The Book of Mormon mentions synagogues in twenty-five passages. An important resource that may help us understand what the Book of Mormon means by the word *synagogue* is the body of research on biblical synagogues. This is especially true of research related to the years prior to the Babylonian captivity of the Jews, which began in 586 BC, since this is the time period when Lehi left Jerusalem. We would expect, therefore, that the nature of biblical synagogues before the captivity would have greatly influenced the concept of the synagogue that Lehi and his family took with them to the New World. In this article, William J. Adams Jr. details the historical development, nature, and cultural function of synagogues of the biblical era and relates them to the history, form, and religious function of synagogues in the New World.
Synagogues
IN THE BOOK OF MORMON

William J. Adams Jr.
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Synagogues of the Biblical Era

Over the past two decades archaeologists have unearthed a number of synagogues. These discoveries have led Eric M. Meyers to write, "One might characterize the state of synagogue studies as being in flux. New material has created a healthy climate of reconsideration and reevaluation."

What we know about the history of biblical synagogues divides into the following time periods:

1. the centuries just before Lehi and the Babylonian captivity of the Jews from Jerusalem at about 586 B.C.,
2. the time of the return of the Jews from captivity to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple under Ezra and Nehemiah some 70 years later,
3. the third and second centuries B.C., and
4. the first century B.C. and the first century A.D.

Before Lehi and the Babylonian Captivity

One aspect of our understanding of biblical synagogues that has been reevaluated in the light of new research is the view that synagogues did not exist until after the Babylonian captivity. Lee I.
Levine, a leading scholar on the history of the synagogue, has suggested that synagogues did exist before the Babylonian captivity in the form of chambers in the city gates. Such gates have been excavated by archaeologists at such important Old Testament sites as Beersheba, Gezer, Lachish, and Megiddo. Each of these has

1. at least one chamber (which is nearly square) lined with stone benches around the interior walls (the benched chamber at Lachish has two tiers of benches),
2. a single doorway, and
3. where there is enough of the original wall left to determine it, a niche. I suggest that these niches were used for storing special ritual items, perhaps even sacred scrolls.

Levine concludes that since later synagogues closely mirror the architecture of the gate chambers, these chambers may well have been the original synagogues. This conclusion is supported by a number of biblical passages that indicate that the city gate and its vicinity were the hub of a community’s life. The gate area served as

1. the market place (see 2 Kings 7:1),
2. the general court (see Genesis 23:10, 18; Deuteronomy 17:5, 21:19 and 22:24; Ruth 4:1–12; Jeremiah 38:7; Daniel 2:48–49; and Esther 5:9, 13; 6:10),
3. the royal court (see 2 Samuel 18:4 and 19:8; and 1 Kings 22:10, which equals 2 Chronicles 18:9), and
4. a place of worship (see 2 Kings 23:8 and Nehemiah 8:1).

Support for Levine’s conclusion is also found in the Old Testament terminology for worship service. Several Old Testament writers (see Hosea 2:11; Jeremiah in Lamentations 2:6; Ezekiel 44:24) link Sabbath worship with the Hebrew word mow’d which means “assembly, meeting.”

If Levine is correct, then, before the captivity, a town’s or city’s social activities centered around the city gate, and it seems reasonable that these social activities included Sabbath worship in a chamber of the gate that resembled later synagogues and functioned similarly.

**The Return under Ezra and Nehemiah**

The Babylonian captivity was a time of crisis for the Jewish people, chiefly because the Babylonians destroyed Jerusalem and the temple. But the captives knew the prophecies of Jeremiah wherein they were promised that they would return to Jerusalem in seventy years (see Jeremiah 29:10). At the end of that period, Jews did return under Ezra and Nehemiah to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple.

Concerning this time, we find two pieces of information that may help us to understand the nature and function of synagogues. The first is a note written in Hebrew in the sixth century B.C. on a broken piece of pottery (an ostracon). On one side is a list of four names and on the other are the words “house of assembly at Jerusalem.” A house of assembly is a Hebrew term for synagogue.

The second is a reference in Nehemiah 8:1–12 to people assembling at a city gate. The walls of Jerusalem in this time were thin and the gates were simply openings in the wall, without chambers. As a result the assembly “gathered ... into the street that was before the water gate.” To this assembly, Ezra read the Law of Moses from the top of a wooden platform, and the Levites helped the people understand what was read. Next, Ezra blessed the Lord in
prayer and the people raised their hands saying, "Amen, Amen." The reference does not specify that this was a Sabbath service, but what occurs in this passage is close to what went on later in Sabbath synagogue worship.

The Third and Second Centuries B.C.

The apocryphal record 1 Maccabees tells us that synagogues were used at this time for public reading from the Law of Moses (see 1 Maccabees 3:48). Ben Sira says: "Draw near to me, you who need instruction, and lodge in my house of learning" (Ben Sira 51:23). If "house of learning" refers to a synagogue, and it appears to, then "lodge" indicates that the synagogue functioned as a hostel as well as a place for study. In Egypt, Jewish centers were referred to not only as synagogues but also as "places of prayer." Thus prayer was an additional function of these locations. From descriptions in texts from Egypt, we learn further that people donated doors, pillars, and special seats (thought to represent the Seat of Moses) to structures at these locations that had long-standing leaders and consumed large volumes of water. Water was likely provided for the comfort of visitors in hostels and for ritual washings, which in later Judaism preferred a constant flow of fresh water.

The First Century B.C. and the First Century A.D.

The next era brings us to the time just before and during the New Testament. Synagogues from this period have been excavated on Delos (a Greek island), and at Gamla, Capernaum, Herodium, and Masada. These discoveries lead us to conclude that synagogues of this period tended to:

1. be nearly square,
2. be a part of the city wall,
3. feature one or more tiers of stone benches around the interior,
4. include a niche in the wall for storing sacred scrolls,
5. feature a platform (or podium) raised about a foot high in the center of the room,
6. possess one doorway, and
7. include pillars to support the roof.

As noted above, because of the similarities between these structures and the form of the pre-captivity city-gate chambers, Levine argues that the design of the chambers is mirrored in these later synagogues. Unfortunately, this is a leap of five centuries in time. To accept his proposal fully, it would now be desirable to discover synagogue structures scattered through those centuries to confirm a continuous tradition. There are at least two that appear to do so. The key will be to identify synagogues earlier than the one at Gamla, which lies east of the Sea of Galilee and was built about 65 B.C.

A recent discovery has revealed a synagogue in the Hasmonean winter palace near Jericho. The date of its construction was around 70 B.C. There is also a second discovery. Roland de Vaux, who excavated Qumran near the caves where the Dead Sea Scrolls
were found, suggested that two of the rooms at Qumran (built around 140 B.C.) were for assemblies. One room (location 4) is nearly square, includes stone benches around the interior, and features two "recessed cupboards" or niches in one wall. With these discoveries, the gap between city-gate chambers and later synagogues is narrowed to about four centuries. But it remains large.

For the latest time frame (first centuries B.C. and A.D.) two sources help us understand what occurs at a synagogue: the New Testament, and a stone inscribed in Greek that was found at Jerusalem. These sources tell us that synagogues of this time were used for

1. Sabbath worship, which included "reading the law and the prophets" followed by a discussion of the reading (see Luke 4:14–21; Acts 13:14–16),
2. a school for study,
3. hostels for "itinerants" including water for their comfort,
4. judicial actions (see Matthew 10:17; Luke 12:11; 21:12), and
5. leaders of long standing. In A.D. 70 Roman armies destroyed Jerusalem and the temple. After this destruction, the synagogue became the primary religious and social institution in Judaism and took on new functions. The sacrifices previously performed at the temple were replaced by prayers in each local synagogue.

Table 1 summarizes the information from the above discussion. Unfortunately, some Bible scholars have tended to mix evidence and speculation and have failed to keep up-to-date with new research. For the sake of clarity, any speculation on my part is followed by a question mark in the table.

To conclude this section on biblical synagogues, the local center of Jewish life before the Babylonian captivity was the area of the city gate. It has been plausibly argued that community assembly for worship also occurred at the city gate, and after the Babylonian captivity this concept of a local center continued on in the form of synagogues. However, some of the functions carried out earlier at the gate area, such as royal courts and markets, were now moved elsewhere. Later worship centers took on new functions, such as that of a hostel. It appears that when Lehi and Nephi left Jerusalem shortly after 600 B.C. they would have taken with them the older, pre-exilic concept of a synagogue according to which it served as a social center for each community where certain religious activities were also carried out.

What Is the Nature and History of Synagogues in the New World?

We turn now to a consideration of the term synagogue and related terms found in the Book of Mormon. Like the Bible, the Book of Mormon mentions synagogues only in passing, since the purpose of each record is not to give cultural details but to encourage righteous living.

The Meaning of Synagogues among Lehi’s Descendants

As mentioned earlier, the term synagogue (including the plural) occurs twenty-five times in the Book of Mormon. The first is found in a sermon
### Table 1. Development of the Synagogue in Palestine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Frame</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Key Evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The centuries just before Lehi (600 B.C.)</td>
<td>mo'ed, “assembly, meeting”</td>
<td>Chambers in the city gates with benches, niches, and one doorway</td>
<td>Sabbath worship and judgment</td>
<td>Hosea 2:11, Lamentations 2:6, and Ezekiel 44:24; various gate-area functions; niche may store sacred scrolls (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The return under Ezra and Nehemiah (from about 520 B.C.)</td>
<td>bet kenesah, “place of assembly”</td>
<td>Area of city gate</td>
<td>Reading of the Law of Moses, plus explanation, prayer, and commitment</td>
<td>Inscription from Elath (Ezion-Geber), Nehemiah 8:1–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third to second centuries B.C.</td>
<td>synagogue, “assembly”; proseuche, “place of prayer”</td>
<td>With doors, pillars, seats, long-standing leaders; using large volumes of water</td>
<td>Reading of the Law of Moses, hostel (?), school (?), ritual washings (?), prayer</td>
<td>Documents from Jewish settlements in Egypt, I Maccabees 3:46–48, Ben Sira 51:23 (?), location 4 at Qumran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First centuries B.C. and A.D.</td>
<td>synagogue, “assembly”</td>
<td>Nearly square, pillars to support roof, may be part of a city wall, stone benches around the interior, niche in wall to store scrolls, raised podium, one doorway</td>
<td>Reading and discussion of the Law and the Prophets, school, hostel, adjudication, prayer, almsgiving</td>
<td>Inscription found in Jerusalem, New Testament, archaeological finds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: After the Romans destroyed Jerusalem and the Temple in A.D. 70, local synagogues continued with the above list of functions and added prayers to take the place of sacrifices previously performed only in the Temple.

by Nephi: “Behold, hath he commanded any that they should depart out of the synagogues, or out of the houses of worship? Behold, I say unto you, Nay” (2 Nephi 26:26).

This verse appears in Nephi’s long sermon (see 2 Nephi 25–32), which was prompted by reading Isaiah 2–14 as found in 2 Nephi 12–24. In this section, Nephi prophesies about the future as far as the last days. In verse 23 he shifts the time frame from the future to the present and assures readers about what Christ does in any age (see 2 Nephi 26:23).

One thing the Lord does not do, Nephi says, is order people out of synagogues. The additional words “or out of the houses of worship” are revealing. They appear to be an appositive, which helps to define the term synagogues and reemphasizes what the Lord does not do. The expression also suggests that synagogues are structures (houses) and that one function of a synagogue is worship. Furthermore, closely connected to the concept that synagogues may have been buildings are prepositional phrases such as out of and into with reference to synagogues.

A structural feature of the apostate Zoramites’ synagogue was the Rameumptom, a raised platform with room for only one person at a time to stand and recite a fixed prayer (see Alma 31:12–14 and...
21). As noted above, the first century B.C. and A.D. Jewish synagogues had a slightly elevated podium in the center. However, the earlier gate-chambers with benches did not have raised platforms. Furthermore, Alma and his companions were surprised by the Zoramite arrangement. This suggests that the Rameumpton was a Zoramite innovation differing from the normal Nephite pattern.

Most Bible scholars have supposed that synagogues did not come into existence until the Babylonian captivity, after Lehi had left Jerusalem and the temple had been destroyed. We might then wonder whether synagogues could have arisen separately as a parallel development in the New World. But the passage at 2 Nephi 26:26 is only a few decades from the time that Lehi left Jerusalem. Hence it appears that he and his family brought the already existing concept with them to America. That would have been the case, of course, if Levine's theory of the gate-chamber origin of the synagogue is correct.

Second Nephi 26:26 suggests that synagogues were used for worship in Nephi's day. This raises the question: How did Nephites worship? A number of later passages describe visitors preaching and teaching in synagogues (see Alma 16:13; 21:4; 5, 16; 26:29; 32:1; Moroni 7:1). Public discussions of scripture topics in the synagogues were evidently a part of that teaching and preaching (see Alma 21:5, 11). Prayer apparently is also a part of the worship, for in Alma 31:12–14 Alma's astonished reaction was to the form of the Zoramite prayers, not to the fact that they offered prayers in their synagogues. This passage also suggests that synagogue worship was held on only one day of the week and that people had the misconception that God could be worshiped only on that day and only in a synagogue (see Alma 32:2, 5, 9, 10, 12; 33:2). Other aberrant synagogue worship practices are mentioned in a sermon given by Jesus in 3 Nephi wherein he denounced public almsgiving and loud praying both in synagogues and in the streets (see 3 Nephi 13:2, 5).

The Book of Mormon identifies several groups who built synagogues. First of all, there were the true followers of the Law of Moses (see 2 Nephi 26:26; Alma 16:13) including Nephite Christians (see Moroni 7:1). Also, at the request of King Lamoni, Lamanites built synagogues (see Alma 21:20; 23:2). Moreover, we find that apostate groups such as the Amalekites, Amulonites, and Zoramites built synagogues (see Alma 21:4; 5; 31:12).

In several passages, synagogues appear in a list of locations where missionaries met with and preached to people. I believe that these lists help to put synagogues and their worship into perspective: "And we have entered into their houses and taught them, and we have taught them in their streets; yea, and we have taught them upon their hills; and we have also entered into their temples and their synagogues and taught them" (Alma 26:29). "And it came to pass that they did go forth, and began to preach the word of God unto the people, entering into their synagogues, and into their houses; yea, and even they did preach the word in their streets" (Alma 32:1).

In these two passages the word houses suggests that missionaries taught people in their private residences. On the other hand, streets and hills suggest that they met people in public places. Next, places of worship, temples and synagogues, are juxtaposed...
with each other. According to the Law of Moses a person went to a temple to offer sacrifices for special occasions such as the birth of a child or a holy day. In contrast, a person went to a synagogue for instruction and prayer on a weekly basis.

A related term in the Book of Mormon is church. When we use this term in modern English, we may be referring to a building ("the church down the street") or to an organization ("The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints"). The two hundred plus occurrences of church/churches in the Book of Mormon seem to point to a movement or organization rather than a building. The single exception is 4 Nephi 1:41, wherein the word churches seems to refer to structures that people could adorn. Thus, in the Book of Mormon, it appears that churches in the sense of organized congregations could have met in buildings or locations called synagogues.

The History of Synagogues in the American Promised Land

It is helpful to look at synagogues in the Book of Mormon from the perspective of their historical development.

Nephi's straightforward use of the term synagogues (see 2 Nephi 26:26) around 550 B.C. implies that he was personally familiar with some form of a place of worship in his original homeland. He and his father brought religious practices from Jerusalem to the New World (see 2 Nephi 5:16; 2 Nephi 25:5–6); presumably, the concept of synagogue as well as associated practices had the same source.

On the other hand, there is no mention that the Nephites who lived around the city of Nephi at the time of Jacob built synagogues, though they did build a temple (see Jacob 1:17). Neither do we read about synagogues when the Nephites moved to the land of Zarahemla under Mosiah and joined with the people of Zarahemla. Nor is anything said about such structures during the reigns of King Benjamin and King Mosiah.

In the first century B.C. (some four centuries after Nephi's mention of synagogues), under the jurisdiction of the judges, the Nephites were building synagogues "after the manner of the Jews" (Alma 16:13). It is from this era that we learn the most about the form and function of synagogues among the Book of Mormon groups. Other Book of Mormon peoples also built and met in synagogues. Lamanites in the land of Ishmael who were converted by the preaching of Ammon began to build and use synagogues under the leadership of King Lamoni (see Alma 21:20). Prior to this time, Lamanites met in mere "assemblies" (Alma 21:16).

Among Nephite dissenters who built synagogues in this era were the Zoramites whose synagogues included the Rameumptom. Other groups include the Amalekites and Amulonites whose doctrines and practices "after the order of the Nehors" (Alma 21:4) spread among Nephites in the land of Zarahemla as well as among Nephite dissenters in Lamanite territory. It appears that these dissenters took the basic concept of a synagogue in both form and function from Nephite worship and modified it to meet their own special demands. On the Nephite side, as the population expanded into the land northward settlers built synagogues (see Helaman 3:9, 14).

The next reference to synagogues appears in the words of Christ as he visited the New World after his
resurrection. He admonished Nephites and Lamanites not to pray loudly nor to make a public display of giving alms for the poor in their synagogues (see 3 Nephi 13:2, 5). Nor were they to cast people out of their “synagogues, or . . . places of worship” (3 Nephi 18:32).

The text of the Book of Mormon then remains silent on the subject until sometime during the fourth century A.D., when we learn that Mormon, a Christian, gave a sermon to his fellow believers in “the synagogue which they had built for the place of worship” (Moroni 7:1). Apparently, the term synagogue was broad enough in meaning at that time to include places where Christians were accustomed to worship.

Table 2 displays as much as we can learn about the form, function, and history of synagogues in the Book of Mormon. Ultimately, the Book of Mormon gives us only a glimpse into the form and function of synagogues. In form, they were structures of unspecified size and shape. Functionally, they were used for worship—including prayer and religious instruction—by people from different religious backgrounds. In short, the term synagogue in the Book of Mormon simply means “a place where local congregations meet for worship.”

The other, more cultural functions (which were a part of the city gate and later synagogues in Bible lands) do not appear in the Book of Mormon. It seems that this silence is a result of the purpose of the Book of Mormon, which is to encourage righteous living. As a result of this orientation, the worship aspect of synagogues is mentioned only incidentally, and these incidental references are mostly in a context of sermonizing and missionary work. These other functions were simply not considered germane to the overall objective of Mormon’s record. □
Syngogues in the Book of Mormon

4. Figure 4 on page 18 shows a gate chamber with two benches of benches and a niche in the wall.
6. Y. Aharoni, ed., Beer-Sheva 1 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1973). Plate 8 shows the bench around one of the gate chambers.
8. Figure 7 on page 19 shows a gate chamber with two benches of benches and a niche in the wall.
9. Robert L._wall and Geoffrey M. Shipton, Megiddo (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 77. Figure 88 shows a gate chamber with benches.
10. In contrast to such centers for local activity, the temple was where priests and Levites performed sacrifices. On special occasions, such as the birth of a child or holy days, worshipers would leave their local town or city and travel to the temple to make their offerings.
11. The discovery was reported by Nelson Glueck, "Obrahaim el Ebstaph," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 82 (April 1941): 7-11. The dating was done by the American School of Oriental Research, "Obrahaim el Ebstaph," No. 6043 from Ezion-Geber, ibid., 11. And the translation was reported by Charles C. Torrey, "A Synagogue at Ezion-Geber?" BASOR 84 (December 1941): 4-5. Ezion-Geber and Ezion-Geber are two names for the same location.
13. ibid., 1447.
14. ibid., 432.
15. See Mishnah, Tractate Minkavot 3:8.
22. An example of this speculation is outlined in Eric M. Meyers, "Synagogue," in Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, ed. E. Stern (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 143-53. Since this theory sees no synagogues until after the time Nehemiah, a number of Book of Mormon critics have cited this view in order to denounce the Book of Mormon. Three of these critics may be L. A. Scott, "The Mormon Miracle (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1979); William D. Russell, "Letters to a Mormon Elder (Malden: Bethany House, 1993), 145. But if one takes into account Levine's argument that the Babylonian captivity of 586 B.C.E. marked the end of the Temple system, may have been the prototype for the Mandate period, and the first stage of ancient synagogues. The temple was clearly a sacred building, but it was not a place of prayer, and it was not an institution for the study of the Scriptures. However, it is clear that the temple was the center of Jewish life in the Babylonian period.
24. When not specified, hymns are from the 1843 edition of Hymns.
25. Isaac Watts's extraordinary talent allowed him to exercise his poetic gifts while remaining remarkably close to the original scriptural references.
26. The question might be asked: "We don't usually think of a hymn as an Old Testament song or a New Testament song. Why do we need hymns that are specifically Book of Mormon hymns?" A first-rate devotional hymn may well be an "Old Testament" or "New Testament" hymn while not calling attention to its source. Many of the outstanding hymns in our hymnal do indeed rest squarely on a specific scriptural inspiration. A few of the many examples are "High on the Mountain Top" (see Isaiah 33:20; 52:6); "O God, Our Help in Ages Past," (see Psalms 48:14; 103:1-2, 91:1-2); "Son of Michael, Hear Approaches," (see Daniel 7:9-10, 13-14); "Abide with Me," (see Luke 24:29).
27. We may not immediately tie these hymns to their respective scriptural inspirations, yet it was in each case a scriptural passage that set the author on his creative path. What the Latter-day Saint hymnody lacks today is a comparable group of Book of Mormon hymns.
28. Not only have Latter-day Saint poets written inclusive, broadly applicable Christian hymn texts, non-Latter-Day Saints have written some of the text that we think of as our own "Mormon" hymns, in the "Strength of the Hills" (335) and "Behold, the Mountain of the Lord" (545).
30. Hymns in the 1835 hymnal and the Manchester Hymnal were printed without titles; they will be identified by first line. First lines will also be used for hymns in The Latter-day Saints' Pioneers (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1889), which in fact printed the tune name above each selection rather than a hymn title. Titles of the kind familiar to us, with word-in-
31. The history of this practice is unknown, an exact count of LDS contributions is not possible. In the 1885 hymnal these twelve lines

The Book of Mormon in Latter-day Saint Hymnody

Karen Lynn Davidson

1. Thanks to Sarah Workman for sharing this data. Her list of Principles and the First Ward Primary favorites is as follows: 1Janice Kapp Perry (lyrics and music), "He'll Bring the World His Truth," in Children's Songbook (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 172-73.
2. Mildred Tanner Pettit (lyrics) and Naomi Ward Randall (music), "I Am a Child of God," in Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 301; Children's Songbook, 2-3.
7. Elizabeth Feteris Bates (lyrics and music), "Book of Mormon Stories," in Children's Songbook, 118; additional

20. Michael F. Moody, chairman of the General Music Committee, reports that on 8 June 1983, he held a "Hymn Festival of Recent American Hymnals" at their annual meeting in Fort Worth. The program was made up of new hymns from recent Catholic, Episcopal, Lutheran, Seventh-Day Adventist, and other hymnals, as well as the then-new Latter-day Saint hymnody. The concluding number on the program—a singing rendition accompanied by an instrumental group led by the Dallas Brass—was Marvin Gardner and Vanja Watkins's "Press Forward, Saints." The effect, Michael Moody reports, "was almost electric." It was a highlight of the program. He continues, "I remember thinking to myself that there is a message in the music of American hymns expressed in a way that is meaningful and acceptable to people from many denominations" (conversation with the author, 30 November 1993).
21. Since the authorship of some of the hymns is unknown, an exact count of LDS contributions is not possible. In the 1885 hymnal these twelve lines

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