

ENDNOTES

“For the Sum of Three Thousand Dollars”

Susan Easton Black
and Larry C. Porter

- History of the Church*, 1:71.
- Ivan J. Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration: A History of the Church to 1846* (Provo, UT: BYU Press, 1973), 114. For a more complete account of this sequence, see Larry C. Porter, “Book of Mormon, Printing and Publication of,” in *Book of Mormon Reference Companion*, ed. Dennis L. Largey (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 134–39.
- Martin Harris, son of Nathan Harris and Rhoda Lapham, was born on 18 May 1783 in Easttown, Saratoga County, New York.
- Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1867), 49–50.
- Ontario County New York Deeds, book 6, 45.
- Lucy, daughter of Rufus and Lucy Harris, was born on 1 May 1792 in Palmyra (Deposition of Martin Harris, Service Pension, War of 1812, 24 April 1871, National Archives, Washington DC).
- Ontario County New York Deeds, 5 October 1813, book 19, 506–8; 4 January 1814, book 20, 327; 9 December 1814, book 10, 514–15; see “Old Newspapers—No. 24,” *Palmyra Courier*, 24 May 1872. This particular 150 acres became significant in Martin’s later settlement of the debt owed Grandin for publishing the *Book of Mormon*. Pomeroy Tucker stated: “The main farm and homestead, about one hundred and fifty acres of land, was retained by himself, the mortgage covering only this portion. . . . The farm mortgaged was sold by Harris in 1831 at private sale, not by foreclosure, and a sufficiency of the avails went to pay Grandin—though it is presumed Harris might have paid the \$3,000 without the sale of the farm” (Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 54–55).
- Ontario Repository*, 29 October 1822; see *Ontario Repository*, 11 November 1823 and *Wayne Sentinel*, 10 November 1824.
- Palmyra Courier*, 24 May 1872.
- Rhett S. James, “Harris, Martin,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:574.
- Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York: J. B. Alden, 1890), 37.
- History of the Church*, 1:19.
- Lucy Mack Smith, History rough manuscript, 1844–1845, book 6, 6, MS, Family and Church History Department Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter Church Archives); Lucy Mack Smith, “The History of Lucy Smith Mother of the Prophet, 1844–1845,” 121, MS, Church Archives.
- See Madge Harris Tuckett and Belle Harris Wilson, *The Martin Harris Story* (Provo, UT: Press Publishing, 1983), 20. David Aldrich was reported to have sold Joseph Smith “his first decent suit of clothes” while employed as a clerk in a Palmyra dry goods store (Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity* [Palmyra, NY: Press of the Palmyra Courier-Journal, 1930], 125).
- Polly was the widow of Freeman Cobb, who drowned on 19 December 1821 in Lake Ontario. She and her children lived in the home with Martin and Lucy Harris until she remarried in July 1828. See *Geneva Gazette*, 3 June 1812.
- Smith, History rough manuscript, book 6, 4, MS; see Smith, “History of Lucy Smith Mother of the Prophet,” 118–19, MS. Lucy Mack Smith wrote of Lucy Harris: “Her husband permitted her to keep [a private purse] to satisfy her peculiar disposition.”
- William H. Homer, “The Passing of Martin Harris,” *Improvement Era*, March 1955, 146.
- E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, OH: E. D. Howe, 1834), 261.
- John A. Clark, *Episcopal Recorder* 18 (1840): 94, as cited in Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 169.
- Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 40.
- History of the Church*, 1:21.
- Smith, History rough manuscript, book 7, 6, MS.
- Smith, “History of Lucy Smith Mother of the Prophet,” 134, MS.
- Lucy Smith spoke of the missing manuscript with some certainty. She declared, “The manuscript has never been found; and there is no doubt but Mrs. Harris took it from the drawer, with the view of retaining it, until another translation should be given, then, to alter the original translation, for the purpose of showing a discrepancy between them” (Lucy Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations* [Liverpool: Published by O. Pratt, by S. W. Richards, 1853], 123). There were also rumors that Lucy Harris burned the manuscript. “[Lucy Harris] says she burned them up,” reported Lorenzo Saunders, a neighbor of the Smith family. “And there was no mistake, but she did. They never was found; never came to light. . . . & she never denied of burning the papers” (E. L. Kelley Papers, Community
- of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri). This rumor has persisted. Hugh W. Nibley, for example, related that Rebecca Neibaur Nibley, daughter of Alexander Neibaur, was very close to Martin Harris’s second wife, Caroline Young Harris. Caroline told Rebecca that “Lucy Harris was so mad that she took the 116 pages and threw them in the fire.” Rebecca related this event to Hugh Nibley’s mother, Agnes Sloan Nibley, who then repeated it to Hugh (statement by Hugh Nibley in a personal interview with Larry C. Porter, Provo, Utah, 11 December 1997).
- History of the Church*, 1:21.
- Smith, “History of Lucy Smith Mother of the Prophet,” 134, MS.
- Lucy Mack Smith wrote, “This was the first time that a suit was ever brought before any court which affected any of my Children.” Smith, History rough manuscript, book 8, 6, MS; Smith, “History of Lucy Smith Mother of the Prophet,” 146, MS. Apparently, at this writing she failed to recall an Ontario County Court of Common Pleas case, May Term 1819, in which Jeremiah Hurlburt, plaintiff, brought suit against Joseph Smith Sr. and Alvin Smith, defendants, recorded 26 June 1819, photocopy in Church Archives. There was also an 1826 hearing in South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, involving Joseph Jr. See bill of Justice Albert Neely to Chenango County for conducting the 20 March 1826 hearing, “same [i.e., The People] vs Joseph Smith,” located in the office of the county supervisor, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York. See also Gordon Madsen, “Joseph Smith’s

- 1826 Trial: The Legal Setting,” *BYU Studies* 30 (Spring 1990): 91–108.
28. Smith, “History of Lucy Smith Mother of the Prophet,” 147–48, MS; see Smith, History rough manuscript, book 8, 6–7, MS.
 29. John H. Gilbert, “Memorandum, made by John H. Gilbert Esq, Sept 8th, 1892,” King’s Daughters’ Free Library, Palmyra, New York.
 30. Harriet A. Weed, *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884), 1:359; see Paul Benton, “Rochester Journalism,” in *Centennial History of Rochester, New York: Volume 2, Home Builders*, ed. Edward R. Foreman (Rochester, NY: Board of Trustees of the Rochester Public Library, 1932), 108.
 31. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 4.
 32. Wayne County Mortgages Book, 3:325–26. Stephen S. Harding, later territorial governor of Utah, recalled that it was “truly phenomenal” that Martin “should abandon the cultivation of one of the best farms in the neighborhood, and change all his habits of life from industry to indolence” (S. S. Harding to Thomas Gregg, February 1882, as cited in Gregg, *Prophet of Palmyra*, 37).
 33. Joseph Smith to Oliver Cowdery, 22 October 1829, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives.
 34. Agreement between Joseph Smith Jr. and Martin Harris, 16 January 1830, Simon Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Some have supposed that this 1830 agreement was between Harris and Joseph Smith Sr. rather than Joseph Jr.; however, Richard Lloyd Anderson and Scott H. Faulring have conclusively demonstrated that the agreement was indeed with Joseph Smith Jr. (see volume 1 of Anderson and Faulring’s forthcoming publication *The Documentary History of Oliver Cowdery: Witness of the Second Elder*).
 35. Manuscripts of Charles Butler, Library of Congress, as cited in Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses*, 101.
 36. Hiram Page to “Wm” (apparently William E. McLellin), 2 February 1848, Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri; see David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ, By A Witness to the Divine Authenticity of The Book of Mormon* (Richmond, MO, 1887), 30–31. Several details related to the trip to Canada are unclear, such as the exact date and who actually made the journey. David Whitmer indicated decades later that Oliver Cowdery and Hiram Page went by themselves. Hiram Page did not mention Martin’s debt as a factor in the attempt to sell the copyright in Canada.
 37. *Wayne Sentinel*, 19 March 1831.
 38. Wayne County New York Deeds, 29 November 1825, book 5, 530–32. No records of any divorce proceedings have been found. According to her grave marker in Palmyra, Lucy Harris died at age 44 (sometime between 1 May 1836 and 30 April 1837). Martin married Caroline Young on 1 November 1836 (presumably after Lucy’s death). Caroline, the daughter of John and Theodocia Young, was born on 17 May 1816 at Hector, Schuyler County, New York.
 39. Dean C. Jessee, “Joseph Knight’s Recollection of Early Mormon History,” *BYU Studies* 17/1 (1976): 36–37.
 40. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 60–61.
 41. William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons* (New York: Macmillan, 1902), 48.
 42. N. W. Howell and others to Rev. Ancil Beach, January 1832, Walter Hubbell Collection, Princeton University Library, Princeton, NJ; copy in Church Archives.
 43. Thomas Lakey owned a blacksmith shop and a wagon shop and often bought and sold real estate. A cursory survey of the Index to Grantees, Wayne County, New York, 1823–1869, indicates that Lakey was involved in some 68 land purchases and 45 sales, with additional sales being handled by his heirs after his death.
 44. Wayne County New York Deeds, 7 April 1831, book 10, 515–16.
 45. Wayne County New York Deeds, 28 January 1832, book 11, 128–29.
 46. Certification of Thomas Rogers, 28 January 1832, recorded 8 February 1832 by Cullen Foster, Wayne County deputy clerk. See Minor T. Patton, “How it was that my great-grandmother’s gold paid for the printing of the first edition of the Book of Mormon,” typescript, Church Archives, 1–6; Wayne Cutler Gunnell, “Martin Harris—Witness and Benefactor to the Book of Mormon” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955), 37–39; Tuckett and Wilson, *Martin Harris Story*, 49–50; and Wayne County New York Deeds, book 11, 128–89. A copy of this agreement was obtained from Carl Lakey, son of Thomas Lakey, by Willard Bean. Bean sent the agreement to William Pilkington Jr. sometime after 24 July 1935.
 47. *Palmyra Courier*, 31 May 1872.
 48. *Wayne Sentinel*, 27 May 1831.
 49. *Palmyra Courier*, 24 May 1872.
 50. Edward Stevenson, “The Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, 21 June 1886, 390.
- “Upon All the Ships of the Sea, and Upon All the Ships of Tarshish”: Revisiting 2 Nephi 12:16 and Isaiah 2:16**
Dana M. Pike and David Rolph Seely
1. We began discussing the topic of this article many years ago. Our determination to finish and publish this article was motivated, in part, by two relatively recent publications that employ Isaiah 2:16 // 2 Nephi 12:16 as part of their authors’ efforts to raise questions about the means by which the Prophet Joseph Smith brought forth the Book of Mormon. These are David P. Wright, “Isaiah in the Book of Mormon: Or Joseph Smith in Isaiah,” in *American Apocrypha: Essays on the Book of Mormon*, ed. Dan Vogel and Brent Lee Metcalfe (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 157–234; and Ronald V. Huggins, “‘Without a Cause’ and ‘Ships of Tarshish’: A Possible Contemporary Source for Two Unexplained Readings from Joseph Smith,” *Dialogue* 36/1 (2003): 157–79. Compare David P. Wright, “Joseph Smith’s Interpretation of Isaiah in the Book of Mormon,” *Dialogue* 31/4 (1998): 181–206.
 2. For a convenient review of this data, see Victor L. Ludlow, “Isaiah in the Book of Mormon,” in *Book of Mormon Reference Companion*, ed. Dennis L. Largey (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 344–45.
 3. Recently published study aids for those who want to broaden and deepen their understanding of the content and function of the Isaiah quotations in the Book of Mormon include the entries on Isaiah in Dennis L. Largey, ed., *Book of Mormon Reference Companion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 340–400; and Donald W. Parry and John W. Welch, eds., *Isaiah in the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1998).
 4. See for example, George Reynolds and Janne M. Sjodahl, *Commentary on the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1955 [reprinted 1961]), 325–26; Daniel H. Ludlow, *A Companion to Your Study of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 141–42; Keith A. Meservy, “God Is with Us,” in *1 Kings to Malachi*, ed. Kent P. Jackson (Studies in Scripture, vol. 4; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 92; and Donald W. Parry, Jay A. Parry, and Tina M. Peterson, *Understanding Isaiah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1998), 32.
 5. Ellis T. Rasmussen, *A Latter-day Saint Commentary on the Old Testament* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 505.
 6. Victor L. Ludlow, *Isaiah: Prophet, Seer, and Poet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 91. Compare 91n3: “The Book of Mormon proves to be a valuable resource in restoring a more correct version of the original material.” See similarly, W. Cleon Skousen, *Isaiah Speaks to Modern Times* (Salt Lake City: Ensign, 1984), 159, who states that 2 Nephi 12:16 “contains a remarkable demonstration of the integrity of the brass plates.” See note 9 below for additional representative citations.
 7. Sidney B. Sperry, *Our Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Steven & Wallace, 1947), 172–73. Compare *The Voice of Israel’s Prophets* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1952), 90–91 (later reprinted with “1965” on the title page); *The Problems*

- of the Book of Mormon (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), 92–93 (republished by Bookcraft as *Answers to Book of Mormon Questions* [1967], 92–93); and *Book of Mormon Compendium* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968), 508. Sperry's first published note on the difference between Isaiah 2:16 and 2 Nephi 12:16, with no discussion, seems to have been in "The 'Isaiah Problem' in the Book of Mormon, Part II," *Ensign*, October, 1939, 594.
- While Sperry's suggestion seems to neatly explain the discrepancy between Isaiah 2:16 and 2 Nephi 12:16, it is highly improbable from a text-critical perspective that the accidents of transmission he proposed for the verse in the MT and LXX would have worked out so nicely.
8. *Old Testament: 1 Kings–Malachi* (CES student manual for Brigham Young University's Religion 302 class), 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1982), 140. Similarly in the third edition of this manual (2003), 140.
 9. See, for example, Monte S. Nyman, *Great Are the Words of Isaiah* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 33; and *I, Nephi, Wrote this Record* (Orem, UT: Granite, 2003), 550–51; Hoyt W. Brewster Jr., *Isaiah Plain and Simple: The Message of Isaiah in the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 20; K. Douglas Bassett, comp., *Latter-day Commentary on the Book of Mormon* (American Fork, UT: Covenant, 1999), 131.
 10. See also the similar statement in footnote 16a for Isaiah 2:16 in the Latter-day Saint edition of the KJV. Sperry's name is not cited in these footnotes to scripture, but we assume the footnotes were generated based on Sperry's publications.
 11. Joseph Smith's study of Hebrew began in Kirtland, Ohio, in late 1835 (perhaps at least partially motivated by the acquisition in July 1835 of Egyptian mummies and the papyri with which the Book of Abraham is connected). Professor Joshua Seixas was hired to teach biblical Hebrew in Kirtland, Ohio, from 6 January to 29 March 1836. References to the study of Hebrew in Kirtland by Joseph Smith and other Church leaders are found in *History of the Church*, e.g., 2:385, 390, 396–97, 428. D. Kelly Ogden, "The Kirtland Hebrew School," in Milton V. Backman, ed., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History, Ohio* (Provo, UT: BYU Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1990), 63–87, provides a convenient summary and discussion of this activity.
 12. See also the assessment of John A. Tvedtnes, "Isaiah Variants in the Book of Mormon," in *Isaiah and the Prophets*, ed. Monte S. Nyman (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1984), 170, who, in speaking of Isaiah 2:16 // 2 Nephi 12:16, observed that "the matter is a very complex one." This publication by Tvedtnes is based on an earlier FARMS paper, "Isaiah Textual Variants in the Book of Mormon."
 13. The verses in Isaiah 2:1–5 are generally thought to constitute the first portion of Isaiah 2, following the traditional paragraph break after verse 5 in the MT. However, the prophecy of the future temple and the millennial imagery ends in verse 4. Verse 5 serves as a transition and begins a multiverse invitation to the Lord's people to (re)turn from their worldly ways to the Lord's ways.
 14. The name Jehovah is derived from the unvocalized Hebrew form *yhw*, usually written YHWH in English. This name is vocalized as "Yahweh" by scholars. Latter-day Saints are essentially unique in the Christian world in claiming that most biblical references to Jehovah designate Jesus (God the Son), not God the Father: "Jehovah is the premortal Jesus Christ and came to earth as a son of Mary" (Guide to the Scriptures, s.v. "Jehovah," at <http://scriptures.lds.org/gsj/jehovah>, accessed 10 March 2006).
- Scriptures and statements by latter-day Church leaders indicate that the expression "the day of the Lord" usually (ultimately) designates Jesus's second coming. In addition to the citations in the Topical Guide in the Latter-day Saint edition of the King James Bible, s.v. "Day of the Lord," see, for example, Joseph Fielding Smith Jr., *Doctrines of Salvation* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 1:173: "Elijah was to bring back to the earth his priesthood and restore to men the power to seal on earth and in heaven, so that mankind might have means of escape from the destruction which awaited the wicked in that great and dreadful day of the Lord. This great and dreadful day can be no other time than the coming of Jesus Christ to establish his kingdom in power on the earth, and to cleanse it from all iniquity." Compare Bruce R. McConkie, *The Mortal Messiah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 4:367–68.
15. There is not sufficient space here to deal with the several differences between the KJV and the Book of Mormon in this block of text. For a discussion of these differences see the various Latter-day Saint commentaries on Isaiah (cited above, notes 2–9). See also, Tvedtnes, "Isaiah Variants in the Book of Mormon," 169–70; and Royal Skousen, "Textual Variants in the Isaiah Quotations in the Book of Mormon," in *Isaiah in the Book of Mormon*, 369–90.
 16. See the poetic format of these verses suggested by Donald W. Parry, *The Book of Mormon Text Reformatted According to Parallelistic Patterns* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1992), 77–78.
 17. 2 Nephi 12 is not preserved on what survives of the original manuscript. The current printed text is based on the printer's manuscript. See Royal Skousen, ed., *The Original Manuscript of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2001), 185–86; and *The Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2001), 188. The JST of Isaiah 2:16 is essentially the same as the text of 2 Nephi 12:16. See Scott H. Faulring, Kent P. Jackson, and Robert J. Matthews, eds., *Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible: Original Manuscripts* (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2004), 787.
 18. In its simplest form, "parallelism" designates a relationship between two poetic lines. When they are "synonymous," the lines say essentially the same thing using different words. With antithetic parallelism, an opposition is expressed between the content of the two lines (see, e.g., Proverbs 15:5).
 19. Note how the first two sets of parallel pairs—cedars//oaks and mountains//hills—are part of the natural world (vv. 13–14), while the second two pairs—tower//wall and ships//pictures—are human-made (vv. 15–16) but sourced from materials that come from the first two pairs. The order of the natural elements is inverted when they are represented in forms of human manufacture.
 20. For a discussion of these issues, see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 2nd rev. ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 21–79. See also, for example, "Masoretic Text," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 4:597–99; and "Masoretic Text," in the *Bible Dictionary* in the Latter-day Saint edition of the King James Bible, 729.
 21. For a transliteration and photographs, see *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a): A New Edition*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Elisha Qimron (Boston: Brill, 1999), 5. In designations such as 1QIsa^a or 4Q56, Q indicates the document was discovered in one of the caves around Qumran, and the number preceding the Q indicates in which cave the document was found (numbered in order of their discovery, 1–11). Each document or fragment thus has a unique designation.
 22. The difference between Isaiah 2:16 in the MT and in 1QIsa^a is merely orthographic: both instances of *kl*, "all, every," in the MT are written *plene* (full spelling) as *kwl* in 1QIsa^a.
 23. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XV, Qumran Cave 4, Volume X, The Prophets*, ed. Eugene Ulrich et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 23 and plate III. 4QIsa^b is also designated 4Q56.
 24. The Hebrew text transliterated here is from *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart, Ger.: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1977). This edition is based on the oldest complete copy of the Hebrew Bible, the Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) Codex B 19^A, which dates to AD 1008. Compare the handsomely

- produced *The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition*, ed. David Noel Freedman (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998). The text of Isaiah 2:16 in this codex matches that preserved in the Aleppo Codex, published in Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed., *The Book of Isaiah* (Hebrew University Bible; Jerusalem, Magnes, 1995).
25. For other recent renditions of Isaiah 2:16b, see, for example, the New Jewish Publication Society version (“And all the gallant barks”); the New International Version (“and every stately vessel”); the New American Standard version (“And against all the beautiful craft”); and the Contemporary English Version (“and every beautiful boat”). Contrast the New Jerusalem Bible translation, which renders Isaiah 2:16b as “and for everything held precious.”
26. Harold R. (Chaim) Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1978), 42. The Hebrew words in the quotation were originally printed in Hebrew script, not in transliteration as presented here. See similarly, John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33* (Word Bible Commentary, vol. 24; Waco, TX: Word, 1985), 33.
27. The location of Tarshish is still a matter of debate. Most scholars favor the central or western Mediterranean area, although somewhere along or south of the Rea Sea is also a possibility. The phrase “ships of Tarshish,” which occurs several times in the Hebrew Bible, apparently became a figure of speech based on the great size of these ships and the precious cargo they used to carry. See “Tarshish (Place),” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6:331–33.
28. See also, for example, the Jewish Publication Society translation found in I. W. Slotki, ed., *Isaiah* (London: Soncino, 1949), 14: “delightful imagery.”
29. The noun *maškit* is rendered as “show-piece, figure,” in Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907 [reprint 1974]), 967; and as “image, sculpture, imagination, delusion,” in Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, rev. W. Baumgartner and J. J. Stramm (New York: Brill, 1995), 641. The word *maškit* occurs six times in the Hebrew Bible, for example, Numbers 33:52 (NRSV, “figured stones;” KJV, “pictures”); Proverbs 25:11 (NRSV, “setting;” KJV, “picture”). Of course, alternative derivations and translations of *maškit* have been proposed. These are conveniently summarized, with further references, in Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena*, 71n133, 72–73n143.
30. Ancient Ugarit, now Tell Ras Shamra, Syria, flourished during the mid-second millennium BC. The site is located near the northern end of the eastern Mediterranean seacoast. The texts are in a West Semitic language with affinities to Hebrew. See “Ugarit,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6:695.
31. For the text, see Manfred Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (KTU [Keilalphabetische Texte aus Ugarit]), 2nd ed.; Münster, Ger.: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995), 4.81. This text, the parallelism between Ugaritic *anyt* and *kt*, and its correlation with Isaiah 2:16 are noted in Loren R. Fisher, ed., *Ras Shamra Parallels*, vol. 2 (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1975), 8 (I 5). See also Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena*, 41–42.
- Most Ugaritic texts, including this one, which was first published in 1940, were not available to Sidney B. Sperry when he first published his interpretation of Isaiah 2:16 // 2 Nephi 12:16 in 1939 (note 7 above). Of course, this data was available when he republished it in subsequent years.
32. This correlation requires understanding the initial letter *šm* in the MT as a variant or mistake for a *šin* (= *šēkiyōt). Since both letters were represented by the same grapheme, or letter, in antiquity, this detail does not detract from what is accepted as compelling evidence for a cognate connection. This matter is discussed by Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena*, 71n135. See also Gregorio Del Olmo Lete and Joaquín Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, pt. 2, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Boston: Brill, 2003), 904.
33. See, for example, Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1981), 252. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena*, 71n137, and others cite the connection of Ugaritic *kt* with Egyptian *sktw*, or *sk.ty*, as it is sometimes written. See, for example, Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1965), 502 #2680.
34. Koehler and Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 325, s.v. *emda*. Compare *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, ed. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, trans. David E. Green (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980), 4:452–61, s.v. MD.
35. For a discussion of these issues see, for example, Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 134–48; and “Septuagint,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 5:1093–1104. See also “Septuagint,” in the *Bible Dictionary* in the Latter-day Saint edition of the King James Bible, 771.
36. In addition to the length of the text, there are other differences in the book of Jeremiah as found in the MT and in the LXX. These include a different arrangement of chapters, such that the oracles against the nations, which occur in chapters 46–51 in the MT and most English translations, are chapters 25–31 in the LXX.
37. An exhaustive study of the differences between the two texts is found in J. Gerald Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1973). Janzen concluded that the Hebrew text of Jeremiah is significantly longer than the Greek text because of expansions and conflation. He concluded that in the case of Jeremiah, the shorter text in the LXX was anciently translated from a more pristine edition of the Hebrew text than the one preserved in the MT. This perspective is generally accepted by scholars.
38. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Göttingensis editum*, vol. 14, *Isaia*, ed. Joseph Ziegler (Göttingen, Ger.: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967).
39. The English translation of LXX Isaiah 2:16 in charts 3, 4, and 6 is from Sir Lancelot C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint LXX: Greek and English* (London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, Ltd., 1851).
40. Isaac L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 30.
41. James Barr, “Review of M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Book of Isaiah: Sample Edition with Introduction*,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 12 (1967): 117. See also E. Y. Kutscher, “Marginal Notes to the Biblical Lexicon,” *Leshonenu* 30 (1966): 18–24. In his landmark Latin translation of the Bible, known as the Vulgate (late fourth century AD), Jerome translated the two lines in the Hebrew text of Isaiah 2:16 that he was using in a way that is reminiscent of the later Greek editions and the KJV translation of the MT: *et super omnes naves Tharsis / et super omne quod visu pulchrum est* = and upon all the ships of Tarshish / and upon all that is fair to behold (Douay-Rheims). So Jerome most likely had a Hebrew text similar to the MT, but his observation, cited by Barr, that *Tharsis* is synonymous with “sea” in Hebrew is taken as support for the premise that the earlier Greek translators thought likewise and rendered Hebrew “ships of Tarshish” as “ships of the sea.” Tvedtnes, “Isaiah Variants in the Book of Mormon,” 170, claimed that the Vulgate reads “sea” here, like the LXX, but we are unable to find *sea* as a variant in either of the two standard critical editions of the Vulgate. They both read *Tharsis*, “Tarshish.” Tvedtnes was apparently relying for his assertion on the apparatus of Isaiah 2:16 in the preliminary edition of Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed., *The Book of Isaiah* (Jerusalem, 1995; preliminary ed., 1975), in which it is incorrectly noted that the Vulgate reads “sea” here.
42. The Hebrew word *taršiš* in Daniel is actually a homonym of the place-name Tarshish and is the name of a precious stone, “but this made no difference, since

the interpretation of *taršiš* as sea was itself connected with the view of the colour of this stone” (Barr, “Review,” 118).

43. Tvedtnes has cited Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, an Aramaic rendition of the Hebrew prophetic books, as further evidence for the originality of the LXX translation “ships of the sea” (“Isaiah Variants in the Book of Mormon,” 170). The Aramaic reads *w l kl dšrn bbyrnyt špr*, “and upon all those who go down in ships of the sea, and upon all those who dwell in palaces of beauty” (Alexander Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic*, 2nd impression [New York: Brill, 1992], 3:6). However, Tvedtnes’s claim is problematic since nearly everywhere else in the Targum the Hebrew *taršiš* is rendered in Aramaic as “sea.” Indeed, Wright, “Isaiah in the Book of Mormon: Or Joseph Smith in Isaiah,” 188–89, notes that “in [the Targum of] Isaiah the rendering of ‘Tarshish’ as ‘sea’ occurs everywhere the former term occurs [in Hebrew]” and that this pattern is evident in other of the prophetic books as well (e.g., Ezekiel 27:12, 25; Jonah 1:3; 4:2). For a discussion of the Targums and their inherent issues, see, for example, Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 148–51; and “Targum, Targumim,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6:320–21.

As an aside, this data demonstrates that *Tarshish* and *sea* are perfect candidates for a synonymous pair in a Hebrew parallelism—though they do not appear as such anywhere else in scripture besides 2 Nephi 12:16.

44. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion all produced Greek translations of the Bible that are called “revisions” (or recensions) in that they attempted to present the Bible more correctly than the original Old Greek translation. These three “revisions” were columns three, four, and six, respectively, in Origen’s *Hexapla* (ca. AD 245). Since the *Hexapla* has only survived in fragments, the revisions are known only from various sources such as early papyrus fragments, vellum fragments from the Middle Ages, and

quotations from the LXX in various ancient writers who had access to these revisions. The surviving fragments are recorded in the Cambridge and Göttingen editions as part of the Hexaplaric evidence. For a useful discussion see Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 143–48; and Karen H. Jobes and Moises Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001), 45–68.

45. Some scholars believe that the LXX is translating a Hebrew text that had the Hebrew word *sepînôt*, meaning “ships,” rather than *šēkīyôt* (see note in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*). For a review of these possibilities see Barr, “Review,” 116–17.
46. See similarly Tvedtnes, “Isaiah Variants in the Book of Mormon,” 166–67.
47. For general comments on what is known and not known about the original translation of the Book of Mormon, see Milton V. Backman, “Book of Mormon, Translation of,” in *Book of Mormon Reference Companion*, ed. Dennis L. Largey (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 158–59; and John W. Welch and Tim Rathbone, “Book of Mormon Translation by Joseph Smith,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:210–13.
48. Royal Skousen, “Textual Variants in the Isaiah Quotations in the Book of Mormon,” in *Isaiah in the Book of Mormon*, ed. Donald W. Parry and John W. Welch (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1998), 377. See similarly and more fully John W. Welch, *Illuminating the Sermon at the Temple and Sermon on the Mount* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1999), 180–88.
49. Daniel Ludlow, *A Companion to Your Study of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 141–42. See similarly B. H. Roberts, “Bible Quotations in the Book of Mormon and Reasonableness of Nephi’s Prophecies,” *Improvement Era*, January, 1904, 191; and Sperry, *Our Book of Mormon*, 172 (in prefacing his comments on 2 Nephi 12:16 and 20; see also the rest of his publications cited in note 7 above). Skousen, “Textual Variants in the Isaiah Quotations in the Book of

Mormon,” 377–78, concluded that, at the very least, the biblical quotations in the Book of Mormon would have been dictated by Joseph Smith, not directly copied from the KJV by his scribe.

50. Sometimes generally called haplography or parablepsis, the technical terms designating the loss of words or phrases between phrases with similar beginnings or similar endings are homoioarcton and homoioteleuton, respectively. For a discussion of this phenomenon and biblical examples, see Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 236–40. This scribal accident is also attested in the printed editions of the Book of Mormon. Alma 32:30 presents a classic example of this accident in the Book of Mormon. This verse is significantly shorter in the 1920 edition compared to the 1981 edition, because a central portion of the verse was “lost” due to the typesetter’s eye jumping from one similar phrase to another, eliminating the words in between.
51. Wright, “Isaiah in the Book of Mormon: Or Joseph Smith in Isaiah,” 157. Wright studied the text of Isaiah in the MT and the KJV in comparison with the Isaiah material in the Book of Mormon, giving special attention to those passages in which the KJV translators used italicized words to indicate that their English rendition was not based on corresponding words in Hebrew.
52. Wright similarly claimed that the Isaiah passages in the Book of Mormon are “connected to the KJV” and “distant” from the Hebrew text. See Wright, “Isaiah in the Book of Mormon: Or Joseph Smith in Isaiah,” 157, 182 (compare 158, 208–11).
53. Huggins, “‘Without a Cause’ and ‘Ships of Tarshish,’” 158.
54. Huggins, “‘Without a Cause’ and ‘Ships of Tarshish,’” 168.
55. Huggins, “‘Without a Cause’ and ‘Ships of Tarshish,’” 177–79. See similarly Wright, “Isaiah in the Book of Mormon: Or Joseph Smith in Isaiah,” 189–90.
56. Huggins, “‘Without a Cause’ and ‘Ships of Tarshish,’” 177–79.
57. *History of the Church*, 1:315.
58. Given that Nephi and Mormon cautioned that human error might be found in their record

(cited above), the possibility that human error occurred in the work of Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery cannot be completely discounted. The occurrence of human error in the English editions of the Book of Mormon, resulting from dictation to scribes and other circumstances, has been demonstrated by Royal Skousen in his work on the original and printer’s manuscripts. It is significant and challenging that the original manuscript for this portion of 2 Nephi is not extant, only the copy known as the printer’s manuscript.

Although we are not aware of anyone having formally made this assertion, it is possible that the “extra” line of text in 2 Nephi 12:16 is the result of dittography (repeating a phrase due to similar wording) when translating extended passages of Isaiah from the plates. Dittography is the addition of extra letters, words, or phrases to a text because of the similarity of words and word sounds (contrast haplography and parablepsis, mentioned above). Whether one finds this suggestion plausible or not, it at least needs to be considered as a possibility.

59. Other instances of three poetic lines in conjunction with poetic couplets do occur, for example Isaiah 1:8 and 2 Nephi 30:16–17, but none of these passages are quite like 2 Nephi 12:16 in relation to the preceding verses, 13–15.
60. Alternatively, to argue that the MT/LXX synonymous couplet is preserved in 2 Nephi 12:16b+c still requires one to explain the origins of Nephi 12:16a. See the third explanation, given in the next paragraph, for a proposal that is similar.
61. We are concerned with the translation of Isaiah 2:16 that Parry, Parry, and Peterson provide in *Understanding Isaiah*, 32, wherein the phrase “and upon all [luxury ships]” is provided as a *third* line of text in the verse. This results in three synonymous lines about ships in Isaiah 2:16, which does not at all match the present text

of 2 Nephi 12:16 (no “pleasant pictures”), nor does it follow the preserved Hebrew or Greek texts of Isaiah 2:16. Such a representation implies that these authors think their rendition represents the original form of Isaiah 2:16, but they provide no discussion of this point, a serious omission. This same configuration of Isaiah 2:16 is repeated, again without explanation, in Donald W. Parry, *Harmonizing Isaiah* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2001), 45. See somewhat similarly David J. Ridges, *Isaiah in the Bible Made Easier* (Springville, UT: Bonneville, 2002), 140, who explains 2 Nephi 12:16c (“upon all pleasant pictures”) as meaning “pleasure ships upon which the wealthy traveled,” without further comment. This, again, suggests three poetic lines about ships in 2 Nephi 12:16, for which there is no available textual support. Ridges provides the same explanation for the second line of Isaiah 2:16, altering the “pleasant pictures” in the KJV text (p. 4). This results in a synonymous couplet in Isaiah 2:16 (which we accept), but there is no comment on how this form of Isaiah 2:16 relates to 2 Nephi 12:16 or what has become of the phrase “pleasant pictures.”

62. The quotation is from Huggins, “Without a Cause” and “Ships of Tarshish,” 171. His discussion of Clarke’s commentary is on pages 172–74. The research of Robert Paul (“Joseph Smith and the Manchester [New York] Library,” *BYU Studies* 22/3 [1982]: 333–56) suggests there was no copy of Clarke’s commentary in the Manchester, New York, lending library in the late 1820s. But Huggins’s claim relates to Joseph Smith’s stay in Harmony, Pennsylvania, and he cites a claim that the Rev. Nathaniel Lewis, one of Emma Smith’s uncles, had a copy of Clarke’s commentary and supposedly mentioned it to Joseph Smith (p. 173).

63. We thank our wives and other reviewers for their suggestions for improving this study. We extend an extra note of thanks to John A. Tvedtnes for his careful reading and comments. As always, all deficiencies are our responsibility alone.

God in History? Nephi’s Answer

Roy A. Prete

1. B. H. Roberts, *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History: A Text Book*, 5th ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), 221–22, 284–86, 289–91; Mark E. Peterson, *The Great Prologue* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1975); E. Douglas Clarke, *The Grand Design: America from Columbus to Zion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992). On the special mission of America, see Ezra Taft Benson, Conference Report, April 1948, 82–87; Ezra Taft Benson, “A Witness and a Warning,” *Ensign*, November 1979, 31–33.
2. For a recent collection of articles on aspects of the subject, see *Out of Obscurity: The LDS Church in the Twentieth Century: The 29th Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000).
3. God’s role in history is a vast topic, well beyond the scope of this brief essay. For a fuller discussion, see *Window of Faith: Latter-day Saint Perspectives on World History*, ed. Roy A. Prete et al. (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2005).
4. See Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); also Mark T. Gilderhus, *History and Historians: A Historiographical Introduction*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003).
5. For a nuanced treatment of the historiography of providential history and the issues it faces, see Brian Q. Cannon, “Providential History: The Need for Continuing Revelation,” in *Window of Faith*, 143–60.
6. Ronald A. Wells, *History Through the Eyes of Faith: Western Civilization and the Kingdom of God* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1989), 3–4.
7. C. John Sommerville, “Christain Historiography? A Pragmatic Approach,” *Fides et Historia* 35 (Winter/Spring 2003), 3.
8. For a discussion of methodology in the Latter-day Saint context, see Roy A. Prete, “Merging the Secular and the Spiritual,” in *Window of Faith*, 125–42.
9. For a discussion of the pre-modern practice of integrating revealed text with history, see James E. Faulconer, “Scripture as Incarnation,” in *Historicity and the Latter-day Scriptures*, ed. Paul Y. Hoskisson (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2001), 17–61.
10. For an introduction to the subject of God in history that focuses on relevant principles from a Latter-day Saint perspective, see Alexander B. Morrison, “God in History,” in *Window of Faith*, 1–12.
11. For a fuller discussion, see Robert L. Millet, “The Influence of the Brass Plates on the Teachings of Nephi,” in *The Book of Mormon: Second Nephi, The Doctrinal Structure: Papers from the Third Annual Book of Mormon Symposium*, ed. Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1989), 207–25.
12. For discussions of gospel dispensations, including that of the Nephites, see Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, comp. Bruce R. McConkie (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977–78), 1:160–64; Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 200–202; Milton R. Hunter, *The Gospel through the Ages* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, 1945), chaps. 11–13; and “Dispensations,” in the Bible Dictionary in the Latter-day Saint edition of the King James Version of the Bible, 657–58. The Prophet Joseph Smith stated, “It is in the order of heavenly things that God should always send a new dispensation into the world when men have apostatized from the truth and lost the priesthood.” *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, comp. Joseph Fielding Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 375.
13. See Noel B. Reynolds, “Lehi as Moses,” *JBMS* 9/2 (2000): 27–35. See in particular note 1, which references literature pertaining to Nephi as a Moses figure.
14. See Millet, “Influence of the Brass Plates,” 210–11, which presents evidence to suggest that these were prophets of the tribe of Joseph.
15. According to Terry B. Ball, Isaiah “is the most quoted prophet in the Book of Mor-

mon, having approximately 35 percent of his Old Testament writings either quoted directly or paraphrased by Nephite prophets.” “Isaiah, life and ministry,” in *Book of Mormon Reference Companion*, ed. Dennis L. Largey et al. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 340. Nephi quotes 18 chapters of Isaiah completely: Isaiah 48–51 (1 Nephi 20–21; 2 Nephi 7–8); Isaiah 2–14 (2 Nephi 7–24); and the greater part of Isaiah 29 (2 Nephi 27); plus additional portions, either quoted (such as 2 Nephi 6: 5–7; 30:9, 11–15) or paraphrased (e.g., 1 Nephi 22:6). So powerfully impressed was Nephi with the prophecies of Isaiah that of the 55 chapters in 1 and 2 Nephi, approximately one-third are drawn from Isaiah.

16. Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 3:87.

17. See Alan K. Parrish, “Lehi and the Covenant of the Promised Land: A Modern Appraisal,” in *Second Nephi, The Doctrinal Structure*, 39–41.

18. Nephi must have been personally gratified to receive the Lord’s promise that his writings on the small plates would be preserved “as long as the earth shall stand,” a point he apparently had not appreciated when he was commanded to prepare them (see 2 Nephi 25:21–23; 1 Nephi 19:3).

19. See Grant Underwood, “Insights from the Early Years: 2 Nephi 28–30,” in *Second Nephi, The Doctrinal Structure*, 323–36.

20. While the precise titles of such books have not been given in revelation, there is some indication from a 1978 First Presidency letter that Mohammed, among others, was inspired to bring forth truths of God, suggesting that the Qur’an and other sacred texts could be among these. For this interpretation and a discussion of world religions with references to their sacred texts, see Roger R. Keller, “Why Study World Religions?” in *Window of Faith*, 213–30.

Archaeology and the Book of Mormon

John E. Clark

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1. See Matthew B. Brown, *Plates of Gold: The Book of Mormon Comes Forth* (American Fork, UT: Covenant, 2003), for a detailed account of the events of that morning.
2. Figures current as of February 2006, Curriculum Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
3. For a concise review of historical positions concerning the origins of the Book of Mormon, see Louis C. Midgley, "Who Really Wrote the Book of Mormon? The Critics and Their Theories," in *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1997), 101–39.
4. The most thorough discussion of these points can be found in Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture That Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
5. Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 151.
6. See Wilkinson and Skousen, *Brigham Young University*, 160.
7. See Wilkinson and Skousen, *Brigham Young University*, 179–80.
8. Copies of the Book of Mormon available at the turn of the century would have had the changes added to the 1879 edition by Orson Pratt, and these included footnotes containing geographical information based on a hemispheric geography. These specific identifications were removed for the 1920 edition and have been excluded ever since.
9. For good overviews of Book of Mormon geographies and related issues, see John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1996); Sorenson, *The Geography of Book of Mormon Events: A Sourcebook* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1992); and Sorenson, *Mormon's Map* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2000).
10. *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 March 1842): 710.
11. John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1841).
12. *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 October 1842): 927.
13. Tal Davis, *A Closer Look at The Book of Mormon* (Atlanta: Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, 1993).
14. Judging supposed deficiencies of Book of Mormon archaeology from the vantage of biblical archaeology is akin to gauging the speed of an oncoming car on the freeway. Neither driver is in a position to make the call. The compelling argument from archaeology requires the reader's faith and indulgence in the soundness of biblical archaeology as an entry fee to evaluate Book of Mormon claims. In truth, biblical archaeology is riven with pitfalls and difficulties. Archaeology has not confirmed the Bible in any nontrivial sense. For a frank assessment of some of the challenges of biblical archaeology, see William G. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It? What Archaeology Can Tell Us about the Reality of Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001); Randall Price, *The Stones Cry Out: What Archaeology Reveals about the Truth of the Bible* (Eugene, OR: Harvest House, 1997).
15. The list of archaeological objections to the Book of Mormon was taken from an earlier pamphlet by Hal Hougey, *Archaeology and The Book of Mormon* (Concord, CA: Pacific Publishing, 1983), 12. The full list of objections, as they appear in Davis, *A Closer Look at The Book of Mormon* (see n. 13), is as follows: "1. No *Book of Mormon* cities have been located. 2. No *Book of Mormon* names have been found in New World inscriptions. 3. No genuine inscriptions have been found in Hebrew. 4. No genuine inscriptions have been found in Egyptian or anything similar to Egyptian, which could correspond to Joseph Smith's 'Reformed Egyptian.' 5. No ancient copies of *Book of Mormon* scriptures have been found. 6. No ancient inscriptions of any kind that indicate that the ancient inhabitants held Hebrew or Christian beliefs—all are pagan. 7. No mention of *Book of Mormon* people, nations, or places has been found. 8. No artifact of any kind that demonstrates *The Book of Mormon* is true has been found."
 16. For an excellent discussion of what physical evidence can and cannot do for the Book of Mormon, see John W. Welch, "The Power of Evidence in the Nurturing of Faith," in *Echoes and Evidences of the Book of Mormon*, ed. Donald W. Parry, Daniel C. Peterson, and John W. Welch (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2002), 17–53.
 17. See John L. Sorenson, "How Could Joseph Smith Write So Accurately about Ancient American Civilization?" in *Echoes and Evidences*, 261–306; and John Gee, "The Wrong Type of Book," in *Echoes and Evidences*, 307–29.
 18. Hugh Nibley called such improbable confirmations "howlers." Hugh Nibley, "Howlers" in the Book of Mormon," *Millennial Star* (February 1963): 28–34; reprinted in Nibley, *The Prophetic Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1989), 243–58.
 19. See William J. Adams Jr., "Lehi's Jerusalem and Writing on Silver Plates," in *Pressing Forward with the Book of Mormon*, ed. John W. Welch and Melvin J. Thorne (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1999), 23–26; Adams, "More on the Silver Plates from Lehi's Jerusalem," in *Pressing Forward*, 27–28; C. Wilfred Griggs, "The Book of Mormon as an Ancient Book," in *Book of Mormon Authorship: New Light on Ancient Origins*, ed. Noel B. Reynolds (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1982), 75–101; William J. Hamblin, "Metal Plates and the Book of Mormon," in *Pressing Forward*, 20–22; Noel B. Reynolds, "By Objective Measures: Old Wine into New Bottles," in *Echoes and Evidences*, 127–153; Stephen D. Ricks, "Converging Paths: Language and Cultural Notes on the Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Book of Mormon," in *Echoes and Evidences*, 389–419; John L. Sorenson, "Challenging Conventional Views of Metal," in *Pressing Forward*, 187–89; H. Curtis Wright, "Ancient Burials of Metal Documents in Stone Boxes," in *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley*, ed. John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1990), 2:273–334.
 20. An early stone box is known for the late Olmec site of Tres Zapotes, Veracruz; see Christopher A. Pool, "From Olmec to Epi-Olmec at Tres Zapotes, Veracruz, Mexico," in *Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica*, ed. John E. Clark and Mary E. Pye (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 2000), 146. Many offering boxes have been found in the excavations of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan (present Mexico City) in the Templo Mayor excavations; see Leonardo López Luján, *The Offerings of the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan* (Niwoot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1994).
 21. The different scripts currently known include Zapotec, Lowland Maya, Highland Maya at Kaminaljuyú, Tlatilco, Teotihuacan, La Mojarra, La Venta Olmec, and a recent script from the Olmec heartland that has not yet been labeled. For some introductory discussion of these scripts, see Stephen D. Houston, "Writing in Early Mesoamerica," in *The First Writing: Script Invention as History and Process*, ed. Stephen D. Houston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 274–309; David H. Kelley, "A Cylinder Seal from Tlatilco," *World Antiquity* 31/5 (1966): 744–46; John S. Justeson, "The Origin of Writing Systems: Preclassic Mesoamerica," *World Archaeology* 17/3 (1986): 437–58; Justeson and Terrence Kaufman, "A Decipherment of Epi-Olmec Hieroglyphic Writing," *Science* 259 (19 March 1993): 1703–11; Joyce Marcus, "The Origins of Mesoamerican Writing," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 5 (1976): 35–67; Joyce Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems: Propaganda, Myth, and History in Four Ancient Civilizations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Sylvia Méluzin, *Further Investigations of the Tuxtla Script: An Inscribed Mask and La Mojarra Stela 1* (Provo, UT: Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation, 1995); Mary E. Pohl, Kevin O. Pope, and Christopher von Nagy, "Olmec Origins of

- Mesoamerican Writing,” *Science* 298 (6 December 2002): 1984–87; Karl A. Taube, *The Writing System of Ancient Teotihuacan* (Barnardsville, NC: Center for Ancient American Studies, 2000); Javier Urcid Serrano, *Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001).
22. See John Gee, “Two Notes on Egyptian Script,” in *Pressing Forward*, 244–47; Stephen D. Ricks and John A. Tvedtnes, “Semitic Texts Written in Egyptian Characters,” in *Pressing Forward*, 237–43; and Brian Stubbs, “Hebrew and Uto-Aztecan: Possible Linguistic Connections,” in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, ed. John W. Welch (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1992), 279–81.
23. See Kelley, “Cylinder Seal from Tlatilco,” 744–46.
24. See M. Kathryn Brown and Travis W. Stanton, *Ancient Mesoamerican Warfare* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003); Ross Hassig, *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); and Hassig, *War and Society in Ancient Mesoamerica* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
25. See John L. Sorenson, “Fortifications in the Book of Mormon Account Compared with Mesoamerican Fortifications,” in *Warfare in the Book of Mormon*, ed. Stephen D. Ricks and William J. Hamblin (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990), 425–44; and Sorenson, *Images of Ancient America: Visualizing Book of Mormon Life* (Provo, UT: Research Press, 1998), 132–33.
26. See William J. Hamblin and A. Brent Merrill, “Swords in the Book of Mormon,” in *Warfare in the Book of Mormon*, 329–51; Matthew Roper, “Eyewitness Descriptions of Mesoamerican Swords,” in *Pressing Forward*, 169–76; and Sorenson, *Images of Ancient America*, 130–31.
27. For blood-stained swords, see Alma 24:12–13, 15.
28. See Alison V. P. Coutts, “From a Convert’s Viewpoint,” in *Echoes and Evidences*, 421–52; Bruce H. Yerman, “Ammon and the Mesoamerican Custom of Smiting Off Arms,” *JBMS* 8/1 (1999): 46–47; John M. Lundquist and John W. Welch, “Ammon and Cutting Off the Arms of Enemies,” in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, 180–81.
29. For towers as the last refuge in battle, see Alma 50:4; 51:20; Moroni 9:7. Compare with Fray Diego Durán, *The Aztecs: The History of the Indies of New Spain*, trans. Doris Heyden and Fernando Horcasitas (New York: Orion Press, 1964), 68: “The Tecpanecs, retreating toward their city, intended to use their temple as a last stronghold, but Tlacaélel [an Aztec leader] reached the temple before them and, taking possession of its entrance, ordered one of his men to set it on fire, having made prisoner all those who were within.” Durán, p. 89: “When we reach Totoltzinco the king of Texcoco will set fire to the temple and the battle will come to an end.”
30. See Durán, *The Aztecs*, 217; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (New York: Appleton, 1875), 2:425; and Sorenson, *Images of Ancient America*, 126–29.
31. See Sorenson, *Ancient American Setting*.
32. Teotihuacan, located just north of Mexico City, was built about this time with massive amounts of cement. In citing this correspondence pointed out by others, I am not claiming that Teotihuacan was indeed the place mentioned in the Book of Mormon account; see Joseph L. Allen, *Sacred Sites: Searching for Book of Mormon Lands* (American Fork, UT: Covenant Communications, 2003), 89–91. At the moment, no New World city mentioned in the Book of Mormon is known with certainty. Other cities in the region around Teotihuacan engaged in similar practices, so I am drawing attention here to a region, a time period, and a cultural practice, all of which are confirmatory of the Book of Mormon account if one concedes that the Land Southward was south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. For further references to cement, see John L. Sorenson, “How Could Joseph Smith Write so Accurately about Ancient American Civilization?” 261–306; and John W. Welch, “A Steady Stream of Significant Recognitions,” in *Echoes and Evidences*, 331–87.
33. The notion of working kings or lesser kings came into the anthropological literature with the rise of evolutionary typologies and the concept of chiefdoms. For valuable treatments of chiefdoms, see Elman R. Service, *Primitive Social Organization: An Evolutionary Perspective*, 2nd ed. (New York: Random House, 1971); Morton H. Fried, *The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology* (New York: Random House, 1967); Timothy Earle, ed., *Chiefdoms: Power, Economy, and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Robert D. Drennan and Carlos A. Uribe, eds., *Chiefdoms in the Americas* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987); and Allen W. Johnson and Timothy Earle, *The Evolution of Human Societies: From Foraging Group to Agrarian State* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987).
34. For information on Olmec thrones, see David C. Grove, “Olmec Altars and Myths,” *Archaeology* 26/2 (April 1973): 128–35; Grove, “Olmec Archaeology: A Half Century of Research and Its Accomplishments,” *Journal of World Prehistory* 11/1 (1997): 51–101; Grove and Susan D. Gillespie, “Ideology and Evolution at the Pre-State Level: Formative Period Mesoamerica,” in *Ideology and Pre-Columbian Civilizations*, ed. Arthur A. Demarest and Geoffrey W. Conrad (Albuquerque: School of American Research Press, 1992), 15–36; Gillespie, “Power, Pathways, and Appropriations in Mesoamerican Art,” in *Imagery and Creativity: Ethnoaesthetics and Art Worlds in the Americas*, ed. Dorothea S. Whitten and Norman E. Whitten Jr. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1993), 67–107; and Gillespie, “Olmec Thrones as Ancestral Altars: The Two Sides of Power,” in *Material Symbols: Culture and Economy in Prehistory*, ed. John E. Robb (Carbondale, IL: Center for Archaeological Investigations, 1999), 224–53.
35. The classic statements on the Maya calendar are those of Sylvanus G. Morley, *An Introduction to the Study of the Maya Hieroglyphics* (1915; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1975); and J. Eric S. Thompson, *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing: An Introduction* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960). Most introductory books on Mesoamerican archaeology cover the basics of the calendar. I recommend any edition of Michael D. Coe, *The Maya* (London: Thames and Hudson). Ernst Wilhelm Förstemann is credited with discovering the principles of the Maya calendar in 1887; see his article “The Inscription on the Cross of Palenque,” reprinted in *The Decipherment of Ancient Maya Writing*, ed. Stephen Houston, Oswaldo Chinchilla Mazariegos, and David Stuart (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 224–33.
36. See Alma 45:10; Helaman 13:9; Mormon 8:6.
37. See Michael Coe, on the fallacy of misplaced concreteness, quoted in Hampton Sides, “This is *Not* the Place,” *Doubletake* 5 (Spring 1999): 46–55, quotation from p. 51: “They’re [Mormon apologists] always going after the nitty-gritty things. . . . Let’s look at this specific hill. Let’s look at that specific tree. It’s exhausting to follow all these mind-numbing leads. It keeps the focus off the fact that it’s all in the service of a completely phony history. Where are the languages? Where are the cities? Where are the artifacts? Look here, they’ll say. Here’s an elephant. Well, that’s fine, but elephants were wiped out in the New World around 8,000 bc by hunters. *There were no elephants!*” See also Coe, “Mormons and Archaeology: An Outside View,” *Dialogue* 8/2 (1973): 40–48.
38. See S. Kent Brown, “The Place That Was Called Nahom: New Light from Ancient Yemen,” *JBMS* 8/1 (1999): 66–68; Warren P. Aston, “Newly Found Altars from Nahom,” *JBMS* 10/2 (2001): 56–61; and Brown, “New Light from Arabia on Lehi’s Trail,” in *Echoes and Evidences*, 55–125.
39. See Sorenson, *Ancient American Setting*; and Sorenson, *Mormon’s Map*.
40. The population profile for the Lowland Olmecs is based on

- data for the history of the two principal capitals in the area, San Lorenzo and La Venta, as well as on some limited survey around both capitals. I draw from the following sources: Michael D. Coe and Richard A. Diehl, *In the Land of the Olmec* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980); Ann Cyphers, "Reconstructing Olmec Life at San Lorenzo," in *Olmec Art of Ancient Mexico*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson and Beatriz de la Fuente (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1996), 61–71; Cyphers, ed., *Población, Subsistencia y Medio Ambiente en San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1997); Rebecca González Lauck, "La Venta: An Olmec Capital," in *Olmec Art of Ancient Mexico*, 73–81; Stacey C. Symonds and Roberto Lunagómez, "Settlement System and Population Development at San Lorenzo," in *Olmec to Aztec: Settlement Patterns in the Ancient Gulf Lowlands*, ed. Barbara L. Stark and Philip J. Arnold III (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 144–73; Symonds, Cyphers, and Lunagómez, *Asentamiento Prehispánico en San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2002); and Christopher von Nagy, "The Geoarchaeology of Settlement in the Grijalva Delta," in *Olmec to Aztec*, 253–77.
41. See John E. Clark, Richard D. Hansen, and Tomás Pérez Suárez, "La Zona Maya en el Preclásico," in *Historia Antigua de México, Volumen 1: El México Antiguo, sus áreas culturales, los orígenes y el horizonte Preclásico*, ed. Linda Manzanilla and Leonardo López Luján (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000), 437–510.
 42. For basic information see the entries on El Mirador, Kaminaljuyú, and Chiapa de Corzo in Susan Toby Evans and David L. Webster, eds., *Archaeology of Ancient Mexico and Central America: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2001).
 43. For the demise of the Olmec civilization, see the following: Clark, Hansen, and Pérez, "La Zona Maya," 437–510; John E. Clark and Richard D. Hansen, "The Architecture of Early Kingship: Comparative Perspectives on the Origins of the Maya Royal Court," in *Royal Courts of the Ancient Maya: Vol. 2, Data and Case Studies*, ed. Takeshi Inomata and Stephen D. Houston (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 1–45; Richard A. Diehl, *The Olmecs: America's First Civilization* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2005); and González, "La Venta: An Olmec Capital," 73–81.
 44. See Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture That Launched a New World Religion*.
 45. Gordon B. Hinckley, "Four Cornerstones of Faith," *Ensign*, February 2004, 6.
- Lehi's Vision of the Tree of Life: Understanding the Dream as Visionary Literature**
Charles Swift
1. Robert L. Millet, "Another Testament of Jesus Christ," in *The Book of Mormon: First Nephi, the Doctrinal Foundation*, ed. Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1988), 163.
 2. Richard Dilworth Rust, *Feasting on the Word: The Literary Testimony of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1997), 4.
 3. Leland Ryken, *How to Read the Bible as Literature* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1984), 165.
 4. See, for example, Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Bernard McGinn, "Revelation," in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990), 523–41; John B. Gabel, Charles B. Wheeler, and Anthony D. York, *The Bible as Literature: An Introduction*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982); and Northrop Frye, *Words with Power: Being a Second Study of the "Bible and Literature"* (San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990).
 5. Ryken, *Bible as Literature*, 166.
 6. Admittedly, one might argue that "mist of darkness" really means "dark mist," the way the "rod of iron" might be called the "iron rod." This may or may not be the case. There are several other instances in this account in which adjectives are used before nouns to modify them (e.g., "dark and dreary wilderness," "white robe," "dark and dreary waste," "large and spacious field," "strait and narrow path"), indicating, at least, that it's reasonable to read "mist of darkness" to be something other than just a dark mist since the words "dark mist" could have been used to convey that latter meaning.
 7. On the possible connection of the building of Lehi's dream to ancient South Arabian architecture, see S. Kent Brown, "The Queen of Sheba, Skyscraper Architecture, and Lehi's Dream," *JBMS* 11 (2002): 102–3.
 8. On the connections to desert geography and other features of life in Lehi's dream, see S. Kent Brown, "New Light from Arabia on Lehi's Trail," in *Echoes and Evidences of the Book of Mormon*, ed. Donald W. Parry, Daniel C. Peterson, and John W. Welch (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2002), 64–69, 102–4.
 9. S. Kent Brown, "Lehi, Journey of, to the promised land," in *Book of Mormon Reference Companion*, ed. Dennis L. Largey et al. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 515.
 10. Ryken, *Bible as Literature*, 167; emphasis in original.
 11. Ryken, *Bible as Literature*, 167; emphasis in original.
 12. Ryken, *Bible as Literature*, 169; emphasis in original.
 13. Examples of ancient Arabian houses "built after the Babylonian design of Lehi's day" were 10 and 12 stories high, with their windows starting 20 to 50 feet above the ground for purposes of defense. "At night these lighted windows would certainly give the effect of being suspended above the earth." Early castles of Arabia looked like they stood in the air, high above the earth (see Hugh Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon*, 3rd ed. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1988], 257; also see Brown, "Lehi, Journey of, to the promised land," 515). The fact that such ancient houses existed, however, does not change the argument that the vision of the tree of life demands that the reader deal with unfamiliar images. The Book of Mormon is an ancient book written for modern times—its readers are the people of today, not those contemporaneous with Lehi or anyone else in the book. While there may be images in the vision that correspond with what some people in the book may have actually seen in life, these same images are unfamiliar to readers of the Book of Mormon.
 14. Ryken, *Bible as Literature*, 170; emphasis in original.
 15. Leland Ryken, James C. Wilhoit, and Tremper Longman III, eds., *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998), s.v. "Dreams, Visions."
 16. Of course, we might choose to divide up the vision into components in several different ways. For this chart, however, I have basically chosen to designate a new component when the location of the action changes. Lehi's location does not change once he has partaken of the fruit of the tree, but the location of the events he is observing and talking about does.
 17. Ryken, *Bible as Literature*, 170–71; emphasis in original.
 18. Ryken, *Bible as Literature*, 171.
 19. Leland Ryken, *Literature of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1974), 339.
 20. Corbin T. Volluz, "Lehi's Dream of the Tree of Life: Springboard to Prophecy," *JBMS* 2/2 (1993): 38.
 21. Ryken, *Bible as Literature*, 173.
 22. It is interesting that while people are concerned about the historicity of symbols, rarely do they concern themselves with the symbolism of history. Just as symbols can correspond to actual events, actual events can be understood to be symbolic. I do not refer only to ritual and ceremony, such as the sacrament or baptism, which are by definition symbolic actions. I refer to events in everyday life that normally would not be considered anything out of the ordinary but that can actually be seen as pointing to meaning beyond themselves. For example, Elder Boyd K. Packer spoke

of an experience he had years ago in Cuzco, Peru. When Elder Packer was in a sacrament meeting, a small native boy came inside the building off the streets. A woman there “banished him” from the meeting, but the boy later returned. Elder Packer held out his arms, and the boy ran to him and sat on his lap. Then Elder Packer, “as something symbolic,” set him in Elder A. Theodore Tuttle’s chair. When Elder Packer returned home, he told President Spencer W. Kimball about the event. President Kimball told him that the

experience had “far greater meaning than [Elder Packer had] yet come to know” and that he had held a nation on his lap (see Boyd K. Packer, “Children,” *Ensign*, May 2002, 7, 9).

23. Ryken, *Literature of the Bible*, 339.

24. Ryken, *Bible as Literature*, 172; emphasis in original.

25. See Volluz, “Lehi’s Dream,” 16–29.

26. It is interesting that John warns us not to add or take away from the book of Revelation (see Revelation 22:18–19). If Nephi had been permitted

to write about the end of the world, we would have received his account *after* having received John’s, and it would be as though Nephi had added to what John had written.

Contrary to what some claim (that John was referring to the Bible and that therefore the Book of Mormon illegitimately adds to it), John could only have been referring to the book of Revelation, and Nephi was expressly forbidden from even appearing as if he were adding to it.

27. Jeffrey R. Holland, *Christ and the New Covenant* (Salt Lake

City: Deseret Book, 1997), 162.

Chart, page 60

1. The original manuscript of the Book of Mormon reads *pressing* here, but Oliver Cowdery misread it as *feeling* when preparing the printer’s manuscript. See Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon, Part One: 1 Nephi 1 – 2 Nephi 10* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2004), 187.