Korihor “came over” from Jershon “into” the land of Gideon. [In v. 19 he had gone “to” Jershon. Cf. A14.]
A99 30:59	land of Antionum	To the general land of Zarahemla—The Zoramites “had separated themselves from the Nephites,” surely meaning moving outside the recognized land of Zarahemla.
A100 31:3	land of Antionum	To the land of Jershon—The Zoramites had settled “east of the land of Zarahemla, which [the land they settled] lay nearly bordering upon the seashore, which [i.e., Antionum] was south of the land of Jershon, which [again, Antionum] also bordered upon the wilderness south, which wilderness was full of the Lamanites.”

Compare 27:23. [Jershon was obviously separated from the boundary of the formal land of Nephi by not only the territory which became the land of Antionum, which was under neither Nephite nor Lamanite rule at the time, but also by additional wilderness (“wilderness south”) which was full of the Lamanites” who were squatters not under the Lamanite polity. Later, Antionum was annexed to the Lamanite kingdom—see 43:4-5; 35:10-11.]

A101
31:3 land of Antionum

To the general land of Zarahemla—Antionum was specifically to the east, between, it seems, Nephite controlled territory and the east sea—that is, a part of the “east wilderness” of 22:29, for it was never said of Jershon, as it was of Antionum, that it lay “nearly bordering upon the seashore.”

A102
31:12 land of Antionum

Characteristics—Alma and companions had “come into” the land. This could imply some distinct boundary of unknown nature, perhaps a (the?) river. One hill is referred to, and just possibly also a valley.

A103
32:4 land of Antionum

Characteristic—Alma preached “upon the hill Onidah.” This must be a natural, not an artificial, hill (“tower”), for these were the poor people driven out of the conventional worship center. The elevation need only have been locally notable, not particularly high.

A104
35:1 land of Antionum

To the land of Jershon—Alma and companions, finished in Antionum, “came over into” the land of Jershon. Since both are in the east sea lowlands, “over” likely means across a bounding river or perhaps across a low divide (watershed) into a different drainage. [Note: The difference between “came” and “went” points up the need for a comprehensive study of possible

significance of those two expressions. It is reasonable that the usage depends upon the position of the writer, or of Mormon as editor, at the time the account was written; in 6:7 the original writer (Alma) was in Zarahemla city at the time he wrote, thus “went” applied to Gideon, and Mormon simply followed Alma’s usage?]

A105 35:6	land of Antionum	To the land of Jershon—Converted Zoramites were “cast out” of Antionum and “came over also into the land of Jershon.” Cf. 35:1, 8, 9 re. over and 31:12 and 35:8 re. out/into.
A106 35:10 & 11	land of Antionum	To the Lamanite area in the wilderness near Antionum (cf. 31:3)—“To mix with” implies no great original distance between the two, if not actual proximity.
A107 35:13	land of Jershon	To the land of Melek—“Over.”
A108 35:13	land of Jershon	Characteristic—The location of “the camp of Moroni” (50:31), that is, his headquarters and base in the east lowlands, is only identified with a land here: “and gave place in the land of Jershon for the armies of the Nephites.” [Note that camp was never threatened, it seems, either by the capture of the line of cities “down by the seashore” (51:25-26) or of Nephihah (59:5-11). This implies that Jershon was significantly inland from “down by the seashore,” though not very far from Nephihah (A244).]
A109 39:3	land of Siron	To the land of Antionum—Corianton had gone “over into” the land of Siron.
A110 39:3	land of Siron	To the Lamanite area in the wilderness—Siron was “among the borders of the Lamanites,” implying that it was closer to the Lamanite occupied area than Antionum.

		(What might “among” mean—that the “borders” constituted an irregular line?)
A111	43:5 land of Antionum	Characteristic—Lamanites came “into.”
A112	43:5, 18 land of Jershon	To the land of Antionum—Armies of the two opposing sides faced each other in these two lands; how much territory separated them is unclear, although apparently no then - named/occupied land lay between them. They met for battle “in the borders of Jershon.” Cf. A93
A113	43:22 land of Antionum	To surrounding wilderness—Frustrated Lamanite forces “departed out of the land of Antionum into the wilderness,” presumably that of A100 and A117.
A114	43:22 land of Antionum	To the land of Manti—The Lamanite armies “took their journey round about in the wilderness, away by the head of the river Sidon, that they might come into the land of Manti.” “Round about” indicates a curved route bowed away from Nephite territory. [They would probably have preferred to go via the straight, i.e., shortest, way, hence there must have been a compelling reason for going “round about.” That could have been logistical, because on the route they took they could requisition food from their own settlements? Or, the wilderness terrain on a straight route might have been impassable for an army.]
A115	43:22-26 land of Antionum	To the land of Manti—A long distance is indicated by the elapsed time. While the Lamanites went “round about,” there was time for Moroni, (1) to have spies follow them to determine their course; (2) the spies return to Moroni’s camp in Jershon; (3) he sends from Jershon to Alma in Zarahemla to get guidance; (4) the messengers return to Jershon (v. 24); (5) Moroni and part of his

army travel “over” to the land of Manti (cf. 30:19) (but with no mention of going through Zarahemla); (6) then set an ambush and wait a certain period. This probably consumed one or two months. It is obvious that the Lamanite route was much longer than for Moroni to go from Jershon to Manti.

A116
43:22-
26 land of Jershon

To the land of Manti—“Over.”

A117
43:24 land of Antionum
and Lamanite
wilderness

To the land of Manti—The Lamanite army moving between the two went “over into the land of Manti.” [Cf. vs. 31-32, 34 re. coming “down” into the Manti area from (presumably) the east. Note that Gideon was never threatened from the east nor received any defensive attention from the Nephites against the Lamanites. It must have been protected by a degree or scale of wilderness barrier on its east such that it was unquestionably safe.]

A118
43:25 camp of Moroni

To the land/city of Jershon—Moroni and a force went off “leaving a part of his army in the land of Jershon, lest . . . part of the Lamanites should . . . take possession of the city.” The camp must have been at or very near the city of Jershon.

A119
43:27 land of Manti

Characteristic—The route by which the Lamanites would approach from the east (cf. A114, A115 and A123) was predictable from practical knowledge, for Alma only told Moroni the general Lamanite aim, not tactical details (see v. 24), so likely only one way in existed.

A120
43:27 land of Manti

Characteristic—There was a valley (surely containing a tributary of the river) coming into the Sidon from the west in the wilderness above the city of Manti.

A121 43:31	land of Manti	Characteristic—On the east of the Sidon was another valley.
A122 43:31	land of Manti	Characteristic—The hill Riplah was south of “the valley” on the east of the river, and both were upstream from the land of Manti proper (cf. v. 32).
A123 43:34- 35	land of Manti	Characteristic—The entry route of the Lamanites went up an elevation (across the foot of the hill?) just north of the hill Riplah, the latter hiding the Nephites on its south. Past that elevation and the hill, the route came (down) “into the valley” containing the river Sidon, then crossed it (v. 40). Apparently they intended to go down the west bank of the river in their attack on Manti.
A124 43:42	land of Manti	Characteristic—The valley on the west of the river (v. 27) must have reached the Sidon near the Lamanites’ crossing point but a little above it, for the Nephite force in that valley prevented the enemy from fleeing upstream toward the land of Nephi; instead they had to head down the stream valley toward the land of Manti proper.
A125 45:18	land of Melek	To the local land of Zarahemla—Alma’s final journey was “out of the land of Zarahemla, as if to go into the land of Melek,” clearly meaning “headed toward” Melek. There must have been space intervening between the lands to account for this language.
A126 45:18	land of Melek	Characteristic—One went “into” it. Cf. A19
A127 46:17	land southward	Extent—Terminated at the land of Desolation.

A128 46:31- 33	rebel base area	To the narrow strip of wilderness above Manti--presumably Moroni and his army were at Zarahemla. Amalickiah and his party, wherever they had been based, headed for Nephi without going through Zarahemla.
A129 46:31- 33	routes southward to and beyond Manti	To the local land of Zarahemla—Moroni, learning that Amalickiah’s group was headed south (by a particular route which he could be sure of—via Gideon?), took another route to intercept them, which took place in the wilderness, apparently past Manti.
A130 47:1	general land of Nephi	To the land of Zarahemla—Amalickiah went “up in” the land of Nephi.
A131 47:5	place called Onidah	To the local land of Nephi—Amalickiah, to compel reluctant Lamanites to muster to battle the Nephites, “went forward [toward them] to the place which was called Onidah,” “the place of arms” [“Went forward” might relate to the Hebrew word for east, which means literally “forward.” Cf. 49:13?]
A132 47:7	mount Antipas	To the place Onidah—The mount was at or near the “place.”
A133 47:7	mount Antipas	Characteristic—A valley where an army could camp was near the mount.
A134 47:7	mount Antipas	Characteristic—an army could be gathered “upon the top.” An embassy went “into” the mountain to meet the leader (perhaps signifying a hollow, or crater, at the top?). (The word mount implies that it was taller than a “hill.”)
A135 47:10- 14	mount Antipas	Characteristic—Height; between “when it was night” and “the dawn of the day,” these journeys were taken up and down the

mountain: (1) embassy goes up and returns; (2) second embassy goes up; (3) third embassy goes up; (4) a fourth also climbs up, then brings Lehonti and his guards down to meet Amalickiah at the base; (5) Lehonti returns to the top and brings his whole army down. All this dictates a maximum height of no more than a couple of thousand feet (but probably no less than a thousand to qualify as a "mount"?)

A136
47:20 land of Nephi

To the place Onidah—Amalickiah's force "marched . . . to the land of Nephi, to the city of Nephi," apparently without any other land intervening. Hence the distance must have been significant (if very near, the king himself probably would have gone to Onidah?), but it does not sound great.

A137
47:29 land of Zarahemla

To the land of Nephi—The king's servants fled "into the wilderness, and came over" to the general land of Zarahemla (specifically to Melek).

A138
48:6 general land of Nephi

To the land of Ammonihah—Amalickiah's army "moved forth toward the land of Zarahemla in the wilderness" to attack Ammonihah (cf. 49:1). Unlike usual moves "over" the narrow strip of wilderness (as A137) and "down" to Zarahemla, this time they traveled via the west coastal wilderness (the only way to reach Ammonihah directly) and nothing is said about up or down. If they went through the Lamanite homeland, or were primarily from there, which was coastward from Shemlon, they would go northward along the coast. Then, 25:2 says, they went "over" into Ammonihah, a clear reference to passage over the mountain barrier that formed the western side of the Sidon basin (=land of Zarahemla, basically). (However cf. 49:10-11, for "down out" from where Amalickiah himself sat in the city of Nephi.)

A139 49:1	land of Ammonihah	Characteristic—Lamanites approaching from the west wilderness could be “seen” apparently at some distance from the city itself. This suggests relatively open terrain to the west of the city.
A140 49:12- 13	land of Noah	To the west wilderness—The Lamanite army, frustrated by the fortifications at Ammonihah, retreated to the wilderness where they had left their “camp” (logistical base) then moved toward Noah.
A141 49:12, 13,25	land of Noah	To west wilderness and Ammonihah—The Lamanites marched (“forward”—eastward?, see A131) towards the land of Noah. As noted at A22, Noah must have been east (farther from the wilderness) from Ammonihah. Yet there had to be a route to Noah from the wilderness camp (which was at a point en route from the coast to Ammonihah) different than through Ammonihah, for obviously they would not go near (via) that city again and risk being cut off by the alerted defenders. Defeated at Noah, they retreated into the wilderness, back to the coast and to the general land of Nephi, reversing the route by which they came.
A142 50:2,6	land . . . possessed by the Nephites	Extent—Timber-picket fortifications were built “round about all the cities, throughout all the land which was possessed by the Nephites.” [Yet eight years later (53:3-4) Bountiful had no such work, although it was at that moment clearly a Nephite possession. Perhaps “round about” means on the margins exposed to possible Lamanite attack, not in rear areas.]
A143 50:7, 9,14	east wilderness	To the general land of Zarahemla—Lamanites were now driven out of the strip along the east sea (22:27) which the Nephites apparently claimed but had not

previously occupied. This clearance was “even to the borders by the seashore” (v. 9), meaning to the beach (?)

A144
50:8, 9,11 general land of Nephi

To the general land of Zarahemla—The land of Zarahemla is defined here as reaching to the east sea, including the east wilderness just cleared. Near the east sea greater Zarahemla and greater Nephi abut at a “line.” [Cf. 22:32 and 3 Nephi 3:23 re. the “line” between Bountiful and Desolation; this expression plausibly denotes a river.] The line of 50:8,11 could well be a river, for no arbitrary political line is likely to have been defensible as in v. 11. Cf. “the line” again in 50:13. [Note that 50:8 does not say from the east sea all the way to the west sea, although it might mean that.]

A145
50:11 west wilderness

To the general land of Zarahemla—Now the west sea area is definitely involved. This must mean that the strip of west wilderness, which Lamanites had twice used to attack Ammonihah, was now cut off to their access, at a line running between Antiparah and “the city beyond, in the borders by the seashore” (56:31).

A146
50:9 land round about

To the general land of Zarahemla—Nephite colonizers of the east wilderness lands were drawn from not only the land of Zarahemla but also “the land round about.” It seems unlikely that the record would suddenly shift from talking about the general land of Zarahemla (in v. 7) to here the local land of Zarahemla. Granted that, then this statement about the source of colonists seems to tell us that other lands were under Nephite control beyond the land of Zarahemla in the older sense (i.e., the Sidon basin). Cf. H18 and 3N6.

A147
50:9 land northward

Extent—Here it is made clear that the Nephites, as against any Lamanites,

		possessed all the land northward [i.e., what was of concern to them] northward from Bountiful. Cf. A142.
A148 50:13	city of Moroni	To the east sea—Moroni was “by” the sea, said of no other city. [Yet see A265.]
A149 50:13	city of Moroni	To the line of Lamanite possessions—The city was on the south “by the line of the possessions of the Lamanites” (see A144). [Together with A265 and A268, the intimation is that the city was essentially at the line itself, being its eastern anchor (on the northerly shore of a river?)]
A150 50:14	city/land of Nephihah	Extent—“City” is here specifically used as the equivalent of “land”; presumably the same applies to Aaron and Moroni. As recently settled garrison communities under war conditions, they probably had no subordinate nucleated settlements under their control yet. However, the territory officially under their control could have been substantial, only yet unsettled since the clearance of A143.
A151 50:14	land/city of Nephihah	To the land/city of Moroni—The city (=land) of Nephihah bordered the city (=land) of Moroni on the latter’s inland side with the land of Aaron on Nephihah’s other side. Cf. A170, A241, A259, and A266.
A152 50:15	land/city of Lehi	To the south line of Nephite possessions and to the east sea—Lehi was built “in a particular manner” (design?, type of construction?, type of material?) “on the north” [i.e., in relation to Moroni, which was “on the south by the line”—v. 13]. It was one of a series (51:26) of cities “by the borders of the seashore.”
A153 50:25- 26	land/city of Lehi	To the land/city of Morianton—Their borders joined, both being “on” the borders by the (east) seashore.

A154 50:25- 26	land of Lehi and land of Morianton	Extent—It is evident from their disputing over land almost as soon as they were founded that each land was small and could not spare any resources that they might lose to the other—probably a result of settlements made on the basis of military criteria that did not take ecological realities into account. [If a local “land” included a territory of a size that farmers could go to their fields and return the same day after work, as is the case in many horticulture based societies, then a radius of five miles is logical. In this case of overlapping land use, the cities probably were less than ten miles apart.]
A155 50:27- 28	land/city of Lehi	To the camp of Moroni and the city of Morianton—The Lehi people went straight to the camp to complain. The Morianton people found out of it only after the fact, which means that Lehi was in a position where the travel of its people to Jershon would not be observed by the Moriantonites. Cf. A118.
A156 50:29	land which was northward, which was covered with large bodies of water	Extent—The gratuitous comma after the word northward makes it appear that the whole land northward was covered with bodies of water, which is nonsense, of course. Rather, only a particular area could have been very wet, considering how many settlers later went to their land northward. The wet area was in a position to threaten the land Bountiful (v. 32), hence it must have been relatively near the narrow pass/neck.
A157 50:31	camp of Moroni in Jershon	To the land of Morianton—Morianton’s maid servant “came over to the camp of Moroni.” This could mean across an elevation (watershed only?), or perhaps a stream. Lack of any other references to up,

		down or over in this vicinity makes hills doubtful.
A158 50:31- 34	land of Morianton	To the camp of Moroni in Jershon—There had to have been a known route for Morianton’s group to follow to the narrow pass, yet it bypassed the camp by a safe margin.
A159 50:29, 32	land of Bountiful	To the land northward—Moroni considered Bountiful and the land which was northward “covered with large bodies of water” to be strategically linked and that their possession by other than Nephites would block Nephite access northward.
A160 50:33- 34	camp of Moroni in Jershon	To the narrow pass—Moroni would not have sent an intercepting army off without knowing that Morianton was already on the way north; obviously his force had to travel by another route than Morianton’s, and it must have been shorter, i.e., Jershon must have been nearer the pass, at least in travel time, than Morianton.
A161 50:33- 34	narrow pass	Characteristic—Its south entrance had to be one specific point, for Teancum knew precisely where to go to intercept. Morianton too had known exactly where to go by his party’s separate route.
A162 50:33- 34	narrow pass	To approach routes—Three routes converge at the pass’ entrance, Morianton’s, Teancum’s, and the one used by Lamanites, as in A191 and Mm19, which came from the west coast.
A163 50:33- 34	narrow pass	To seas—“By the sea, on the west and on the east” is so brief that it allows several interpretations, none of which is clearly superior on a textual basis. It may mean nothing more than that the narrow pass is within the narrow neck which neck is by the sea on the west and east. Whether

		anything more specific is intended remains uncertain.
A164		
50:34	narrow pass	To the land Desolation—The south entrance to the pass was at “the border of the land Desolation. This implies that the pass itself, whatever its length, lay <i>in</i> Desolation. This is consistent with Mm20 and Mm21.
A165		
50:36	land of Lehi	To the land of Morianton—The two were close enough that the combined land could be administered satisfactorily from the city of Lehi.
A166		
51:11	land of Nephi	To the land of Zarahemla—“Down.”
A167		
51:10 & 34	land of Nephi, [on the] east sea	To the local land of Nephi—Amalickiah gathered together a large army and moved toward his attack point, the land of Moroni (v. 22). The distance for Amalickiah’s armies to travel must have been substantial (cf. 43:22-28), for between the time Moroni “saw that the Lamanites were coming into the borders of the land” and the actual attack, he had time to obtain the voice of the people to act against the king-men and to march forth against and defeat them, surely taking weeks(?)
A168		
51:17- 18, & 20	king-men area	To the general land of Zarahemla—They were concentrated in a particular area as shown by the statements that Moroni’s army “should go against” them and “did march forth.” More explicitly they were compelled to show the title of liberty “upon their towers, and in their cities.” Had their area been upriver, they would simply have collaborated with the Lamanites (cf. v. 13); that they did not do so indicates that they were downriver (cf. Helaman 1:27, “capital parts of the land” downriver?) Away from the river is doubtful for several reasons.

A169		
51:22	land of Moroni	To the east sea—Again, it was “in the borders by the seashore.”
A170		
51:24	city of Nephihah	To the city of Moroni—Refugees from Moroni fled to Nephihah, perhaps because it was more secure, or perhaps because it was nearer or more convenient than Lehi.
A171		
51:24	city of Lehi	To the city of Moroni and to the city of Morianton—The people at Lehi knew they were next in line to be attacked after Moroni fell, hence Lehi was somewhat more south than Morianton. Cf. A174.
A172		
51:25	city of Nephihah	To the east seashore—The clear intimation here is that Amalickiah would not send his army to attack Nephihah because it was inland (it was also nearer to Moroni’s base camp in Jershon) but “kept . . . down by the seashore.”
A173		
51:26	city of Nephihah	To the east seashore—Mention of the capture of Nephihah is a patent scribal error in light of v. 25 as well as 62:18-26.
A174		
51:26	city of Lehi	To the east seashore—the sequence of mention of cities must represent the order of their encounter going northward, at least on Morianton’s route. Lehi is northward, from Moroni and southward from Morianton. Cf A171.
A175		
51:26	city of Morianton	To the cities of Lehi and Morianton—Lehi was more southerly and Omner northerly. The uncommented listing suggests that the distance from Morianton to Omner was not dramatically different from that between Morianton and Lehi.
A176		
51:26	city of Omner	To the cities of Gid and Morianton—Morianton was southward and Gid northward. The uncommented listing suggests that the distance from Gid to

		Omner was not much different from that between Morianton and Omner.
A177 51:26	city of Omner	Characteristic and extent—No land is mentioned nor implied associated with this city. It could be that it was positioned with insufficient surrounding agricultural land to accommodate a significant population outside the city itself. Perhaps that is related to the record’s omitting any mention of its recapture—it was a distinctly minor spot.
A178 51:26	city of Gid	To the cities of Mulek and Omner—Omner was southward and Mulek northward (but cf. H22 where the order of Mulek and Gid is reversed). The uncommented listing suggests that the distance from Gid to Omner was not much different from that between Mulek and Gid.
A179 51:26	city of Gid	Characteristic and extent—No land is mentioned or implied associated with this city. Like Mulek and Omner, it may have been positioned with insufficient surrounding agricultural land to accommodate a significant population outside the city itself.
A180 51:26	city of Mulek	To the city of Gid—See A178.
A181 51:26	city of Mulek	Characteristic and extent—compare A188.
A182 51:28	city of Mulek	To the land Bountiful—no cities intervened between Mulek and “the borders of the [greater?] land of Bountiful.”
A183 51:29	camp of Moroni in Jershon	To the city of Mulek and the land of Bountiful—Teancum’s army apparently was at the camp (cf. 50:35) when Moroni dispatched them to intercept Amalickiah’s force. The fact that they did not (have time

to?) head for and meet the enemy at, say, Omner, Gid or Mulek suggests (1) that the distance traveled by the Lamanite army from Lehi to Mulek was limited so that the campaign to that point was over before there was time for Teancum to react, or (2) route limitations such as terrain prevented movement from the camp directly to, say, Omner, or (3) both of the above.

A184
51:29 city of Morianton

To the narrow pass—It is evident in 50:33 that Morianton and Teancum used different routes to reach the narrow pass. Plausibly Amalickiah's men followed the route - nearer the sea - that Morianton had taken from what had been his city northward to reach almost to the narrow neck of land (v. 30). Then Teancum plausibly used the same route northward this time as he did against Morianton, reaching Bountiful, then returning on the reverse of the Morianton route the short distance to the point to intercept Amalickiah.

A185
51:30 land of Bountiful

To the land northward—Clearly Moroni considered possession of the land of Bountiful (and the city too, because he fortified it so strongly) key to access to that part of the land northward of interest to the Nephites.

A186
51:32 land of Bountiful

To Mulek—the approach of Amalickiah to Bountiful out of Mulek was via “the beach by the seashore.” It is very likely that the city (=local land—53:3) of Bountiful was not far from the beach.

A187
51:33 narrow neck of land

Characteristic—Reference to the “heat of the day” (at new year's) causing fatigue indicates that this area was oppressively tropical during at least part of the year

A188
52:2 land northward

To the narrow pass—Lamanite strategy was not merely to seize the pass/neck in order

		to confine the Nephites but went further; it was “marching into the land northward.”
A189		
52:2	city of Mulek	To the land Bountiful—From the beach site on the borders of the land of Bountiful where Amalickiah was slain, the Lamanites retreated into the city of Mulek.
A190		
52:2	city of Mulek	Characteristic and extent—No land associated with this city is mentioned nor implied. Rather, emphasis is on its absolute protection from attack, in this verse and 16, 17, 20, 21 plus 53:6. The expression “into the city” may confirm the idea of physical isolation.
A191A		
52:9	land of Bountiful	To the narrow pass—Moroni felt that fortifying the land of Bountiful would secure the narrow pass. Cf. 53:3-5 and 52:2. The land/city Bountiful was the key that blocked access via the east coast, at least by way of the “beach route” taken by Amalickiah. [Note that in the final Nephite wars, neither Bountiful nor the east coast enter the story at all. Did Mormon write the first clause in 53:5, that is, was Bountiful still a stronghold in his day?]
A191B		
52:9	narrow pass	To the land northward—The pass led to the land northward. Control of the pass was required to get into the land northward (at least that part of interest to the Nephites then).
A192		
52:10	quarter of the land	Characteristic—This is the second use of this term. The first was 43:26 in reference to an area from Manti to the west sea south; cf. 56:14 and 58:30, also 53:8, “on the west sea, south,” i.e., “that part of the land.” Moroni’s charge to Teancum implies that at a minimum Bountiful, Mulek and Gid would be included in this “quarter.”

A193	52:11, 12, 15	borders by the west sea	Extent—It becomes apparent in chapters 56-57 that this area consists of the southern periphery of the land of Zarahemla, adjacent to the (east-west) narrow strip of wilderness from Manti to Antiparah and on to the west coast.
A194	52:15-18	city of Bountiful	To the land of Bountiful—This passage supports 53:3 to the effect that the city Bountiful is part of and integral to the land Bountiful [some readers of the Book of Mormon have speculated that there were two Bountifuls]. Moroni marches toward the land of Bountiful to assist Teancum; Teancum waits for him in the city of Bountiful; Moroni arrives in the land of Bountiful to meet Teancum; ergo, the city is in the land.
A195	52:15, 18	land of Bountiful	To the city of Zarahemla—The entry beginning, “in the twenty-seventh year” has Moroni start his march (leaving, it is implied, from Zarahemla) toward Bountiful. V. 18 says that he arrived in Bountiful “in the latter end” of that year. This journey between Zarahemla and Bountiful seems to consume a lengthy period—perhaps months. The route taken was likely hundreds of miles in length. [Since nothing is said about Jershon and Moroni’s camp being involved, it is unlikely that the route was via Jershon. Another way would have been via the west coast (cf. Mormon 2:6, 16ff.) which could account for how long it took Moroni to reach Teancum.
A196	52:17	city of Mulek	To the city Bountiful—Teancum makes a feint at Mulek, but returns to Bountiful; it is implied that no recognized land/city lies between.

A197 52:22	city of Mulek	Characteristic—There was wilderness on the west of the city (since the entire zone is evidently coastal lowland—no up or down is ever mentioned here—this wilderness must consist of forest, perhaps swampy).
A198 52:22	city of Mulek	Characteristic—When Teancum’s men march near Mulek “down near [meaning toward?] the seashore” (which is east of Mulek), they can be seen from within the fortress city.
A199 52:23	city of Mulek	To the seashore—“Down by the seashore” is here considered “northward,” i.e., toward Bountiful.
A200 52:27- 39	city of Bountiful	To the city of Mulek—The Lamanites pursuing Teancum vigorously come “near the city Bountiful.” They turn to flee, “lest perhaps they should not obtain the city Mulek before them; for they were wearied because of their march.” Now the maximum plausible distance they could travel in one day under hot, fatiguing conditions (v. 31 and 51:33) would be about 20 miles; the account implies that half that would be the distance from Mulek to the point they reached near the city Bountiful, for they felt concern that they might not return (the same distance) to safety. After some miles backpedaling, they were defeated, then prisoners were marched “into the land Bountiful” (still the same day). It seems Mulek and the city Bountiful, then, could not be much more than fifteen miles apart by trail (how near is “near”?) and somewhat less (ten?) on a beeline.
A201 53:2	city of Mulek	Characteristic—This time Moroni goes “to” the city, where the Lamanites had gone “into” it (with emphasis on protection).

A202 53:3-4	land/city of Bountiful	Extent—Prisoners dig a ditch “round about the land, or the city, Bountiful. “This cannot mean the general land Bountiful of 22:33, which reached to or near the west sea, but only the local land near the city, as confirmed in v. 4 where it is the city that is referred to as enclosed.
A203 53:6	city of Mulek	To the “land of Nephi”—This reference is an evident error (mental slip) by the original scribe or Mormon (for “land of the Nephites”?). Nothing else in the entire record supports the idea that the city of Mulek was considered part of an entity known as the land of Nephi.
A204 53:8	west sea, south area	Extent—From Manti to the sea via Antiparah and including Judea; see 43:26; 56:1; and 52:10-15.
A205 53:10, 12	land of Nephi	To the land of Zarahemla—“Down.”
A206 53:22	land of Melek	To the west sea, south quarter of the land—That the young Ammonites were sent there suggests that Melek may have been considered in that quarter, though not necessarily.
A207 54:1- 55:1	Lamanite headquarters	To the city of Gid—the exchange of epistles between Ammoron and Moroni surely took place at fairly close quarters, yet when Gid was taken (55:23), Ammoron was not there. Morianton seems a possible headquarters site, given 55:33, yet later (62:33) he was at the city of Moroni and may have been all along. [If so, then this supports the argument in A267 that the entire east coast was of limited length.]

<p>A208 54:1- 55:1</p>	<p>city of Gid</p>	<p>To Mulek (?), or Moroni's base camp (?), or a bivouac in the field (?)—From evening to dawn (vs. 4-22): (1) Moroni's wine-carrying party went from where Moroni was to Gid; (2) waited to observe the guards get drunk and go to sleep; (3) returned to report; (4) then the Nephite army came quietly to Gid, (5) lowered weapons over the wall to the prisoners, and (6) surrounded the city. Five miles seems to me the maximum distance involved to manage this. (Were the army waiting too near to Gid, the Lamanites might have discovered them and spoiled the ruse.) I think most likely Moroni was at Mulek at this time, not in Jershon, in which case this distance would be from Mulek to Gid, although such a short distance may be unlikely for two "cities."</p>
<p>A209 55:33</p>	<p>city of Omner</p>	<p>To the city of Morianton—Omner had been captured by the Lamanites between Morianton and Gid. Now in the recapture sequence, nothing is said of Omner. Perhaps the Lamanites had abandoned it, which suggests that it was unimportant, perhaps small.</p>
<p>A210 55:33</p>	<p>city of Morianton</p>	<p>characteristic—Since the Lamanites possessed both cities, Morianton and Lehi, one wonders what made them decide to make Morianton primary—perhaps its defensive position (a stream on one side?)</p>
<p>A211 56:1,2,9</p>	<p>west sea, south quarter</p>	<p>Characteristic (terminology)—V. 1 refers to "that quarter of the land" where Helaman was; v. 2, Helaman writing, says "this part of the land," and, v. 9, "part . . ."</p>
<p>A212 56:3,25</p>	<p>land of Nephi</p>	<p>To the land of Zarahemla—"Down out of the land of Nephi."</p>

A213 56:9	land of Melek	To the city of Judea—Helaman and his 2000 march “to the city of Judea,” apparently directly. No elevation clue is given.
A214 56:13- 14	west sea, south quarter	Extent—Cities captured by the Lamanites (mentioned in 53:8) are listed, from Manti to Antiparah; all belong in this quarter.
A215 56:13- 14	west sea, south quarter	To the city of Judea— It too is part of this quarter. See A213.
A216 56:13- 14	west sea, south quarter	Extent—Manti is on the Sidon, while Antiparah is near the west sea; it is likely that these two plus the intervening two cities lay in a line parallel to the narrow strip of wilderness (v. 25 says they are all “up”); such a line would plausibly be defined by a river (valley) flowing down from Antiparah toward and into the Sidon in the vicinity of Manti. If so, then the lack of mention of “lands” could mean that they were only garrison cities with little agricultural land about them (see A231).
A217 56:14	land of Manti	To other cities in the west sea, south quarter—“The land of Manti, or the city of Manti,” is here conjoined with (in order of distance) Zeezrom, Cumeni and Antiparah.
A218 56:14, & 25	Manti-to- Antiparah cities	To Zarahemla—From all, “down against Zarahemla.”
A219 56:14	city of Zeezrom	To adjacent cities—The list has Manti on the east side and Cumeni on the west. No city of Zeezrom is now mentioned.
A220 56:14	city of Cumeni	To adjacent cities—the list has Zeezrom on the east side and Antiparah on the other. No city of Cumeni is mentioned.

- A221
56:14 city of Antiparah To adjacent cities—the list has Cumeni on its east side and on the other “the city beyond in the borders by the [west] seashore” (see A224). No city of Antiparah is mentioned.
- A222
56:18, 22, & 24 city of Judea To Manti, Zeezrom, Cumeni and Antiparah—Judea was clearly the next city northward from these four cities on the west side of Sidon; it served as a stopper in a bottleneck (tributaries of the Sidon ran down from the narrow strip mountains to converge at Judea?) protecting cities farther north from Lamanite approach. No land of Judea is mentioned, which may mean that the city was in mountainous country.
- A223
56:25 city of Nephihah To Manti—Lamanites dare not “cross the head of Sidon, over to the city of Nephihah,” clearly their next possible strategic target on the east; this reverses 43:22, keeping the “over” consistent.
- A224
56:30-32 city of Antiparah To “the city . . . in the borders by the seashore”—the latter city, apparently the next one “beyond,” would be “down,” although not stated (cf. the “down” of v. 25, which tells us that Antiparah was “up”). Cf. A145. The fact that the Lamanites fell for the ruse indicates that the normal Nephite route to the city was via Antiparah. “The” city indicates that there was only one obvious one, probably the only one the Nephites held in that coastal sector.
- A225
56:36-38 west wilderness To Antiparah—Helaman’s group came from Judea, which lay eastward from Antiparah, and headed toward the west sea. Their flight was at right angles to their first course, thus northward along the strip of wilderness. Since they headed northward from near Antiparah (the highest “up” spot) from the point where

they were discovered by the enemy, as they had planned, the wilderness through which they fled must have consisted of mountains (the edge of the Sidon basin).

A226
56:38-
41 west wilderness

Characteristics—The more than two days full-tilt flight must have been more or less along the mountain crest, which would make sense of the statement “durst not turn to the right nor to the left lest they should be surrounded.” Also, the fact that Helaman could detect when their pursuers stopped means that sight-lines were open, at least at points, agreeable to such a route.

A227
56:57 west wilderness

To the local land of Zarahemla—The headlong flight/pursuit northward into the wilderness would have gone on the order of thirty or forty miles (the going would be rugged enough). Sending their prisoners straight to Zarahemla then made sense geographically as well as logistically, for the capital would have been downhill and more or less east from the battle spot.

A228
56:57 west wilderness

To the city of Judea—Helaman went “back” to the city of Judea, probably over the track they had come on, or perhaps downhill by a shorter way.

A229
57:4 city of Antiparah

To other cities held by the Lamanites—They “fled to their other cities, which they had possession of, to fortify them.” That these could have included unnamed Lamanite cities is very unlikely considering “had possession of” and “to fortify them,” so it probably refers to Zeezrom, Cumeni and Manti.

A230
57:4 city of Antiparah

To other cities held by the Lamanites—Antiparah was evidently the most remote, most difficult to defend city of the Manti-Zeezrom-Cumeni-Antiparah string [the Lamanite base “camp” was apparently in

		Manti (v. 30), probably because that was most accessible logistically to the land of Nephi], while Antiparah was farthest from Manti. Hence Antiparah's abandonment made sense to the Lamanites in cost terms.
A231	57:8-11, city of Cumeni & 17	Characteristic—The obvious dependence of the Lamanite garrison on imported provisions, and the same for Judea and Helaman's army (56:27-30; 58:3-8; 60:9), confirms that in this presumably mountainous area up near the narrow wilderness strip little agriculture was feasible, at least during wartime (see A216).
A232	57:11 land of Judea	To the city of Cumeni and to the local land of Zarahemla—It is understandable in logistical terms why the prisoners taken at Cumeni were sent to Zarahemla but the provisions to Judea; there was not enough food at Judea to support the prisoners. Note that it appears (though not certain) in the phrasing that the route now used to Zarahemla was not through Judea.
A233	57:15-17, & 30 city of Cumeni	To the local land of Zarahemla—"Down."
A234	57:30-31 city of Cumeni	To Manti—Most logically (i.e., most directly) in this mountainous country the route followed by Gid and the prisoners from Cumeni "down to the land of Zarahemla" would have been down a stream valley tributary to the Sidon; this would not have gone directly to Manti but to some point downstream from there, otherwise the prisoners would have been at risk of escaping to or being intercepted by the Lamanites still at Manti.
A235	57:30-31, & 34 city of Cumeni	To Manti—The surprise Lamanite army going against Helaman at Cumeni came from Manti (v. 22 says they were driven

“back” there) by a different route than that taken by Gid, for the spies’ words show that they would not have encountered the Lamanite army had they continued the way they were going. So the enemy was on a partially parallel route from Manti to Cumeni, confirmed by the fact that Gid’s men “took our march with speed” directly to Cumeni.

A236
58:13-19 city of Manti

Characteristic—The wilderness side (one side, implied) was near the city. This wilderness was large enough that the Nephites could be divided into three bodies, the two extremes allowing room for the Lamanites to go through the middle in pursuit without seeing the two ambush groups (a minimum of a mile wide?)

A237
58:18-24 city of Manti

To Zarahemla—Helaman’s luring party drew the Lamanites either to the east or west of Manti, then turned northward toward which Zarahemla, then worried the pursuers. [The feint would not have been toward the south, for then the veering would have had to be 180 degrees, and the Lamanites would have backed off sooner.]

A238
58:18-24 city of Manti

Extent—Nothing is said about the land, only the city, of Manti in this operation. The journeying in the wilderness had to have taken from, say, mid-morning to dark (v. 14ff) at full speed, on a curving path, so the distance traveled must have been at least 20 miles. Hence that wilderness that was near the city extended unbroken either east or west and then northward for that distance. So the (settled) land of Manti may have been smallish in view of this much wilderness being so close.

A239
58:31 city of Zeezrom

Characteristic—Zeezrom was in the initial list of cities captured, falling between Manti and Cumeni, but it is nowhere mentioned

		as recaptured until in this verse it is indicated as in Nephite hands. It may have been a secondary city which the Lamanites abandoned without a battle.
A240 58:35	quarter of the land	Characteristic—Helaman refers to Moroni’s area, around Mulek and Gid, as a quarter. Cf. 59:2,3.
A241 59:5	city of Nephihah	To the cities of Moroni, Lehi and Morianton—Nephihah had been something of a refuge hub to which people had fled from all those three cities.
A242 59:6	land of Manti	To Nephihah—Lamanites who left the Manti area “and from the land round about” there, had “come over” and joined the Lamanites at Nephihah.
A243 59:6	part of the land	Extent—The Nephihah-Moroni-Lehi-Morianton area is referred to as “this part of the land.” It is not clear whether that was a “quarter” and whether it differed from Moroni’s quarter (cf. 58:35). It might constitute a third quarter. V. 9 indicates that commander Moroni was out of operational touch with Nephihah, suggesting that indeed there was a difference in “quarter,” or at least some notable communication (distance?) problem between his place and there (cf. v. 10. [The northwest area including Ammonihah and Noah could be the fourth quarter?])
A244 59:8	city of Nephihah	To Gid and Mulek—Refugees from Nephihah “came even and joined the army of Moroni,” which presumably was in the vicinity of Gid. The expression “even” might signify an unusual distance. [Note that nothing is said of Moroni’s old “camp” in Jershon; might he have been there by this time instead of near Gid?]

<p>A245 60:19</p>	<p>land of Zarahemla</p>	<p>Extent—With regard primarily to the local land of Zarahemla (cf. v. 30), Moroni refers to it here as “in the heart of our country” and “surrounded by security.” [Perhaps the heart was conceived of as a fifth section along with the four peripheral quarters—cf. v. 22, “in the borders of the land.”][The city is in the “center” of the greater land of Zarahemla. I argued above that the airline distance from Nephi to Zarahemla was ca. 180 miles beeline. From the middle of the narrow strip of wilderness to the city Zarahemla would have been on the order of 80. For Zarahemla city to be in “the center,” greater Zarahemla toward the north ought to be roughly the same. However, there is reason for thinking that the capital was slightly off-“center” toward Nephi (especially the abrupt arrival of dissenter Coriantumr at the city, Hel. 1:19). Thus I assume that from the capital to the northern edge of greater Zarahemla was about 80 miles. Beyond that point was at least one “land between” (3 Ne. 3:23) Zarahemla and Bountiful, plus Bountiful itself, before reaching the land Desolation and thus the land northward. We have no reason to think that the land between or Bountiful were extensive; they might add 80 more miles. Thus the total length from Zarahemla to Desolation would be approximately 160 miles and from the city of Nephi to Desolation was around 360.]</p>
<p>A246 60:33</p>	<p>Moroni’s quarter (east sea borders)</p>	<p>To the local land of Zarahemla—“Up.”</p>
<p>A247 61:5</p>	<p>land of Gideon</p>	<p>To Zarahemla—Pahoran was driven out of Zarahemla to Gideon “before them” (his enemies). [The “before” possibly relates to the Hebrew word for east, meaning, to the</p>

		fore—cf. A131). Gideon was generally east from Zarahemla.]
A248 61:6	part of the land	Extent—Pahoran in Gideon refers to “this part of the land.” It is left unclear whether this expression refers to a “quarter” or only to the area in general. (In v. 15, he speaks of “that part of the land” where Moroni is, which elsewhere is called a “quarter.”)
A249 61:7	land of Gideon	To Zarahemla—Pahoran in Gideon says that the rebels, who possess Zarahemla, dare not “come out” against him to battle. The city was fortified with a wall (Hel. 1:21), and the expression may refer to that. Or perhaps it is a more general expression anent coming out of the “urban area” to a field of combat (cf. 2:17).
A250 61:8	land of Zarahemla	Extent—Reference to “the land, or the city, of Zarahemla” indicates that the local land of Zarahemla still has meaning.
A251 62:3-6	various lands between Gid and Gideon	To Moroni’s quarter and Gideon—The lands are not named (none hitherto mentioned would qualify geographically), but the area traversed must have been substantial (cf. v. 4, “whatsoever place,” and vs. 4 and 6, “in all his march”) and the population significant.
A252 62:7	local land of Zarahemla	To the land of Gideon—The loyalist armies went “down” “into the land of Zarahemla”(cf. 61:7, reverse phrasing).
A253 62:12	part of the land	Extent—Helaman’s part. Cf. A211.
A254 62:13-14	Bountiful quarter	To the land of Zarahemla—Comparison of these two verses shows that reinforcements for Lehi and Teancum, who were based in the Bountiful-Mulek-Gid sector, went by a different route than Moroni took to reach Nephihah (or Moroni would simply have

had the reinforcements for Teancum go with him, then onward from Nephihah).

A255
62:14, land of Nephihah
18

To the land of Zarahemla—One might have expected “down” or “over” to Nephihah, but we have only “towards.” The reason may be that the intermediate action of v. 15 interrupts the sense of “down/over.” [Cf. vs. 3-4, where Gideon might have been “up” but we again have “towards,” also perhaps because of the intermediate action.]

A256
62:15 land of Nephihah

To the land of Nephi—The two forces were using the same route, for part of the way, from Nephi to Nephihah and Zarahemla to Nephihah. The Nephite force easily “took” the smaller Lamanite bunch, who numbered but 4000+. Likely the few Lamanites were moving faster and blundered into the Nephites. [The Lamanites could hardly have been on the route Moroni had taken coming up to Gideon (A251), for he had touched significant Nephite populations, which the small Lamanite group would have avoided? There must have been largely parallel routes for the latter part of the journey and they happened to coincide at this point.]

A257
62:18- city of Nephihah
19

To the plains of Nephihah—“Near the city.” But the singling out of “*the* plains” suggests that areas other than plain (which likely means flat, unforested grassland?) also were around the city.

A258
62:20- city of Nephihah
23

Characteristic—The area inside the wall was large enough that only part (the east, near the exit toward Lehi and Moroni) was occupied. Furthermore, the west part was remote enough from the east for many men to sneak in over the wall in the night without being heard.

A259 62:25	city of Moroni	To the city of Nephihah and the city of Lehi—The fleeing Lamanites went to Moroni, not Lehi, suggesting that Moroni was closer, or at least no farther away (in travel time anyway), than Lehi (?).
A260 62:25	city of Moroni	To the east sea—It was “in the borders by the seashore.”
A261 62:30	land/city of Lehi	To the land/city of Nephihah—After capturing Nephihah, Moroni “went forth” to Lehi (easterly?—cf. A131).
A262 62:32	city to city	To the city of Lehi—The Lamanites were pursued “from city to city, until they were met by Lehi and Teancum.” Only two mentioned cities are possibly involved, Morianton and Omner. But the latter hardly fits. The phrase may imply that there were other (no doubt minor) garrison cities in the area. [Lehi and Teancum were last known to have taken the city of Gid, “northward.” Why the Lamanites would have moved in the direction they did is unclear; an alternative is that Moroni had correlated in advance with his forces at Gid by messenger, and they were attacking from the north the same day as Moroni attacked.]
A263 62:32	land/city of Lehi	To “even down upon the borders by the seashore, until they came to the land of Moroni”—From Nephihah to Lehi was seaward (eastward), and Lehi to Morianton may have been also. This verse implies that the end result of the Lamanite flight was their arrival very near the shore, then movement along it to the land of Moroni.
A264 62:34	land of Moroni	Extent—It must have been of limited area for the Nephites to be able to surround the land (not just the city) on two sides.

A265 62:34	land of Moroni	Characteristics—There was wilderness on both the east and south sides of the land. That on the east was between the land/city and the sea. This east wilderness is not likely to have been extensive; since the city was “sunk in the depths of the sea” (3 Nephi 9:4), it seems likely to have been very close to the shore (cf. 50:13: “by the east sea”). [Possibly it lay on an estuary with a peninsula of wilderness land to its east?]
A266 62:35	city of Nephihah	To the land/city of Moroni—The statements, “thus they did encamp for the night,” and they “were weary because of the greatness of the march” clearly imply that the entire operation since Moroni attacked Nephihah took place in a single day. [It might be argued that he paused for a day or so before attacking at Lehi, but that makes little tactical sense, for his troops were virtually unharmed at Nephihah, and again at Lehi, so logically he would press his advantage over the demoralized Lamanites.] If but a single day is indeed indicated, then the total distance from Nephihah “from city to city” to “down by the seashore” (beach?) to Moroni could hardly exceed twenty-five miles; the part of that distance parallel to the coast from Moroni to include Morianton and Lehi cannot have been more than fifteen miles, it appears to me.
A267 62:35	east sea borders	Extent—[We can now estimate the total distance from Moroni to Bountiful along the coast of the east sea. We have seen that projected on the coastline Bountiful to Mulek was on the order of ten miles direct (and that not parallel to the coast), and here the distance from Moroni to include Morianton and Lehi, again projected on the coast, is unlikely to exceed fifteen. The only other cities said taken by Amalickiah were

Omner and Gid. Gid proves to be offset (inland?) from Mulek (see H24), so the north-south distance between them is slight. In the Omner area there might be some unusual distance, but it is unlikely that sector (from Gid/Mulek to Morianton) would be longer than twenty miles, based on the intervals between the other cities. Thus the whole east coast area from Bountiful to Moroni that we can account for seems only about 60 miles. But for the sake of uncertainties, let us put it at 65-70. From the city of Bountiful to the line with Desolation might add another ten or so, but even then, the entire Nephite east coast cannot plausibly exceed 80 miles long. This calculation makes immediately evident why Amalickiah attacked here and why Moroni was fixated on defending this sector above all others.]

A268

62:38 land of Moroni

To the lands of the Nephites—The Lamanites were driven into the wilderness “out of the land [of the Nephites].”

A269

63:4 land of Zarahemla

To the land which was northward— Presumably the greater land of Zarahemla was the source of the large body of migrants. [No hint is given of which part of the land northward was the destination, but why would they go farther than necessary to find suitable lands? The Morianton affair showed that such land was not distant.]

A270

63:5 narrow neck of land

To the lands Bountiful and Desolation— Hagoth built his ship “on the borders of the land Bountiful” which spot was also “by the land Desolation.” That means that his spot was considered not quite “in” either land but near where the two join at the west sea. (Bountiful is indicated in 22:32 to adjoin Desolation and to reach the west sea.) [The prepositions used in relation to the two lands and the shipbuilding site

(“on the borders” and “by”) suggest hesitation to include the west side of the narrow neck in Bountiful, which is understandable given that the city Bountiful was clear over near the east sea—52:32; 53:3-4. One may also wonder why ships at all?, since they were not used on the east side. One possible answer is that overland communication along the west was difficult or impossible because of mountains reaching the sea, aridity (cf. the timber shipping), or whatever.]

A271
63:7, land northward
& 10

To Hagoth’s port—[The fact that provisions were the prime cargo suggests that the distance involved was not great; “newfangled” ships would have been unreliable enough that people would have been foolish to depend upon them as a major source of subsistence support, which would be riskier the farther away the colony.]

A272
63:15 land of Nephi

To the land of Zarahemla—Once more, “down.”

Helaman
H1
1:15,17 land of Nephi

To the land of Zarahemla—“Down.”

H2
1:18 city of Zarahemla

To Nephite lands in general—The city and local land is “the heart of their lands.” Cf. A245.

H3
1:19 land of Zarahemla

To the narrow strip of wilderness—Coriantumr came with such great speed that there was no time to gather a defense except “the watch by the entrance of the city.” [This implies a certain limit to the distance from the borders of the land, above Manti, to the capital city. A sighting 75 miles above the capital ought to have given

a day's warning. Or was the alarm, as at Pearl Harbor, ignored at headquarters?]

- H4
1:23 land of Bountiful To the land of Zarahemla—Coriantumr followed the classic Lamanite strategy (e.g., Alma 50:32) of gaining control of the narrow neck of land (“the north parts of the land”); here the key was “the city of Bountiful” (cf. Alma 53:4-5).
- H5
1:24-26 center of the land To the land of Zarahemla—The capital city and the areas nearby downriver from it are considered “the center of the land” and, apparently, have the greatest population. [From the lowland periphery, the capital city looked like part of this center—see A245— but closer at hand, downstream from Zarahemla was the “center of the center.”]
- H6
1:27 “the most capital parts of the land” To Zarahemla—The downriver area is termed “the most capital parts of the land, “containing many (unnamed) cities.
- H7
1:28-29 land of Bountiful To the location of Lehi and his army—Lehi had last been heard of at the city of Moroni (probably most of the Nephite armies were thereabouts, facing the most likely spot for a new attack (see Helaman 1:26), where Amalickiah had begun his campaign (cf. Alma 62:32,42). Moronihah had to be nearby also to permit his giving Lehi the command in haste. So Lehi headed northward through the east lowlands toward a point calculated to meet Coriantumr before he reached Bountiful.
- H8
1:29-31 land of Bountiful To the city of Zarahemla—The route taken by Coriantumr (battling some as he went) was slower (longer?) than Lehi's, for it would have taken time for Moronihah/Lehi even to get word by messenger about Coriantumr's intention and route. So Lehi's

route had to be shorter in order for him to “intercept.”

H9 1:29-31	land of Bountiful	To the city of Zarahemla—The route used by Coriantumr to Bountiful is not specified, but in retreat (“back”) he got himself caught in the middle of the Nephites, thus he had to have gone from some point on the Sidon through the middle of the land southward. His target, the city Bountiful, suggests that Coriantumr headed from the Sidon toward the east sea lowlands. [Lamanites in Mormon’s day ignored Bountiful when they reached the narrow pass via the west sea (Joshua).]
H10 2:11	wilderness	To the city of Zarahemla—Gadianton and band flee into the wilderness by a secret way.
H11 3:3	land northward	To the greater land of Zarahemla—A large number migrated. (Nothing is said if by sea; probably it was not, for ship travel is presented as clearly exceptional).
H12 3:4-5	land of waters	To the land northward—No statement occurs elsewhere quite like this “travel to an exceeding great distance” (actually it is a vague, relative expression). Third Nephi 7:12 has dissenters go to the “northernmost” part of the land, but nothing is then said of waters. The waters sound like Morianton’s destination—Alma 50:29—but in his case nothing was said of distance. Thus no basis exists for an estimate of distance. “Spread forth” and “desolation” (cf. v. 8) imply gradual filling in from the neck northward rather than grand leapfrogging
H13 3:8	sea north, sea south	To the inhabited lands—The fourfold labeling of seas applies specifically to the land northward. With movement in force into the land northward, the terminology

		for seas may have changed from what had sufficed in reference to the land southward.
H14		
3:10-11	land northward	To the land southward—The economics of shipping with these new vessels to haul the timber would limit exports to relatively short distances, a couple of hundred miles, probably only to settlements along the coast and a very short distance inland. Surely basic timber could be obtained in most localities easier than to carry it on voyages of many hundreds of miles. Comparison with modern ships and exporting would be absurd, of course.)
H15		
3:31	lands of the Nephites	Extent—The land of Zarahemla and all the regions round about (including settled portions of the land northward).
H16		
4:4	land of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—"Up."
H17		
4:5	land of Nephi	To the land of Zarahemla—"Down."
H18		
4:5-6	land of Zarahemla	To neighboring lands—Lamanites and dissenters gained control of the land of Zarahemla "and also all the lands, even unto the land which was near the land Bountiful" (v. 13, "almost all their lands"). "And the Nephites were driven even into the land of Bountiful." Thus unnamed (local?) lands intervened between the [local?] land of Zarahemla and the land of Bountiful, particularly on the west. [Cf. A245]
H19		
4:7	fortified line	To the land Bountiful—The line was from the west sea "even unto the east." [Not the same as to the east <i>sea</i> . Likely the line was more or less in the same sector centuries later called the land of Joshua—Mormon 2:6. Cf. Alma 22:32, where a line from the east sea is mentioned. The difference in

times indicated between these two—day vs. day and a half—shows that they are not the same.]

H20

4:9-10 land southward

Extent—The lands regained by the Nephites (“many cities”) constituted half their original possessions [by implication, in the land southward only]. Cf. vs. 8 and 16 and 5:14-16.

H21

5:14-16 city of Bountiful

To Gid—Whereas in Amalickiah’s war and the subsequent Lamanite retreat Mulek is indicated as next to Bountiful, here Gid is. Evidently Gid and Mulek were approximately the same distance from Bountiful, depending on the route chosen.

H22

5:14-16 city of Gid

To the city of Mulek—Evidently Gid and Mulek were approximately the same distance from Bountiful, depending on the route chosen. On the basis of A186, I suppose Mulek to have been seaward and Gid inland.

H23

5:14-16 eastern lowlands

Extent—The half of their former possessions held at this time by the Nephites obviously constituted the eastern lowlands where the named cities lay. This indicates that the “possessions” of the Nephites in the east lowlands were extensive, roughly equivalent in area to those in the land of Zarahemla proper.

H24

6:10 land south

Characteristic—Called “Lehi” . . . for the Lord did bring . . . Lehi into the land south.” [Likely this name was a recent innovation, only since heavy settlement of Nephites began in the land north.]

H25

6:10 land north

Characteristic—Called “Mulek . . . for the Lord did bring Mulek into the land north.” [Likely this name was a recent innovation—see H24.]

H26 11:20	land northward and land southward	To the seas—People spread anew until they covered the whole face of the land, both on the northward and on the southward, from the sea west to the sea east. [This statement concerns <i>both</i> the lands southward and northward; reference is not made to the seas north and south inasmuch as those apparently relate only to the land northward (see H13).]
H27 11:28, 31-32	robbers' areas	To settled areas—Unnamed wilderness areas now contain large bands of robbers able to defeat Nephite and also Lamanite (?) armies.
3 Nephi 3N1 2:17; 1:27	robbers' areas	To settled areas—Same as H27.
3N2 3:6-8	robbers' areas	To settled areas—The epistle from Giddianhi, the robber leader, to the Nephite governor demands surrender of their cities and lands. This makes it sound as if the robbers are a threat primarily to the Nephites, not to Lamanite lands.
3N3 3:17	robbers' areas	To settled areas—Lachoneus prepared for the time when the robbers would come "down" out of the wilderness." [But (v. 14) the armies included both Nephites and "Lamanites, or of all them who were numbered among the Nephites," so it remains unclear where the two groups were located in terms of named lands; but see 3N13.]
3N4 3:20	robbers' areas	To settled areas—Unnamed wilderness areas now contained large bands of robbers; they are said to be "up upon the mountains" and also "in(to) the wilderness."

3N5 3:21	refuge area	To the lands of the Nephites—Lachoneus proposes gathering “in the center of our lands,” clearly now counting in the land northward possessions. If his expression “center” is descriptive, then the farthest northward Nephite colonies could have extended from the refuge area was roughly the same distance—approximately 160 miles—that separated that refuge from Manti, the southward limit of the Nephites.
3N6 3:23	refuge area	To the lands of Zarahemla and Bountiful— “The land which was appointed was the land of Zarahemla, and the land which was between the land Zarahemla and the land Bountiful . . . to the line which was between the land Bountiful and the land Desolation.” [“Was the land of Zarahemla” sounds as if part of the designated area was in the general land of Zarahemla, for it was surely not all of Zarahemla; another part was “the land which was between;” and a third part was in Bountiful (cf. “to the line . . . Desolation”). Yet, puzzlingly, this was “one land,” v. 25, and cf. 3N10 on the small operational size of the land actually utilized for refuge.]
3N7 4:1	robbers’ areas	To settled areas—Robbers came “down” from the hills and out of the mountains and wilderness.
3N8 4:4-7	refuge area	To settled areas (i.e., former settled areas, now occupied by robbers)—Robbers come “up” against the Nephite refuge. [Since the Nephites had gathered from the land northward also, where presumably they too were being afflicted with robber attacks, there is a possibility that the “up” refers to robbers from all directions, although that is not necessarily so]

3N9 4:13	robbers' area	To refuge area and settled areas—The robbers flee, pursued by Nephites, to the borders of “the wilderness” (evidently a quite specific boundary).
3N10 4:16,21	refuge area	To settled areas (i.e., former settled areas, now occupied by robbers)—Robbers come “up” on all sides to lay siege against what must have been a very favorable defensive position, from which defenders could “march out” to harass the robber armies. So this specific refuge area was small enough to be besieged, yet it was within a larger zone which they had apparently been using for some subsistence, because the robbers thought they could hurt them by cutting them off from those lands.
3N11 4:23	furthestmost parts of the land northward	To the land southward—The robbers lift the siege to go north. [The motive being similar, it seems that the area indicated could be the same as the destination of dissident “king” Jacob in 3N14.]
3N12 6:1-2	refuge area	To the lands southward and northward—This is the reverse or dispersion of those who had gathered (3N5).
3N13 6:3	robber resettlement area	To Nephite and Lamanite settled areas—Those robbers who agreed to peaceful resettlement, i.e., those “who were desirous to remain Lamanites,” were allotted lands for cultivation. [This implies that the robbers had been primarily Lamanites and that the areas they had previously exploited had been chiefly up in the land of Nephi (cf. 3N3).]
3N14 7:12	king Jacob's destination in the northernmost part of the land	To Nephite lands—[Inasmuch as Jacob's intent was political autonomy, he would have headed for an area “out of the reach of the people” yet no farther than necessary, for he probably harbored the idea of later

becoming king over the combined peoples. In objective terms we do not know how far away he went. Perhaps 300 miles from Zarahemla would have made sense. Cf. 3N5. In any case, this may be the farthest point north settled by any group mentioned in the Book of Mormon.]

3N15

8:9 city of Moroni

To the sea—It “did sink into the depths of the sea.”

3N16

8:8-11 city of Moronihah

To the land southward—The cities of Zarahemla and Moroni are mentioned, then Moronihah, followed by v. 11: “And there was a great and terrible destruction in the land southward.” Verse 12 then refers to the land northward. The implication is that Moronihah was in the land southward. [In the light of Helaman 4 concerning military operations by the commander Moronihah, which focused on the area toward Bountiful and the east sea zone, the city bearing his name could reasonably be expected to have been north of Zarahemla, at least.]

3N17

8:11-18 entire land

Characteristics—Some interpreters of these verses have supposed that the entire configuration of the lands was changed, a conclusion not justified by the text. It is said that “the *face* of the whole earth became deformed” (v. 17, emphasis added) and “the whole *face* of the land was changed” (v. 12). There is no hint that any land rose out of the sea, and Moroni was the only place mentioned which sank beneath the sea. [Mormon, writing after the events, gives no hint that the essentials of the former geography had changed. True, Moronihah was buried (a landslide resulting from the earthquake?) Some cities were burned, others were “sunk” (cf. 4N2), buildings were destroyed and strata of the earth were “broken up” by the quakes. However, the forces mentioned are

conventional—tempest, whirlwind, thunder, lightning, and earthquake—which could change “the face of the land” without being unprecedented except in scale.]

- 3N18
9:4 city of Moroni To the sea—Sunk in the depths of the sea.
- 3N19
9:7 city of Jerusalem To the waters of Mormon—Said earlier to be located “away joining the borders of Mormon” (A38), it is plausible that when we learn here that “waters have ... come up in the stead” of the city, those waters would be from the body constituting “the waters of Mormon,” probably a lake (it was up in the land of Nephi, not by the sea).
- 3N20
9:3-7 cities of Onihah, Gilgal, Mocum, and Moronihah To the land southward—In this first half of the list of destroyed cities as recited by the Lord, the only three whose locations are known (Zarahemla, Moroni and Jerusalem) were in the land southward. It seems very likely that the other four in the group were likewise. [Note that in Mormon’s preliminary report (8:8-12) he proceeds from land southward to land northward, likely mirroring the sequence in 9:3-10.]
- 3N21
9:8 cities of Jacob, Gadiandi, Gadiomnah, and Gimginnoand To the land northward—The list of cities in vs. 3-7 begins and ends with land southward places. Verses 8-10 seem set off, among the nine named cities there listed, the only one for which we know the location (Jacobugath) is in the land northward. This leads to the suggestion, although without strong confidence, that the set of four in v. 8 also was in the north.
- 3N22
9:9 city of Jacobugath To the land northward—We know this city was in the extreme north of the lands mentioned by the Nephite record.

3N23	9:10 cities of Laman, Josh, Gad, and Kishkumen	To the land northward—See the logic in 3N21, which indicates that these four cities belong in the north
3N24	11:1 land of Bountiful	To the city of Bountiful—The temple where the Savior appeared is said to have been “in the land Bountiful” without reference to a (the) city.
3N25	19:10-13 land of Bountiful	To a body of water—“Water’s edge” was immediately adjacent to where the multitude heard the Savior at the temple in the land Bountiful. [This is so obvious and uncommented upon that it is reasonable that water was a major feature of the landscape, probably a river, considering the lowland, near-coastal setting.]
3N26	Chs. 11, 19, & 20 land of Bountiful	Characteristic—The temple was standing, any breaking up of regular routes did not prevent people from traveling in the dark to spread the word, and bread and wine were in adequate supply for the considerable multitude attending. These may indicate that the destruction in the narrow neck area was limited compared with some other areas, though notable. (Of course, these conditions refer to a time months after the destruction—see 3 Ne. 10:18.)
4 Nephi	4N1	To all the lands round about and all the face of the land—V. 1 has the establishment of “a church” by “the disciples of Jesus” in “all the lands round about” [“round about” Bountiful, obviously]. V. 2, a year later, reports the same “upon all the face of the land, both Nephites and Lamanites.” This indicates that every local land which Nephites and Lamanites were known to inhabit (known, that is, to the writer), had been preached to and organized. The entire

process took but three years. Given travel and communication conditions known earlier in the text and the limited number of authorized preachers, this could not have comprised an area more than hundreds of miles in any direction from Bountiful.

4N2
1:7-10 all the land

Characteristics—Burned cities, including Zarahemla, were rebuilt, indicating that terrain and resources had not been fatally disrupted by the catastrophe. Also “many cities” had sunk and “waters came up in the stead thereof” (not necessarily in a sea; some perhaps flooded by dammed streams) so these could not be rebuilt. Furthermore, the rapid rebound in population and prosperity within 25 years confirms the general stability of the scene even after the destruction.

4N3
1:20 Lamanite lands

To the land in general—The revolt of a small part of the people who took upon them the name Lamanites would be, of course, by the descendants of former Lamanites, now reclaiming their name and heritage. Obviously they would be inhabitants of their ancestors’ lands, almost certainly in the land of Nephi. Compare v. 39.

4N4
1:35-39 divided lands

To the land in general—It is perfectly clear here that descendants took up the new tribal labels while continuing to occupy their ancestral lands (compare Mormon 1:8).

Mormon
Mm1
1:3 hill Shim

To the land Antum—The hill is in the land; it was near enough to young Mormon’s home that he was somewhat familiar with it.

Mm2		
1:6	land Antum	To the land southward—Young Mormon, though taken by his father to the land of Zarahemla, could expect to come back to or near Antum, implying a certain amount of social interchange between the two.
Mm3		
1:10	borders of Zarahemla	To the waters of Sidon—War began when the Lamanites attacked the Nephites “by the waters of Sidon” “in the borders of Zarahemla.” [This is clearly the traditional attack route via the general Manti area.]
Mm4		
1:18	robber area	To the land in general—These Gadianton robbers, “who were among the Lamanites, did infest the land.” Yet 4 Nephi 1:46 said the robbers were spread “over all the face of the land.” It is unclear, then, what Mormon means here by “among the Lamanites.”
Mm5		
2:2-3	land of Zarahemla	To the Lamanite attack point—No “up” is mentioned as Mormon did “go forth” to lead the Nephite armies against the Lamanites. Nor is there a “down,” for the Lamanites “did [merely] come upon us.” [In general, Mormon uses elevational prepositions only sparingly in his own story.]
Mm6		
2:3	land of Zarahemla	“Towards the north countries”—The frightened Nephites retreat. There is no reason to think that this expression is not broadly a synonym for “the land northward.”
Mm7		
2:4	city of Angola	To the local land of Zarahemla—Nephites “did come to” this place (no land mentioned) as they moved northward. [Since soon afterward they reach the west sea (v.6), presumably this is somewhere within the greater land of Zarahemla northwestward from the capital. [It could be in the area of earlier Ammonihah or Noah if those were among the unnamed

		cities destroyed at the time of the crucifixion.]
Mm8		
2:5	land of David	To the local land of Zarahemla—The same logic concerning direction applies as in Mm7. No city is mentioned. [It could be in the area of earlier Ammonihah or Noah if those were the renamed after their chief cities were destroyed at the time of the crucifixion.]
Mm9		
2:5	city of Angola	To the land of David—There is no evident reason why the city could not be within the land of David, although it need not be.
Mm10		
2:6	land of Joshua	To the land of Zarahemla—The Nephites were on their way to the “north countries” (vs. 3 and 16-17) and here reached the west sea area on their way to the narrow neck. Joshua is obviously northwestward from Zarahemla and on a (probably, the) major route northwestward.
Mm11		
2:6	land of Joshua	To the borders west by the seashore—It was on the west sea’s coastal plain.
Mm12		
2:9	land of Joshua	Characteristic—Mormon’s armies were successful in fortifying against the Lamanites here (for 14 years—vs. 9 and 16), whereas at Angola and David they could not hold. This suggests that Joshua was in a more defensible position. It being in the west coastal lowland, the Nephites obviously had crossed over the mountains that formed the western rim of the Sidon basin (cf. A22). The Nephites’ success probably owed to their defense of the mountain pass.
Mm13		
2:16-17	city of Jashon	To the land of Antum—The city was near the land Antum where Ammaron had deposited the Nephite archive in the hill Shim, i.e., it was in the land northward. [The fleeing Nephites had gone from Joshua

through the narrow neck into the land northward without Mormon's specifically noting the neck or the narrow pass, but we know from Mm31 and preceding verses that Antum, and thus Jashon, was indeed in the land northward, beyond the pass.]

Mm14
2:16-17 land of Jashon

Characteristic—Perhaps a populous place, because there was a city there and also because the scared Nephites felt that they could safely stop there.

Mm15
2:17 land of Joshua

To Antum and the land northward—Mormon "had gone" to the land Antum, no doubt when Ammaron had told him to; the thirteen year interval since Ammaron's instructions had elapsed during the Nephites' sojourn in Joshua. Mormon then had safe access to the narrow neck and the land Antum while his men in the relative safety of Joshua blocked any immediate Lamanite threat.

Mm16
2:20-21 land of Shem

To the land of Jashon—From Jashon they "had come northward" to Shem. [As the account is very cryptic here, we cannot guess a distance with confidence, but it was only a single retreat sequence away from Jashon, so probably consisted of tens or scores of miles. Cf. 3N5 and Mm36.]

Mm17
2:20-21 land of Shem

Characteristic—A fortifiable city here, suggests a substantial population. Furthermore, they "did gather in our people" to here, suggesting that it was a center of considerable importance in relation to surrounding lands.

Mm18
2:27 land of Shem

To the land of Zarahemla—Without any geographical details, Mormon says only that from Shem they pursued the defeated Lamanites and regained possession of "the lands of our inheritance," that is, the land of

Zarahemla (in addition to their territories in the land northward).

Mm19

2:28-29 narrow passage

3:5-6 narrow pass

To the narrow neck of land—The reference is to what had earlier been termed the “narrow pass” (so it still existed regardless of the destruction at the time of the crucifixion. In 3:5, Mormon reverts to “narrow pass.” It is as crucial to Mormon as it had been in the eyes of Moroni centuries earlier (see A159)—the strategic hinge point between the land southward and the land northward. The cruciality is seen in v. 6 (cf. 4:4) where Mormon says that by his people holding the city of Desolation and the narrow pass, the Lamanites could have no access to the lands the Nephites cared about to the north.

Mm20

3:5,7 narrow pass

To the city of Desolation—The city of Desolation (v. 7) was “by” the narrow pass.

Mm21

3:5 city of Desolation

To the land Desolation—The city was “in the borders” of the land. In the light of Mm19 and Mm20, the city has to be at the southward extremity of the land Desolation and so of the land northward.

Mm22

3:7-8 city of Desolation

To Lamanite lands—Mormon uses “down” in relation to the Lamanite approach to the city/pass. [This probably means from Nephi, which must still have been the homeland of their primary population and thus armies (cf. “their own lands” in v. 7). Just possibly it here has a more immediate or localized referent, in relation, say, to descending from the “continental” divide within the narrow neck of land. Mormon has not used a single “up,” “down,” or “over” in his own account to this point, so this use of “down” must be meaningful.] Cf. Mm24 and 4:17,19.

Mm23 3:8	city of Desolation	To the sea—Lamanite dead are “cast into the sea.” This implies that the battle site was near the sea or to an estuary or river considered the equivalent. But see Mm27.
Mm24 3:10, 14, & 16	city of Desolation	To Lamanite lands—Three times mention is made that the Nephites mean to “go up” against the Lamanites and robbers. I infer that this refers to the land of Nephi. Cf. Mm22 and 4:4.
Mm25 4:1-2	land Desolation	To Lamanite lands—The Nephites go “up” to battle [to Nephi] out of the land Desolation but are driven back again to Desolation.
Mm26 4:2-3	city Teancum	To the city Desolation—Nephite refugees from Desolation fled to Teancum, which “was also near the city Desolation.” (Cf. also Mm27 and vs. 7-8 and 13-14.) Teancum clearly was in the land northward and only accessible from the south via the pass and the city Desolation, so it must be easterly in relation to the city Desolation, for, despite the indirect indication in Mm23, nothing is said directly of the city Desolation being “in the borders of the seashore” as in the case of Teancum.
Mm27 4:3	city Teancum	To the sea—It “lay in the borders by the seashore” [i.e., the east sea shore, for the narrow pass was on the east side of the neck, as seen in Alma 50:13-34 (the interception of Morianton) and Alma 51:22-32 (Amalickiah’s attack) and regardless of whatever might be meant by “on the west” in 50:34].
Mm28 4:15	Nephite lands	To the narrow pass—That the Nephites did “drive them out of their lands” surely means only that the Lamanites were forced back south of the narrow pass, not that the

Nephites again regained all Zarahemla (cf. 2:28-29) (?).

Mm29

4:20-21 city Boaz

To the city Desolation—Nephites fleeing, obviously northward, from Desolation came to the city Boaz and made a stand which was temporarily successful. No land of Boaz is mentioned.

Mm30

4:21-23 city Boaz

To areas to its north—When the Nephites lost Boaz, it was apparent to all that no strategic stand could stop the Lamanites. [Probably the land opened out from Boaz northward so that many route options were available to the attackers and they could expand at will, i.e., Boaz should mark the end of whatever remained of the route constriction that had hitherto been a strategic plus for the defenders.]

Mm31

4:23 hill Shim

To the city Boaz—Shim was northward, still in Nephite hands, but near enough that it was clear to Mormon that the land Antum which contained it could fall soon. [A distance of only scores of miles seems indicated.]

Mm32

5:3 city of Jordan

To the city Boaz—The Nephites retreat to Jordan, which must be still farther north than Boaz.

Mm33

5:4 other cities

To “the country which lay before us” — [“Before us” seems strange if applied to the country into which they thought they might have to retreat; “behind us” would seem more apt (although see 6:1). But if this is one of the places where “before” means “east,” as in the Semitic conceptual scheme of directions, this could sensibly mean that certain cities protected the eastern sector of remaining Nephite territory.]

Mm34

5:5 other lands

To Jordan and Boaz—“Whatsoever lands” as referred to here, with their towns,

villages and cities, means that unnamed places were also involved in the Nephite retreat. Thus a heavy population might have intervened between Jordan and Boaz.

Mm35
5:7 more lands

To Jordan—A further precipitous retreat means that still more local lands intervened between Jordan and whatever unnamed stopping point or line was next found.

Mm36
5:7 stopping point
6:1 of the retreat

To the land of Cumorah—They could hardly have retreated farther northward than approximately on a line with Cumorah in that direction, for the Lamanites would not themselves have given up much ground and retreated southward just to accommodate Mormon's desire for a battle rendezvous at Cumorah.

Mm37
6:2,4 land of Cumorah

To the hill Cumorah—The land was "by" "a hill which was called Cumorah." But also the land was at least partially "round about" the hill. [No city is mentioned. It appears that the hill was a dominant feature of the area and large in size (to accommodate the camps of upwards of a million Nephites "round about" it. The hill may have given its name to the land. Its prominence is also suggested by the fact that the Lamanites seem to have had knowledge of it already (due to legends or superstition about the Jaredite destruction there?). At least enough to be satisfied with the arrangement. Moreover, the phrase "a hill" could indicate that other hills were about, otherwise would Mormon not have referred to "the hill"? Cf. the presence of the hill Shim an unknown distance away southward.)]

Mm38
6:4 hill Cumorah and
land of Cumorah

Characteristic—The hill "was in a land of many waters, rivers, and fountains." That apparently means that the land of Cumorah generally was wet, but it may also mean

that a broader territory of which the land of Cumorah was a part was characterized by lakes/sloughs/lagoons/rivers/springs. The advantage hoped for may have been tactical—due to the fact that some of the Nephites had been born there and were intimately familiar with the intricacies of movement in and through the moist area, while they supposed the Lamanites would be deterred due to their ignorance of the same.

Mm39
6:2,5-6 land of Cumorah

Characteristic—The number of Nephites gathered was between a quarter million and a million, based on the casualty figures in vs. 10-15. Some or all had lived here through four years so had to have cultivated crops. To provision so many, the land must have been sizable and also extremely fertile. [An ambitious person could calculate how many bushels of grain would be required per year for this population and about how many cultivated acres might be entailed.]

Mm40
6:11 hill Cumorah

Characteristics—By sometime in the morning after the battle (“on the morrow”), Mormon, Moroni and 22 other survivors had made their way to the top of the hill (probably their defensive positions had been on the lower flanks of the hill, to give them the advantage of elevation over the attackers). Surely some or all had been wounded, consequently their climbing to the top, mainly in the dark, would set a limit on the hill’s height. On the other hand, the top would have been sufficiently high so that enemy stragglers/looters would not see nor hear them up there. [From 1000 to 3000 feet from the base seem to me the limits.]

Mm41
8:2 land of Cumorah

To “the country southward”—For the survivors to have reached the land

southward they would have had to go through at least scores and perhaps hundreds of miles of territory occupied by Lamanites or those they had conquered, then they would have had to filter through the narrow pass. This seems futile. Probably “the country southward” simply refers to those lands (perhaps in isolated hill country) toward Jordan, Boaz or Desolation with which they were familiar and where they hoped to find surviving pockets of subjugated Nephites among whom they might disappear from sight.

Mm42

8:2 land of Cumorah

To the country northward—That none of the survivors tried to go north suggests that they knew that no Nephites were likely to be found in that direction. The gathering to Cumorah must have brought in all their folks who once had lived in that direction or to the west.

Mm43

8:8-9 the face of the land,
this land

Extent—Moroni must be referring to the land near where he was staying, for he gives no indication that his knowledge of the war conditions was other than from his own observation (cf. v. 10—even the three special disciples were not now visiting him).

Ether

[Data on purely Jaredite geography—whatever cannot be related to Nephite geography—is omitted here.]

E1

1:1 “this north country”

Extent—Seems to be Moroni’s unique phrase denoting the land northward.

E2

6:12 the promised land

Extent—Moroni here considers the Jaredite landing point, which has to have been in the land northward, part of the same promised land considered “promised” by the Nephites. The same phrase is in v. 16 and 7:27.

E3	6:13,18 the face of the land	Extent—Their population being only in the hundreds, the territory denoted by this expression would have been very small—a few villages. Yet by 7:5 the king dwells in the land of Moron, which is “up.” The only mention of how the main families reached there must be in the general statements in either v. 13 or 18.
E4	7:1,5 land of Moron	Extent—“The land” of v. 1 is “the land of Moron” of v. 5; only a single land is indicated.
E5	7:4,5 land of Nehor	To the land of Moron—Nehor was “over” from Moron, but also at lower elevation, for v. 5 has Corihor coming “up” from Nehor to Moron. [I cannot relate Nehor to Nephite geography except via Moron, but that might yet be done. There is no indication whatever of previous settlement by the Jared group at Nehor. It seems likely to be in lowlands on the same sea side as the initial landing, for the group was still very small—Corihor was only a great grandson of Jared the founder—to have gone far from either the landing point or Moron. It is possible that Corihor went among a “native” population to recruit this first army.]
E6	7:6 land of Moron	To the land of Desolation—In a key geographical statement, Moroni informs us that Moron was “near” the land of Desolation.
E7	7:16-17 land of Moron	To the land of their first inheritance—Moron is called “the land of their first inheritance.” It is unclear how this expression relates to the first Jaredite landing point (see E3 and E4). [No city of Moron is ever mentioned, only, at 7:6, “where the king dwelt.”]

E8 8:2	land of Heth	<p>To the land of Moron—[Exhaustive study may reveal a pattern in the language of Moroni as he abstracted Ether’s account; in 7:4 he said “went over” in relation to Nehor but here it reads “came” to Heth. Presumably Moroni was located in the general area of Cumorah as he wrote, and in E9 he consistently uses “came over” in relation to Omer’s move specifically toward that vicinity.]</p>
E9 9:3	land of Moron	<p>To the hill of Shim—Omer departed out of the land of Moron with his family and traveled many days, during which he “came over and passed by the hill of Shim. . . .” [The “over” is in clear reference to the terrain between Moron and the hill of Shim. The direction, as seen in E10, is eastward. The distance is unclear; “many days” is vague, and the presence of “family” further complicates making an estimate of the distance traveled, but see E14.]</p>
E10 9:3	hill of Shim	<p>To the place where the Nephites were destroyed, that is the hill/land of Cumorah—“Came over” occurs twice, first referring to passage between Moron and Shim, and the second time “came over by” refers to the place of the Nephite extinction. I take the second to mean that Omer’s route crossed elevated terrain which included the hill Cumorah, Omer’s route passing immediately by the hill. The text is unclear how the hills Shim and Cumorah related in terms of terrain, whether they belong to the same elevated piece of country or whether there is significant flatter land between them. But Mm1 and Mm31 favor the view that the two hills are not far apart and probably are in the same upland geological zone.]</p>

E11 9:3	place called Ablom	To the hill Cumorah—From the hill, Omer traveled “from thence eastward, and came to” Ablom. [Evidence elsewhere (e.g., A186) indicates that the hill was in the easterly part of the land northward, so the distance to Ablom, on the coast, should not have been very great, and the wording here does not disagree.]
E12 9:3	place called Ablom	Characteristic—“Pitched his tent” and “place” indicate that this was not a land previously settled by the Jaredites, which agrees with E15.
E13 9:3	place called Ablom	To the sea on the east of the land northward—Omer’s general direction had been easterly; the shore where Ablom lay had to be that on the east sea, although Moroni gives no name for it here, perhaps because, from E11, it is obvious.
E14 9:3,9, 12, & 13	land of Moron	To the place called Ablom—The total distance must not be very great, for Nimrah came and joined Omer, apparently having no trouble locating him. He then used Ablom as a base from which to launch war against Akish in Moron. [The population was still relatively minor; Omer was only the great-great grandson of the founder of the colony, so he would not have had to flee a great distance to be safe.] The many days of Omer’s journey plausibly took him 100-200 ground miles maximum.
E15 9:9	land of Moron	To Ablom—Nimrah’s group fled out of the land of Moron and “came over” to Omer. Cf. E9 and E10.
E16 9:31-33	Jaredite lands	To “the land southward, which was called by the Nephites Zarahemla”—Flocks flee southward toward the land southward, and some reached there, but at a certain point the serpents hedged up the way that the

people could not pass. [This sounds like the narrow pass of other references, for only if a particular point was involved does the event make sense. If this is true, then the area referred to is on the east side of the isthmus, where we know the pass was.]

E17

10:19 Jaredite lands

To “the land southward”—The serpents are finally destroyed, “wherefore they did go into the land southward, to hunt food.” [The implication continues that the serpents were at a single specific point, i.e., the narrow pass.]

E18

10:19 land southward

Characteristic—The land southward [obviously referring to that no doubt limited portion of interest to them for this purpose] was covered with animals of the forest; they preserved it for a wilderness to get game.

E19

10:20 Lib’s great city

To the narrow neck of land—This place was built “by the narrow neck of land, by the place where the sea divides the land.” The city is implied to have been founded in connection with handling game, so presumably it was as close to the entry point to the land southward as possible—impliedly adjacent to the narrow pass. [Moroni, who knew the location of what the Nephites called the city of Desolation (Mormon 5) had a chance here to indicate that Lib’s city was at that same site; since he did not, perhaps it was at some other, though nearby, location.]

E20

10:20 Lib’s great city

Characteristics—The picture given is that settlers did not (at least in his time) move into the land southward [although of course there could have been other, “native” inhabitants there], so this city would not then have been either a major trading hub (except for game) nor a large population center. [The logistics of preserving and

carrying game animals in the tropics being highly problematical, that obtained here could only have served the food needs of settlements fairly near and likely primarily for the elite.]

E21

13:2-8 this land

To the site of the New Jerusalem—"This land" should be where the New Jerusalem will be built. [Were "this land" taken in a narrow ("literal") sense as that where the Nephites and Jaredites of the record lived, the New Jerusalem would have to be near the narrow neck of land, but there is no LDS expectation of anything like that. The alternative is that Moroni, or Ether, is here speaking in general terms of the whole continent, which accommodates the prophecies in the Doctrine and Covenants.]

E22

13:13-14 & 13:20-22 land of Moron

To Ether's refuge in the cavity of a rock—The prophet fled from the king, who was located in Moron (14:6).

E23

13:14 all Jaredite lands
15:12, 33

Extent—Ether made the remainder of the record, including that of the last wars, using the cave as a base and viewing events "by night." [Even construing that statement broadly, the phrasing puts a severe limit on the extent of territory involved. This underlines Moroni's explicit statement: "Moron ... was near ... Desolation."]

E24

14:3-7, & 11 wilderness of Akish

To the land of Moron—From the wilderness to Moron is "up." Cf. E28.

E25

14:4-5 wilderness of Akish

Extent—It was big enough that two armies could battle inside it yet small enough that it could be besieged. [Partially swampy terrain would permit its defense.]

E26			
14:11-13	land of Moron		To the [east] seashore—Coriantumr pursues Lib from Moron to the seashore where they battle. [East is not specified, but it is clear in the remainder of this chapter, especially v. 26 (and see also E35), that the remaining battles took place in the eastern lowlands eventually to culminate at the hill Ramah.]
E27			
14:13-16	plains of Agosh		To the [east] seashore—This area is also in the eastern lowlands one remove from the wilderness of Akish. Cf. E26.
E28			
14:13-14	wilderness of Akish		To the [east] seashore—Two armies reach the wilderness from the seashore in a single movement. [Perhaps just a single day's travel is implied.]
E29			
14:17	plains of Agosh		Characteristic—Many cities are nearby.
E30			
14:26	borders of the [east] seashore		To previous battle zones (v. 17)—Consistently, the distance is not great from the cities of v. 17 to the seashore.
E31			
14:26-27	land of Corihor		To the borders of the seashore—One remove separates them [perhaps one day].
E32			
14:28	land of Corihor		Characteristic—The land contains (implied) a valley, while the pursuing army is camped in another valley (Shurr) which must be immediately adjacent. The hill Comnor is near (apparently overlooking) the valley of Shurr. [This area can only be in hilly terrain, though still near the sea.]
E33			
15:7-8	waters of Ripliancum		To the land of Corihor—The two armies were so exhausted (14:31), that they must have remained in this land recuperating (15:1) until fighting resumed, which carried them (surely northward) to these waters.

E34 15:8	waters of Ripliancum	Characteristics—This must be a system of lagoons or large rivers that appeared to be more or less continuous with the sea. [They have never been far from the east seashore since 14:13.] The phrasing of this verse suggests that there was no way past or around these waters, at least in the part they had got into.
E35 15:10- 11	waters of Ripliancum	To the hill Ramah (Cumorah)—They fled southward to the Ramah area, which included or had very nearby “a place which was called Ogath.”
E36 15:28- 29	Shiz’ death site	To the hill Ramah—Coriantumr’s men fled at least one day before Shiz’s group caught them and all but Coriantumr perished. [Coriantumr had been fleeing southward from Ripliancum, so no doubt this final flight also was that direction. Wounded but desperate, how far would they have got? Fifteen miles?]
E37 15:33	Shiz’ death site	To the city of Lehi-Nephi—Limhi’s party knew by tradition the approximate route and distance to Zarahemla from the city. Upon their return from their expedition, they supposed that they had discovered Zarahemla (see M8). Since they were “diligent,” they would not have traveled indefinitely more than the anticipated distance and yet suppose that they had only been to Zarahemla. That they went twice the distance from Nephi to Zarahemla (180 miles beeline?) before they turned back is believable, since they realized that they were lost. But three times that distance seems incredible. I suppose two and one-half times (450 miles) as the maximum distance acceptable (a good deal more on the ground) to reach the point where Ether hid the plates (15:33). The hill Cumorah/Ramah was, then, no more than

100 miles from the line Bountiful-Desolation. Nothing in Mm29-Mm43 contradicts this.]

Moroni

Mi1

9:7,16- Sherrizah
17, & 19

To the Nephite lands in the land northward—The tone here recalls Mormon 2:16-18; 4:14-15; or, most likely, 4:20-23. In any of these cases, Sherrizah would seem to be in the land northward in the Boaz-Jashon sector. I suppose the tower to be a pyramid temple platform that existed at a city named Sherrizah.

Mi2

9:9 Moriantum

To the Nephite lands in the land northward—This may be either a city or a land. Mentioned in direct connection with Sherrizah, it must be geographically and chronologically linked to that place (see Mi1). The Lamanite women there were probably associated with the Lamanite army camp located at the site after the former Nephite city/land had been captured by the Lamanites, the Nephites referred to in verse 9 having recaptured it in a counterattack and taken the women prisoners.