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Oh, That I Were an Angel!

Daniel C. Peterson

Abstract: *Alma's conversion experience was both unusual and unusually powerful, and yet he fervently wished that he could provide others with the same experience. So much so, in fact, that he actually feared that he might be sinning in his wish by seeming to oppose the will of God. Increasingly, though, I find myself sharing that wish. My involvement with the Interpreter Foundation can correctly be regarded as one manifestation of that fact. I invite others to join us.*

Readers of the Book of Mormon will remember the dramatic conversion of Alma the Younger, an apostate son of the Nephite high priest in Zarahemla, and of his four fellow apostates, the sons of king Mosiah. The Greek word αποστασία (*apostasia*), the obvious source of our English word *apostasy*, carries the essential meaning of "rebellion" or "revolt," and that is precisely what they were doing.

But "as they were going about rebelling against God," or, as Alma himself expresses it, as they were "seeking to destroy the church of God," an angel appeared to them. "And he descended as it were in a cloud" and "spake as it were with a voice of thunder, which caused the earth to shake," and summoned them to repentance. "Doth not my voice shake the earth?" the angel asked, rhetorically, reminding them of something that they already knew quite terrifyingly well. "He spake unto us, as it were the voice of thunder, and the whole earth did tremble beneath our feet." "And so great was their astonishment, that they fell to the earth, and understood not the words which he spake unto them."[1]

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1. For the original account of the conversion experience of Alma and the sons of Mosiah, see Mosiah 27:10–17. And, as I'll mention almost immediately, Alma retells the story many years later at Alma 36:6–11. I have drawn upon both accounts for my summary here.

The experience was so powerful that it fundamentally transformed the lives of all five. They became famously devoted and extremely successful missionaries, preaching the Gospel with great effect. They are, thus, powerful examples of the scriptural concept of repentance, which is the term that the King James Bible and derivative English works most commonly use to render the Hebrew word תשובה (*teshuvah*), which literally means "return," and the Greek term μετάνοια (*metanoia*). Metanoia, from the preposition *meta*, meaning "after" or "beyond," and a derivative of *nous*, meaning "mind," suggests, very strongly, a change of thinking, a transforming change of heart (as we would say it), a repudiation of past thinking, a conversion or reformation. In some modern German Bible translations (e.g., the *Einheitsübersetzung*, which has been adopted by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for its German-speaking congregations), the verb *umkehren* ("to turn back," "to turn around") captures the sense of the Greek and the Hebrew quite well. It also represents the reactions of Alma and the four sons of Mosiah quite well — they returned to the teachings of their devout fathers, the Nephite king and the Nephite high priest.

It was so powerful, too, that Alma evidently seems to have continued to use his conversion experience in his sermons for years afterward. So, probably, did the sons of Mosiah. We have record of one such retelling of Alma's conversion in Alma 36, where, perhaps more than a quarter of a century after their encounter with the angel, Alma employed it to testify of his faith to his eldest son, Helaman.

But we also have clear echoes of it elsewhere.

First, though: *Intertextuality* is a word contemporary scholars use to describe ways in which various texts refer to each other, or play off of each other, often without explicitly indicating such interplay. For example, the title of the 2012 book *Seven Habits of Highly Fulfilled People*[2] alludes unmistakably to Stephen Covey's famous 1990 best-seller, *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People.*[3] I'm unaware of any connection between Stephen Covey and the former book's author, Satinder Dhiman, but it's likely that Dhiman hoped and expected that his prospective audience would be familiar with the other, older, text and that they would have it in mind when they considered purchasing his book.

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2. Satinder K. Dhiman, *Seven Habits of Highly Fulfilled People: Journey from Success to Significance* (Fawnskin, CA: Personhood Press, 2012).

3. Stephen R. Covey, *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People: Restoring the Character Ethic* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990).

The Book of Mormon contains numerous examples of intertextuality, and several probably remain to be discovered. I'll suggest just a few of them here.

In his examinations of legal materials in the Book of Mormon, to take one example, John Welch has shown that the book's language regarding crimes and courts and related topics tends to be highly consistent, perhaps indicating its dependence on underlying legal materials. Royal Skousen's superb studies of the book's textual history have established what he calls its "systematic nature"; its terminology and phrasing tend to be very consistent. I offer here three non-legal examples that were first identified by Professor Welch.

In Alma 36, Alma describes his conversion. At one point, he reports, "methought I saw, even as our father Lehi saw, God sitting upon his throne, surrounded with numberless concourses of angels, in the attitude of singing and praising their God" (Alma 36:22). Twenty-one of these words are quoted verbatim from 1 Nephi 1:8, where Lehi "thought he saw God sitting upon his throne, surrounded with numberless concourses of angels in the attitude of singing and praising their God." These two passages are far apart. Yet, as Professor Welch has pointed out, it seems rather unlikely that Joseph Smith asked Oliver Cowdery to read back to him what he had translated earlier so that he could ensure that the wording of the derivative passage was exactly the same.[4] We have no record of any such behavior on Joseph's part. Moreover, if that had happened, the very astute Oliver Cowdery would probably have questioned him regarding it and lost his confidence in the purportedly "miraculous" translation process, which would have seemed merely a mundane process of composition.

Similar instances occur when, in Helaman 14:12, Samuel the Lamanite plainly quotes 21 words from King Benjamin (see Mosiah 3:8) and, very likely, when 3 Nephi 8:6–23, recounting the destruction in the New World at the crucifixion of Christ, mentions precisely the same natural phenomena prophesied by Zenos and referred to in 1 Nephi 19:11–12.

I would like to suggest an additional illustration of Book of Mormon "intertextuality" that I, at least, don't recall being mentioned anywhere else. (Perhaps my memory just isn't good enough.) This case suggests reliance upon the Old Testament story of Elijah, presumably available

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4. Incidentally, since virtually all authorities agree that the book of Alma was actually dictated before the dictation of 1 Nephi, Joseph would have needed to consult Alma 36:22 before "composing" 1 Nephi 1:8.

to the Nephites via the brass plates that Lehi brought with him from the Old World.[5]

In the Old Testament we read of Elijah's experience in the wilderness (perhaps in the Sinai) during which

> the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake: And after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice. (1 Kings 19:11–12)

The Lord was "in" that "still small voice."

Compare that story about Elijah to the account of the great destructions visited upon the descendants of Lehi in the New World at the time of Christ's crucifixion: 3 Nephi 8:6–19 tells of a great "storm," "tempest," "thunder," and "whirlwinds," of fire and an earthquake that broke the rocks, ultimately followed by a "small voice" heralding the Savior's appearance. Such literary crafting strongly suggests that its author wanted us to think, while reading it, of the story of Elijah.

Now consider the story in which Alma the Younger famously expresses his yearning to reach all humanity with the message of the gospel:

> O that I were an angel, and could have the wish of mine heart, that I might go forth and speak with the trump of God, with a voice to shake the earth, and cry repentance unto every people!
>
> Yea, I would declare unto every soul, as with the voice of thunder, repentance and the plan of redemption, that they should repent and come unto our God, that there might not be more sorrow upon all the face of the earth. (Alma 29:1–2)

Alma's expression of his desire seems plainly based upon his own personal conversion experience. All the elements that I enumerated above are present in it, and it has understandably come to rank among the most beloved passages in the Book of Mormon.

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5. John Sorenson, by the way, has suggested on other grounds that the brass plates originated in the northern kingdom of Israel, where Elijah lived and prophesied. See John L. Sorenson, "The 'Brass Plates' and Biblical Scholarship," *Dialogue* 10, no. 4 (1977): 31–39, https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi/articles/Dialogue_V10N04_33.pdf.

Most English-speaking Latter-day Saints, for example, will be aware of the late Wanda West Palmer's musical setting of Alma's words in Alma 29:1.

> Oh, that I were an angel,
> Oh, that I were an angel,
> And could have the wish, the wish of my heart,
> Could have the wish of my heart.
> Oh, that I were an angel,
> Oh, that I were an angel
> And could have the wish of my heart.
> That I might go forth and speak with a trump, the trump of God!
> With a voice, a voice to shake the earth!
> Shake the earth!
> And cry repentance,
> Repentance unto every people,
> To every people,
> To every people.
> Cry repentance unto every people,
> *Repentance.*
> Oh, that I were an angel,
> Oh, that I were an angel
> And could have the wish of my heart,
> Could have the wish of my heart.
> Oh, that I were an angel!

Her song "Oh, That I Were an Angel" was a staple of sacrament meetings and other gatherings of the Saints throughout my youth and was especially common at missionary-related gatherings. I expect that it still is, although I haven't heard it as commonly in recent years.[6]

Candidly, I didn't like it at all; I'm not really sure why. However, I've come to like it quite a bit over recent years. Again, I'm not quite sure why that should be so, except that I've begun to appreciate much more than I once did the urgency of getting the message of the Gospel and, now, of the Restoration out to humanity, and of calling people (not excluding myself) to repentance — as well as to feel more sharply than I once did a frustration at our inability to do so as widely and extensively and powerfully as we would like. I've seen too many individuals and families make choices that have led to pain and suffering, and I worry about a society that seems, collectively speaking, to be making analogous

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6. For the story of the writing of the song, see R. Scott Lloyd, "'Angel' song written 50 years ago," *Deseret News: Church News*, August 25, 2012, https://www.thechurchnews.com/archives/2012-08-25/angel-song-written-50-years-ago-50089.

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choices. How I wish that "they should repent and come unto our God, that there might not be more sorrow upon all the face of the earth!"

Alma was perhaps a bit embarrassed by his desire to preach more powerfully than he humanly could. He felt guilty at wishing for more than God had granted to him, for not simply being content with the divine will:

> But behold, I am a man, and do sin in my wish; for I ought to be content with the things which the Lord hath allotted unto me.
>
> I ought not to harrow up in my desires the firm decree of a just God, for I know that he granteth unto men according to their desire, whether it be unto death or unto life; yea, I know that he allotteth unto men, yea, decreeth unto them decrees which are unalterable, according to their wills, whether they be unto salvation or unto destruction.
>
> Yea, and I know that good and evil have come before all men; he that knoweth not good from evil is blameless; but he that knoweth good and evil, to him it is given according to his desires, whether he desireth good or evil, life or death, joy or remorse of conscience.
>
> Now, seeing that I know these things, why should I desire more than to perform the work to which I have been called?
>
> Why should I desire that I were an angel, that I could speak unto all the ends of the earth?
>
> For behold, the Lord doth grant unto all nations, of their own nation and tongue, to teach his word, yea, in wisdom, all that he seeth fit that they should have; therefore we see that the Lord doth counsel in wisdom, according to that which is just and true. (Alma 29:3–8)

I sympathize with him on this point, too. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" Abraham asked the Lord among the great terebinth trees of Mamre (see Genesis 18:25). And, of course, the answer is Yes, the Lord will do what is right. He is just. In fact, he is more than just. He is gracious and merciful. If God were to give us mere justice, we would be in dire straits, indeed. In one of the most Christian passages in all the works of Shakespeare, Polonius, speaking of the traveling troupe of actors who had arrived at the castle of Elsinore, assures Prince Hamlet that he will give them all that they deserve.

My lord, I will use them according to their desert.

Hamlet, leaping to a judicial or even theological point far transcending the mere lodging and payment of a wandering theatrical troupe, exclaims in response to Polonius,

God's bodykins, man, much better. Use every man after his desert, and who should 'scape whipping?[7]

Which is to say, roughly, "Good heavens, man, give them more than that! If you pay everyone merely what he or she deserves, would anybody ever escape a whipping?"

And so it is, surely, with the Lord. In exchange for a few paltry years — and maybe much less! — of imperfect and feeble efforts to acknowledge him and to follow him as our lord, he promises us blessings beyond mortal comprehension that will last throughout the eternities. He is no skinflint, but a wildly, exuberantly generous giver of inconceivable gifts to all those who make even weak efforts to do his will, provided that we're sincere. No one will be defrauded or denied.

And yet, surely, many of us can sympathize with Alma's wish for more power to do good, for a louder voice with which to proclaim the message entrusted to him. The Savior himself recognized the problem of the magnitude of the task before us compared to the relative paucity of our means to address it:

But when he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted, and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd.

Then saith he unto his disciples, The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few;

Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest. (Matthew 9:36–38)

Obviously, the Interpreter Foundation isn't a trumpet, but it is an instrument through which a number of us seek to advocate, commend, and defend the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the claims of the Restoration. And, unsurprisingly, we would love to reach more people, more powerfully. We would love to have more laborers join us. Still, we're grateful to those who already have joined the effort with their time, their energy, their talent, and their means.

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7. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 2.2.490–93.

I'm grateful to the authors, copy editors, source checkers, designers, and others who have created this volume and all of its 47 predecessor volumes. In the case of the present number, I especially want to thank Allen Wyatt and Jeff Lindsay, the two managing or production editors for the *Journal*. Like every other leader of the Interpreter Foundation, they volunteer their service; they receive no financial or other compensation. Yet we could not function without their considerable effort.

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Be Ye Therefore Loyal, Even as Your Father Which is in Heaven is Loyal

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Taylor Halverson

Abstract: *The scriptures are saturated with covenantal words and terms. Any serious or close reading of the scriptures that misses or ignores the covenantal words, phrases, and literary structure of scripture runs the risk of missing the full purpose of why God preserved the scriptures for us. This is especially true for the Old Testament and the Book of Mormon, which emerged out of an Old Testament cultural context. Research during the past century on ancient Near Eastern covenants has brought clarity to the covenantal meaning and context of a variety of words and literary structures in the Old Testament and the Book of Mormon. This article builds on that revealing research to show that the English word "perfect" in a covenantal context in scripture can also be represented with the covenantal synonyms of "loyal, loyalty, faithful, and trustworthy." God has revealed and preserved the scriptures as records of these covenants and of the consequences of covenantal loyalty or disloyalty. The Lord's injunction to "be ye therefore perfect" (Matthew 5:48) is beautifully magnified when we realize that we are not simply asked to be without sin, but, rather, to "be ye therefore covenantally loyal" even as God has been eternally and covenantally loyal to us.*

For Latter-day Saint readers, one of the most consternation-creating passages in scripture is Jesus's admonition in the Sermon on the Mount to "be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect" (Matthew 5:48). For those of us already desiring to be more like God, that is, with tendencies toward perfectionism, this charge from Jesus can feel overwhelming, overpowering, and dispiriting. Who, among the fallen children of Adam and Eve, will ever in this mortal life be able to be perfect? The cause seems hopeless.

A different perspective may come by considering the difference in the Book of Mormon when Christ reiterates His commandment, but this time also referring to Himself: "Be perfect, even as I or your Father who is in heaven is perfect" (3 Nephi 12:48). Perhaps the perfection referred to requires a perspective going beyond mortality and looking to the fullness that comes after the resurrection. But even then, the commandment to be "perfect" is given to us as flawed mortals for whom perfection seems so unobtainable.

Thankfully, there have been regular reminders from scholars[1] and church leaders[2] that the original meaning of the Greek word "teleios," far from evincing the meaning of flawlessness, instead evokes the sense of completion, goal-orientation, maturity, and purposefulness. For example, after a careful examination of the Hebrew and Greek words involved in KJV passages that use the word "perfect" with respect to mortals, Frank Judd explains that mortal flawlessness is not implied in Matthew 5:48; on the contrary, the "essential sense of the Savior's command to be perfect is a call to live the gospel of Jesus Christ to the best of one's ability, using the Atonement to repent when necessary."[3]

We could translate the phrase as "be ye therefore purposeful [in seeking after the Kingdom of God], even as your Father which is in heaven is purposeful [in His role in the Plan of Salvation]." As helpful as these insights are from the Greek, we may miss the larger covenantal context within which the word "perfect" is embedded.

I propose that a better translation of the phrase, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," would be, "Be ye therefore loyal, even as your Father which is in heaven is loyal."

I'll first describe how covenants create the context for understanding "perfection" and "loyalty." I'll also explain why "loyal" may be a better translation of the word "perfect." And I hope to demonstrate how loyalty ties us back into the covenant God made with his people through Moses which was renewed and updated by Jesus himself and which we reenact each week at Sacrament. In summary, instead of worrying about being

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1. Frank F. Judd, Jr., "'Be Ye Therefore Perfect': The Elusive Quest for Perfection," in *The Sermon on the Mount in Latter-day Scripture*, ed. Gaye Strathearn, Thomas A. Wayment, and Daniel L. Belnap (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2010), 125-41, https://rsc.byu.edu/sermon-mount-latter-day-scripture/be-ye-therefore-perfect.

2. Jeffrey R. Holland, "Be Ye Therefore Perfect — Eventually," *Ensign* 47, no. 11 (November 2017), 40-42, https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/ensign/2017/11/saturday-morning-session/be-ye-therefore-perfect-eventually.

3. Judd, "'Be Ye Therefore Perfect,'" 126.

perfect, Jesus's charge to "be ye therefore loyal, even as your Father which is in heaven is loyal" is a call for us to enter into and remain in a loyal covenantal relationship with God.

Covenants as a Lens for Loyalty and Perfection

There are two key covenants that undergird the Old Testament (and, significantly, the Book of Mormon). They are (1) the covenant with Abraham, which follows the format of an Ancient Near Eastern unconditional *covenant of grant*, and (2) the covenant with the Israelites at Sinai, which follows the Ancient Near Eastern conditional *suzerain-vassal treaty*. These two covenants work together. The covenant of grant persists in perpetuity with all of Abraham's posterity. No one, except God himself, can break this covenant to Abraham and his posterity. However, God's servants, His people, must demonstrate their loyalty to Him by maintaining the conditional covenant delivered at Sinai. Anyone who breaks the conditional suzerain-vassal treaty of Sinai loses access to the blessings God freely offers to Abraham and his posterity.

Unconditional Covenant of Grant

"And they will be my people, and I will be their God" (Jeremiah 32:38).[4] God initiated this covenant with Abraham, as expressed in Genesis 17:1–9

> And when Abram was ninety years old and nine, the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect. And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly. And Abram fell on his face: and God talked with him, saying, As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of many nations. Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham; for a father of many nations have I made thee. And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of

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4. See another variation on this covenant in Deuteronomy 26:17-19: "Thou hast avouched the Lord this day to be thy God, and to walk in his ways, and to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and to hearken unto his voice: And the Lord hath avouched thee this day to be his peculiar people, as he hath promised thee, and that thou shouldest keep all his commandments; And to make thee high above all nations which he hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honour; and that thou mayest be an holy people unto the Lord thy God, as he hath spoken."

> thee, and kings shall come out of thee. And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God. And God said unto Abraham, Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, thou, and thy seed after thee in their generations.

The format and structure of this covenant follows a pattern found throughout the Ancient Near East that scholars have labeled a "covenant of grant" or a "royal grant." These covenants typically were created by a powerful king to reward loyal and impressive service from a servant or member of the society. The covenant would identify unconditional blessings that the loyal servant would receive and enjoy in perpetuity. These covenants of grant typically included the promises of land and a house (or dynasty). And the blessings would extend to encompass future generations of the faithful servant's posterity, remaining in the family's possession for all time, no matter what the servant or his future family might do. Even if the loyal servant or anyone in his posterity committed egregious acts the covenant would not be abrogated. Even if the offense merited capital punishment, the covenant would endure. These blessings and promises could never be lost, transferred, or taken away. They were the right and privilege, unconditionally and in perpetuity, for the loyal servants and his descendants.

The king seeks the ongoing loyalty of the faithful servant by asking the servant to "walk perfectly" or to "walk uprightly" or to "be perfect" in faithful loyalty to the king. Bible scholar Moshe Weinfeld shared an example from ancient Assyria that provides elucidating clarification on the connection between "perfection" and "loyalty." In one instance, the Assyrian king made a covenant of grant with a faithful servant named Baltya "whose heart is devoted (lit. is whole) to his master, served me (lit. stood before me) with truthfulness, acted perfectly (lit. walked in perfection) in my palace, grew up with a good name and kept the charge of my kingship."[5] Similarly, Noah is described as a devoted, faithful, and loyal servant to God: "Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God" (Genesis 6:9). The words and

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5. Moshe Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and Ancient Near East," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90, no. 2 (April–June 1970): 186.

phrases that are used in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East to describe faithful loyalty are: perfection, walk before me, with a whole heart, righteousness, uprightness, and stand before me in truth.[6]

The covenant of grant preserves and guarantees the rights of the loyal servant. In the covenantal context, curses are directed against any who will infringe upon the rights of the loyal servant, the royal seal is the sign that the covenant cannot be breached, and the king (who creates the covenant) takes upon himself the obligation to ensure that the covenantal promises are delivered. Otherwise, the king takes upon himself curses.[7]

For example, one ancient covenant of grant reads thus,

> After you, your son and grandson will posses it, nobody will take it way from them. If one of your descendants sins the king will prosecute him at this court. Then when he is found guilty … if he deserves death he will die. But nobody will take away from the descendant of [personal name of loyal servant] *either his house or his land* in order to give it to a descendant of somebody else.[8]

Another ancient covenant of grant example reads,

> Nobody in the future shall take away this house from [personal name of loyal servant], her children, her grandchildren and her offspring. When anyone of the descendants of [personal name of loyal servant] provokes the anger of the kings … whether he is to be forgiven or whether he is to be killed, one will treat him according to the wish of his master but his house they will not take away and they will not give it to somebody else.[9]

We see a similar example in the promise to King David, found in 2 Samuel 7:13–16:

> I will stablish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his father, and he shall be my son. If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men: But my mercy shall not depart away from

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6. Ibid.

7. See Genesis 15:7–21 where God takes upon himself the covenantal obligations, including the penalties of being cut in two, of the Abraham covenant, if God does not fulfill the covenant.

8. Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and Ancient Near East," 189.

9. Ibid., 189-90.

> him … And thine house and thy kingdom shall be established
> for ever before thee: thy throne shall be established for ever.

As Moshe Weinfeld so aptly described, the "[covenant of] grant serves to protect the rights of the *servant*, while the [suzerain-vassal] treaty comes to protect the rights of the *master*. What is more, while the grant is a reward for loyalty and good deeds already performed, the treaty is an inducement for future loyalty."[10]

Suzerain-Vassal Treaty

The suzerain-vassal treaty or covenant, a topic which has received extensive attention from scholars in the last few decades,[11] differs in several ways from the unconditional covenant of grant. Treaties between rulers (suzerains) and their subjects (vassals) in the ancient Near East often followed formulaic patterns that are sometimes called the "covenant formulary," and related covenant patterns can be seen in the Old Testament and the Book of Mormon.[12] The formula typically

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10. Ibid., 185.

11. Morton Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah, and Israel in the Eight and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974); Rintje Frankena, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy," *Oudtestamentische Studien* 14 (1965): 122-54; A. Kirk Grayson, "Akkadian Treaties of the Seventh Century B.C.," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 39 (1987): 127-60; Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (New York: Harper Collins, 1985); George E, Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," *Biblical Archaeologist* 17 (1954): 50-76; Dennis J. McCarthy, "Covenant in the Old Testament," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 27 (1965); Dennis J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in the Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament* (Biblical Institute Press, 1981); Guy Tucker, "Covenant Forms and Contract Forms," *Vetus Testamentum* 15 (1965); Moshe Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and Ancient Near East," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90, no. 2 (1970); Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1972): 116-129; Moshe Weinfeld, "Covenant Terminology," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93, no. 2 (1973); Moshe Weinfeld, "The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8 (1976). For an example of an ancient Near Eastern suzerain-vassal treaty see James B. Pritchard, ed., "The Treaty between Mursilis and Duppi Tessub of Amurru," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 203-205, http://jewishchristianlit.com/Topics/Contracts/treat01.html.

12. Stephen D. Ricks, "Kingship, Coronation, and Covenant in Mosiah 1-6" in *King Benjamin's Speech: "That Ye May Learn Wisdom,"* ed. John W. Welch and Stephen D. Ricks, (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1998): 233-75; RoseAnn Benson and Stephen D. Ricks, "Treaties and

included specific conditions as part of the covenants, including obedience to the suzerain, and a list of blessings for compliance with the covenant and a list of punishments or curses for failure to obey and keep the terms of the covenant. Other common elements include a preamble or introduction, a historical review of what the suzerain has done for the vassals, a reference to witnesses of the covenant making process, and means for recording and preserving the terms of the covenants. Loyalty, of course, was a critical part of such a covenant.

Perfection as Loyalty in a Covenant Relationship

The language used between giver and receiver of these covenants may provide insight into the larger contextual meaning of the word "perfect" that shows up in Jesus's Sermon on the Mount.

The Bible is divided into two major sections: the Old Testament and the New Testament. Some scholars call the Old Testament the Hebrew Bible or the Hebrew Scriptures. However, these scholarly names for the Old Testament obscure the purpose and focus the name "Old Testament" conveys. As others have demonstrated, the phrase *Old Testament* really means *Old Covenant*.[13] What is the Old Covenant? It is the covenant that God made with his people at Sinai: If they would keep the commandments (which are stipulations of loyalty) then they would prosper in the land. A sacrificial system was enacted to reinforce the meaning and significance of the covenant.

The New Testament really should be called the New Covenant. And, actually, the New Covenant is only new in the sense that Jesus is, Himself, the New Covenant, whereas the Old Covenant pointed the way to Jesus.[14] Each sacrificial lamb of the older system only symbolized the

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Covenants: Ancient Near Eastern Legal Terminology in the Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 14, no. 1 (2005): 48-61. It is also found in lament psalms of the Old Testament, as described in Daniel Belnap, "A Comparison of the Communal Lament Psalms and the Treaty-Covenant Formula," *Studies in the Bible and Antiquity* 1 (2009): 1-34. Some suggest that the Restoration follows this covenant formulary pattern, David R. Seely, "The Restoration as Covenant Renewal" in *Sperry Symposium Classics: The Old Testament*, ed. Paul Y. Hoskisson (Provo, UT, and Salt Lake City: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, and Deseret Book, 2005): 311-36.

13. Scott Hahn, *Consuming the Word: The New Testament and the Eucharist in the Early Church* (New York: Image Books), 2013.

14. Incidentally, in the modern church we understand the word "testament" to mean witness, and thus the subtitle for the Book of Mormon is "Another Testament of Jesus Christ." Technically, since "testament" means covenant and the

then-future last and eternal sacrifice of the Lamb of God, Jesus Christ, who enlivens the covenant offered to all of us. Again, that covenant is summarized by the phrase, found abundantly in the Book of Mormon, "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall prosper in the land."[15]

The covenant invites loyalty to God. The commandments are the stipulations or guideposts for loyalty. Insofar as we are loyal to God, we receive His measure of peace and prosperity in the land. God is always loyal to the covenant; He will always honor the covenant. We should seek to be loyal to the covenant as He is. As we practice our loyalty, by keeping the commandments, we become more like God. We are invited on a weekly basis to remember our loyalty and to recommit our loyalty to God through covenant when we pronounce "amen" (or "I agree") at the phrase, "They are willing to take upon them the name of thy Son, and always remember him and keep his commandments which he has given them; that they may always have his Spirit to be with them" (D&C 20:77).

With this covenantal context, we can expand our understanding of Jesus's call in the Sermon on the Mount: 'Be ye therefore covenantally loyal [as originally expressed in the Mosaic covenant and now updated in the Sermon on the Mount], even as your Father which is in Heaven has been covenantally loyal to the promises He made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all their descendants.' And with this new understanding of the word "perfection" as meaning covenantal loyalty, we can stop worrying about perfectionism. We should pursue loyalty to God as invited by the covenant mediated by the final and last sacrifice, the Lamb of God, Jesus Christ.

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Book of Mormon is not another covenant of Jesus Christ, the subtitle is not fully accurate. There is only one covenant; that covenant is with Jesus Christ. Therefore, the Book of Mormon subtitle would be more accurate if it read "Another Witness of Jesus Christ" or "Another Witness of the Covenant with Jesus Christ."

15.   Taylor Halverson, "The Origin and Purpose of the Book of Mormon Phrase "If Ye Keep My Commandments Ye Shall Prosper in the Land," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 46 (2021): 201-208; Taylor Halverson, *The Covenant Path in the Bible and the Book of Mormon* (Springville, UT: Line of Sight Publishing), 2020.

and America's national parks). He is a prolific author and editor of 20 books and more than 300 articles and a developer of scripture study resources with Book of Mormon Central (ScripturePlus app) and BYU's Virtual Scripture Group (3D Ancient Jerusalem project). Taylor loves to spend time with his wife Lisa and kids David and Rachel on all sorts of adventures including exploring the nooks and crannies of the American West and Southwest, participating with geology and archaeology teams on location, creating and mixing electronic music, watching and discussing edifying shows, reading good books, playing games, learning, and laughing. Taylor's academic training includes: BA, Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Brigham Young University; MA, Biblical Studies, Yale University; MS, Instructional Systems Technology, Indiana University; PhD, Instructional Systems Technology, Indiana University; PhD, Judaism & Christianity in Antiquity, Indiana University.

Ancient Sacred Vestments: Scriptural Symbols and Meanings

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Donald W. Parry

Abstract: *In this essay Parry starts with the symbology of ritual vestments, and then discusses in detail how the ancient clothing worn in Old Testament temples are part of the rituals and religious gestures that are conducted by those who occupy the path that leads from the profane to the sacred. The profane is removed, one is ritually washed, anointed, invested with special clothing, offers sacrifices, is ordained (hands are filled), and offers incense at the altar, before entering the veil. Putting on clothes, in a Christian context, is often seen as symbol of putting on Christ, as witnessed by the apostle Paul using the word "enduo," when talking about putting on Christ, a word mainly used in the Septuagint for donning sacred vestments (symbols also for salvation, righteousness, glory, strength and resurrection) in order to be prepared to stand before God. Parry then goes on explaining how priestly officiants wearing sacred vestments, emulated celestial persons who wear sacred vestments, making one an image of those celestial persons. He concludes with showing how the ancient garbs of the High Priest point to Christ.*

Further information at https://interpreterfoundation.org/books/temple-insights/.]

When priests and high priests served in the Mosaic tabernacle or the Jerusalem temple, they wore holy vestments, which were an integral part of the temple setting.* The priest's vestments consisted of four parts — headpiece,[1] sash, tunic, and linen breeches.[2] The high priest's vestments consisted of eight pieces — the four belonging to the priest plus an ephod (or "special apron"[3]), a robe of the ephod, a breastplate, and a golden plate of the headpiece (see Exodus 29:5–6). The Exodus text does not mention footwear.[4] The texts may suggest a possible order of putting on clothing for the priests (see Leviticus 8:13) and the high priests (see Leviticus 8:7–10).

On the Day of Atonement, which occurred once a year, the high priest dressed in white and wore the girdle, tunic, mitre, and breeches. Inasmuch as the clothing was holy (see Exodus 28:2–3), priests and high priests were vested with the sacred clothing in a sacred ceremony. In fact, if the priests failed to wear the linen breeches (and possibly other sacred vestments) while administering in the temple, they were subject to death (see Exodus 28:42–43).

The priests' sacred vestments served three distinct functions: (1) a pragmatic or practical function, such as to protect the priests from the elements and to provide a high degree of modesty (for example, Exodus 28:42 refers to breeches, which provided modesty to the wearer); (2) an aesthetic function, conveying beauty to those who were privileged to behold them in the setting of the temple precinct (for example, Exodus 28:2 refers to making holy garments "for glory and for beauty"); and (3) the vestments served a spiritual function, pointing the wearers toward divine actions and attributes through a variety of symbols.[5] It is upon this final point that this paper will focus. While many passages of scripture are dedicated to the priestly vestments, there is much that still remains obscure. As Durham has written, "On the one hand, they [vestments] are redundant in their specificity … on the other hand, they do not supply enough data to give a clear idea of what is intended."[6] The aim of this paper is to examine the symbols attached to the sacred vestments, to perhaps shed a little light on their spiritual intent and purpose.

Sacred Vestments Were Attached to a Variety of Symbols

Three Biblical literary units, found mostly in Exodus and Leviticus and numbering a total of 79 verses, refer to priestly garments: (1) Exodus 28:1–43 provides general instructions regarding the vestments, emphasizing the vestments of the high priest (Exodus 28:40 and 42 refer to priests); (2) Exodus 39:1–31 sets forth the making of the vestments; and (3) Leviticus 8:5–9 presents the investiture of the high priest. Beyond the key passages of Exodus 28 and 39, sacred vestments are referred to in various scriptures: for example, a robe (see Exodus 28:4, 31, 34; 29:5; 39:22–23; Leviticus 8:7), linen clothing (see Exodus 28:6, 8, 39, 42; 39:27–29; Leviticus 16:4, 23), a girdle (see Exodus 28:4, 8, 27–28, 39; 29:5; Leviticus 8:7; 16:4), and a crown (see Exodus 29:6; 39:30; Leviticus 8:9), as well as other articles of clothing.

Each piece of clothing points to divine actions and attributes through a variety of symbols. These symbols of sacred vestments could be broadly classified into seven groups:

1. The investiture of special vestments signifies one of the gestures of approach.
2. The act of putting on sacred vestments is related to putting on Christ and His holiness.
3. Sacred vestments are associated with salvation, righteousness, glory, and strength.
4. Vestments and clothing sometimes symbolize the person who wears them.
5. When priestly officiants wore sacred vestments, they emulated celestial persons — God, angels, and redeemed souls — who wear sacred vestments.
6. Sacred vestments anticipate the resurrection, when mortals will be clothed with an immortal body.
7. Sacred vestments point to Jesus Christ and His Atonement.

These symbols will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections. When these symbols of the sacred vestments are considered together, it becomes clear that they ultimately serve to point individuals toward a path of greater understanding of and devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ.

1. The Investiture of Special Vestments Signifies One of the Gestures of Approach

Gestures of approach[7] are rituals[8] or religious gestures[9] conducted by those who occupy the path that leads from the profane to the sacred.

Those who wish to leave profane space and approach the sacred center must participate in these gestures. Inasmuch as the concepts of sacred and profane have reference to two antithetical powers — the profane contaminates, the sacred sanctifies — the two must be strictly separated,[10] and gestures of approach serve to separate the two. "Any attempt, outside the prescribed limits, to unite the sacred and the profane brings confusion and disaster."[11]

Indeed, the entry into the sacred is potentially dangerous. Those who enter and/or serve in the sacred arena when unprepared are subject to death by the hands of man or by the power of God. For example, the laws regarding trespass into sacred space are well defined in the rabbinic literature. The Mishnah asserts that one of the thirty-six most punishable transgressions of the Torah is entering the temple while unclean (m. Ker. 1:1); also, when a ritually impure priest ministered, he was not taken to a court of law, but "young priests" took him from the courtyard and with clubs broke his head (m. Sanh. 9:6; 10:1). Likewise, if one who was not a priest served in the temple, he was killed either by strangling or by "the hands of Heaven" (m. Sanh. 9:6; 10:1; see also b. t. San. 81b). Furthermore, if a priest lacked atonement and deliberately entered the temple court, he incurred the penalty of excommunication. According to a prescription based on Leviticus 16:2, a priest who stepped across the prescribed boundaries of his zone (beyond the first 11 cubits of the entrance to the tripartite building, cf. b. t. Yoma 16b) received forty lashes; if he entered within the veil of the holy of holies, he incurred death at the hands of heaven (b. t. Menah. 27b; cf. t. Kelim 1:6), meaning no human punishment would be rendered. Foreigners who trespassed the temple precinct were also subject to death (b. t. Sanh. 83b).

The gestures of approach include the following (not necessarily in the order that they happen):

(a) *The Removal of Profane Items.* For example, God commanded Moses to remove his shoes — "put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground" (Exodus 3:5). Joshua also had an analogous experience (see Joshua 5:15).[12]

(b) *Ritual Ablutions, or Washing with Water.* This practice is referred to in a number of scriptural passages. For example, Exodus 29:4 states, "And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto the tabernacle of the congregation, and shalt wash them with water" (see also Exodus 30:19–20; 40:12).

(c) *Anointing with Olive Oil* (see Exodus 29:7; 40:13). This is a sacred rite that followed ritual ablutions but preceded the vesting rite. The locale where the anointing rite took place was significant. For priests of the Mosaic law, the anointing rite took place at the door of the temple court. Hence, the gestures involved in the anointing prepared the individual to approach the holiness located within the walls of the temple.

(d) *Investiture of Special Vestments* (see Exodus 28; 40:13). Rather than wear commonplace clothing — the clothing of the mundane and ordinary — the priests and high priests wore vestments that were holy (see Exodus 28:2–3), or set apart from the world.

(e) *Offering of a Variety of Sacrifices for Various Occasions.* Leviticus 1–7 outlines the different types of sacrifices appropriate to the various occasions. These included burnt offerings (Leviticus 1:3–17; 6:8–13), grain offerings (Leviticus 2:1–16), peace offerings (Leviticus 3:1–17), sin offerings (Leviticus 4:1–5:13), and trespass or guilt offerings (Leviticus 5:14–6:7).

(f) *Filling the Hand.*[13] A few passages of the King James Version refer to God's command for Moses to "consecrate" Aaron and his sons. For example, Exodus 28:41 states, "And thou [Moses] shalt … consecrate them." Rather than "consecrate them," the Hebrew text literally reads, "and thou [Moses] will fill their hand" (see also Exodus 29:9, 24, 35; 32:29; Leviticus 8:33; 16:32; 1 Chr. 29:5; 2 Chr. 29:31; Ezekiel 43:26).

(g) *Offering Incense at the Golden Altar.* The high priest burned incense on this altar twice daily, and once a year he was commanded to "make an atonement upon the horns … with the blood of the sin offering" (Exodus 30:7–10). Located directly in front of the temple's veil, the altar of incense specified that prayer (represented by incense) is essential before an individual can approach God in the holy of holies (Exodus 30:1–10).

(h) *Entering the Veil.* The veil of the tabernacle or temple, which divided the holy of holies from the holy place, separated humankind from God's presence. Artisans and craftsmen created an exceptionally beautiful veil; it was colorful — blue, purple, scarlet — and included images of cherubim (see Exodus 26:31–32). Leviticus 16 reveals instructions regarding entering the veil (see Leviticus 16:2, 12, 15, 23).

In sum, the gestures of approach prepare the individual for entrance into the holy — only after participating in these gestures of approach is the worshipper permitted to approach Deity in His state of holiness. One of the gestures — the investiture of special vestments — facilitates the transition from the earthly to the sacred.

2. Putting on Sacred Vestments Is Related to Putting on Christ and His Holiness

Not only do the sacred vestments help prepare the individual to approach the sacred, but the physical act of putting on sacred clothing is symbolically related to the spiritual act of putting on Christ and His holiness. This idea is underscored through translations of "put on" in both the Old and New Testament.

(a) The Hebrew *lbsh*. In the book of Leviticus, the Hebrew verb *lbsh* ("to put on") is collocated with various articles of sacred clothing, including linen garments, linen breeches, and the linen coat or tunic. For example:

- "The priest shall put on [*lbsh*] his linen garment, and his linen breeches shall he put upon [*lbsh*] his flesh" (Leviticus 6:10).

- "He shall put on [*lbsh*] the holy linen coat, and he shall have the linen breeches upon his flesh, and shall be girded with a linen girdle, and with the linen mitre shall he be attired: these are holy garments; therefore shall he wash his flesh in water, and so put them [*lbsh*] on" (Leviticus 16:4).

- "Aaron shall come into the tabernacle of the congregation, and shall put off the linen garments, which he put on [*lbsh*] when he went into the holy place, and shall leave them there" (Leviticus 16:23).

- "And he shall wash his flesh with water in the holy place, and put on [*lbsh*] his garments" (Leviticus 16:24).

- "The priest, whom he shall anoint, and whom he shall consecrate to minister in the priest's office in his father's stead, shall make the atonement, and shall put on [*lbsh*] the linen clothes, even the holy garments" (Leviticus 16:32).

- "He that is the high priest among his brethren, upon whose head the anointing oil was poured, and that is consecrated to put on [*lbsh*] the garments" (Leviticus 21:10).

- The Greek *enduo*. For each of the passages of Leviticus listed above, the Greek Septuagint translates the Hebrew *lbsh* into the Greek verbal inflections of *enduo*. This same Greek verb is employed in several New Testament passages that pertain to Jesus Christ and His Atonement. Paul, for example, used *enduo* in Romans 13:14: "put ye on [*enduo*] the Lord Jesus Christ." The apostle Paul also used "put on" in a number of other expressions:

(b) "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on [*enduo*] Christ" (Galatians 3:27).

  - "Ye have put off the old man … and have put on [*enduo*] the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him" (Colossians 3:10).

  - "Let us put on [*enduo*] the armor of light" (Romans 13:12).

  - "Put on [*enduo*] the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil" (Ephesians 6:11).

  - "And that ye put on [*enduo*] the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness" (Ephesians 4:24).

Based on scholarly conclusions,[14] it is evident that Paul intentionally used inflections of the verb *enduo* in the passages above to recall select Old Testament passages that deal with *putting on* sacred vestments. His usage of *enduo* is significant because he collocates *enduo* with words that pertain to Jesus Christ, baptism, and more.

3. Sacred Vestments Are Associated with *Salvation*, *Righteousness*, *Glory*, and *Strength*

While putting on sacred vestments is a symbol for putting on Christ and accepting His Atonement, putting on or being clothed in the sacred vestments also carries symbolism that focuses individuals on the blessings of accepting Christ's Atonement. In the following passages, note

how the words *salvation, righteousness, glory,* and *strength* are positioned with the words *clothed, linen,* and *garments,* subtly emphasizing the link between the vestments and Christ-like attributes.

(a) *Salvation.* "He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation" (Isaiah 61:10); "I will also clothe her priests with salvation" (Psalms 132:16).

(b) *Righteousness.* "Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness" (Psalms 132:9); "Righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins" (Isaiah 11:5); "For he put on righteousness as a breastplate" (Isaiah 59:17); "He hath covered me with the robe of righteousness" (Isaiah 61:10); "I put on righteousness, and it clothed me: my judgment was as a robe and a diadem" (Job 29:14); "The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready. And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints" (Revelation 19:7–8).

(c) *Glory.* "Thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother for glory and for beauty" (Exodus 28:2; see also Exodus 28:40); "I am clothed upon with glory, and I saw the face of God" (Moses 7:3); "They shall see me … clothed with power and great glory" (D&C 45:44); "Clothed in the brightness of his glory" (D&C 65:5).

(d) *Strength.* "Awake, awake! Clothe yourself with strength, O Zion; clothe yourself with your beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city" (Isaiah 52:1).[15]

These four points — *salvation*, *righteousness*, *glory*, and *strength* — provide links between sacred clothing and the blessings of the Atonement. These four points also presented worshippers with greater spiritual understanding each time they dressed in the sacred vestments in the temple setting.

4. Vestments and Clothing Symbolize the Person Who Wears Them

A number of scriptural passages contain symbolic implications that sacred vestments actually represent the wearer of the vestments or clothing. For example, the expression "keep your garments spotless" (Alma 7:25) means to keep yourself spotless, and one who is "clothed with purity" and wears "the robe of righteousness" (2 Nephi 9:14) is one

who is both pure and righteous. The term *garments* in the following passage symbolically refers to the person who wears them: "For there can no man be saved except his garments are washed white; yea, his garments must be purified until they are cleansed from all stain, through the blood of him of whom it has been spoken by our fathers, who should come to redeem his people from their sins" (Alma 5:21). In other words, the redeemed person has to be washed, purified, and cleansed from all stain by accepting the atoning blood of Jesus Christ.

Leviticus (13:47–59; 14:54–57) deals with clothing that has become contaminated by mildew or by a skin disease or plague, specifying the priest's diagnosis of that clothing, his pronouncement of "clean" or "unclean," and the subsequent washing or burning of the clothing. Why pay so much attention to the contaminated clothing? Clothing is an outward symbol of the person who wears it, and a tainted garment seems to symbolize the uncleanness and defilement of that person. The Mosaic law required either the destruction of the unclean clothing or its restoration to a state of ritual purity.

Sacrificial law required priestly officiants to sprinkle the blood of certain sacrificial animals onto the temple's altar or before the veil (see Exodus 24:6, Leviticus 4:6, 17). As the priest sprinkled the blood, it occasionally splattered onto his temple clothing. The law anticipated and provided for such splatterings with these words: "When there is sprinkled of the blood thereof upon any garment, thou shalt wash that whereon it was sprinkled in the holy place" (Leviticus 6:27). The stained garments and subsequent cleansing symbolize each of us repenting, coming unto Christ, and washing our own garments "white through the blood of the Lamb" (Alma 13:11).

The cleansing of the garments (or soul) is crucial for those who wish to be saved and to enter God's kingdom. No unclean thing can enter God's kingdom, and no man can be saved unless his garments are purified and cleansed from all stain (see Alma 5:21). So how does one wash his or her garments in Christ's blood? Jesus Christ Himself provided the answer when He spoke of *faith, repentance,* and *faithfulness:* "And no unclean thing can enter his kingdom … save it be those who have washed their garments in my blood, because of their faith, and the repentance of all their sins, and their faithfulness unto the end" (3 Nephi 27:19).

5. When Priestly Officiants Wore Sacred Vestments, They Emulated Celestial Persons Who Wear Sacred Vestments

A number of scriptural passages and secondary sources convey the concept that the resurrected Jesus Christ wears various articles of sacred vestments, such as robes, linen, girdles, or crowns, as do angels and redeemed souls. When mortals wore sacred vestments within the setting of the Lord's various temples, they were emulating the Lord, angels, and redeemed souls.

(a) *The Lord.* When John the Revelator envisioned Jesus Christ in the setting of the temple of heaven, Jesus was clothed in sacred vestments: "I saw seven golden candlesticks; And in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle" (Revelation 1:13).[16] In this vision, the resurrected Lord dons the vestments of a priest, with the robe and sash (see Exodus 28:4; 39:29).[17] Massyngberde Ford wrote, "In addition to the attributes of divinity, the one like a son of man bears signs of priesthood and royalty in his dress ([Revelation] 1:13). The garment worn by him was that of the high priest; see the description in Josephus Ant. 3:7. The golden belt or sash indicates royalty; see 1 Maccabees 10:89, 14:44."[18]

(b) *Angels.* "Angels of the heavenly entourage are described in the Old Testament as clothed in linen"[19] (see Ezekiel 9:2–3, 11; 10:2; Dan. 10:5; 12:6–7), which is the clothing of priestly officiants. There are other scriptural accounts beyond the Old Testament that portray the Lord's angels wearing sacred vestments, including robes, linen, girdles, or crowns. For example:

- The seven angels who will come out of the temple in heaven "having the seven plagues" will be "clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles" (Revelation 15:6). The angels' golden girdles recall the golden girdle of Jesus Christ, as described in Revelation 1:13. Brigham Young spoke of the clothing of angels: "this company before me tonight does not begin to be adorned inside or out as they should be in order to meet with the angels in heaven who are adorned in purity, power, and glory, clothed with clean white linen."[20]

- Daniel saw in vision an angel whom he described as "a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz: His body also was like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude" (Dan. 10:5–6; see also Dan. 12:6–7). Both the linen clothing and the golden girdle signify sacred vestments. As Goldingay explained, "The appearing of the man in linen (vv. 5–6) reflects that of the supernatural beings in Ezekiel 1; 9–10. Linen is the garb of a priest; here as in Ezekiel 9–10 the servants of the heavenly temple concern themselves with the affairs of its earthly equivalent."[21]

- On March 3, 1889, President Wilford Woodruff published the account of when he and Elder George A. Smith, a member of the LDS Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, were accosted by a host of evil spirits while in London, England, and three angels clothed in sacred vestments saved them. President Woodruff explained, "These powers of darkness fell upon us to destroy our lives, and both Brother Smith and myself would have been killed, apparently, had not three holy messengers come into the room and filled the room with light. They were dressed in temple clothing. They laid their hands upon our heads and we were delivered, and that power was broken."[22]

- Elder George Q. Cannon, another early LDS apostle, told of when he had a vision of the Prophet Joseph Smith some years after the prophet had been killed. In Elder Cannon's vision, Joseph Smith was "dressed in his temple clothes."[23] Many other such accounts of angels wearing sacred vestments could easily be cited here.

(c) *Exalted Saints*. The book of Revelation provides several details regarding the apparel of those who go to heaven. For example:

- The Saints who reside in the temple in heaven are "arrayed in white robes," for they "have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb" (Revelation 7:13–14); also, "he that overcometh, the same shall be

clothed in white raiment" (Revelation 3:5). In addition to being "clothed with white robes," they have "palms in their hands" (Revelation 7:9; see also Revelation 6:11). Furthermore, the twenty-four elders John the Revelator describes as being in heaven near the throne of God are "clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold" (Revelation 4:4). Other celestial beings will also wear white linen, robes, or other sacred clothing. The Lamb's wife (meaning the righteous of the Church) will "be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints" (Revelation 19:8). And the Lord's heavenly armies, who will accompany Him at His Second Coming, will be "clothed in fine linen, white and clean" (Revelation 19:14).

- A passage in the Doctrine and Covenants further collocates *robes*, *palms*, and *crowns*: at the resurrection, "we shall be caught up in the cloud to meet [the Lord], that we may ever be with the Lord; that our garments may be pure, that we may be clothed upon with robes of righteousness, with palms in our hands, and crowns of glory upon our heads" (D&C 109:75–76).

- Latter-day Saint prophets and apostles have provided several accounts that pertain to the dress of celestial persons, as the following example illustrates. On May 10, 1921, while Elder David O. McKay was sailing to Apia, Samoa, he had the following experience:

> [I] beheld in vision something infinitely sublime. In the distance I beheld a beautiful white city. Though far away, yet I seemed to realize that trees with luscious fruit, shrubbery with gorgeously tinted leaves, and flowers in perfect bloom abounded everywhere. The clear sky above seemed to reflect these beautiful shades of color. I then saw a great concourse of people approaching the city. Each one wore a white flowing robe, and a white headdress. Instantly my attention seemed centered upon their Leader, and though I could see only the profile of his features and body, I recognized him at once as my Savior! The tint and radiance of his countenance

were glorious to behold! There was a peace about him which seemed sublime — it was divine!

The city, I understood, was his. It was the City Eternal; and the people following him were to abide there in peace and eternal happiness.

But who were they?

As if the Savior read my thoughts, he answered by pointing to a semicircle that then appeared above them, and on which were written in gold these words: "*These Are They Who Have Overcome The World — Who Have Truly Been Born Again!*"[24]

Priestly officiants who wore sacred vestments did so in emulation of the Lord, angels, and exalted Saints who wear the same in the temple in heaven. In this manner, the priestly officiants served as types and shadows of heavenly beings; they wore sacred vestments in anticipation of the time when they would reside in the temple of heaven wearing similar eternal vestments.

6. Sacred Vestments Anticipate the Resurrection, When Mortals Will Be Clothed with an Immortal Body[25]

In writing to the Corinthians, the apostle Paul used language suggesting that at the resurrection we will put on immortality, similar to putting on clothing: "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. So when this corruptible *shall have put on* incorruption, and this mortal *shall have put on* immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory" (1 Corinthians 15:53–54; emphasis added). The Book of Mormon also sets forth the theme of putting on incorruption: "wherefore, it must needs be an infinite atonement — save it should be an infinite atonement this corruption could not *put on* incorruption" (2 Nephi 9:7; emphasis added). Enos concluded his book by stating, "And I rejoice in the day when my mortal shall *put on* immortality" (Enos 1:27; emphasis added).

In 2 Corinthians, Paul used imagery pertaining to clothing and nakedness, as well as the architectural terms *house, tabernacle,* and *building* to describe the nature of mortal and immortal bodies:

For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan, earnestly

desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven: If so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened: not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life (2 Corinthians 5:1–4).

The mortal body, Paul wrote, is an earthly house, a tabernacle that will eventually be dissolved. By contrast, a resurrected body is a building of God, a house not made with hands that is eternal in the heavens — a house that is from heaven. He also contrasted clothed personages with those who are naked and unclothed. In Paul's imagery, we are clothed with a body during mortality, "unclothed" of that body at death, and then clothed with a glorious body at our resurrection.

The theme of being clothed with a body at the resurrection continues throughout Latter-day Saint scriptures. A passage in the Doctrine and Covenants refers to human "bones, which were to be *clothed upon* with flesh, to come forth again in the resurrection of the dead" (D&C 138:43; emphasis added). Nephi used the word *clothed*, together with the word *robe*, in the context of the resurrection of the righteous: "The grave [will] deliver up the body of the righteous; and the spirit and the body is restored to itself again, and all men become incorruptible, and immortal, and they are living souls … and the righteous shall have a perfect knowledge of their enjoyment, and their righteousness, being clothed with purity, yea, even with the robe of righteousness" (2 Nephi 9:13–14). Elder Jeffrey R. Holland extended this imagery of the words *clothed* and *robe* when he wrote: "As a universal gift flowing from the atonement of Christ, the Resurrection will clothe with a permanent, perfected, restored body every spirit ever born into mortality. Furthermore, for every person who accepts the principles and ordinances of the gospel, that person's body will be something of a robe of righteousness. Therein is the redemption of the soul, and therein is a fulness of joy throughout all eternity."[26]

Clothe and *clothed* are also used by Latter-day Saint prophets in reference to the resurrection.[27] Joseph Smith declared that "we have a knowledge that those we bury here God will bring up again, clothed upon and quickened by the Spirit of the great God."[28] Brigham Young declared, "The very particles that compose our bodies will be brought forth in the morning of the resurrection, and our spirits will then have tabernacles to be clothed with, as they have now, only they will be immortal tabernacles — spiritual tabernacles."[29]

During a severe illness, Lorenzo Snow had a singular experience that pertains to being clothed at the resurrection, relating the following

vision: "My spirit seems to have left the world and introduced into that of [the temple of heaven]. I heard a voice calling me by name saying 'he is worthy, he is worthy, take away his filthy garments.' My clothes were then taken off piece by piece and a voice said 'let him be clothed, let him be clothed.' Immediately I found a celestial body gradually growing upon me until at length I found myself crowned with all its glory and power."[30] President, Thomas S. Monson speaks of the resurrected Christ being "clothed with an immortal body of flesh and bones."[31]

7. Sacred Vestments Point to Jesus Christ and His Atonement

In addition to pointing individuals to Christ-like attributes and blessings, ultimately, the sacred priestly vestments point directly to Jesus Christ and His Atonement. In Moses 6:63, Jesus states, "All things have their likeness, and all things are created and made to bear record of me … all things bear record of me." Similarly, 2 Nephi 11:4 testifies that "All things which have been given of God from the beginning of the world, unto man, are the typifying of him." All things testify of Christ, and the sacred vestments are no exception, containing a multitude of Christ-centered types and symbols.

The Ephod. The ephod, or special apron, is as an example of a sacred vestment that points to Jesus Christ and His Atonement, both through its materials and its colors.

- *The Ephod's Materials.* According to Haran, "The ephod is made of the sacred mixture — all kinds of wool with linen, *hosheb* workmanship, and hence it seems to be similar to the *paroket*-veil or the lower curtains …. The fabric contains gold, as well as woollen and linen thread. What is more, gold becomes the predominant ingredient, outstripping in quantity all the other materials woven into this fabric."[32] The materials of the ephod — gold, wool, and linen — have symbolic values that point to Jesus Christ. Because of its great beauty, high value, and incorruptible quality, gold suggests eternality; Jesus Christ is an eternal being of great worth and endless significance. Wool, derived from sheep, reminds us of Christ's role as the Lamb of God (see John 1:29; Revelation 13:8). With regard to linen, Revelation 19:8 states that the clean and white linen represents "the righteousness of the saints." The Saints' righteousness, of course, qualifies them to have their garments made white through Jesus's atoning blood (see 1 Nephi 12:10).

- *The Ephod's Colors.* The high priest's ephod was an elaborate and beautiful vestment that featured scarlet and other colors. To create the ephod, craftsmen first beat "gold into thin plates" (see Exodus 39:3), then cut the gold into wires, and then worked the gold wires in with blue, purple, and scarlet thread or yarn and fine linen (see Exodus 28:6). Similarly, the breastplate and the robe's hems featured gold, blue, purple, and scarlet yarn together with fine linen (see Exodus 39:8, 24), colors that were also featured on the temple veil (see Exodus 26:31; 36:35). All four colors — gold, blue, purple, and scarlet — speak symbolically toward Jesus Christ. Like the material, the color gold signifies incorruption, glory, radiance, and brightness. Both blue[33] and purple seem to signify royalty or heaven. Scarlet,[34] which figures prominently in the Old Testament (see Exodus 26:1, 31, 36; 36:8, 35, 37; Leviticus 14:4–6, 49–52; Numbers 19:6, 18), signifies Jesus Christ's blood, a reminder of the Atonement.

Linen Breastplate and Shoulders. The ephod had attached to it the linen breastplate, which bore 12 precious stones and the Urim and Thummim (see Exodus 28:15–30). Two onyx stones were also fastened to the shoulders of the vestment (see Exodus 28:12).

- *The Urim and Thummim.* The Urim and Thummim (Hebrew for "lights and perfections") represented the perfect Jesus, who, as the Light of the World (see John 8:12), reveals His truths to the prophets (see Amos 3:7).
- *The Stones with Names.* "Written upon the twelve precious stones of the breastplate, and the two onyx stones, were the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, so that the high priest would 'bear their names before the Lord upon his two shoulders' (Exodus 28:12) … By having the names of the children of Israel twice attached to the ephod, the high priest (representing Christ) symbolically carried the twelve tribes into the holy of holies and there made atonement for them."[35]

The High Priest. While clothed in the sacred vestments, the high priest himself also served as a figure of the "High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus" (Hebrews 3:1; 4:14). Paul called Jesus the "faithful high priest" (Hebrews 2:17), the "high priest of good things to come" (Hebrews 9:11), "a high priest … a minister of the sanctuary, and of the

true tabernacle" (Hebrews 8:1–2), and "an high priest after the order of Melchisedec" (Hebrews 5:10). Consider the following parallels between the Mosaic high priest and Jesus Christ the High Priest:

- The high priest sacrificed animals to make atonement for Israel's uncleanness, transgressions, and sins (see Leviticus 16:6, 11, 15–20); Jesus offered Himself as a sacrifice for the sins of the world (see Hebrews 7:27; Alma 34:8) though His sacrifice was "neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood" (Hebrews 9:12).

- The high priest represented Israel before God (see Leviticus 16:3, 6, 11); Christ, the faithful high priest, represents us before God (see Hebrews 7:26–27; 9:11; 1 Tim. 2:5; D&C 45:3–4).

- The high priests of the Mosaic order were required to be holy and undefiled (see Leviticus 21:1); Christ was "an high priest … who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners" (Hebrews 7:26).

- The high priest entered into the holy of holies as part of his duties on the Day of Atonement (see Leviticus 16), but "Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us" (Hebrews 9:24).

In sum, various components of sacred vestments point to Jesus Christ and His Atonement. Examples include the ephod and its materials and colors; the linen breastplate, the Urim and Thummin, and the stones with names; and the high priest who was clothed in sacred vestments and who served as a figure of Jesus Christ.

Conclusion

The scriptures disclose several symbols that are attached to the sacred vestments worn by priests and high priests in the ancient temple. Each piece of clothing used a variety of symbols to point individuals toward divine actions and attributes. When the symbols of the sacred vestments are considered as pieces of a whole, it becomes clear that they serve as a path of increased spirituality, ultimately pointing individuals toward greater understanding of and devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ.

* Unless otherwise specified, all references refer to standard works of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, including the Authorized King James Version of the Bible with explanatory notes

and cross-references to the standard works, the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price.

Notes

1. The headpiece (= KJV mitre) was like a "turban, bound cap"; see Exodus 28:4, footnote d.

2. The linen breeches were "undergarments of plain linen." John I. Durham, *Exodus* (WBC 3; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1982), 385.

3. See Exodus 39:2, footnote a. Haran states that the ephod "is a sort of apron encircling the body from the loins downward." Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 166. Based on his reading of Exodus 28:27 and 39:20, Haran explains that "we may assume that when the priest wishes to remove the apron from his waist, he need not lift it over his head or let it down to his feet, but can untie the 'joining' at his back and take off the ephod frontwards," 167.

4. Haran, citing Exodus 3:5 and Joshua 5:15 as evidence, writes that "Shoes are not included, which serves to indicate that the priests officiated barefoot." Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel*, 166, note 34. However, lack of mention of footwear does not constitute proof that footwear did not exist.

5. For three publications dealing with the symbolism of sacred vestments by LDS scholars, see Hugh W. Nibley, "Sacred Vestments," In *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond this Ignorant Present*, edited by Don E. Norton (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 91–138; see John A. Tvedtnes, "Priestly Clothing in Bible Times," in *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1994), 649–704; and see Stephen D. Ricks, "The Garment of Adam in Jewish, Muslim, and Christian Tradition," in *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1994), 705–739.

6. Durham, *Exodus*, 384.

7. It is difficult to ascertain who first coined the phrase "gestures of approach," however, it is now a common expression, used by many. See, for example, Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (trans. R. Sheed, NY: Meridian Books, 1958), 370–71, and Baruch M. Bokser, "Approaching Sacred Space," *Harvard Theological Review* 78 no. 3–4 (1985): 279–80, 299.

8. This accords with the standard dictionary definition, which defines rite (from the Latin *ritus*) as "a formal procedure or act in a religious

or other solemn observance." J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, "Rite," *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, 13:990. See also James C. Livingstone, *Anatomy of the Sacred* (N.Y.: Macmillan, 1989), 98, where the author defines a religious ritual as "an agreed-on and formalized pattern of ceremonial movements and verbal expressions carried out in a sacred context."

9. The rite of transition is common to many religions, says Raglan. "This ritual gradually dwindles, but people still mark their transition from the profane to the sacred sphere by removing their hats — or their boots." Fitzroy R. S. Raglan, *The Temple and the House* (NY: Norton, 1964), 31.

10. Speaking of sacred and profane space, Davies writes, "The one is potent, full of power, while the other is powerless. They cannot therefore approach one another without losing their proper nature: either the sacred will consume the profane or the profane will contaminate and enfeeble the sacred." J. G. Davies, "Architecture," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Mircea Eliade. 16 vols. (NY: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1987), 1:382–392.

11. Davies, "Architecture," 1:385.

12. Rabbinic literature further expounds on the idea of removing profane items before entering into sacred space; see Ex. Rab. 2:6; b. t. Yebam. 6b, 102b; m. Ber. 9:5; b. t. Ber. 61b–62b; Eccl. Rab. 4:14.

13. For an explanation of filling the hand, see "Priests," *LDS Bible Dictionary*, 753.

14. See the discussion and bibliographic sources, for example, in James D. G. Dunn, *Word Biblical Commentary*. Volume 38b. Romans 9–16 (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1988), 790–94.

15. This is my translation of Isaiah 52:1.

16. The word "paps" is an archaism for "breasts." The word girdle may be translated as "sash." The New International Version renders this verse as "dressed in a robe reaching down to his feet and with a golden sash around his chest."

17. Robert Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids, MI.: Eerdmans, 1977), 58.

18. 19 J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation. The Anchor Bible*, vol. 38. (NY: Doubleday, 1975), 385.

19. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel*, 166, 174.

20. Wilford Woodruff, January 2, 1854, Journals and Papers, 1828–1898. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, UT.

21. John E. Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989), 290.

22. Wilford Woodruff, *The Deseret Weekly* 38 (March 23, 1889): 390.

23. George Q. Cannon, *Journal of Discourses* 22:289.

24. David O. McKay, *Cherished Experiences from the Writings of President David O. McKay*, compiled by Clare Middlemiss (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1955), 102.

25. "The resurrection itself is conceived as the putting on of a new garment," Hugh Nibley, *When the Lights Went Out* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), 46–47; n. 2.

26. Jeffrey R. Holland, *Christ and the New Covenant* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2006), 244.

27. See also, James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1977), 344–45.

28. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, (ed. B. H. Roberts.; 2d ed., 7 vols.; Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1980), 5:362.

29. Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 8:28; see also Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:362, and Harold B. Lee, *Deseret News*, Church News Section, 19 April 1941, 7–8.

30. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed. "The Iowa Journal of Lorenzo Snow," *BYU Studies* 24, no. 2 (Summer 1984): 235, 268. Note that the language of Lorenzo Snow's words "take away his filthy garments" recalls Zechariah 3:4, "Take away the filthy garments from him" (see also Zechariah 3:1–5).

31. Thomas S. Monson, *Conference Report*, April 1988, 63.

32. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel*, 167.

33. The table of the shewbread was made of shittim wood, overlaid with pure gold, and covered with a blue cloth, see Exodus 25:23–30; Leviticus 24:5–9; Numbers 4:7.

34. See Donald W. Parry and Jay A. Parry. "Almonds, Scarlet, and Angel's Food: Things That Bear Witness of Christ." *Symbols and Shadows: Unlocking A Deeper Understanding of the Atonement.* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 2009), 130–133.

35. Joseph Fielding McConkie and Donald W. Parry, *A Guide to Scriptural Symbols* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1990), 47.

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Translators of the Dead Sea Scrolls. He has authored or edited thirty-three books, ten of which pertain to the scrolls and five of which deal with the writings of Isaiah. Parry has also published articles in journals, festschrifts, conference proceedings, and encyclopedias. Parry is a member of several other professional organizations, including the International Organization of Qumran Studies, Groningen, The Netherlands; The International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Groningen, The Netherlands; Society for Biblical Literature, Atlanta, Georgia; and the National Association of Professors of Hebrew, Madison, Wisconsin. He is married to Camille Mills, and they are the parents of six.

An Ishmael Buried Near Nahom

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Neal Rappleye

Abstract: *Latter-day Saint scholars generally agree that "the place called… Nahom," where Ishmael was buried (1 Nephi 16:34) is identified as the Nihm tribal region in Yemen. Significantly, a funerary stela with the name ys¹mˀl — the South Arabian equivalent of Ishmael — was found near the Nihm region and dated to ca. 6th century BC. Although it cannot be determined with certainty that this is the Ishmael from the Book of Mormon, circumstantial evidence suggests that such is a possibility worth considering.*

In recent decades, Latter-day Saint scholars have come to identify Nahom — the burial place of Ishmael, Nephi's father-in-law (1 Nephi 16:34) — with the Nihm tribal region in Yemen.[1] The exact borders of the Nihm tribal area have fluctuated over time, but it has been located near the Wadi Jawf since the early Islamic era.[2] Several inscriptions referring to individuals as *nhmyn* ("Nihmite") confirm the tribe existed at least by the seventh century BC,[3] and based on these texts scholars generally believe the Nihm tribe were in a region near the Jawf in antiquity.[4]

It is noteworthy, therefore, that in 2008 a corpus of over 400 crudely carved funerary stelae recovered from the Wadi Jawf were published by the Sanaʿa National Museum.[5] These stelae have anthropomorphic facial features carved above an inscription of the name of the deceased. This is a pan-Arabian style of funerary stela, with this particular corpus featuring some distinctive regional variations unique to the Wadi Jawf.[6] Among these is a 30 cm (ca. 1 ft.) x 12.5 cm (ca. 5 in.) x 7.5 cm (ca. 3 in.) limestone stela with a roughly incised face outline (eyes, a nose, mouth, and jaw-line), below which is inscribed the name *ys¹mˀl* in Epigraphic South Arabian, translated as "Yasmaˀīl" (see Figure 1).[7] The stela is paleographically dated to 6th–5th centuries BC, but Mounir Arbach and his co-authors consider it stylistically among "a few coarse examples"

of the *incised face elements* stela type "known for the 7th–6th centuries BC."[8]

Figure 1. Funerary stela YM 27966 bearing the name YS¹Mᶜ'L, equivalent to the Hebrew name "Ishmael," dated to ca. 6th century BC.[9]

The name *Yasmaᶜīl* is the South Arabian form of the name *Ishmael*, even though the two names may look somewhat different in translation.[10] The inscribed *ys¹mᶜ'l* is exactly how the Hebrew name *yšmᶜ'l* (ישמעאל) — typically rendered as "Ishmael" in English — would be spelled in Epigraphic South Arabian.[11] In fact, the two names have the exact same etymology, meaning "God has heard/hearkened," or "may God hear,"[12] and in *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, the Old South Arabian *ys¹mᶜ'l* is listed as an equivalent to the Hebrew name *yšmᶜ'l* (Ishmael).[13] Thus, this stela indicates that a man named the equivalent of *Ishmael* was buried in or near the Wadi Jawf around the 6th century BC, about the same time period Ishmael was buried at Nahom, according to the Book of Mormon (1 Nephi 16:34).

Figure 2. The name "Ishmael" (Yasmaʿʾil) in Old South Arabian script.

Connection to the Nihm?

Unfortunately, this funerary stela and the rest of this particular corpus were looted from their original context and recovered on the antiquities market, so they lack clear provenance. The authenticity of these stelae is not doubted,[14] but this means it is impossible to know exactly where they came from and if that location had any connection to the Nihm tribe. However, a separate collection of 40 funerary stelae of the same style were recovered *in situ* at the ancient site of Yathill (modern-day Barāqish), one of the ancient city-states of the Jawf.[15] Barāqish is associated with the modern-day Nihm tribe,[16] so it is possible some of the looted stelae also came from areas connected to the Nihm.

Figure 3. Map of the Wadi Jawf.

Interestingly, some of the looted stelae are believed to come from Haram, another one of the Jawf city-states.[17] Stelae of a similar style were previously recovered at Haram, and taken as evidence that people from

"Arab" tribes north of the Jawf were present at Haram from the very earliest period of South Arabian history.[18] Three identical inscriptions from this location, all dated to the 7th century BC, mention a man named ʿAmmīʾanas, who is called the *kbr nh[m]tn*, meaning the "chief" or "tribal leader" (*kbr*) of a group called NHMTN.[19] Christian Robin translates *nhmtn* here as "the stone polishers" (*des tailleurs de pierre*),[20] while G. Lankester Harding considered NHMTN in these inscriptions to be a proper name, most likely the name of a "tribe or people."[21] Another 7th century BC inscription (from an unknown location) identifies a man named Halakʾamar and his father ʾIlīdharaʾ both as *kbr nhmt*; in this inscription, NHMT is understood as a reference to a tribe and Herrmann von Wissmann identified it as the Nihm.[22] If the NHMTN are the same group as the NHMT, these inscriptions may thus suggest a link between Haram and Nihm in Lehi's day.[23] Significantly, Haram was only about 4 miles west of Maʿin (ancient Qarnaw), where a branch of the ancient Frankincense Trail cut across the desert eastward (cf. 1 Nephi 17:1).[24]

A Foreigner or Caravan Traveler?

The background and origin of the population associated with funerary stelae of this style is currently uncertain, with at least two competing hypotheses. Based on the archaeological context of the corpus from Yathill (Barāqish), Sabina Antonini and Alessio Agostini argue that they come from an "outsider" group, who "were connected in some way with the town of Barāqish, but that they were not in effect members of the community." Most likely, "they were caravaneers engaged in commerce throughout the western side of the Peninsula,"[25] or potentially "foreigners who certainly had some sort of contact with the inhabitants of Barāqish" and had "developed relationships with the sedentary inhabitants of the city but did not 'officially' belong there."[26]

Mounir Arbach, Jérémie Schiettecette, and Ibrâhîm al-Hâdî, on the other hand, argue that the looted stelae from the Jawf were a product of the lower strata of local populations, based on the generally crude and inexpert nature of the carvings and inscriptions.[27] These two points of view are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as Arbach et al. allow for the possibility that "a small number" represent the "deceased of a different cultural origins," specifically, "caravan traders, nomads, Mineans established in Northern Arabia, [and] Central or Northern Arabian populations."[28] Thus, the Ishmael or Yasmaʿʾīl of this stela was either a local individual of lower social status or a foreigner from the north

traveling along the major trade route, perhaps with some connection to the populations in and around the Wadi Jawf.

The Name Ishmael/Yasmaʿʾil

One of the ways the origins of these stelae are assessed is through onomastics (the names on the stelae).[29] An analysis of the onomastics found on the stelae from Barāqish indicated there were several links to Northwest Semitic and North Arabian names, strengthening the hypothesis that these individuals were involved in the caravan trade.[30] Hugh Nibley believed that the Ishmael of the Book of Mormon had Arabian links, based on his name,[31] but today the evidence is actually pointing in the opposite direction. The name *Ishmael* is of Northwest Semitic origins, and well attested in Hebrew tradition, both in the Old Testament — which mentions five other *Ishmaels* besides the son of Abraham and Hagar — and in the epigraphic sources from the 8th to 6th centuries BC.[32] In fact, Ishmael "was a very popular name in the 7th and 6th centuries [BC]" in Judah.[33] In contrast, in South Arabia, Ishmael (*ys¹mʿʾl*) was uncommon at this time. Out of 28 attestations of the name in the Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions (CSAI), only four are dated to the Early Sabaic Period (ca. pre-4th century BC).[34] Thus, rather than pointing to Arabian origins, the name Ishmael is an appropriate Hebrew name, and potentially indicates that the *Yasmaʿʾil* buried in the Yemeni Jawf was a foreigner from the north, where his Semitic name originated and was more common.

Lehi's Family and South Arabian Writing and Burial Customs

Since this stela is in a thoroughly Arabian style and the inscription is in Epigraphic South Arabian, some may wonder if Israelites from Jerusalem, such as Lehi and his family, would be likely to adopt such foreign practices in their burial customs. Iron age burial practices in Judah and Israel largely mirror those of their neighbors in Palestine,[35] and later Jews of the Second Temple Period also frequently incorporate the burial traditions of their surrounding culture.[36] So, it is not unreasonable to suppose that while traveling through Arabia, likely along the major caravan route,[37] Lehi and his family may have adopted burial practices common to local populations or fellow caravan travelers.

The fact that the inscription is in Epigraphic South Arabian, however, does raise the question of whether Lehi's family had learned the local language and script. When making arrangements for Ishmael's burial, it is plausible that Lehi's family hired a local stone carver (perhaps

from the Nihm tribe) to make the stela and inscribe it with Ishmael's name; in light of the clear (albeit crude) execution of local style and script, this is perhaps the more likely hypothesis. Nonetheless, there are some indications that Lehi's family may have learned South Arabian languages. Certainly, learning the name "Nahom" and arranging with the local population for the proper burial of Ishmael would have required at least learning the *spoken* language. Furthermore, some scholars have proposed a South Arabian etymology for the name *Irreantum*, suggesting that Lehi's family had become conversant in the local languages.[38]

More specifically suggesting knowledge of Epigraphic South Arabian *script* is an unpublished study of the Book of Mormon "Caractors" document indicating that some of the symbols bear resemblance to North and South Arabian characters.[39] S. Kent Brown also argued that Lehi's family may have spent time in servitude in South Arabia.[40] If that is true, then the skilled labor of Nephi and Lehi (and perhaps others in the party), who could both write and work in metals (and write *on* metals),[41] likely would have been one of their best assets as servants to tribal overlords, requiring them to learn the language.[42]

Could this be Ishmael from the Book of Mormon?

Ultimately, there is not enough evidence to make a positive identification with the Yasmaʿʾil of this funerary stela and the Ishmael of the Book of Mormon. The most that can be said is that there was *an* Ishmael, buried near the Nihm tribal region, around the 6th century bc. The lack of further identifying information in the inscription (such as a patronym) or the Book of Mormon text, and the inability to determine with certainty if the stela in question was found within or merely near the Nihm tribal region, makes a more definitive association impossible.

Still, the possibility is tantalizing. The Yasmaʿʾil of this funerary stela was buried somewhere within or near the Wadi Jawf, ca. 6th century bc, possibly at a site (Haram) which some inscriptions suggest had a connection with the Nihm in Lehi's day. The name Yasmaʿʾil and the style of stela are suggestive of (but not definitive evidence for) a foreigner from the north, associated with the caravan trade. Ishmael was buried at Nahom — identified as the Nihm tribal area, near the Wadi Jawf — in the early 6th century bc, and had arrived in the area from the north, most likely traveling along the major caravan route. Thus, the general profiles of the two Ishmaels fit, at least in broad strokes. At the very least, it seems reasonable to suggest that *if* the Ishmael of the Book of Mormon was buried with some sort of identifying marker, it probably would

have looked something like the Yasmaʿʿil stela — a crudely carved stela typical of foreigners traveling through the area, who lacked substantial time or resources to afford a more extravagantly carved and engraved burial stone.

Although a firmer conclusion eludes us, the very fact that *an* Ishmael was buried in close proximity to the Nihm tribal region around the very time the Book of Mormon indicates that a man named Ishmael was buried at Nahom is rather remarkable. Such a fact certainly does not weaken the case for the Book of Mormon's historicity.

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Endnotes

1   See, e.g., S. Kent Brown, "New Light from Arabia on Lehi's Trail," in *Echoes and Evidences of the Book of Mormon*, eds. Donald W. Parry, Daniel C. Peterson, and John W. Welch (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2002), 81–83; Terrance L. Szink, "Nahom," in *Book of Mormon Reference Companion*, ed. Dennis L. Largey (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 580 (cf. map on p. 514); Stephen D. Ricks, "On Lehi's Trail: Nahom, Ishmael's Burial Place," *Journal of Book of Mormon and Other Restoration Scripture* 20, no. 1 (2011): 66–68; Brant A. Gardner, *Traditions of the Fathers: The Book of Mormon as History* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2015), 105–108; Warren P. Aston, *Lehi and Sariah in Arabia: The Old World Setting of the Book of Mormon* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2015), 59–93. See, further, the discussions of Nahom in the articles by Warren P. Aston, George Potter and Richard Wellington, S. Kent Brown, David LaFevre, and Jeffrey R. Chadwick in Dana Pike, ed., *Lehi and Sariah's Wilderness Trek: Illuminating the Real-World Setting* (Provo, UT: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship,

2006), a special issue of the *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* (vol. 15, no. 2), demonstrating broad agreement among several scholars on the correlation of Nahom with the Nihm area. The connection has even made it into publications by major academic presses, such as Princeton, Oxford, Brill, and others. See John M. Lundquist, "Biblical Seafaring and the Book of Mormon," in Raphael Patai, *The Children of Noah: Jewish Seafaring in Ancient Times* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 173; Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 120–21, 147; Terryl L. Givens, *The Book of Mormon: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 117–18; John A. Tvedtnes, "Names of People: Book of Mormon," in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, 4 vols., ed. Geoffrey Khan (Boston, MA: E. J. Brill, 2013), 2:787; Grant Hardy, "The Book of Mormon," in *The Oxford Handbook of Mormonism*, eds. Terryl L. Givens and Philip L. Barlow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 143.

2   See Christian Robin, "Nihm: Nubdha fī ʾl-jughrāfiyya al-taʾrīkhiyya wafqan li-muʿṭiyāt al-Hamdānī," in *Al-Hamdani: A Great Yemeni Scholar, Studies on the Occasion of His Millennial Anniversary*, ed. Yusuf Mohammad Abdallah (Sanaʾa, Yemen: Sanaʾa University, 1986), 83–98; Christian Robin, "Le Pénétration des Arabes Nomades au Yémen," *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 61, no. 1 (1991): 85.

3   For the original Latter-day Saint reports on these inscriptions, see S. Kent Brown, "New Light: 'The Place that was Called Nahom'," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 8, no. 1 (1999): 66–68; "Book of Mormon Linked to Site in Yemen," *Ensign*, February 2001, 79; Warren P. Aston, "Newly Found Altars from Nahom," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 10, no. 2 (2001): 56–61. Updates and additional inscriptions are reported in Warren P. Aston, "A History of NaHoM," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (2012): 78–98.

4   See Hermann von Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien*, Sammlung Eduard Glaser III (Vienna: Der Österreichischen Akadaemie der Wissenchaften, 1964), 96–97, 307–308; Jacques Ryckmans, Walter W. Müller, and Yusuf M. Abdallah, *Textes du Yémen Antique Inscrits Sur Bois* (Leuven: Institut Orientaliste, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1994), 46–50; pl.

3A–B; Peter Stein, *Die altsüdarabischen Minuskelinschriften auf Holzstäbchen aus der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, 2 vols. (Tübingen and Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 2010), 1:22n43; 23, fig. 1; Christian Robin and Burkhard Vogt, ed., *Yémen: au pays de la reine de Saba'* (Paris: Flammarion, 1997), 144; Wilfried Seipel, ed., *Jemen: Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba'* (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1998), 325; Alessandro de Maigret, ed., *Yemen: Nel paese della Regina di Saba* (Rome: Palazzo Respoli Fondazione Memmo, 2000), 344–45; St. John Simpson, ed., *Queen of Sheba: Treasures from Ancient Yemen* (London: The British Museum, 2002), 166.

5 See Mounir Arbach, Jérémie Schiettecette, and Ibrâhîm al-Hâdî, *Collection of Funerary Stelae from the Jawf Valley: Sanʿâʾ National Museum, Part III* (Sanʿāʾ: Social Fund for Development and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2008).

6 On the pan-Arabian context for these stelae, see Jérémie Schiettecatte, "The Arabian Iron Age Funerary Stelae and the Issue of Cross-Cultural Contacts," in *Death and Burial in Arabia and Beyond: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Lloyd Weeks (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 191–203. On the regional variation distinctive to the Jawf, see Arbach et al., *Collection of Funerary Stelae from the Jawf Valley*, 5–6.

7 Arbach et al., *Collection of Funerary Stelae from the Jawf Valley*, 72, no. 105.

8 Ibid., 10. For the dating to the 6th–5th centuries BC, see p. 72, no. 105.

9 Image from Arbach et al., *Collection of Funerary Stelae from the Jawf Valley*, 72, no. 105. Used by permission of Mounir Arbach. Drawing based on the image by Jasmin Gimenez Rappleye.

10 The more technical, academic translation of the Hebrew is *Yišmaʿʾēl*, which makes the similarities with the South Arabian *Yasmaʿʾīl* somewhat more apparent. *Yasmaʿʾīl* can also be Westernized to the more "Ishmael"-like spelling *Ismaʿil*, as it is in Christian Robin and Yves Calvet, *Arabie Heureuse, Arabie Déserte: Les Antiquités Arabiques du Musée du Louvre* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997), 318.

11 In South Arabian, the *sat* (transliterated as *s¹*) is the standard equivalent to the *shin* (transliterated as *š*) in northwest Semitic

languages, such as Hebrew. See Leonid E. Kogan and Andrey V. Korotayev, "Sayhadic (Epigraphic South Arabian)," in *The Semitic Languages*, ed. Robert Hetzron (New York: Routledge, 1997), 222–23; Norbert Nebes and Peter Stein, "Ancient South Arabian," in *The Ancient Languages of Syria-Palestine and Arabia*, ed. Roger D. Woodard (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 148–49; Peter Stein, "Ancient South Arabian," in *The Semitic Languages and Dialects: An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger (Boston, MA: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011), 1048; Rebecca Hasselbach, "Old South Arabian," in *Languages from the World of the Bible*, ed. Holger Gzella (Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2012), 169, table 1.

12   For the Hebrew *yšm$^{\circ}$l*, see Francis Brown, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 1035; Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, study ed., trans. M.E.J. Richardson, 2 vols. (Boston, MA: Brill, 2001), 1:447; David J. A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, 8 vols. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–2011), 4:333–34. For South Arabian *ys^{1}m$^{\circ}$l*, see Robin and Calvet, *Arabie Heureuse, Arabie Déserte*, 318; Christian Julian Robin, "La Chronologie et ses Problèmes," in *Yémen: au pays de la reine de Saba'*, ed. Christian Robin and Burkhard Vogt (Paris: Flammarion, 1997), 63. For the component parts in South Arabian, *s^{1}m$^{\circ}$*, "hear, hearken to, obey" + *'l*, "God," see A.F.L. Beeston, M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller, J. Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary (English-French-Arabic)* (Sana'a: University of Sana'a, 1982), 5, 127; Joan Copeland Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaen Dialect* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Semitic Museum, 1982), 15, 338; Stephen D. Ricks, *Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian* (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1989), 10, 160.

13   Koehler and Baumgartner, *HALOT*, 1:447. Koehler and Baumgartner do not include the superscript *1* used to distinguish the *sat* (*s^1*) from the *shin* (*s^2*) and the *samekh* (*s^3*) in transliteration of South Arabian sibilants, but there is no question that the same name is intended, as neither *ys^{2}m$^{\circ}$l* nor *ys^{3}m$^{\circ}$l* is attested in South Arabian inscriptions.

14   Arbach et al., *Collection of Funerary Stelae from the Jawf Valley*, 7.

15 Alessandro de Maigret, "The Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission at Barâqish (Republic of Yemen)," *Newsletter Archaeologia* 0 (2009): 59–60, 89–90, fig. 57–59; Sabina Antonini and Alessio Agostini, "Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Yemen: A Minaean Necropolis at Barāqish (Wadi Jawf) and Qatabanian Necropolis of Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl (Wadi Bayḥān)," in *Death and Burial in Arabia and Beyond*, 215–24.

16 See Robin, "Nihm," 95. Christian Robin, "Tribus et territoires d'Arabie, d'après les inscriptions antiques et les généalogies d'époque islamique," *Semitica et Classica* 13 (2020): 237 explains that the sharīf of Barāqish "fall under" (*relèvent*) the Nihm, but are not necessarily an official part of the tribe, but are rather "allies" (*alliés*) under the Nihm's protection.

17 Arbach et al., *Collection of Funerary Stelae from the Jawf Valley*, 3.

18 Christian Robin, *Inabbaʾ, Haram, Al-Kāfir, Kamna et al-Ḥarāshif*, 2 vols. (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1992), 1:39–40, referring to Haram 41, 44, 45, and 48. A 7th century bc dedicatory text from Haram includes *ʿṭtr ḏ-Rgmt*, "ʿAthtar dhu-Ragmat," the god of Najran, among its list of deities, thus further illustrating Haram's early ties to the tribes north of the Jawf. See YM 28823 in the CSAI database and in Mounir Arbach and Rémy Audouin, *Collection of Epigraphic and Archaeological Artifacts from al-Jawf Sites: Ṣanʿâʾ National Museum* (Ṣanʿāʾ: UNESCO-SFD and Ṣanʿā National Museum, 2007), 44–45.

19 See Haram 16, Haram 17, and Haram 19 in Robin, *Inabbaʾ, Haram, Al-Kāfir, Kamna*, 1:85–89. The dating of these inscriptions is based on the reference to Watarʾīl, king of Haram from ca. 665–650 bc, per K. A. Kitchen, *Documenting Ancient Arabia*, 2 vols. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994–2000), 2:120, 741. See also Robin, *Inabbaʾ, Haram, Al-Kāfir, Kamna*, 1:24–26; Mounir Arbach and Irene Rossi, "Haram: cité antique du Jawf (Yémen). Quelques bribes de dix siècles d'histoire et nouveaux textes amīrites," *Semitica et Classica* 13 (2020): 25–26, 30.

20 See Robin's translation in the reference in n.19. See also the translation for Haram 16, Haram 17, and Haram 19 in the CSAI Database, http://dasi.cnr.it/.

21 G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto, 1971), 940, listing NH[MT]N from C 510 (= Haram 16) as a "doubtful" name (due to the need to restore a portion of it). On p. 1, category C3, Harding used *kbr* as a contextual indication for identifying names of a "tribe or people." More recently, Hani Hayajneh, "Eine Sammlung von Fragmentarischen Altsüdatabischen Inschriften aus dem Jemen," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 15, no. 1 (2004): 147n113 argued that in a similar expression (*kbr nhmn*), *nhmn* should be interpreted as a tribal name (instead of a reference to stone masonry) because it was preceded by *kbr*, referring (Hayajneh argued) to a tribal leader.

22 See CIH 673 in the CSAI Database, http://dasi.cnr.it/, for identification of *nhmt* as a tribal name in this text (as of August 26, 2021). For the dating of this text to the 7th century BC, see Kitchen, *Documenting Ancient Arabia*, 2:139. For von Wissmann's identification of the NHMT with the Nihm tribe and region, see von Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte*, 307–308. Earlier scholars specifically linked the NHMTN on the Haram inscriptions with the *nhmyn* of other texts. See Mayer Lambert, "Les Inscriptions Yéménites du Musée de Bombay," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 20 (1923): 80–81.

23 Since other inscriptions at Haram use *kbr* to refer to the leaders of colonies or trading posts from Haram living within the territory of another tribe (e.g., *kbr ḥḍrmwt* in Haram 12; see Robin, *Inabba', Haram, Al-Kāfir, Kamna*, 1:52; Arbach and Rossi, "Haram," 24n45), it is possible Haram had a trading outpost within the Nihm's territory, as suggested to me by a scholar of ancient South Arabian studies (personal communication, May 15, 2019).

24 See Nigel Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh: A Study of the Arabian Frankincense Trade* (New York: Longman, 1981), 167; Michael Jenner, *Yemen Rediscovered* (Essex: Longman, 1983), 16.

25 Antonini and Agostini, "A Minaean Necropolis at Barāqish," 221. See also Maigret, "Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission," 60.

26 Antonini and Agostini, "A Minaean Necropolis at Barāqish," 222–23. Giovanni Garbini, "Su alcuni tipi di stele e statuette sudarabiche con iscrizine," *Annali* 37 (1977): 375–81 (see esp. 378)

similarly concluded that other stelae of a similar type came to Yemen via a North Arabian culture group.

27 Schiettecatte, "Arabian Iron Age Funerary Stelae," 191–203; Arbach et al., *Collection of Funerary Stelae from the Jawf Valley*, 14–15.

28 Arbach et al., *Collection of Funerary Stelae from the Jawf Valley*, 15.

29 See Ibid., 13–15.

30 See Alessio Agostini, "Funerary Stelae from Barāqish: Study of the Onomastics," in Sabina Antonini and Alessio Agostini, *A Minaena Necropolis at Barāqish (Jawf, Republic of Yemen): Preliminary Report of the 2005–2006 Archaeological Campaigns* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2010), 49–70, esp. 69–70. This does not necessarily mean that the individuals themselves were foreigners, however. Names are often transmitted through cultural exchange, so South Arabian traders naturally could have learned Northwest Semitic and North Arabian names during their travels, and used them when naming their children.

31 This is stated most clearly in Hugh Nibley, *Teachings of the Book of Mormon: Transcripts of Lectures Presented to an Honors Book of Mormon Class at Brigham Young University, 1988–1990*, 4 vols. (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2004), 3:27–28. See also Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert/The World of the Jaredites/There Were Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988), 40; Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988), 72–73; Nibley, *The Prophetic Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 545.

32 All six Ishmaels in the Bible are: (1) the son of Abraham via Hagar (Genesis 16–17; 21; 25); (2) the son of Azel of Benjamin, ca. 7th century bc (1 Chronicles 8:38; 9:44); (3) father of Zebadiah, the 9th century bc governor of Judah under Jehoshaphat (2 Chronicles 19:11); (4) the son Jehohanan, who joined the revolt against Queen Athaliah ca. 835 bc (2 Chronicles 23:1); (5) the son of Nethaniah, member of the royal family and traitor of Judah (Jeremiah 40–41; 2 Kings 25:23–25); (6) one of the sons of Pashur, who had taken foreign wives in the post-Exilic period (Ezra 10:22). See James E. Brenneman, "Ishmael," in *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. David Noel Freedman (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), 653. For Ishmael in Hebrew epigraphy, Clines, *Dictionary of*

Classical Hebrew, 4:334, lists 19 Hebrew seals attesting to the name Ishmael, most of which date to the 7th–6th century BC. I have identified 60 attestations of Ishmael in Hebrew epigraphic sources from the 8th–6th century BC. See Nahman Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1986), 64–66, 69, 74; Gabriel Barkay, "A Bulla of Ishmael, the King's Son," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 290/291 (1993): 109–14; Nahman Avigad, rev. Benjamin Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1997), 108, 111–14, 123, 200, 206–209, 212, 235, 238; Robert Deutsch and Michael Heltzer, *New Epigraphic Evidence from the Biblical Period* (Tel Aviv and Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publication, 1995), 83–84; Robert Deutsch and Michael Heltzer, *West Semitic Epigraphic News of the 1st Millennium BCE* (Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publication, 1999), 64–66; Robert Deutsch, *Messages from the Past: Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Isaiah through the Destruction of the First Temple* (Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publications, 1999), 28, 29, 35, 36, 40, 41, 46, 124–25, 151–52, 171–72; Robert Deutsch and André Lemaire, *Biblical Period Personal Seals in the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection* (Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publication, 2000), 61; Robert Deutsch, "A Hoard of Fifty Hebrew Clay Bullae from the Time of Hezekiah," in *Shlomo: Studies in Epigraphy, Iconography, History, and Archaeology in Honor of Shlomo Moussaieff*, ed. Robert Deutsch (Tel Aviv and Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publication, 2003), 77–79; Robert Deutsch, *Biblical Period Hebrew Bullae: The Joseph Chaim Kaufman Collection* (Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publication, 2003), 56–57, 74–75, 215–20, 362–63; Robert Deutsch, *Biblical Period Epigraphy: The Joseph Chaim Kaufman Collection — Seals, Bullae, Handles* (Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publication, 2011), 42–43, 89–90, 115–16, 122–24, 143–44, 159–62, 184, 252.

33 Ernest Axel Knauf, "Ishmael," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6 vols., ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 3:513. See also David Rolph Seely, review of *Teachings of the Book of Mormon: Semester 3*, by Hugh Nibley, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 5 (1993): 193–94. In Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah*, 116, *Yišmaʿʾēl* is tied for the most frequently attested name in a collection of 255 bullae from the late 7th to early 6th century BC. On the Northwest Semitic origins of the name,

see Ebbe Egede Knudsen, "Amorite Names and Old Testament Onomastics," *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 13, no. 2 (1999): 202–24, esp. 218.

34 In addition to the *Yasmaʿʾīl* stela under discussion (YM 27699), see as-Sawdāʾ 18, CIH 545, and Maʿīn 109, CSAI Database, http://dasi.cnr.it/. Of these, CIH 545 and Maʿīn 109 date to the 7th century BC; see Kitchen, *Documenting Ancient Arabia*, 2:124 (CIH 545); Mounir Arbach, "La Decouverte du Temple Intra-Muros de Nakrah a Maʿin, L'antique Qarna," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 22, no. 2 (2011): 201–14 (Maʿīn 109). Specific dating for as-Sawdāʾ 18 is not available, but it is dated to the Early Sabaic Period (ca. pre-4th century BC). There are five additional *ysᴵmʿʾl* inscriptions in the Jawf funerary stelae collection, but they all date to a later time period, ca. 4th–2nd centuries BC. See Arbach et al., *Collection of Funerary Stelae from the Jawf Valley*, 52 (no. 45), 105 (no. 204), 114 (no. 231), 152 (no. 344), 157 (no. 358).

35 See Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992).

36 See Rachel Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2005). See also Pieter W. van der Horst, "Jewish Funerary Inscriptions — Most Are in Greek," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 18, no. 5 (September/October 1992): 46–57.

37 See Lynn M. Hilton and Hope A. Hilton, *In Search of Lehi's Trail* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 27–44; George Potter and Richard Wellington, *Lehi in the Wilderness: 81 New, Documented Evidences That the Book of Mormon is a True History* (Springville, UT: Cedar Fort, 2003), 53–71.

38 See Paul Y. Hoskisson, Brian M. Hauglid, and John Gee, "What's in a Name? Irreantum," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 11, no. 1 (2002): 90–93, 114–15.

39 See "Similarities between the Anthon Transcript and Old South Arabian (Arabic)," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 8, no. 2 (2002): 83, 88; Brown, "New Light from Arabia," 88.

40 See S. Kent Brown, "A Case for Lehi's Bondage in Arabia," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 6, no. 2 (1997): 205–17; S. Kent Brown, *From Jerusalem to Zarahemla: Literary and Historical Studies of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center,

1998), 55–59; Brown, "New Light from Arabia," 90–92. Note, however, the critique in Aston, *Lehi and Sariah in Arabia*, 97–98.

41 Their ability to write needs no defense — the very existence of their records attests to that. On Lehi and Nephi's skills in metal working, see John A. Tvedtnes, *The Most Correct Book: Insights from a Book of Mormon Scholar* (Springville, UT: Horizon, 2003), 78–97; Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "Lehi's House at Jerusalem and the Land of his Inheritance," in *Glimpses of Lehi's Jerusalem*, ed. John W. Welch, David Rolph Seely, and Jo Ann H. Seely (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2004), 113–17; Neal Rappleye, "Lehi the Smelter," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 14 (2015): 223–25. Many South Arabian inscriptions are engraved in bronze, indicating the value of Nephi's skill in writing on metallic surfaces.

42 See Potter and Wellington, *Lehi in the Wilderness*, 64.

The Rise and Fall of Korihor, a Zoramite: A New Look at the Failed Mission of an Agent of Zoram

Godfrey J. Ellis

Abstract: *The accounts of the Anti-Christ, Korihor, and of Alma's mission to the Zoramites raise a variety of apparently unanswered questions. These involve Korihor's origins, the reason for the similarity of his beliefs to those of the Zoramites, and why he switched so quickly from an atheistic attack to an agnostic plea. Another intriguing question is whether it was actually the devil himself who taught him what to say and sent him on a mission to the land of Zarahemla — or was it a surrogate of the devil or a human "devil" such as, perhaps, Zoram? Final questions are how Korihor ended up in Antionum, why the Zoramites would kill a disabled beggar, and why nobody seemed to have mourned his violent death or possibly unrighteous execution. There are several hints from the text that suggest possible answers to these intriguing questions. Some are supported by viewing the text from a parallelistic or chiastic perspective.*

Two of the most gripping stories within the Book of Mormon are first, the account of Korihor and second, Alma's mission to the Zoramites. These stories have been discussed in many forums, and many authors have supplied commentary on them. However, there remain at least seven significant questions in these accounts — "holes," if you will. John Welch has called at least some of these lacunae or gaps, "omissions."[1]

While answers to these questions cannot currently be proven definitively, the text offers several hints that, like an accumulation of circumstantial evidence in a legal case, can be amassed to provide speculative but credible answers. Some of this circumstantial evidence is new, coming from the relatively recent discovery of underlying parallelistic structures within the Book of Mormon text. John Welch expressed this idea when he wrote: "The design and depth of the

Book of Mormon often comes to light only when the book is studied with chiastic and other ancient literary principles in mind."[2] Such parallelistic considerations seem particularly helpful in the case of Korihor and of the Zoramites, as I will attempt to demonstrate.

This article will consider how important themes are presented: 1) in the current verse and chapter format, 2) by parallelistic structures (usually chiasms), and 3) in the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon. The latter point is important since the modern chapter and verse divisions were not revealed by inspiration to Joseph Smith and were not a part of the first printing. They were provided by Orson Pratt and not published until 1879.[3] Because the Saints were generally not aware of the importance of Hebraic parallelisms in scripture, and certainly not aware of chiasmus in the Book of Mormon, Pratt inadvertently severed several underlying parallelistic structures. Two of those unfortunate instances occur in the story of Korihor, and one of those turns out to be critical to his connection with the Zoramites, as I will show later in this paper. The questions I will attempt to address in this article include the following:

1. Where did Korihor come from, and was he a former Nephite?
2. How similar were the beliefs of Korihor to those of the Zoramites?
3. Why did Korihor suddenly switch from an atheistic attack to an agnostic plea?
4. Was it in fact the devil, Satan himself, who appeared to Korihor?
5. How did Korihor end up in Antionum among the Zoramites?
6. Was the Zoramite murder of a disabled beggar an execution?
7. Why did no one, including God's prophet, mourn Korihor's violent murder?

1. Where Did Korihor Come from and Was He a Former Nephite?

It is assumed that readers are familiar with the story of Korihor in Alma 30, which begins after a period of intense war with the Lamanites. The Nephites were enjoying a brief time of peace and rejuvenation characterized by strict observance of the "ordinances of God, according to the law of Moses; for they were taught to keep the law of Moses until it should be fulfilled."[4] The peace was suddenly interrupted by a stranger with an agenda to preach. By stressing the peace of this time, the abridger of these records, Mormon, sets up a foil against which the disruption and chaos that are about to arrive are dramatically contrasted. The

stranger was Korihor, the Anti-Christ (Alma 30:6, 12).[5] Although his disruption was intellectual and doctrinal rather than military, it was just as destructive as any war. Worse, it threatened eternal consequences for those led astray.

The text describes how Korihor came from obscurity into the land of Zarahemla. Where did he come from? Was he a Nephite or had he once been a Nephite? Such questions are among the major "omissions" to which John Welch refers.[6]

Let me start with Korihor's name. Names that ended with consonants often implied a Jaredite or non-Nephite association,[7] and the related name "Corihor" is found prominently in the Jaredite record (see Ether 7:3–15; 13:17; 14:27–28). That name and other Jaredite names could have persisted among Jaredite survivors or related non-Nephites who fled to safety when the final civil war of the Jaredites destroyed that civilization, as Hugh Nibley has suggested.[8] Alternatively, such names could have been adopted by some to show rejection of the Nephite tradition. Korihor's name would appear to have stamped him as an outsider. Was that his true birth name, or could he have assumed a Jaredite-sounding name for symbolic purposes — specifically to *be* stamped as an outsider? It is possible he assumed the name since Korihor, if a Nephite by origin, would have had access to information from the Jaredite records. The story of the Jaredites would have been part of Nephite popular culture and teachings since the Jaredite records had been translated by Mosiah and read to an attentive public audience only 18 years previously (Mosiah 28:17–18). It is worth noting that, chronologically, the first occurrence of the name Nehor, in those records, was the location of a Jaredite battle involving a man of "many evils" named, strikingly enough, Corihor (Ether 7:4, 9, 13). Also striking is that this Corihor had a son named Noah (Ether 7:14). If Korihor had been raised a Nephite, he would have known of Alma's previous experience with the antichrist Nehor (Alma 1:2–16) and that the life of Alma's father had been threatened by a king named Noah (Mosiah 18:33). What better name could Korihor have picked to match his mission of an antichrist-rejection of Nephite beliefs and an in-your-face preaching against the teachings of the high priest Alma?

If Korihor was a Nephite, he was certainly an apostate one. Ludlow makes this obvious point when he writes: "The fact that Korihor was brought before Alma would seem to indicate that Korihor was or had been a member of the church."[9] In addition, Korihor used the wording, "I always knew," in his recanting, which could suggest a life raised in the Church and another connection with the Zoramites, who were all bitter

Nephite dissenters.[10] As the title of this paper implies, there are grounds for proposing that Korihor was, in fact, one of those apostate Nephites — a Zoramite.[11]

We cannot, of course, prove that Korihor was a Zoramite by origin, but the idea of their association is reinforced by the fact, mentioned earlier, that the two accounts — the story of Korihor (Alma 30) and the beginning of the mission to the Zoramites (Alma 31) — occur next to each other in the modern Book of Mormon and occur in the same chapter (Chapter XVI) in the original 1830 edition. In fact, the last word of Alma 30 and the first one of Alma 31 occur on the same line of the printer's manuscript of the Book of Mormon with no punctuation separating them (see Figure 1).[12]
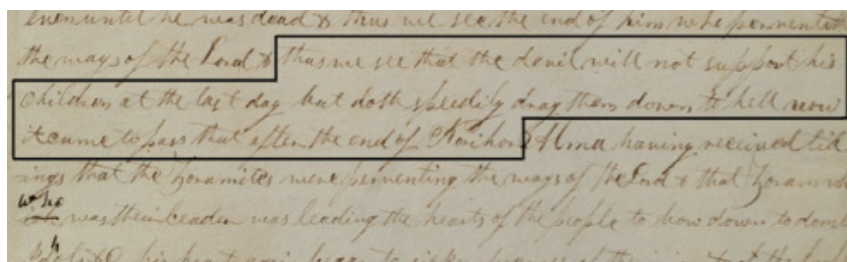
Figure 1. Printer's manuscript showing position of the original text

A reasonable answer to question one, "Where did Korihor come from and was he a former Nephite?," may be that he did, indeed, come from among the Zoramites in Antionum. (This is based on the limited evidence presented so far. More evidence is forthcoming below.) If Korihor did come from Antionum, he, like all Zoramites, would have thus once been numbered among the people of Nephi because the Zoramites were actually Nephites. The text explicitly states that "the Zoramites were dissenters from the Nephites; therefore they had had the word of God preached unto them. But they had fallen into great errors" (Alma 31:8–9; see also Alma 30:59 and 31:2). It is telling that Alma *still* considered the Zoramites to be "among his people" (Alma 31:2). It also appears probable that Korihor was a Nephite for three additional reasons. First, he spoke their language and spoke it very well; it was almost certainly his native tongue. Second, he was intimately acquainted with Nephite culture and religious beliefs. Third, at one point Alma, in talking to Korihor, labels the Nephites as "all these thy brethren" (30:44).

2. How Similar Were the Beliefs of Korihor to Those of the Zoramites?

If Antionum was Korihor's home and he was a Zoramite, one would logically expect there to be a considerable similarity between Korihor's theology and that of Zoram. That is, in fact, what the text reveals. What is known about Korihor's doctrinal ideas is based on his colorful exchanges with Giddonah and Alma (Alma 30). What is known about Zoramite beliefs comes from two sources: the Rameumptom prayer (Alma 31:12–23) and what the Zoramite poor told Alma (Alma 32:5, 9, 17). Table 1 compares those beliefs.

Table 1. Comparing the Beliefs of Korihor and the Zormites.

Beliefs and Teachings	Korihor	Zoramites
1. There will be no Christ to come	30:6, 12–13, 15, 22, 39–40	31:16, 30
2. Foolish belief in Christ yokes/binds people down	30:13, 23–24, 27–28	31:17
3. People cannot know the future	30:13, 15, 24, 26	31:22
4. Nephites follow foolish/childish traditions of fathers/prophets	30:13–16, 22–23, 27–28, 31	31:16–17, 22
5. Statutes/ordinances/performances of Mosaic Law dismissed	30:23	31:9–10
6. Hearts/heads lifted up in pride	30:18, 23	31:16, 18, 24, 27
7. Value on individualism and individual prosperity	30:17–18, 23, 27–28	31:13, 24, 28
8. Sign is needed before believing and to know as a surety	30:43–49	32:17
9. God could not/will not be known or is just a spirit	30:15, 28, 48, 53	31:15
10. Unchanging nature/condition of God	30:28	31:15, 17
11. Priests glut on people's labor for personal gain — priestcraft	30:27, 31, 35	32:5, 9

As noted in Table 1, both Korihor and Zoram were adamant that Christ would not come. Both insisted that the people who harbored the hope of Christ had a yoke around their necks and were bound down to a life of passive servitude based on a hope of some future event. Korihor's and Zoram's rejection of Christ was fueled by their shared position that the belief in the coming of a Christ required knowledge of the future. Both Korihor and the Zoramites claimed that no human could know or predict that future. Therefore, the prophets who prophesied of a future Christ were foolish and childish. As it relates to the Mosaic Law, Korihor

criticized the "ordinances and performances which are laid down by ancient priests" (30:23). Likewise, the Zoramites would not "observe to keep … statutes, according to the law of Moses. Neither would they observe the performances." (31:9–10).

The pride of both Korihor and the Zoramites is more complex. Korihor's own pride caused him to preach with "great swelling words" and to enjoy his success so much that he came to believe his own lies. In addition, he promoted the pride of the people by calling for them to lift up their heads in their wickedness and whoredoms. The Zoramites, in their turn, praised God that they were chosen and elected to be saved while others were elected to hell. Further, they "boast[ed] in their pride" (31:25) of material possessions.

While the emphasis on individualism and individual prosperity is not identically expressed, Korihor's and the Zoramites' values appear to be similar. Korihor preached that "every man fared in this life according to the management of the creature [the individual, not the collective and not God]; therefore every man prospered according to his [own] genius, and … [individual] strength" (30:17). This sounds like survival of the fittest. Korihor called for those individuals to lift up their heads with boldness and pridefully enjoy "their rights and privileges" (30:27).

The Zoramites appeared to have also valued the individual, if that is the symbolic meaning of the Rameumptom, which specifically admitted only one person at a time. In addition, the Zoramite priests' pride-filled and puffed-up "hearts were set upon gold, and … fine goods" (31:24–27) and not on fellow man or serving the social good. As McConkie and Millet point out, "Though salvation is an individual matter, it is of necessity a collective effort. We are saved as we help each other."[13] Rather than helping others, the Zoramite elite seemed concerned with apparel, wealth, pride, and individual aggrandizement.

When Alma pointed out Korihor's "lying spirit," Korihor fell back on his core belief that signs create faith — "and then will I be convinced" (30:42–43, 48). Although the Zoramites did not mention signs in their Rameumptom prayer, Alma almost echoed Korihor's words when he later explained to the Zoramite poor that "there are many who do say: If thou wilt show unto us a sign from heaven, then we shall know of a surety; then we shall believe" (32:17). Since the poor did not deal with others outside their community, the "many" who held that belief would likely have been the Zoramite priests.

Beliefs nine and ten in Table 1 concern the nature of God. Although Korihor appears to have insisted that God did not exist while the

Zoramites prayed, if only weekly, to God and to "dumb idols" (31:1), heads and tails usually belong to the same coin. What, at first glance, looks like an opposite is actually a similarity in that both were rejecting God — *as the Nephites viewed God*. Both Korihor and Zoram rejected the Nephites' specific concept of a knowable and loving Father with a body of flesh and bone. Korihor claimed that this kind of God was unchangeable in that he "never has been seen or known … never was nor ever will be" (30:28). Korihor was explicitly told that he should preach that God was "an unknown God" (30:53). However, he must have believed in some form of a god, otherwise there would be a logical inconsistency in rejecting one immortal being, God, while accepting the existence of another immortal being, the devil. He may have been rejecting the Nephite view of the nature of God rather than completely rejecting any possibility of a supernatural force, *per se*.[14] On the other side, the Zoramites prayed to a God, similarly unchangeable, saying "thou wast a spirit, and that thou art a spirit, and that thou wilt be a spirit forever" (31:15). Again, this was a very different God than that of the Nephites.

The Zoramites also bowed down to dumb idols (31:1). Since idols are not mentioned again, it is not clear what was meant unless "idol" referred to the Zoramite "spirit god," who divided the elect from the non-elect. Alma may have meant that the spirit god of the Zoramites was a false illusion (an idol) of the true, corporeal God who is no respecter of persons. Easton's *Bible Dictionary* presents different Hebrew terms that are translated as "idol." All four specifically refer to a false likeness of deity. Those are the Hebrew *semel*, or likeness; *tselem*, or shadow; *temunah*, or similitude; and *tsir*, or form or shape.[15] Smith's *Bible Dictionary* defines an idol as "anything used as an object of worship in place of the true God."[16] A third definition from *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* renders, "An idol is a figure or image worshiped as the representation of a deity."[17] The idea of a mutual rejection of the Nephite God may then suggest a similarity rather than an opposition of beliefs.

The last point listed in Table 1 involves priestcraft. Korihor accused the Nephite leaders of "glutting on" and exploiting the people for gain, which was something he appeared to vehemently reject (30:31). But was Korihor using only the accusation of priestcraft to stir up the people against the Nephite priests or to have a serious accusation to hurl against those priests? That was an obvious weapon to use. Yet, a reasonable question to ask is, would Korihor not have also subjugated the people if he had succeeded in obtaining a power position over them? This stands to reason. The Zoramites actually *did* practice priestcraft

as shown by the fact that the poor built the synagogues but then were prohibited from using them (32:5). This theme of oppression is further shown in Alma 35:8–9. Once the poor left the land of Antionum, the elite Zoramites wanted them back, presumably to exploit them further in order to continue to accumulate riches. So, if Korihor was a Zoramite, he would have been used to seeing the poor subjugated (see Alma 32:5 and 9). Again, an apparent opposite is actually a similarity.

Taken as a whole, the similarity of these eleven beliefs seems to go beyond mere happenstance. Unless Korihor was a Zoramite, the many similarities would seem unlikely to have occurred by coincidence alone. If there had been no association, one would expect a much greater diversity in their teachings. An example of such diversity is the hundreds of Protestant theologies that have sprung out of Martin Luther's rejection of Roman Catholic orthodoxy in 1517 CE. By contrast, Korihor and Zoram appear to have rejected Nephite teachings on the same points, in many of the same ways, and in the same and often identical language. Hugh Nibley cut to the bottom line and taught: "They have the same philosophy."[18]

Elder Jeffrey R. Holland also sees an interrelationship of the two philosophies. He noted that "[Korihor's] … brand of teaching inevitably had its influence among some of the less faithful who, like the neighboring Zoramites, were already given to 'perverting the ways of the Lord' [Alma 31:1]."[19] Now, was he saying that Korihor directly influenced the neighboring Zoramites? Or was he merely saying that those "many" who Korihor did initially influence in the land of Zarahemla (Alma 30:18) were *like* the Zoramites in that both groups, independently, were perverting the ways of the Lord? One detail that supports the former reading (Korihor influencing the Zoramites) is his second comment that the Zoramites were "spared any belief in … 'foolish traditions'" (the same term used by Korihor in Zarahemla),[20] which gave, in Elder Holland's words, "evidence of Korihor's legacy emerging here [Antionum]."

I may be misinterpreting Elder Holland's words because it seems unlikely that Korihor influenced the Zoramites. It is much more likely that it was Zoram who influenced Korihor. If Korihor did have any influence on Zoram and his followers, it could not have happened *after* Korihor's encounter with the Nephites in Zarahemla; it could only have occurred *prior* to his arriving in Zarahemla. After being rendered dumb, he was reduced to a beggar, begging for food door-to-door (possibly in Zarahemla but definitely later in Antionum [Alma 30:58–59]). If he could have influenced anyone by then, the entire point of striking him

dumb so that he could not preach would have been lost and the will of the Lord would have been thwarted. It is possible that he influenced the Zoramites prior to arriving in Zarahemla but unlikely since the apparently charismatic leader of the Zoramites was Zoram, not Korihor. Nor could it have been any of Korihor's followers in Zarahemla later carrying his teachings to the Zoramites. The scriptures explicitly say that "they were *all* convinced of the wickedness of Korihor; therefore they were *all* converted again unto the Lord; and this put an end to the iniquity after the manner of Korihor" (30:58, emphasis added). It seems much more likely that Zoram influenced Korihor, even trained him, as I will assert below. In any case, there seems to be a reasonable answer to question two, "How similar were the beliefs of Korihor to those of the Zoramites?" That answer is: remarkably similar. Thus, the parallels in the eleven beliefs further the likelihood that Korihor was, in actuality, a Zoramite.

3. Why Did Korihor Suddenly Switch from an Atheistic Attack to an Agnostic Plea?

It is important to remember that Korihor's first attempt at preaching to the people, apparently in Zarahemla, was highly successful in that he led "away the hearts of many … women, and also men" (30:18; see also 30:20 and 57). There was nothing that Alma, or anyone else, could do to stop him from preaching against Nephite religious beliefs and practices. Since he was receiving nothing for doing so, this was not priestcraft. Mormon used precious space on the plates to point out that "there was no law against a man's belief; for it was strictly contrary to the commands of God that there should be a law which should bring men on to unequal grounds. For thus saith the scripture: Choose ye this day, whom ye will serve" (30:7–8; citing Joshua 24:15). Put another way, Korihor had full legal authority to his beliefs, even apparently to preach them, and it was the right of those listening to choose to accept what he had to say or choose to reject it.[21] If the point was not clear enough, it was reiterated three verses later when Mormon wrote that "there was no law against a man's belief" (30:11) and that "the law could have no hold upon him" (30:12).[22]

Why such emphasis on the law? This will come into play in Alma's confrontation with Korihor. For the moment, it is enough to realize that Korihor had, as yet, committed no crime. For the moment, his first attempt at preaching to the people was highly successful (30:17). Korihor now had a following. Perhaps riding a crest of confidence and

likely flushed with success, he decided to try his luck in the Nephite land of Jershon and preach his doctrine to the recent Lamanite converts of Ammon. That was a mistake. Ten years earlier, the people of Ammon had seen more than a thousand of their brethren suffer death rather than renounce a newly acquired belief in Christ. They would not easily abandon those beliefs based on Korihor's highly intellectual challenges. In that way, the people of Ammon "were more wise than many of the Nephites" (30:20). Ammon, now the high priest of the church in Jershon, would have none of it. Korihor was bound and "carried out of the land" (30:21).

Korihor then tried his preaching in the land of Gideon. Another mistake. The people of Gideon were also unique in that they were living in a locale named after a revered Nephite hero who had been murdered by another antichrist, Nehor, only 16 years earlier (Alma 1:7–9). They would not easily be swayed by a new Anti-Christ. Consequently, he "did not have much success" (notice he had some success) and was again bound. This time, he was taken before an ecclesiastical leader, Giddonah, and an unnamed legal judge of the law — a law which, the scriptures clearly say, did not apply to Korihor's beliefs (30:21).

This account of his failures in Jershon and Gideon can be viewed as a parallelistic six-step "extended alternate" (alternating lines in a form such as abcd/abcd) as formatted by Donald Parry.[23] It is presented here, not just to clarify Korihor's experiences in Jershon and Gideon but also to illustrate how the 1879 verse divisions sliced a parallelistic structure in half. The point to notice is that the final element of this alternate (a_1–f_1) is not a part of verse 20 but occurs in the beginning of verse 21. Significantly, a_2 then begins after verse 21 has already started. This means that the current verse division awkwardly splits the extended alternate describing Korihor's failure in Jershon (a_1) and his failure in Gideon (a_2). This kind of unfortunate division will become important at the end of Alma 30 and the beginning of Alma 31, where a chapter division will split another parallelism, producing confusion about Alma's great sorrow and an unnatural and possibly incorrect closure on the story of Korihor. More on that later. Here is the extended alternate:

a (30:19) Now this man <u>went over to the land of Jershon</u> also,
  b to <u>preach these things among the people</u> of Ammon, who were once the people of the Lamanites.
    c (30:20) But behold <u>they were more wise</u> than many of the Nephites;
      d for they <u>took him, and bound him,</u>

    e and <u>carried him before</u> Ammon, who was a <u>high priest</u>
      over that people.
      f (30:21) And it came to pass that he caused that he
        should be carried <u>out of the land</u>.
 a And he <u>came over into the land of Gideon</u>,
  b and <u>began to preach unto them</u> also;
   c and here he <u>did not have much success</u>,
    d for he was <u>taken and bound</u>
     e and <u>carried before the high priest</u>,
      f and also the chief judge <u>over the land</u>.

With no legal recourse against Korihor's preaching in Gideon, all Giddonah could do was attempt an appeal to reason. However, his logic was immediately counterattacked by Korihor who then accused the priests of oppressing the people for gain — a serious accusation of priestcraft. Shocked at the vitriolic ferocity of the attack, and with no legal recourse, Giddonah "would not make any reply" (30:29). Instead, he referred the problem to a higher authority: the prophet Alma and the chief judge and "governor over all the land."[24] In what are described as "great swelling words" (30:31), Korihor blasphemed again and also attacked the priests and teachers of the church for various beliefs and practices he charged as oppressive.

Some 15 years earlier, Alma had experienced a similar dilemma with Nehor, another antichrist. "Priestcraft … was not against the law, strictly speaking."[25] However, in Nehor's case, the false preaching could be combined with the murder of Gideon, an old and defenseless cultural hero (Alma 1:12). This created the somewhat complicated verdict of "endeavoring to enforce priestcraft by the sword,"[26] and Nehor was executed "according to the law" (Alma 1:13–14). Alma had no such easy fix with Korihor. Under the laws of the judges, he was rendered helpless in dealing with Korihor — at least, using a legal recourse.

The text then describes the suspenseful encounter as Korihor matched wits with Alma, the prophet and head of the church. Korihor had been able to silence Giddonah fairly easily, largely through shock value. With Alma, it would be different. Although Korihor was to find himself outmatched, he did not yet know that. There was initially no sign of him being intimidated by a face-to-face reckoning with the prophet. Perhaps Korihor had interpreted Giddonah's silence as a capitulation, or perhaps he had been waiting for just such an audience with Alma. Either way, Korihor intensified his allegations.

Alma brilliantly defended himself against the accusations of priestcraft, and then lodged a counter-argument. He began by bearing a simple testimony in a three-step extended alternate, first identified by Donald Parry.[27]

a (30:39) Now Alma <u>said unto him</u>:
  b Will <u>ye deny again</u> that <u>there is a God</u>,
    c and also <u>deny the Christ</u>?
a For behold, I <u>say unto you</u>,
  b <u>I know</u> <u>there is a God</u>,
    c and also that <u>Christ shall come</u>.

Alma then moved from the arena of faith to take up the issue of physical evidence and proof. This will be presented here in chapter and verse format. The chapter and verse format has been sanctioned by the Lord for almost 200 years. It has helped to convert almost 16 million members. In this case, though, a parallelistic view, which I will present later, does provide additional clarity. First, let's consider the chapter and verse format.

Alma first pointed out that Korihor had no negative evidence: "what evidence have ye that there is no God" (30:40). It is difficult (although not impossible) to prove a negative from an absence of evidence.[28] Later, Alma pointed to "the earth, and all things that are upon the face of it, yea, and its motion, yea, and also all the planets which move in their regular form" (30:44) as evidence of the existence of God. While undoubtedly comforting and convincing to those who love the Lord and appreciate the beauties of nature, it is not clear that either of these arguments would convince a skeptic like Korihor of the existence of Deity. Yet, the story of Korihor's debate with Alma is often taught as if it were Alma's *logic* (about the natural world) that brought about the change and stopped Korihor's attacks. Again, although Alma's reference to nature undoubtedly slowed Korihor down, it is doubtful that this particular evidence would be enough to convince such an enthusiastic and passionate atheist. Brigham Young University (BYU) scholar Joseph Spencer put this idea even more strongly, calling Alma's argument "a weak defense."[29] He elaborates further:

> Alma offers a positive argument in his defense, but, again, such an argument is unlikely to persuade an atheist or even an agnostic … . A believer naturally and rightly sees God's hand in the order of the universe, but unbelievers are seldom swayed by this kind of argument. In other words, what Alma

offers in response [to Korihor] … is an interesting defense of the faith he [Alma] already has, but it is not a satisfying reason to begin believing. … It thus seems that Alma lacks a fully developed defense when he first confronts Korihor's skepticism.

Spencer goes on to build an illuminating case that Alma had a "more mature response"[30] in Alma 32 after Korihor was dead and again in Alma 36. If he is correct, one may well ask, "Then why did Mormon include Alma's evidence of nature in the account of Alma 30?" It may be that Mormon included Alma's logic of the natural world, not so much to suggest that it could influence a hard-core atheist like Korihor but to provide evidence for modern-day readers who would be more open-minded and teachable.

Alma then cites "all things as a testimony" (30:41) and later, "the testimony of … the holy prophets … [and] the scriptures" (30:44). Again, these were likely insufficient to sway Korihor. Alma then asks if Korihor will deny this "proof." At this point, there is a dramatic and abrupt end to Korihor's aggression. From that very moment on, Korihor completely changes his tone. He shifts from an incendiary, attacking atheist to a questioning, even pleading, agnostic. Starting in the very next verse (30:43), Korihor retreats to the defensive, imploring: "show me a sign, that I may be convinced" and "show unto me that he hath power, and then will I be convinced."[31]

Why the dramatic turn-around? If logic did not stop Korihor, what did? It appears the accusation and charge that Korihor was lying that Alma leveled at him in the previous verse (30:42) upended Korihor. Alma asserted that Korihor had taken on the lying *spirit of the devil* and put off the *Spirit of God*. Reading this in the cultural context of the modern world, whether Korihor was lying or not might be considered trivial, even expected. Modern-day examples of prominent figures lying publicly come readily enough to mind. For Alma and Nephihah, though, the fact that Korihor had lied, essentially perjuring himself in court, was neither trivial nor expected. That accusation appears to have struck Korihor to the core. Like a child caught with a hand in the cookie jar, Korihor was caught in a lie while testifying in court and immediately ceased all attacks.

Why? It appears to be because lying in Nephite society had special significance. Although there was no legal punishment for a lack of belief in God or Christ, there *was* a specific Nephite law against lying. All communities of believers in Christ have considered deception and

dishonesty a serious and grievous sin starting from the earliest scripture (see Leviticus 19:11, "Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie"). It is implied in the Ten Commandments ("Thou shalt not bear false witness" [Exodus 20:16]). It continued through to the very end of the Bible in Revelation 21:18 ("All liars, shall have their part in the … second death"). It is likewise true in the modern Church: "Thou shalt not lie; he that lieth and will not repent shall be cast out" (Doctrine & Covenants 42:21).

In Nephite society, however, lying was also considered a punishable crime. In Alma 1:17, Alma pointed out that apostate Nephites "durst not lie, if it were known, for fear of the law, for liars were punished; therefore they pretended to preach according to their belief; and now the law could have no power on any man for his belief." Korihor could believe and preach anything he wanted, but he "durst not lie … for fear of the law." Although the Book of Mormon does not give the specific punishment for the crime of lying, it was apparently severe. In any case, this put the possibility of a legal consequence squarely back into play. A cursory reading of the modern verse format sounds as if Korihor's lying spirit (30:42) was a passing observation — an aside — as it would be in our modern times. For Nephihah and Alma, it was not. They had found their prosecutorial key. Without the legal accusation of lying, perhaps Korihor may have continued his aggressive, atheistic attacks.

Unfortunately for Korihor, he panicked and immediately compounded the crime of lying with the biblical sin of asking for a sign. Such a request is completely contrary to the plan of faith — "a wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign" (Matthew 16:4). Rather, the divine plan is: "ye receive no witness until after the trial of your faith" (Ether 12:6). By asking for a sign, Korihor superseded his legal problem of the crime of lying with the much more serious spiritual problem of sign-seeking.[32] At that moment, the ball switched from Nephihah's legal court to the spiritual purview of Alma. Alma immediately jumped on the sign-seeking, emphatically warning Korihor that "if thou shalt deny again, behold God shall smite thee" (30:47). It appears to have been the combination of the criminal lie, and the insistence on a sign of proof, that brought about Korihor's downfall. Note that he had been warned *multiple* times, in unmistakable fashion, that he was tempting God and was about to be struck down.

Despite the warning, Korihor repeated his plea for a sign, and the scriptures provide the dramatic account of the judgment of God in an elegant five-point chiasm.[33] Korihor was struck dumb on the spot.[34] It

is an interesting irony that, in his own youth, Alma had also sought "to destroy the church of God" (Mosiah 27:10). He, too, had become "dumb, that he could not open his mouth" (Mosiah 27:19). The fact that it was now Alma's mouth that condemned another to be struck dumb seems powerful.[35]

In psychological terms, Korihor's reaction to the cursing reflects a noticeable external locus of control or external orientation. Korihor immediately externalized the blame by playing the victim card. He said, in effect, "the devil made me do it," rather than taking personal responsibility for his own behavior. Korihor had not been *forced* to accept the devil's messages; he had done so voluntarily. Satan has no power beyond what humans yield. "Resist the devil," James 4:7 instructs, "and he will flee from you." And just as Korihor externalized the blame for his sin, so he continued to play the victim role by seeing the curse as external — it came upon him and needed to be "taken from him" (30:52, 54). He again externalized the responsibility to expiate the sin onto Alma: "he besought that Alma should pray unto God" on his behalf (30:54). It is as if Korihor were saying, "There, I made my quick confession. Now get God to remove the curse!" Since Korihor had failed to exercise the internal control to resist, and thereby had created his own situation, he needed to be the one to extricate himself. Korihor could ask the prophet to intervene just as the modern faithful may ask for various kinds of priesthood blessings, but the responsibility for sincere repentance is on the individual.

The externalization continued with his rationalization that "I have taught his words" (notice "his" words, not "my" words [30:53]). Korihor claimed that he "taught them, even until … I verily believed that they were true; and for this cause I withstood the truth" — in other words, he did not "technically" lie. We have heard such rationalizations from people of influence in our own day. Unfortunately for Korihor, the accusation of lying was confirmed when he confessed, "I always knew that there was a God" (30:52). That was a direct contradiction to his earlier statement that there was no God (30:37–38) and proved the lie. But it was too late. For Korihor, lying became moot now that he was mute.

Earlier, I claimed that a parallelistic formatting would offer an additional perspective. The difficulty with the chapter and verse presentation is that I had to repeatedly say that Alma made this or that point *and then later* repeated the same points. Why would he do that? Alma clearly:

1. started with <u>evidence</u> (30:40)
2. moved to his <u>testimony</u> (30:41)
3. mentioned <u>denial</u> (30:41)
4. then <u>belief</u> (30:41–42)
5. accused Korihor of being <u>possessed by</u> a lying spirit and, instead, rejecting a "place in him" for the "Spirit of God" (<u>possessed by the Spirit</u>) (30:42)

At that point, Alma had essentially won the day. He had found his prosecutorial key and shocked Korihor into retreating from an attacking atheist to a doubting agnostic asking for a sign. Why did Alma then repeat the sequence in reverse order, which only weakened his case? He repeated:

1. <u>possession</u>, this time by the devil who has power over him and <u>carries him about</u> as a destructive "device" or tool (30:42)
2. <u>conviction (belief)</u> by a sign (30:43)
3. tempting God unless there was a sign (<u>denial</u>) (30:44)
4. <u>testimony</u> of brethren (30:44)
5. <u>evidence</u> of scriptures, earth, planets (30:44)

This is illogical. In an effective sales strategy, a salesman always stops selling after the client has agreed to the purchase. A successful salesman doesn't mention other benefits after the deal has been closed. It is simply inexplicable — *unless* viewed as the downward side of a chiasm. The up and down pattern of a chiasm presents the events in a more understandable and logical way.

Although presenting the material as a chiasm is not essential for answering question 3, "Why did Korihor suddenly switch from an atheistic attack to an agnostic plea?," the placement of the chiasm provides additional evidence for the importance of the lie. In saying this, I fully understand that finding chiasms that have not previously been identified has become suspect in the Book of Mormon scholarly community — and rightly so. One person's "intentional" (i.e., real) chiasm could be another person's "inadvertent" (i.e., false) non-chiasm.[36] It has been pointed out numerous times that a repetition of words is not enough to clearly indicate that the original author meant to create a self-contained parallelistic and poetic structural unit.[37] For example, Parry has pointed out, "Not every chiasmus is equal in value, some are considered to be marginal, while others consist of strong chiastic elements."[38]

The confidence in the chiasticity of any parallelistic structure is strengthened by 1) a strong "anchor" for the chiasm and 2) a climactic apex at the turning point. Well, the climax is there. You simply can't get a more dramatic climax than the accusation of being possessed with a lying spirit, an accusation that completely turned the table on the Anti-Christ. As John Welch points out, it is at that point that "Korihor probably realized that the weight of evidence was stacking up against him."[39] And the twin anchors also seem solid and clear. Evidence is the foundation for any legal process, and Alma starts the chiasm with the first anchor of Korihor's total lack of evidence (30:40). He ends the chiasm with the second anchor of his own multiplicity of evidence, especially the beauty and order of nature and the cosmos (30:44). Why else would the evidence be separated by four verses unless they were anchor points? In my thinking, a strong five-point chiasm, with embedded, extended alternates, seems to jump off the page. This chiasm fully explains Alma's apparent backtracking. The chiasm is as follows:

A_1 a (30:40) And now <u>what evidence have ye</u>   **EVIDENCE**
   b that there is no God,
   b or that Christ cometh not?
  a I say unto you that <u>ye have none</u>, save it be your word only.

B_1 a (30:41) But, behold, I have <u>all things</u>   **TESTIMONY**
   b <u>as a testimony</u> that <u>these things are true</u>;
  a and ye also have <u>all things</u>
   b <u>as a testimony</u> unto you that <u>they are true</u>;

C_1 and will <u>ye deny</u> them?   **DENIAL**

D_1 a <u>Believest thou</u>   **BELIEF**
   b that these things are true?
  a (30:42) Behold, I know that <u>thou believest</u>,

E_1 a but <u>thou art possessed</u> with a lying spirit,   **POSSESSION**
   b and <u>ye have put off</u> the Spirit of God
    c that it may have <u>no place in you</u>;

E$_2$ a but the <u>devil has power over you</u>, **POSSESSION**
    b and <u>he doth carry you</u> about, working devices
      c that he <u>may destroy the children of God</u>.

D$_2$ a (30:43) And now Korihor said unto Alma: If thou wilt <u>show me a sign</u>, **BELIEF**
    b that <u>I may be convinced</u>
      c that there is <u>a God</u>,
  a yea, <u>show unto me</u> that he hath power,
    b and then will <u>I be convinced</u>
      c of the truth of <u>thy words</u>.

C$_2$ a (30:44) But Alma said unto him: <u>Thou hast had signs</u> enough; **DENIAL**
    b will <u>ye tempt</u> your God?
  a Will ye say, <u>Show unto me a sign</u>,

B$_2$ a when ye have <u>the testimony</u> **TESTIMONY**
    b of <u>all these thy brethren</u>,
    b also <u>all the holy prophets</u>?
  a <u>The scriptures</u> are laid before thee,

A$_2$ a yea, and all things <u>denote there is a God</u>; **EVIDENCE**
    b yea, even <u>the earth</u>, and all things that are upon the face of it, yea, <u>and its motion</u>,
    b yea, and also all <u>the planets which move in their regular form</u>
  a do <u>witness that there is a Supreme Creator</u>.

The A$_1$ anchor is comprised of a short, four-element chiasm stating a null hypothesis (you have no evidence that there is no God). That statement of non-evidence is matched with the A$_2$ anchor, which is another short, four-element chiasm citing evidence based on nature and on the orbits of the earth and the planets.[40]

The B steps move from the concept of physical evidence to the concept of testimony.[41] B$_1$ was identified as a simple alternate by Donald Parry.[42] In it, Alma declares that both he and Korihor "have all things as a testimony."[43] B$_2$ is a small chiasm that points to the testimonies (verbal and scriptural) by Korihor's "brethren" and "all the holy prophets."

The C steps pair Korihor's denial of the evidence and the testimonies with his denial of signs he has already received and his tempting of God

by asking for more signs. Jacob faced this same dilemma over 400 years earlier when he had to deal with the antichrist, Sherem. In Jacob's words, "What am I that I should tempt God to show unto thee a sign in the thing which thou knowest to be true?" (Jacob 7:14).

In D_1, a small chiasm states Alma's inspired conviction, through discernment, that Korihor really *does* believe. Alma asks the question, though he already knows the answer. This is paired with an extended alternate in D_2, where Korihor asks to be convinced and therefore, ostensibly, to believe.

It is in the all-important apex or climax of *any* chiasm — in this case, the E steps — that the tide turns.[44] Korihor was possessed with a lying spirit that was not of God (E_1), and the devil had power over him, carrying him about, because of that possession (E_2).

The chiastic analysis, if correct, appears to confirm that it was *not* the simple argument of orbiting planets and scriptural testimonies that shook Korihor to the core. Instead, it was the *accusation and charge* of criminally lying to the people and perjury in front of Nephihah, the governor and chief judge, that served as the catalyst for Korihor's about-turn. This accusation of lying was not merely a passing comment as it may appear in a casual reading. Its centrality and importance in Korihor's trial, and indeed in his story, may be why Mormon places the charge squarely in the apex of this chiasm, giving it major significance (the E steps).

Given all this evidence, it appears that the answer to question 3, "Why did Korihor suddenly switch from an atheistic attack to an agnostic plea?," appears to be that he was caught in a criminal lie while testifying in court and not so much that the orbits of the planets proved the existence of God. Lying was a charge that Alma, Nephihah, and Korihor apparently took very seriously — more seriously than the modern reader might expect — serious enough to shock Korihor to the core.

4. Was it in Fact the Devil, Satan Himself, Who Appeared to Korihor?

The possibility of Korihor's origins among the Zoramites and the similarity of beliefs between Korihor and Zoram suggest that Korihor may have been teaching Zoramite doctrine. Hugh Nibley put forward a similar idea calling Korihor "the ideological spokesman for the Zoramites and Amalickiahites."[45] But that still leaves the question of exactly who taught him what he should say. The Sunday school answer is that Satan whispers the same doubts and lies to all antichrists. But that is

not true; all antichrists are not cut from the same mold. John Welch has pointed out, "Nephite dissenters have less in common than one might assume."[46] He later adds that they "differ widely and significantly in their theology, religion, and political agendas."[47]

Besides, Korihor did not claim that Satan "whispered" anything. He stated, unequivocally, that the devil "appeared unto me" and "taught me that which I should say" (30:53). Perhaps we should take that at face value. However, there are hints that this may have had a metaphorical meaning. First, the exact quote is: "The devil hath deceived me; for he appeared unto me in the *form of an angel*" (30:53, emphasis added). "Form of an angel" seems an important qualifier. It suggests that Satan did not appear in his own form. This suggestion is supported by Korihor's relative lack of importance or status; he was not a great prophet like Moses. Moses did receive a personal visit from Satan, a supernatural being who Moses could actually see and talk to (Moses 1:12–14). Korihor comes across like a malcontent with a silvery tongue and an axe to grind. In other words, was Korihor of sufficient status for Satan to actually appear to him, presumably on several occasions in order to teach him? Note that the devil potentially has millions of targets. The angel who guided Nephi through his great eschatological vision was clear when he proclaimed, "Behold there are save two churches only; the one is the church of the Lamb of God, and the other is the church of the devil" (1 Nephi 14:10). The Book of Mormon and the book of Revelation point out that the church of the devil is massive — the angel in 1 Nephi called it a "great church" while John describes it as a "great whore that sitteth upon many waters" (Revelation 17:1). It would seem an extremely rare occasion for Satan himself to appear and instruct a mortal, just as it is an extremely rare occasion for Christ himself to appear among us. God and Christ generally work through a "*divine* investiture of authority." Angels and prophets are usually those who speak for, and on behalf of, God.[48] An example of this comes from the account of a heavenly being who appeared to John the Revelator and spoke in the voice of, and as if he were, Jesus Christ. When John "fell down to worship before the feet of the angel" who appeared to him, the personage quickly said, "See thou do it not: for I am thy fellowservant, and of thy brethren the prophets and of them which keep the sayings of this book" (Revelation 22: 8–9).

We know very little about either how Satan works or how his "church of the devil" operates. However, it is possible that there might be a *satanic* investiture of authority. "The devil also has 'angels' or messengers."[49]

Could the phrase, "in the *form* of an angel," suggest that a human angel acted as a surrogate for Satan and his devilish ideas?

Supporting the idea that the words "in the form of" suggest a representation of the original is the baptism of Christ. When he was baptized, all four Gospels, First Nephi, and the Doctrine and Covenants all report that the Spirit descended "like a dove" (Mark 1:10; Luke 3:22; John 1:32) or "in the form of a dove" (1 Nephi 11:27; 2 Nephi 31:8; Doctrine & Covenants 93:15). In an 1843 meeting in the Nauvoo Temple, Joseph Smith explained that "The Holy Ghost is a personage, and is in the form of a personage. It does not confine itself to the *form* of the dove."[50] Similarly, Facsimile 1 in the Pearl of Great Price interprets the drawing of a bird or dove as an "Angel of the Lord"[51] but that angel was not a bird. As a simplistic analogy, when a friend of mine was passing through the city where my grandchildren live, he was kind enough to deliver a gift to them from me. In a sense, I "appeared" to my grandchildren "in the form of" my friend.

As far as that goes, why does the record even contain the phrase, "in the form of an angel"? If the devil appeared to Korihor, the devil appeared to Korihor. Given limited metal plates and difficulty inscribing, why add the words that the appearance was really in some qualified form — the form of an angel? This qualifying phrasing may suggest that something else was happening. Several pieces of evidence, that I will enumerate one by one, offer an idea of what might have been going on.

First, if Satan did appear symbolically in the form or likeness of a mortal man, the most likely candidate for this surrogate angel, or messenger, would be Zoram. Was it Zoram who taught Korihor "what I should say" (30:53)? Granted, Zoram was not a supernatural messenger. However, both Heavenly Father and Satan primarily use natural means to accomplish their ends. Both can, and do, use mortals to function in the capacity of "angels," a word that comes from the Greek *angello*, meaning a messenger.[52] For example, the Lord used the mortal Assyrians and the Egyptians to chasten Israel. He also uses righteous mortal men and women, even teenage missionaries, to teach and convert. People today are rarely broadsided by a visit from a Korihor or a Zoram, much less a visit from Satan himself. Rather, the damage comes from elements of doubt sown by someone in the guise of (form of) an insidious pseudo-friend or teacher. The object to be feared is usually one that is all too familiar.

Second, tutoring by another human would be a *natural* process. An actual appearance by Satan would be a *supernatural* process. This presents

a major inconsistency of logic. It would mean that a supernatural being (the devil) was telling Korihor that there were no supernatural beings (God or Christ). Now, it is possible that Korihor was again denying the Nephite *concept* of God or that Korihor was thinking polytheistically and denying the existence of one particular deity while accepting the existence of other supernatural beings. However, absent those possible mindsets, the inconsistency would likely have occurred to someone as intelligent as Korihor.

Third, there may also be another piece of evidence in the agenda that was given to Korihor. According to Elder James E. Faust, the goals of the devil include "seeking glory, power, and dominion by force."[53] Moses 4:4 warns that Satan wishes "to deceive and to blind men, and to lead them captive at his will." Elder Dallin H. Oaks teaches that "Satan is still trying to take away our free agency by persuading us to voluntarily surrender our will to his."[54] None of these quite match the agenda that Korihor was given. In his own words, Korihor was told, "Go and reclaim this people" (Alma 30:53). That sounds very different. While Satan could "claim" people into his Great and Abominable Church, Satan could not "reclaim" people who were not previously his. Zoram, on the other hand, was once a Nephite and had led a separation away from the church. Having experienced success in Antionum, he may have wanted to reintegrate the people of Zarahemla and surrounding locales and bring them under his theological, financial, and political control. While reintegrating is not exactly the same as reclaiming, this agenda seems to fit Zoram more closely than it fits the agenda of the devil.

Fourth, the possibility that Zoram acted as a surrogate or angel of the devil gives added meaning to Alma 30:60: "thus we see that the devil will not support his children at the last day." Not only did the real devil not protect Korihor at the end but if the angel of the devil was really Zoram or his followers, they did not protect a now disabled Korihor either — they trampled him to death.[55]

The fifth and final piece of evidence is much more complicated. The two verses that close Alma 30 and the two verses that open Alma 31 could be viewed using a parallelistic lens. They appear to form what seems to me to be one united chiasm that has not yet been articulated in the literature. I again respect that different scholars view chiasmus in different ways and can disagree on the chiasticity or accuracy of a chiastic candidate. I present the chiasm here as merely a supporting, though intriguing, additional piece of evidence for the speculation that

Zoram may have acted as a surrogate for Satan and taught Korihor his doctrine.

At the very end of Alma 30, Mormon inserts an editorial summary, or colophon,[56] of the moral lesson of Korihor. He moralized: "And thus we see the end of him who perverteth the ways of the Lord; and thus we see that the devil will not support his children at the last day but doth speedily drag them down to hell" (30:60). Powerful! That colophon definitely sounds like the end of the story, and with that colophon, the door appears to close on Korihor. Chapter 31 contains the story of the Zoramites, which seems to be a separate account of an unrelated incident. But not so fast.

In the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon there was no chapter division to force an end to Korihor's story after Mormon's colophon. This is significant. Instead of a chapter division, the complete Korihor account and the complete Zoramite story were in one integrated chapter called Alma XVI. In the current edition of the Book of Mormon (1981 print; 2013 internet), they are separated by chapters. But what if the story carries on after the colophon? Nothing says it couldn't, and in the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon, the text simply continued with the next paragraph of the same chapter.

In my parallelistic analysis there appears to be a significant chiasm here, which conflates these two chapters by combining the introduction to the Zoramites (30:59), the murder of Korihor (30:60), and Mormon's colophon (30:60) with the tidings of the Zoramite perversions (31:1) and Alma's heartsickness and sorrow (31:2). This chiasm, if intentional, demonstrates that the 1830 inclusion of the two stories into a single chapter correctly relates Korihor to the Zoramites. It was undoubtedly Mormon's colophon that fueled Orson Pratt's decision to end an already long chapter after Alma 30:60. However, the severing of the chiasm and the chapter division obscured a possible further connection between Korihor and the Zoramites. If this is correct, it seems highly significant. This is the chiasm I propose:

A_1　a (30:59) And it came to pass that as <u>he went forth among</u> the <u>people</u>, yea, among a people who had <u>separated themselves</u> from the <u>Nephites</u>
　　　　b and called themselves <u>Zoramites,</u>
　　　　b being led by a man whose name was <u>Zoram</u> —
　　　a and as <u>he went forth amongst them,</u>

B₁   behold, <u>he was run upon and trodden down, even until he was dead</u>.

C₁   a (30:60) And thus we see <u>the end of him</u>
             b who <u>perverteth the ways of the Lord</u>;
               c and thus we see that <u>the devil</u> will not support his children at the last day,
                 d but doth <u>speedily drag them down to hell</u>.

C₂   a (31:1) Now it came to pass that after <u>the end of Korihor</u>,
             b Alma having received tidings that the Zoramites were <u>perverting the ways of the Lord</u>,
               c and that <u>Zoram</u>, who was their leader,
                 d was leading the hearts of the people to <u>bow down to dumb idols</u>,

B₂   a <u>his heart</u> began to <u>sicken</u>
             b because of the <u>iniquity of the people</u>.
               c (31:2) For it was the cause of great sorrow to Alma
             b to know of <u>iniquity among his people</u>;
           a therefore his heart was exceedingly <u>sorrowful</u>

A₂   because of the <u>separation of the Zoramites from the Nephites</u>.

In this interrupted chiasm, the two anchor points are the twin references to the highly significant fact that a large group of Nephites had separated themselves from the main body of Nephites. They rejected the culture, language, and religion of the Nephites and became the prideful Zoramites (the A steps). More specifically, A₁ pairs with A₂ to indicate that the Zoramites had separated from the Nephites under the leadership of "a man whose name was Zoram" (31:1) who was a "very wicked man" (35:8).[57] It is not hyperbole to say the separation of the Zoramites from the Nephites represented no less than a civilization-ending threat for the main body of the Nephites.[58] It is this separation that serves as the solid anchor points for the chiasm I propose.

The B steps pair the murder of Korihor (B₁) with a small chiasm in B₂ that describes Alma's heart being sickened and exceedingly sorrowful because of Zoramite iniquity. What was that iniquity that so disturbed Alma? Certainly, a part of that was the potentially catastrophic separation described in the A steps. While it may be tempting to jump to the conclusion that another part of that sorrow was the doctrinal atrocity of the Zoramite belief system, that cannot be correct; Alma had not yet seen that. That's why he was later "astonished" when he finally

arrived in Antionum (Alma 31:12). However, it is entirely reasonable to assume a whole new source of sorrow — namely, that some of his heart being sickened and sorrowed (B_2) was because the Zoramites had just "run upon and trodden" to death a dumb beggar with no regard for the law and no regard for a fellow child of God, no matter how deceived and deceiving he had been.

I will return to these B steps later in the paper. For the sake of question 4, let us focus for now on the C steps of the chiasm. In a review of literature attempting to develop a set of rules for recognizing chiastic structures, Neal Rappleye points to the apex of any chiasm as the climax, crescendo, or most important part of the parallelistic structure.[59] In the case of this chiasm, if it is correct, the apex is an extended alternate (the C steps). Notice that the first side of the extended alternate occurs in Alma 30 while the second side of the extended alternate occurs in Alma 31. Strikingly, Orson Pratt's division of Alma 30 and 31 chops in half this extended alternate. For ease of discussion, I am repeating the apex (the C steps), simplified to their basic elements:

C_1 a … the end of him
    b … perverteth the ways of the Lord
      c … **the devil** … his children
        d … drag them down to hell

C_2 a … the end of Korihor
    b … perverting the ways of the Lord
      c … **Zoram** … their leader
        d … bow down to dumb idols

The first half of the extended alternate (C_1) describes the "end" of him "who perverteth the ways of the Lord" and that the devil (who had "children" or followers) drags them down to hell. This is paired with the second half of the extended alternate (C_2), which describes the "end" of Korihor; that the Zoramites were "perverting the ways of the Lord;" and that Zoram, "their leader" (i.e., he had followers) is leading his people to bow down to (hellish) idols. As supplemental evidence for the idea that Zoram was the surrogate of Satan and was there to teach Korihor what to say, notice that the two small "c" steps of the extended alternates pair the devil with Zoram. In other words: the devil thus may be equated with Zoram. This view is not as extreme as it might initially appear. Zoram is clearly at least a type for the devil in that leading people to worship idols *is* dragging them down to hell (the small "d" steps).

In answer to question 4, "Was it in fact the devil, Satan himself, who appeared to Korihor?," I have attempted to present a range of evidence that, when Korihor said the devil appeared "in the form of an angel" (30:53), he may have been referring to Zoram as that angel. It may be that Satan himself did not physically appear to Korihor to teach him what to say; that was left to Zoram. This raises the question of why Korihor didn't simply name the teacher as Zoram rather than the devil in the form of an angel. One possible answer is that this is a label he used for a man who, in his view, caused his cursing. Another is that Alma (or Mormon) is using this metaphor to more powerfully highlight Zoram's role and/ or his inspiration. A third is that some kind of cultural language is being employed here. In any case, the tentative response to question 4 may be that it was Zoram who taught Korihor what to say. This idea will also be important in answering question 6 as well. But, first, question 5.

5. How did Korihor End Up in Antionum among the Zoramites?

The fifth question asks how Korihor ended up in Antionum, of all places, after he was struck dumb. Why didn't Alma cast him out into Zarahemla, the capital city, where people would know to still be wary of him? Why not Jershon or Gideon where faith was strong and they could have taught him and perhaps brought him back to some level of repentance? Why not banishment in a far-off location in the north, like Bountiful, where he hadn't yet established any kind of base? How about sending him to the far south — maybe even the land of Nephi, and let the Lamanites deal with him? Why Antionum?

Alma 30:56–58 declares that after Korihor was "cast out," he went "from house to house, begging food for his support." The very next verse says that "as he went forth among the people, yea, among a people who had separated themselves from the Nephites and called themselves Zoramites … he was run upon and trodden down, even until he was dead" (30:59). Whether he started out in Zarahemla or not, he at least ended up in Antionum, and it sounds as though he did that almost immediately. The dates at the bottom of the pages in the Book of Mormon suggest that the entire story of not only Korihor but the mission to the Zoramites all took place in one year, 74 BCE, so he couldn't have been begging long — perhaps weeks, perhaps months. The point is that he was "cast out" and soon ended up in Antionum, and the question is, why?

There are two possibilities for when the dumb Korihor arrived in Antionum. First, Alma could have simply cast him into the city, which would have been the capital city, Zarahemla. But that would have been

among the very people Korihor had tried to corrupt. True, he was now dumb, and his influence was severely limited. Still, he had earlier been successful in "leading away the hearts of many … yea, leading away many women, and also men" (30:18). It was only because the people feared that "the same judgments [being struck dumb] would come unto them" (30:57) and an official proclamation had been "published" by the chief judge, Nephihah, that the people were "converted again unto the Lord" (30:58). It is an unnecessary risk to cast Korihor back out into the very same environment where he had seen such success. And if Alma had, indeed, cast Korihor out into Zarahemla, that begs the questions of why Korihor didn't stay there, and why and when he eventually wandered to Antionum. Note that Antionum was, according to all scholarly maps, a distance of many days travel from Zarahemla.[60] Not only that but according to John Welch, "an ancient person could not easily relocate in another city [because] a severe banishment (or *herem*) was pronounced publicly, with a 'warning not to associate with the anathematized.' According to Josephus, outcasts often died miserable deaths."[61] The only explanation seems to be that Antionum was his home. As a mute (and possibly deaf) beggar, he might have expected to have more success if these were "his people" than by begging among strangers.

The second possibility for when Korihor arrived in Antionum is that Alma cast Korihor immediately and directly into Antionum. Now, it is unlikely that a prophet of God and/or a righteous chief judge would cast out even an antichrist in an angry or vengeful way. Rather, it would have been done in a more thoughtful way. But that begs the question of why Alma would have chosen Antionum as the location for him to be cast out. Why there? There is a modern-day logic that indigent poor should be cared for by the people of their home rather than allowing them to become burdens on the people in a new host location. One example of this comes, centuries later, from Great Britain. Based on English Poor Laws, "Justices issued a removal order if they were satisfied that a person or family needed (or were likely to need) relief but had no right to settlement in the parish. A removal order directed that a person or family be *returned to their parish of legal settlement*."[62] Parenthetically, I had two direct-line ancestral families who fell on hard times and were exiled from London based on English Laws of Settlement and Removal. The first removal of a direct-line ancestral family to their home parish happened in 1792. The second direct-line family, this one with small children, was escorted out of London in 1818, this time by a police constable. I have copies of both removal documents.

Writing centuries earlier and on another continent, Alma obviously knew nothing about English law. However, it seems likely that one's place of origin should bear the burden of taking care of their own indigent poor — even among pre-modern societies. The text records that Alma had not yet received tidings about the Zoramites "perverting the ways of the Lord." He only learned of that "*after* the end of Korihor" (Alma 31:1). Given that lack of information, the choice of Antionum would have made perfect sense to Alma if it was Korihor's home. This is not a trivial point. It was just after Korihor was transported to Antionum that Alma received the tidings of corrupt religious practices among the Zoramites and, presumably, that Korihor had been killed by them. Now, I am not a great believer in coincidences, and this would have been a whopper. Although it is not certain, it is a good possibility that the news of the Zoramite corruption, and possibly the news of the murder, were carried back to Alma by the very men who had just transported Korihor to Antionum. The scriptures are clear that Alma did not learn about the corruption in Antionum until "after the end of Korihor," and in Alma 31, Alma's heart "began to sicken" (31:1). This sequence places a portion of the Korihor story directly into the beginning of Alma 31 — independently of any proposed chiasm or parallelism. Mormon's colophon, while appearing to place a final exclamation point on the story of Korihor, turns out to be an editorial *parenthesis*, not an editorial *termination*. A significant piece of the story of Korihor appears to continue into Alma 31:1. Further, Alma's sorrow at the Zoramite iniquity, including his shock at the illicit murder, pushes the story of Korihor into verse 2 and possibly as far as verse 11.

Once this is realized, it makes intuitive sense why the original 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon had the two stories in the same chapter (Chapter XVI) — they may not be unconnected stories, after all. Alma's sudden awareness of the corruption of the Zoramites and his desire to travel to Antionum himself (with a missionary force) may well be related to the story of Korihor. Strikingly, it may not be a coincidence of timing, as many assume. Alma's interest in the Zoramites and his awareness of their spiritual corruption and iniquity may have come about as a direct result of Korihor being cast out among them where he was soon murdered. Many people (and I, for one) suspect that most so-called "coincidences" have a deeper story to tell. In any case, the answer to question 5, "How did Korihor end up in Antionum among the Zoramites?," may be that he had returned, or been sent, to his place of origin with the erroneous

expectation that his own people would better support him. Again, and in addition, we see more evidence that Korihor, likely, was a Zoramite.

6. Was the Murder of a Disabled, Helpless Beggar Actually an Execution?

If Korihor returned to Antionum in the hopes that the Zoramites would take care of him, he was sadly and completely mistaken. The scripture is clear that "as he went forth amongst them, behold, he was *run upon* and *trodden down*, even *until he was dead*" (30:59). Could this have been an accident? That doesn't seem likely. Korihor was not just trampled **_and_** he was dead — Korihor was trampled "**_until_** he was dead." Hugh Nibley took the position that it was a murder when he taught his students that Korihor "was run over and put to death by a mob."[63]

Consider, also, Mormon's colophon in the last verse of chapter 30. An accidental death would not demonstrate how the devil fails to support his followers. However, if that death were a brutal murder, it makes it easier to find a lesson of the devil's abandonment of his own in that violent and volitional end. "It is by the wicked that the wicked are punished" (Mormon 4:5). Korihor's demise seems a deliberate and brutal murder at the hands (or rather the feet) of the Zoramites — a grievous iniquity. The question becomes, why would a random and disorganized mob murder a disabled and helpless beggar? John Welch supplies one credible answer, writing that Korihor "had been cursed by a god and was therefore a pariah, or one marked with evil spirits," adding that Korihor's death "was based on a concern or fear about receiving into the city someone who had been cursed by God."[64]

There is another possibility. I have tried to provide logical and scriptural support for the ideas that Korihor came from among the Zoramites, had been taught what to say — possibly by Zoram acting as an angel or surrogate of the devil — and had been given an agenda to "Go and reclaim this people" (30:53). That sounds a lot like being sent, probably by Zoram, on a special mission to towns in the land of Zarahemla.[65] If all that is correct, it might logically follow that Korihor was not just an ordinary, isolated Zoramite. Could he have been one of Zoram's priests? There is obviously no scriptural evidence that Korihor had been a Zoramite priest, but logical reasoning suggests it is possible since the text only emphasizes two classes of Zoramites. There were those who prayed publicly on an elevated platform and the outcast poor.[66] Alma 31:20 records that, with the exception of the poor who were excluded from Zoramite society (32:5, 9, and 12), "*every* man did go forth

and offer up these same prayers … [on the] Rameumptom" (31:20–21, emphasis added). Does that mean they were all priests? Hard to say, but even if there was a middle class made up of common residents, Korihor must have been more than just a random citizen. It stands to reason that he had considerable importance in Zoramite society if he had been personally tutored by either the devil himself or an angel of the devil (possibly Zoram) had personally tutored him and sent him on a special mission to "Go and reclaim this people" (Alma 30:53).

If he had, indeed, been sent out on a mission to the land of Zarahemla, it was without question a failed mission. If Korihor was returning from a miserably botched mission, the fact that he was now a dumb (and possibly deaf) beggar would have been a constant reminder of God's judgment against the teachings of Zoram. That would not have sat well with Zoram and his priests.

To see a failure in a scriptural story is not at all unusual. One could even say that failures in Biblical accounts are commonplace. The Hebrew idiom for "completely failed" is *ala batohu*. The first part can mean "resulted in" while the second part refers to nothingness, a void. Thus, *ala batohu* means "an attempt to do or to attain something" resulted in nothing.[67] There appears to have been a Hebraic "tradition," if you will, of extreme consequences for such *ala batohu*. There are too many failures that occurred among Old Testament figures to list them all, but the following are a few failures prior to Lehi departing Jerusalem.

- The people of Babel failed to bridle their pride and, like Satan, sought to become as God. As a result, their unified language was confounded and "the Lord [did] scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth" (Genesis 11:4–9).
- Esau failed to respect his birthright, selling it for "bread and pottage of lentiles," and the rights of the eldest son were bestowed upon his younger brother (Genesis 25:29–34).
- Miriam failed to respect the unique position of the prophet, Moses, as the Lord's mouthpiece, and she was struck with leprosy. The curse was lifted in return for banishment from the camp for seven days (Numbers 12:9–10, 14).
- Moses failed to give God the glory when he struck the rock to produce water. In consequence, he was denied entrance into the promised land (Numbers 20:10–12).
- The high priest, Eli, failed to raise his sons in righteousness and control their corruption (1 Samuel 2:12, 22). As a result,

both of his sons died on the same day, he was replaced as the high priest, and he was denied posterity (2:31–36).

- King David failed to curb his lust, slept with Bathsheba, and arranged for Uriah to be killed to attempt to hide his indiscretion. His failure led to the Lord saying he would "raise up evil against thee out of thine own house" (2 Samuel 12:11); the public loss of his wives (12:11-12); the death of his first child with Bathsheba (12:18); and, perhaps worst of all, "therefore he hath fallen from his exaltation" (D&C 132:39).

If Korihor returned to Zoram and had to report an utterly failed mission, a void, it is logical to expect an extreme response. In this scenario, _murder_ by a random mob may be the wrong word. It is not beyond reason that he could have been summarily _executed_, not just murdered, possibly under orders of their leader, Zoram. Supporting this conjecture is the choice of the tools of the killing. Where stoning to death was an Old Testament response to blasphemy,[68] trampling was an Old Testament sign of utter disrespect and worthlessness. The Hebrew expressions, trampled or trodden, are usually translated as "loath, tread (down, under [foot]), be polluted."[69] Among the many examples that could be offered are:

- "Trodden with your feet … fouled with your feet" (Ezekiel 34:19)
- "Shame shall cover her … now shall she be trodden down as the mire of the streets" (Micah 7:10)
- "Neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet" (Matthew 7:6)
- "If the salt have lost his savour … it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men" (Matthew 5:13)

Nephi provided his own definition for this expression when he explained, "Yea, even the very God of Israel do men trample under their feet; I say, trample under their feet but I would speak in other words — they set him at naught, and hearken not to the voice of his counsels" (1 Nephi 19:7). Is it another coincidence that Korihor happened to die by trampling, or could Zoram and his priests have chosen a manner of death that conveyed a Hebraic message of contempt? Again, one possible answer to question 6, "Was the Zoramite murder of a disabled, helpless beggar actually an execution?," could be in the affirmative. It is possible

that the once proud Korihor, now reduced to a mute begging for his food, may have been executed by his own people, the Zoramites, for a failed mission to the Nephites.

7. Why Did No One, Including God's Prophet, Mourn Korihor's Violent Murder?

The verse format of Korihor's story offers absolutely no reaction to this illicit and grievous murder. Why not? The chapter and verse text leaves the reader with the impression that Alma, God's righteous prophet, simply ignored it. Alma's sorrow in Alma 31 is attributed to only two causes:

1. the iniquity and perversions of the Zoramites (31:1), and
2. the separation of the Zoramites from the Nephites (31:2).

Alma's silence seems surprising, even disquieting. There was no one to react to Korihor's tragic death, leaving readers to conclude that "he got what he deserved." Joseph Spencer goes even further, writing that "Latter-day Saints often take Korihor … to be a fool, someone perhaps rightly struck dumb for stupidly demanding signs when he knew better."[70] Surely Heavenly Father cannot be pleased with the judgmental and dismissive attitude that Spencer describes as common. How much better the attitude evidenced only two years later. It happened at the beginning of a period of another great war. At that point, Mormon commented on the attitude of the Nephites about the killing of their 500-year-old enemies, the Lamanites. He wrote that "they were sorry to be the means of sending so many of their brethren out of this world into an eternal world, unprepared to meet their God" (Alma 48:23). Why the difference between these two scenarios? Korihor was similarly unprepared to meet his God. For all the apostate hardness of his heart, Korihor was likely a fellow Nephite and a brother. In fact, given Alma's own errant youth, one would expect that Alma could relate at least somewhat to Korihor. Alma, too, had spoken "much words of flattery" (Mosiah 27:8) in an attempt to "destroy the church" (27:10) and had "become dumb that he could not speak" (27:19). It makes sense that Alma's reaction, like his Nephite followers two years later (Alma 48:23), would be one of great sorrow. Adding to this is modern scripture where the Lord explicitly tells his saints: "Thou shalt live together in love, insomuch that thou *shalt weep* for the loss of them that die, and *more especially* for those that have not hope of a glorious resurrection" (Doctrine & Covenants 42:45, emphasis added). Yet the verse format of Alma 30 is silent on any reaction to the

murder — any reaction of any kind from Alma or anyone else. Nobody wept for Korihor.

Earlier, I introduced a chiasm that I believe conflates the end of Alma 30 and the beginning of Alma 31. In the earlier discussion, the emphasis was on the C steps, which paired Zoram with the devil. A closer look at the B steps, suggests a possible answer to this omission of anyone grieving the murder. For ease of discussion, here are the B steps again:

B_1 (30:59) behold, he [Korihor] was run upon and trodden
           down, even until he was dead.

B_2 a (31:1) <u>his [Alma's] heart</u> began to <u>sicken</u>
           b because of the <u>iniquity of the people</u>.
               c (31:2) For it was the cause of great sorrow to Alma
           b to know of <u>iniquity among his people</u>;
       a therefore his heart was exceedingly <u>sorrowful</u>

In this formulation, B_1 pairs Korihor's murder or execution with the mini-chiasm of B_2, which is Alma's heartsickness and great sorrow at the iniquity of the people. The pairing of Alma's sorrow with the death of Korihor in no way negates that Alma was also grieving the iniquity of the people — the "a" and "b" steps of B_2 say as much. But surely a part of that "grievous iniquity," in addition to perverting the ways of the Lord and separating from the body of the Nephites (the A steps), was the brutal and violent murder. It seems right, as the B steps of the chiasm indicate, that a prophet would mourn Korihor's untimely death. In fact, what seems stranger than the *presence* of a reaction in the chiasm, is its *absence* in chapter and verse format. Alma's sorrow was there all along. The reaction was missing; it is pleasing to now find it.

One of the reasons that Alma's reaction was invisible in the standard verse format is because it occurs in the wrong chapter in the modern formatting of the Book of Mormon. Another is that other, additional explanations for Alma's great sorrow were given. The split chiasm, now recombined, supplies the missing emotion without adding or subtracting a single word from the inspired text. Once revealed by the chiasm, the reader can see the logical association quite clearly. Lessons can be drawn from how a prophet reacts to the murder of a theological enemy. Thus, the answer to question 7, "Did anyone mourn Korihor's death?," appears to be, yes, Alma, the very one who was compelled by inspiration to curse him, mourned his death.

After this point, the connection of Korihor and the Zoramites disappears. Alma is shocked to observe the Rameumptom in action and

offers an impassioned plea for God to comfort and strengthen him in the face of the Zoramites' wickedness, pride, and apostasy. After that, the scriptures contain amazing doctrinal teachings to the Zoramite poor and a powerful comparison between growing a seed and the growth of faith (Alma 32:28–43). Eventually, the converts of Alma and his team, "and they were many," were cast out by the Zoramites and went to live with Ammon and his people in the land of Jershon (Alma 35:6). Angered at the loss of their poor, the Zoramites tried to get them back (35:8–9), demonstrating that the priests considered them a labor force to further exploit. Unsuccessful in this goal, and now further angered, the Zoramites "began to mix with the Lamanites" and, once united with them, prepared for war against the Nephites (35:10–11). Many of the Zoramites were then appointed as leaders as described in Alma 48:5, and after that, the story of the Zoramites draws to a close.

Conclusions: A Few Final Thoughts

One might ask, "What does all this mean?" Since the Book of Mormon is canonized scripture and "the most correct book on earth,"[71] it behooves all of us to study it closely and glean as much information from its pages as possible. The answers to the seven questions in the story of Korihor and the Zoramites help to advance that agenda. Not all readers will accept all of my speculative answers to the seven questions, and that is fine. Some may disagree with one or more of the parallelistic structures employed in this article (although several come from established scholars). However, even if one or two of my conclusions are judged to be threadbare and/or incorrect, it is unlikely that they all are. Mormon included the story of Korihor because he judged it to be highly relevant to our times and problems today. In the words of one Book of Mormon scholar:

> Nephite history is not important for solely its own sake, but also because it may act as a warning to the later generations who will read Mormon's record. It is in this, then, that the full significance of Korihor's narrative is revealed, for if it really was written for our day, the[n] Mormon believed that we were to be held responsible for the lessons provided within.[72]

One of those lessons, which seems particularly timely, is an application to modern-day politics. Proponents on one side of the aisle often use strawman bullet points against proponents on the other side of the aisle. Would-be politicians repeat this pattern on social media. The problem is that, too often, social media users adopt those bullet points

without proving their veracity or fully understanding their implications. Social media posts or other sources teach proponents of either position what to say regarding any number of political or social issues. The "likes" they receive from similarly-minded readers become so pleasing that social media users come to believe the bullet points are true, and those beliefs become entrenched and solidified. In the extreme, the proponents begin to figuratively trample under foot those who believe differently from them. In a similar manner, Korihor can be viewed as hurling apostate bullet points at the Nephites, possibly obtained from Zoram. Korihor's own terminology seals the point: "I have taught his words; and I taught them because they were pleasing unto the carnal mind; and I taught them, even until I had much success, insomuch that I verily believed that they were true; and for this cause I withstood the truth" (Alma 30:53). Daniel Belnap raises a similar point: "As Korihor notes, his frequent teaching of these principles and their subsequent popularity rendered the given subjects 'true' regardless of whether or not they were truth."[73] Modern media users can fall into this same avoidable trap. They can, and often do, repeat simplistic information from questionable sources just to get "likes." One lesson from Korihor's experience is, instead, follow the prophet and other watchmen in Zion and seek truth from the source of all light, Jesus Christ.

A second insight flows from the obscuring split chiasm of Alma 30 and 31. If correct, that chiasm suggests that Alma did grieve the Anti-Christ's tragic end. The lesson is that we, too, can use aids such as the ministering program to minister to those whose misfortunes and mistakes drag them down. Surely that is more Christlike than concluding that they deserve the consequences of their unfortunate actions and/or addictions.

Illustrative of this principle is the story of an English woman who was watching an aerial dogfight in the skies high above London during the Battle of Britain during World War II. Suddenly, one of the RAF Spitfires had a German Messerschmitt in its sights. The pilot opened fire. The crowd below saw a sudden trail of black smoke stream from behind the stricken German plane as it plummeted toward the ground and the certain death of the Nazi pilot. The crowd erupted into jubilant cheers and hugged each other in shared joy. Someone noticed that the English woman had not joined the celebration. When asked about it, she replied, "That is someone's brother or son. I cannot cheer the death of a young man, even if he is currently an enemy." As a pre-Christ Christian, it seems likely that Alma would have appreciated that sentiment.

The chiastic perspective, if correct, reinforces the Gospel truth that a righteous follower of Christ does not ignore, much less celebrate, the suffering or death of an errant child of God. Instead, Christ's way is to feel grief and sorrow that, in our "natural man" state, we all occasionally listen to the influence of the devil as well as suffer from our own mortal frailties and weaknesses.

The story of Korihor may also have a symbolic meaning. This is often the case with scripture. As one example of this, the escape of Lehi and his family out of Jerusalem, at first reading, constitutes an exciting adventure story. It is only by digging deeper that the symbolic meaning behind their story emerges. The journey of Lehi and his family across the deserts of Arabia and across the dangerous ocean — just like the wave-tossed crossing by the Jaredites, the exodus of the Israelite slaves out of Egypt, the migration of Brigham Young and the Saints across the plains to Utah, and other great treks — share one symbolic message. It is that all followers of Christ must similarly make their own journey out of the evils of symbolic Babylon and back to their heavenly home. So it is with Korihor — the deeper meaning of his story may be symbolic, and we can and should "liken all scriptures unto us, that it might be for our profit and learning" (1 Nephi 19:23). Because of Korihor's focus on the mortal world and his rejection of the Father, he was rendered speechless, physically, and was trampled to death. At a deeper level, he was also rendered speechless, spiritually, and found worthless — as salt that has "lost its savour" (Matthew 15:13).

Finally, we are used to thinking of Nehor, Sherem, and other antichrists as the black-and-white evil figures that they were. In many ways, Korihor's story is different. He seems more of a tragic and clumsy figure who prided himself on having a glib tongue. It is difficult to not feel a degree of sorrow for him. It seems profitable, too, to consider Korihor's story personally and liken it to us. In what ways might we share some tendencies with Korihor? In what ways might we be drowning out the words of the prophets and, instead, be following the trends of the world that are "pleasing unto the carnal mind" until we, too, "verily believed that they were true" (Alma 30:53)? Perhaps our own children, spouses, parents, and bishops are grieving the paths that we are on. Korihor did not arrive at his point of apostasy all at once. Especially if he was once a believing Nephite, his appearance in Zarahemla represented the end of a downward slide, one that we very much need to examine in ourselves to be sure that we are not on that same tragic path.

There are other lessons that come from the inspired text and the chiasms that underly the stories of Korihor and the Zoramites. Future analyses will undoubtedly continue to shed light not only on these lessons but on other powerful messages of the Book of Mormon.

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Endnotes

1   In his view, "All these omissions cannot be accidental. Indeed, the text wants readers to see Korihor as an isolated individual." Note that the specific "omissions" that Welch identifies are "his ethnic or tribal origin, his city or land of residence, or his religious or political affiliations," not all seven of my questions. John W. Welch,

The Legal Cases in the Book of Mormon (Provo, UT: BYU Press and Maxwell Institute, 2008), 273.

2 John W. Welch, "What Does Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon Prove?," in *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins*, ed. Noel B. Reynolds (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1997), 222.

3 Gene A. Sessions and William G. Hartley, s.v. "History of the Church: c. 1878–1898, Late Pioneer Utah Period," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism Online*, https://eom.byu.edu/index.php/History_of_the_Church#History_of_the_Church:_c._1878–1898.2C_Late_Pioneer_Utah_Period.

4 This is important because it partially refutes some critics of the Book of Mormon who claim that the Christianized Nephites did not follow the Law of Moses. Clearly, they did.

5 One who preaches against Christ is generally called an "antichrist" with that spelling. Korihor was labeled an "Anti-Christ" (with this spelling) in Alma 30:6 and 30:12. Frandsen, Pearson, and Bankhead provide two convincing explanations for the difference in spelling: see Russell M. Frandsen, s.v. "Antichrists," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/EoM/id/5473, and Glenn L. Pearson and Reid E. Bankhead, *Building Faith with the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1986), 74–75. Despite the inconsistency in spelling, we have retained this difference and distinction. For another breakdown of the term (spelled as "anti-Christ"), see Daniel Belnap, "'And he was Anti-Christ': The Significance of the Eighteenth Year of the Reign of the Judges, Part 2," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 28 (2019): 91–136, https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/facpub/4482/.

6 Welch, *Legal Cases*, 273.

7 John Tvedtnes has demonstrated that the majority of Jaredite names ended in consonants while the majority of Nephite names ended in vowels or silent consonants (like Mosiah). See John A. Tvedtnes, "A Phonemic Analysis of Nephite and Jaredite Proper Names," presented at the Twenty-Second Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures and Allied Fields, held at Brigham Young University on October 28, 1973. http://ancientamerica.org/library/media/HTML/qx6x4fwp/A%20PHONEMIC%20ANALYSIS%20OF%20NEPHITE%20AND%20

JAREDITE%20PROPER%20NAMES.htm?n=0. See also Hugh Nibley, "Proper Names in the Book of Mormon," in *An Approach to the Book of Mormon*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?filename=24&article=1011&context=mi&type=additional. Two obvious examples of Jaredite names ending in a consonant are Ether and Jared (Ether 1:33). The name of the brother of Jared was revealed as Mohonri Moriancumr, a dual name that was rare in ancient times and combined a Nephite and a Jaredite ending. Other Jaredite names include Coriantumr, Coriantor, Emer, Omer, Cohor, and Corihor. Of the over 350 proper names in the Book of Mormon, only a handful of those ending in *r*, *d*, *n*, or *m*, referred to Nephites. Of those, very few were leaders — Omner and Zeniff being two exceptions. But consider the names of Nephite dissenters and opponents. Those included the antichrists, Aminadab, Gadianton, Kishkumen, Morianton, Pachus, Sherem — even Laman and Lemuel. Most notably, for the purposes of this paper that also included Nehor, Korihor, and Zoram. These men were not Jaredites; they were Nephites. But it is interesting that so many of them had names ending in consonants. Were these their birth names, or were they Jaredite-sounding names that disgruntled Nephites assumed in order to create a cultural and/or religious separation from the believing Nephites? We do not know.

8 Hugh Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert: The World of the Jaredites, vol. 5, The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and Provo, UT: FARMS, 1988), 242–46.

9 Daniel H. Ludlow, *A Companion to Your Study of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 212.

10 The Zoramites are called "dissenters" in Alma 31:8 but are called "apostates" in the chapter heading.

11 In *Legal Cases*, John Welch builds a case that Korihor came from Ammonihah and was a Nehorite (274–75), although Nehor was originally a Nephite.

12 "Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon, circa August 1829– circa January 1830," *The Joseph Smith Papers*, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/printers-manuscript-of-the-book-of-mormon-circa-august-1829-circa-january-1830/253, 249.

13 Joseph Fielding McConkie and Robert L. Millet, *Doctrinal Commentary on the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987–1992), 2:302.

14 This point has been made by other scholars. See, for example, Brandt Gardner, *Second Witness: Analytical and Contextual Commentary on the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Kofford Books, 2007), 4:441.

15 "Idol," *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, 3rd edition (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1897), https://www.biblestudytools.com/dictionaries/eastons-bible-dictionary/idol.html.

16 William Smith, "Idol," *Smith's Bible Dictionary*, (Philadelphia: A. J. Holman Company, 1901), https://www.biblestudytools.com/dictionaries/smiths-bible-dictionary/idol.html.

17 Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 297.

18 Hugh Nibley, *Teachings of the Book of Mormon, Semester 2: Transcripts of Lectures Presented to an Honors Book of Mormon Class at Brigham Young University, 1988–1990* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1993), 333, https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1071&context=mi.

19 Jeffrey R. Holland, *Christ and the New Covenant: The Messianic Message of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 122.

20 Ibid.

21 For a full discussion of this legal limitation, see Welch, *Legal Cases*, 276–80.

22 In the Book of Mormon, redundancy may hint of an underlying parallelistic structure. Donald Parry has identified the repetition about the limits of the law to be a part of a four-step chiasm that is anchored, or book-ended, by the terms, "Anti-Christ" and the fact of his preaching to the people. See Donald W. Parry, *Poetic Parallelisms in the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: Maxwell Institute, 2007), 300–301; https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1060&context=mi. I am not reproducing Parry's chiasm here both because it is not accepted by all scholars and because it does not sufficiently advance the thesis of this paper.

23 Donald Parry discusses extended alternates in Parry, *Poetic Parallelisms*, xxiii. He outlines this particular extended alternate in Parry, *Poetic Parallelisms*, 301.

24 That man was not named here, but Alma 4:17–18 explains that this was Nephihah.

25 Welch, *Legal Cases*, 226.

26 This complicated verdict is explained in Welch, *Legal Cases*, 226–27.

27 Parry, *Poetic Parallelisms*, 303.

28 See Steven D. Hales, "Thinking Tools: You *can* Prove a Negative," in *Think* 4, no. 10 (Summer 2005): 109–112.

29 Joseph M. Spencer, "Is Not This Real?," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (2019): 91–92.

30 Ibid., 93.

31 As Hugh Nibley phrased it, "We find out he [Korihor] really was scared here." Nibley, *Teachings*, 338.

32 Christ saw seeking a sign as an indication of an "evil and adulterous generation" (Matthew 12: 38–40).

33 This chiasm, which is not shown here, can be seen in Parry, *Poetic Parallelisms*, 304. It is not shown because of space limitations and because it does not shed additional light on the seven questions that are the focus of this article.

34 It may be that Korihor was also struck deaf. Supporting that conjecture is that Nephihah wrote him a note instead of just talking to him (Alma 30:51). Hugh Nibley clearly took that position, teaching his students that, "He was struck dumb, and deaf also … . [The chief judge] wrote to Korihor, so he was deaf and dumb" (Nibley, *Teachings*, 338). Alonzo Gaskill agrees, writing that "Korihor, no doubt shocked at this sudden disability, wrote back saying he knew that it was God who had struck him deaf and dumb." See Alonzo L. Gaskill, *Miracles of the Book of Mormon* (Springville, UT: Cedar Fort, Inc., 2015), 245. On the other hand, Alma 30:55 is clear that Alma *talked* to Korihor later (although he could have "said unto him" in writing). John Welch doubts that Korihor was also rendered deaf. His explanation is that Nephihah only *wrote* in order to have a written record of the legal proceedings

(see Welch, *Legal Cases*, 294–95). In any case, Korihor was at least rendered speechless.

35 One is reminded of another parallel. Abraham, who was almost killed as a human sacrifice upon an altar (Abraham 1:7–8), was later commanded to perform a human sacrifice by sacrificing his own son upon an altar (Genesis 22:1–2).

36 See Boyd Edwards and W. Edwards, "Does Chiasmus Appear in the Book of Mormon by Chance?," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (2004): 103–130; https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/byusq/vol43/iss2/4. See also Boyd F. Edwards and W. Farrell Edwards, "Truth or Cherry Picking: A Statistical Approach to Chiastic Intentionality," in John W. Welch and Donald W. Parry, eds., *Chiasmus: The State of the Art* (Provo, UT: BYU Studies and Book of Mormon Central, 2020), 311–17.

37 Neal Rappleye, "Chiasmus Criteria in Review" *BYU Studies Quarterly* 59, no. 2 Supplement (2020): 301–302.

38 Parry, *Poetic Parallelisms*, xvi.

39 Welch, *Legal Cases*, 288.

40 This small chiasm also appears in the analysis of Parry, *Poetic Parallelisms*, 303.

41 See Welch, *Legal Cases*, 286–87, for an excellent overview of the role of witnesses in the trial of Korihor.

42 Parry, *Poetic Parallelisms*, 303.

43 Ibid.

44 Rappleye, "Chiasmus Criteria in Review," 289–309.

45 Hugh Nibley, *Brother Brigham Challenges the Saints*, ed. Don E. Norton and Shirley S. Ricks (Salt Lake City and Provo, UT: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1994), 502. That Nibley calls Korihor "a spokesman for the Zoramites" would appear to strongly support the main thesis of this paper that Korihor was a Zoramite. However, the inclusion of the Amalickiahites into the quote suggests that Nibley meant this more in a figurative than a literal sense.

46 Welch, *Legal Cases*, 301.

47 Ibid., 307.

48 The concept of divine investiture of authority was first fully developed in "A Doctrinal Exposition by the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles" written in August 1916. It has been restated many times. It can be seen in its entirety in Appendix 2 of James Talmage, *A Study of the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1967), 466–73.

49 Many writers have made this point. This particular quote is from Pearson and Bankhead, *Building Faith*, 153.

50 Joseph Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, ed. Joseph Fielding Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 276.

51 See Fig. 1 of Facsimile 1 in the Book of Abraham.

52 See Oscar W1. McConkie, *Angels* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1975), 79.

53 James E. Faust "The Great Imitator," *Ensign* 17, no. 11 (1987), https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/general-conference/1987/10/the-great-imitator.

54 Dallin H. Oaks, "Free Agency and Freedom," Brigham Young University Speeches, October 11, 1987, https://speeches.byu.edu/talks/dallin-h-oaks/free-agency-freedom/.

55 Note, also, that Zoram, as a type for the devil, does not support his own poor citizens either. He drives them out when they try to listen to Alma.

56 See "Why Did Book of Mormon Authors Use Colophons?," Book of Mormon Central, June 21, 2018, https://knowhy.bookofmormoncentral.org/knowhy/why-did-book-of-mormon-authors-use-colophons.

57 Is it remotely possible that this Zoram was the same man as an earlier Zoram who had served as the chief captain over the Nephite armies only 4 or 5 years earlier (see Alma 16:5–8)? This could only have happened if this highly placed leader of the Nephite armies apostatized and became the highly placed leader of a group of dissenters. This is admittedly wild speculation. There is not a scrap of text to support it other than the silence about the end of Zoram, the warrior, and the duplication of the two names. However, it is an intriguing idea. The reader is free to dismiss it or accept it as a possibility.

58 See "Why Was the Zoramite Defection so Disastrous?," Book of Mormon Central, July 14, 2016, https://knowhy.bookofmormoncentral.org/knowhy/why-was-the-zoramite-defection-so-disastrous.

59 Neal Rappleye, "Chiasmus Criteria in Review," 289–309.

60 Different maps locate Antionum in different areas. In the map accompanying Book of Mormon Central's post, "Why was the Zoramite Defection So Disastrous?," Antionum is located on the coast but up north, near Mulek and Bountiful. In VirtualScriptures.org, it is located on the coast but down south, near the border to the Lamanite lands (see "Book of Mormon Conceptual Map," Virtual Scriptures, Brigham Young University, https://virtualscriptures.org/book-of-mormon-map/).

61 John Welch explains that banishment "was a fate worse than death, for an ancient person could not easily relocate in another city, and life outside settled lands was rugged. … [O]utcasts often died miserable deaths" (Welch, *Legal Cases*, 296). He does not consider whether Antionum was Korihor's home or not, opining that the attraction of Antionum for Korihor may have merely been because the Zoramites also denied Christ and rejected the law of Moses (ibid.).

62 Mark D Herber, *Ancestral Trails: The Complete Guide to British Genealogy and Family History* (Baltimore: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 293, emphasis added. See also Kenneth O Morgan, ed., *The Oxford History of Britain*, revised ed. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), 435.

63 Nibley, *Teachings*, 339.

64 Welch, *Legal Cases*, 298–99.

65 Brant Gardner calls it a "mission" when he writes about "the failure of his mission to teach false doctrine." Gardner, *Second Witness*, 4:418.

66 Note that many European Christian churches, especially Catholic and Anglican churches, often used raised platforms or pulpits, often quite high, from which priests prayed and preached. According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "In a cruciform church … the pulpit … is reached by a short flight of steps. There may be a tester, or canopy, above it, serving as a decorative sounding board. English pulpits often have two or three stories, with the lowest for a clerk, the middle one for a reading desk, and the third for the preaching

of the sermon." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Pulpit – architecture," https://www.britannica.com/technology/pulpit.)

67 "Hebrew Word of the Day: ' עָלָה בַּתֹּהוּ;'" Jerusalem Prayer Team, https://hebrew.jerusalemprayerteam.org/completely-failed/.

68 See Leviticus 24:16 and Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), 91.

69 James Strong, *Lexicon of the Hebrew Bible*, in GospeLink 2001 CD, electronic edition (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1998).

70 Spencer, "Is Not This Real?," 87.

71 Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book), 4:461.

72 Belnap, "And He was Anti-Christ," 135–36.

73 Ibid., 130.

Moses 6–7 and the Book of Giants: Remarkable Witnesses of Enoch's Ministry

Jeffrey M. Bradshaw

Abstract: *The* Book of Giants *(BG), an Enoch text found in 1948 among the Dead Sea Scrolls, includes a priceless trove of stories about the ancient prophet and his contemporaries, including unique elements relevant to the Book of Moses Enoch account. Hugh Nibley was the first to discover in the* BG *a rare personal name that corresponds to the only named character in the Book of Moses besides Enoch himself, a finding that some non-Latter-day Saint Enoch scholars considered significant. Since Nibley's passing, the growth of new scholarship on ancient Enoch texts has continued unabated. While Nibley's pioneering research compared the names and roles of one character in Moses 6–7 and* BG, *scholars have now been able to examine the names and roles of nearly all of the prominent figures in the two books and analyze their respective accounts in more detail. Not only are the overall storylines of the two independent accounts more similar than could have imagined a few years ago, a series of recent studies have added substance to the claim that the specific resemblances of the Book of Giants to Moses 6–7—resemblances that are rare or absent elsewhere in Jewish tradition— are more numerous and significant than the resemblances of any other single ancient Enoch text—or, for that matter, to all of the most significant extant Enoch texts combined. Of particular note is new evidence in* BG *that relates to the gathering of Zion to divinely prepared cities and the ascent of his people to the presence of God.*

[**Editor's Note:** Part of our book chapter reprint series, this article is reprinted here as a service to the Latter-day Saint community. Original pagination and page numbers have necessarily changed, otherwise the reprint has the same content as the original.

See Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, "Moses 6–7 and the Book of Giants: Remarkable Witnesses of Enoch's Ministry," in *Tracing Ancient Threads in the Book of Moses: Inspired Origins, Temple Contexts, and Literary Qualities,* ed. Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, David R. Seely, John W. Welch and Scott Gordon (Orem, UT: The Interpreter Foundation; Springville, UT: Book of Mormon Central; Reding, CA: FAIR; Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 2021), 1043–260. Further information at https://interpreterfoundation.org/books/remembrance-and-return/.]

The Latter-day Saint story of Enoch has been called the "most remarkable religious document published in the nineteenth century."[1] This is true for at least three reasons.

1. First, the account is *highly original.* For example, according to a preliminary linguistic analysis by Stanford Carmack, the language of the account is by and large "independent of Genesis language,"[2] with an initial authorship diagnostic strongly indicating that the text is not "pseudobiblical or biblical or Joseph Smith's own pattern."[3]

2. Second, it is *audacious* in its claims. The account was produced early in Joseph Smith's ministry—in fact, in the same year as the publication of the Book of Mormon—as part of a divine commission to "retranslate" the Bible.[4] Like Doctrine and Covenants 76, it seems to contain many significant items that were removed "from the Bible, or lost before it was compiled."[5] Note that this statement allows for three options for the Enoch account in Moses 6–7: (1) it was removed from one of the books we now have in the Bible at some point in history; (2) it was written at some point but was later lost and was never connected with any of the books of the Bible; or (3) it was never written down until it was revealed to Joseph Smith.

3. Third, it was produced at *record speed.* Judging by the rapidity by which similar passages were translated, the account of Enoch found today in Moses 6–7 would appear to have occupied only a few days of the Prophet's attention.[6] In view of the sizable revelations received on Enoch and other topics around that time, Kerry Muhlestein considers it "one of the greatest periods of revelation the Church has experienced, a true overflowing surge."[7]

How Have Different Scholars Approached the Task of Explaining the Book of Moses Enoch Account?

There are a variety of different explanations for how such a novel, expansive, and coherent work purporting to be a true account of ancient historical figures could have been produced by a relatively unschooled translator in such a short amount of time. In the present study, our primary interest is in comparing Moses 6–7 with the *Book of Giants* (*BG*), an ancient source *unknown* in 1830, in support of arguments that the Prophet translated through a process that was dependent on divine revelation. Alternatively, some comparative studies seek to identify instances when Joseph Smith might have relied on texts *known* to him (whether from ancient or modern sources) as aids in the translation of Latter-day Saint scripture.[8]

Though it is not impossible that Joseph Smith drew inspiration "out of the best books" (Doctrine and Covenants 88:118; 109:7, 14) in his Bible translation, I have outlined in detail elsewhere the challenges that scholars face in their efforts to argue that nineteenth-century influences, augmented by the imagination of Joseph Smith, were primarily responsible for the Enoch narrative in the Book of Moses.[9] For example, the evidence that the narrative of Moses 6–7 is derived largely from the Bible[10] or scholarly Bible commentaries[11] is scant and unconvincing at present. Evidence that Sidney Rigdon contributed significantly to Moses 7 is not persuasive and the first half of the acccount, Moses 6, was translated before he came on the scene.[12]

Most significantly, it would have been impossible for Joseph Smith in 1830 to have been aware of the most important resemblances to ancient Enoch literature in his translation. Other than the limited and typically loose parallels found in *1 Enoch* (which was unlikely to have been available to Joseph Smith), the texts that would have been required for a modern author to derive significant parts of Moses 6–7 had neither been discovered by Western scholars nor translated into English.[13] Additionally, even if relevant Enoch traditions from Masonry or the hermetic tradition had been available to Joseph Smith by 1830, it stretches the imagination to assume that they would have provided the Prophet with the suite of specific and sometimes peculiar details that are shared by Moses 6–7 and pseudepigrapha like *2 Enoch* and *3 Enoch*—and especially the *Book of Giants*.

Toward a Principled Examination of Literary Affinities in the Book of Moses

In evaluating the efforts to attribute the three large revelatory chapters of the Book of Moses to extant textual sources, Colby Townsend rightly concluded that "a systematic and detailed analysis of other literary influences on Moses 1 or the major additions in Moses 6–8 has not yet been completed."[14] While not sharing Townsend's optimism that the Book of Moses narratives of the heavenly ascent of Moses (Moses 1) and of the ministry of Enoch (Moses 6–7) can be explained primarily through direct "literary *influences*" on Joseph Smith in the nineteenth century, I think there is great potential in performing "a systematic and detailed analysis" of literary *affinities* with ancient works the Prophet could *not* have known. For instance, an initial approach undertaken in this spirit that provides a favorable comparison of Moses 1 with the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a work of Jewish pseudepigrapha not available to Joseph Smith, appears elsewhere in this conference proceedings.[15] In the present paper, I take an analogous approach to the Enoch chapters in Moses 6–7 — recognizing, of course, that much additional work remains.

Naturally, our expectations with respect to finding ancient threads in the Book of Moses must be qualified. Although Joseph Smith's revisions and additions to the Bible sometimes contain stunning echoes of ancient sources, he understood that the primary intent of modern revelation is to give divine guidance to readers in our day, not to provide precise matches to texts from other times. Thus, it is not my claim that every word of these modern productions is necessarily rooted in ancient manuscripts. However, to believers it would be no surprise if long, revealed passages such as, most conspicuously, Moses 1, 6–7, were to provide evidence of having been drawn in significant measure from a common well of ancient textual or oral traditions.[16]

Rationale and Outline of the Present Study

The *Book of Giants* (*BG*), a fragmentary work discovered in Qumran in 1948, is one example of several *ancient* texts about Enoch unknown to Joseph Smith that exhibit remarkable affinities to the Enoch figure depicted in Latter-day Saint scripture. In section 1, I provide a brief overview of Hugh Nibley's pioneering work comparing *BG* to Moses 6–7. I will also summarize a few of the subsequent discoveries by Latter-day Saint scholars who have built on Nibley's pioneering research. These new discoveries by Latter-day Saint scholars were made possible by the increasing interest of Enoch scholars worldwide who have recognized

BG as an important, and in many ways unique, window into ancient Enoch traditions.

Section 2 describes *BG* in more detail, showing why it has proven to be such a significant text for Enoch scholars and probing what has been called "conspicuous Mesopotamian influence" in its origins. Section 3 will provide specific background about *BG* that is necessary to understanding the rest of the study, dispelling common misconceptions about *BG* as a whole.

In the remaining sections, I will provide preliminary results of a deeper analysis that goes beyond the long-standing discovery of a pair of similar names in *BG* and the Book of Moses and the tantalizing but minimally explored listings of textual resemblances between the two texts that have been published previously. With respect to the similar names, section 4 will show why the *BG* names Enoch and Mahaway, cognates with the only two personal names mentioned in Moses 6–7, stand out from the other names mentioned in *BG* in ways that make them the foremost candidates for historical plausibility in an ancient Enochic setting.

From there, I will look at other similarities and differences between the texts. In section 5, I will compare the storylines of the Book of Moses Enoch account, *BG*, and other Enoch texts. The primary finding is that the broad storylines of Moses 6–7 and *BG* are remarkably similar. In addition, however, the editor(s) of *BG* seem to have wanted to add dramatic color to its narrative by inserting entertaining episodes about two giant "twins" into the account. Supporting the argument that these literary incidents are *BG*-specific additions is the fact that these characters and their stories are not only missing from the Book of Moses but also are found nowhere else in the ancient Enoch literature. Even more significant and surprising than these additions is the discovery that *BG* almost entirely *leaves out* the stories of sacred events that are found in Moses 6–7, despite the fact that each of these sacred events are touched on in one fashion of another in *other* ancient Enoch texts.

Section 6, a detailed analysis of thematic resemblances of *BG* to Moses 6–7, was inspired in part by an analogous study by the well-known Enoch scholar Loren T. Stuckenbruck.[17] This analysis revealed that the eighteen thematic elements common to *BG* and the Book of Moses provide support for plausible arguments for a common well of ancient traditions that significantly influenced both texts. These common thematic resemblances are not only notable in their frequency and density but sometimes also in their specificity. Of great significance

is that the common elements in *BG* and the Book of Moses nearly always are ordered in corresponding sequence. In the conclusion of this chapter, I will argue that the results of this study substantiate the claim that the specific resemblances of *BG* to Moses 6–7 — resemblances that are rare or absent elsewhere in Jewish tradition — are more numerous and significant than resemblances to any other single ancient Enoch text — or, for that matter, to all extant ancient Enoch texts combined.

1. Previous Discoveries and Subsequent Findings

Hugh Nibley's pioneering work comparing *BG* to Moses 6–7

In 1976–77, Hugh Nibley dashed off one long, heavily footnoted article after another each month for a series about ancient Enoch manuscripts and Moses 6–7 that was running in the Church's *Ensign* magazine. As he was finishing the last article in the series, he received — "just in time"[18] — an anxiously awaited volume describing fragments of Aramaic books of Enoch that were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.[19] Among other texts, the book, edited by non–Latter-day Saint scholars J. T. Milik and Matthew Black, contained the first English translation of *BG*.[20] So impatient was Nibley to study it that it seems he may have borrowed a copy from the University of Utah while he waited for his own copy to arrive.[21]

Figure 1. a. *Title page of the last article in the* Ensign's *"A Strange Thing in the Land" series;*[22] b. *Title page of Milik and Black's book that included the first English translation of the* Book of Giants.[23]
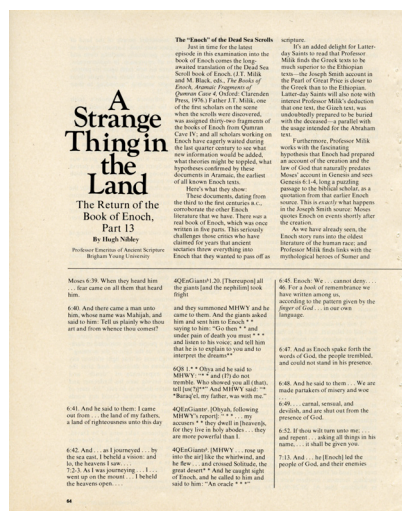
As he worked quickly to meet his publication deadline, Nibley found many significant resemblances between *BG* and the Book of Moses. His best-known discovery is that of a remarkable match between a name in the Book of Moses and in *BG*. In the Book of Moses, the name appears as Mahijah or Mahujah and in English translations of *BG* it is usually given as Mahaway or Mahawai. Nibley found not only that the ancient form of these *names* were likely to have matched well but also that the *roles* of the corresponding characters were analogous.
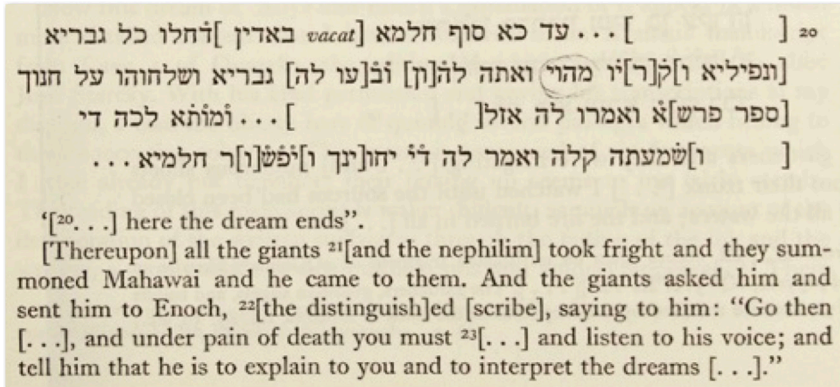

‘[²⁰. . .] here the dream ends”.
[Thereupon] all the giants ²¹[and the nephilim] took fright and they summoned Mahawai and he came to them. And the giants asked him and sent him to Enoch, ²²[the distinguish]ed [scribe], saying to him: “Go then [. . .], and under pain of death you must ²³[. . .] and listen to his voice; and tell him that he is to explain to you and to interpret the dreams [. . .].”

Figure 2. The passage shown comes from Milik and Black's translation of BG, 4Q530, fragment 2, column ii, lines 20–23. It tells of an incident when the wicked 'Ohyah, Hahyah, and their fellows send Mahawai to ask Enoch about their frightful dreams of pending destruction. This copy of the book is located in the Hugh Nibley Ancient Studies Room of the BYU Harold B. Lee Library. Note that Nibley circled the Aramaic version of the name Mahawai in pencil.[24]

In 2020, Matthew L. Bowen, Ryan Dahle, and I extended Nibley's early analysis.[25] Our study confirmed and added new details and evidence to Nibley's earlier findings while also addressing issues raised by Colby Townsend.[26] In brief, Townsend argued that the names were not as similar as Nibley had originally concluded. He reasoned that "Nibley relied too heavily on his English transcription of both names—MHWY—and failed to recognize that the H [in the Book of Moses version of the name and the H in the *BG* version of the name represented] two distinct letters" in their presumed Semitic originals.[27] However, in our later study we adduced relevant scholarship showing that despite a significant difference in one consonant in seemingly related texts ("Ḥ" [Bible] vs. "H" [*BG*]), there is currently no compelling reason why the *BG* name Mahaway (MHWY) could not have been related at some earlier point in its history both to the King James Bible name elements in Genesis 4:18, Mehuja-/Mehija- (MḤWY-/MḤYY-), and also to the only

other names besides Enoch found in the Book of Moses: Mahujah (the English H corresponds equally well to MHWY or MḤWY) and Mahijah (MHYY or MḤYY).

Interest in Nibley's discovery by non–Latter-day Saint scholars

Professor Matthew Black,[28] a collaborator on Milik's English translation of *BG*, was also impressed with the similarity of the *BG* and Book of Moses names. Like Nibley, he seems to have seen this finding as evidence that Joseph Smith's Enoch text was ancient—even though he didn't believe that Joseph Smith translated it through a process that relied on divine revelation. Instead, upon meeting Latter-day Saint graduate student Gordon C. Thomasson (who was familiar with Nibley's Enoch research), Black initially suggested that a copy of a text that drew on the some of the same Enoch traditions as *BG* must have made its way to Joseph Smith sometime before the translation of the Book of Moses.[29] Nibley said that during Professor Black's visit to Brigham Young University (BYU) soon afterward, Black reiterated his view that Joseph Smith must have relied on an ancient source in his translation.[30]

Figure 3. a. *Matthew Black (1908–94), date unknown;*[31]
b. *Gordon C. Thomasson (1942–) in 1975.*[32]

More recently, Salvatore Cirillo, drawing on the similar conclusions of Stuckenbruck, stated that he considered the names of the *gibborim*, notably including Mahaway, as "the most conspicuously independent content" in *BG*, being "unparalleled in other Jewish literature."[33]

Agreeing with the significance of Nibley's finding, Cirillo concluded that "the name Mahawai in *BG* and the names Mahujah and Mahijah in the Book of Moses represent the strongest similarity between the Latter-day Saint revelations on Enoch and the pseudepigraphal books of Enoch (specifically *BG*)."[34] However, in contrast to Matthew Black's hypothesis that Joseph Smith must have been given an ancient record from an esoteric group in Europe, Cirillo did not make any attempt to explain how a manuscript that was unknown to modern scholars until the mid-twentieth century could have influenced the account of Enoch in the Book of Moses, written in 1830.

After Nibley's initial look at *BG* and the Book of Moses, Nibley moved on to other subjects. Though Nibley continued to refer to his earlier Enoch findings in his later life, he did not engage to any significant extent with the burgeoning literature on Enoch that was published in the decades that followed.

Building on the foundation of Nibley's research

Since Nibley's passing, the growth of new scholarship on ancient Enoch texts has continued unabated. Building on the important context provided by Jared Ludlow's survey of the full corpus of ancient Enoch texts and their implications for the Book of Moses Enoch chapters,[35] the present chapter will focus specifically on *BG*. In addition to presenting recent research that confirms and deepens our understanding of passages originally discussed by Nibley, this paper will summarize new discoveries and analyses that further demonstrate the potential of *BG* as a fruitful source of study for students of Latter-day Saint scripture. Elsewhere I have published more extensive discussions of how ancient texts, including but not limited to *BG*, seem to confirm and complement the both the basic outline and specific details of the Enoch story in the Book of Moses.[36]

The present study, though still preliminary in some ways, aims to provide the most complete and in-depth comparative analysis of the Book of Moses to a single *ancient* Enoch text that has been undertaken to date:

- While Hugh Nibley's pioneering research compared the names and roles of *one* character in Moses 6–7 and *BG*, the present study examines the names and roles of nearly *all* of the prominent figures in the two books.
- Whereas previous studies have touched on a *few* parallels in the overall storyline in the Book of Moses Enoch account that

are found elsewhere in the ancient Enoch literature, the hope here is to reach a better understanding of the similarities and differences in the story elements across the *entire* storyline. Of particular interest are new arguments in support of the idea that Mahijah/Mahujah in the Book of Moses, like Mahaway in *BG*, encountered Enoch on two separate occasions.

- At a more detailed level, while earlier work has identified instances of close thematic resemblances or, in some cases, almost identical occurrences of rare terms and phrases, the aim here is not merely to *identify* such instances but also to *explore* in further detail each currently proposed candidate.

- Finally, for each thematic resemblance, this study will attempt to determine whether: 1. the theme is widespread in Second Temple Jewish traditions and the Bible; 2. generally confined to the ancient Enoch literature, or 3. specific to Moses 6–7 and *BG*. This result will tell us something about the evidential strength of resemblances by characterizing the degree to which the themes are widespread or rare outside the ancient Enoch literature.

One of the most significant examples of new discoveries relating to the Book of Moses Enoch story is the collection of *BG* elements that relate to the report in Moses 6–7 that Zion, the righteous city of Enoch, was "received . . . up into [God's] own bosom" (Moses 7:69). Though scholars have been aware for some time of suggestions in a Mandaean Enoch fragment[37] and in late midrash[38] that a group of Enoch's followers were taken up to heaven with him, until recently no ancient evidence had surfaced for the idea that Enoch's followers had been led to establish a place of gathering—an earthly Zion—beforehand. Recently, however, it was noticed that a fragment of a Manichaean version of *BG* describes how the righteous who had been converted by Enoch's preaching were separated from the wicked and gathered to divinely prepared cities in westward lying mountains.[39] This event recalls the statement of Moses 7:17 about the gathering of Enoch's Zion, when his people "were blessed upon the mountains, and upon the high places, and did flourish." Moreover, elements of the *Manichaean Cosmology Painting (MCP)*, a visual representation that Enoch scholars have concluded contains depictions relevant to many events of *BG*, suggest that the inhabitants of those cities were ultimately taken up to dwell in in the presence of Deity.[40] This motif recalls the Book of Moses statement that the inhabitants of Zion were "received . . . up into [God's] own bosom" (Moses 7:69).

Further discussion of this and other ancient affinities between *BG* and Moses 6–7 will be discussed later, in sections 3–6 of this chapter.

Before entering into further discussion of resemblances of *BG* to Moses 6–7, additional discussion on the background on *BG* will be provided below.
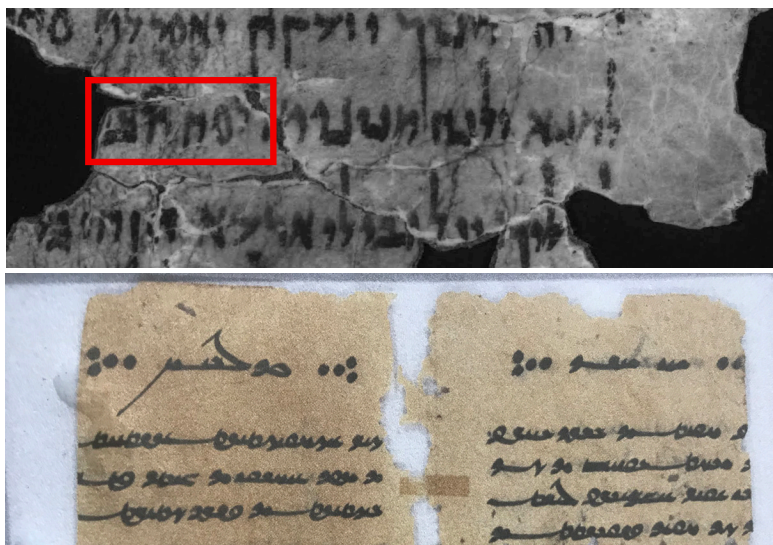

Figure 4. a. *Photograph of a fragment of a Qumran* BG *manuscript in Aramaic showing detail of 4Q530 (4QGiants*[b] *ar), fragment 7b, column ii.*[41] *As an example of the difficulty in transcribing the fragments, the end of line 7 is outlined, showing where Milik and Black's original transliteration* LMḤWY *resulted in their failure to recognize the name Mahaway in their English translation of the phrase.*[42] *By way of contrast, Émile Puech's newer transliteration,* LMHWY, *allowed Cook to translate the Aramaic characters as "to Mahaway";*[43] b. *Photograph of a Manichaean* BG *text fragment in Sogdian, showing detail of So20220/II/R/ and So20220/I/V/ [K20].*[44] *Fragments of the Manichaean* BG *have survived in six different languages.*

2. Introduction to the *Book of Giants*

What is the *Book of Giants*?

The *Book of Giants* (*BG*) is a collection of fragments from an Enochic book discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) at Qumran in 1948, supplemented by "extant fragments of the Manichaean *Book of Giants* published by W. B. Henning[45] (and [later] by Werner Sundermann [and others][46]) and in a Jewish writing designated the *Midrash of Shemḥazai and 'Aza'el.*"[47] Significantly, it is not found as one of the books within the better-known Ethiopic compilation of *1 Enoch*[48] and, as a whole,

resembles little else in the Enoch tradition. Before the discovery of the more extensive set of fragments of *BG* at Qumran, scholars had been made aware of its existence through related material in Talmudic and medieval Jewish literature, in descriptions of the Manichaean canon,[49] in citations by hostile heresiologists, and in a small but significant collection of third- and fourth-century Manichaean fragments. For a variety of reasons, *BG* has proven to be of tremendous importance to Enoch scholarship.

Should *BG* be considered part of a "rewritten Bible"?

In brief, the answer is no. The consensus of modern Enoch scholars is that it is overly simplistic to conclude that texts such as *BG* were merely sectarian rewrites of Bible stories.

For one thing, it should be remembered that, as André Lemaire observes, "accepted texts" such as the books of the Bible as we think of them today simply did not exist at the time the Dead Sea Scrolls were copied.[50] For this and other reasons, current biblical scholarship is increasingly giving way to methods that require, as John Reeves and Annette Yoshiko Reed describe, "a shift away from the older scholarly obsession with 'origins' whereby the study of scriptures often focused on the recovery of hypothetical sources behind them."[51] Instead, those who copied the Dead Sea Scrolls drew on "a rich reservoir or revered tales, ancestral folklore, and tribal traditions about the pre-Deluge era" that was much more extensive and ancient than the later edited, abridged, and harmonized books available in the Bible and collections of pseudepigrapha that have survived to the present day.[52] An adequate study of relationships among these texts should be focused more on "interdiscursivity"[53] rather than mere "intertextuality" (in the more simplistic sense that the latter term is sometimes used today).

Trying to make sense of the connections between the Aramaic *BG*, the Manichaean *BG*, and certain passages in medieval Jewish midrash, John C. Reeves argues that it is[54]

> plausible to assume that these stories are . . . textual expressions of an early exegetical tradition circulating in learned groups during the Second Temple era. One version appeared in Aramaic at Qumran and was presumably the version later studied and adapted by Mani. Another version of the same tradition recurs in Hebrew in the Middle Ages. Still other versions (if not one of the two aforementioned

ones) apparently influenced Islamic exegetes of the Qur'anic passage regarding the sins of Harut and Marut.[55]

Can *BG* be explained as a kind of "rewritten *1 Enoch*"?

The skepticism of scholars such as Reeves, Reed, and Lemaire about characterizing works such as *BG* as part of a "rewritten Bible" further extends to doubts about the idea of *BG* being a "rewritten *1 Enoch*," in addition to the considerations raised above, it should be remembered that *BG* was "very popular at Qumran," seemingly more popular than *1 Enoch* itself.[56] Besides being the most popular Enoch book at Qumran, *BG* is arguably also the *oldest* extant Enoch manuscript found anywhere.[57] Thus, according to Enoch scholar George Nickelsburg, *BG* helps us to "reconstruct the literary shapes of the early stages of the Enochic tradition."[58] For these and additional reasons, *BG* is a document that should "be taken seriously in its own right,"[59] rather than seen merely as an intriguingly anomalous yet on-the-whole insignificant afterclap of *1 Enoch*.

In summary, caution should also be exercised in assuming any direct dependence at all of *BG* on *1 Enoch*. Indeed, André Lemaire concludes that it is a bad idea to begin with to try and assimilate *BG* to *1 Enoch* because "these two literary traditions are different and have had a different literary posterity."[60] The fact that *BG* (discovered in 1948 and the source of many of the most significant resemblances to Moses 6–7) owes relatively little to the Bible and *1 Enoch* (the sources most often cited by those who think Joseph Smith was inspired by sources and ideas available to him in the nineteenth century) also lends support to the argument that the Enoch account in the Book of Moses is not simply a rewritten or expanded version of the Bible or *1 Enoch*.

BG's reliance on independent Mesopotamian traditions

Having concluded that *BG* is not primarily dependent on the Bible and *1 Enoch*, some scholars have argued that Daniel, *1 Enoch*, and *BG* independently draw on some "common tradition(s)" that are older than any of the three texts.[61] In at least some cases, *BG* seems to have preserved such traditions "in an earlier form"[62] than the other two. Intriguingly, Joseph Angel has concluded from his review of the evidence that *BG* "preserves only the remains of a complex allegory, whose original referents cannot be recovered."[63]

Both the antiquity and unique nature of certain elements of *BG* traditions can be better understood by looking "for the original of *BG* in

an eastern diaspora"[64] — that is, ancient Mesopotamia. This conclusion is reinforced by more general observations of Dead Sea Scrolls scholars such as Ida Frölich that, "like the majority of Aramaic texts found in Qumran, the Enochic collection indicates a conspicuous Mesopotamian influence."[65] Seth L. Sanders has written at length about how physical transmission of ideas from scribal cultures from Babylon to Judea took place historically, with the common use of Aramaic as the key modality of exchange.[66]

More specifically, the Mesopotamian names in *BG*, not found elsewhere in the pre-Christian Enoch traditions, include Gilgamesh, the hero of the ancient epic by that name. The *Gilgamesh* epic is reputed by some to be the second oldest religious text currently known, rooted in Sumerian precursors that are dated to about 2100 BCE.[67] Going beyond previous analyses, Matthew Goff has provided a reconstruction of the plot of *BG*, arguing that the text "creatively appropriates" not only names but also narrative "motifs" from the Gilgamesh epic.[68] That the scribes were very capable of such appropriation is consistent with arguments that they belonged to a sophisticated class of individuals. For example, Daniel A. Machiela has concluded that the Aramaic texts at Qumran "represent the literary achievement of a highly learned, well-trained Jewish scribal group (loosely conceived), which wrote in an adept, literary Aramaic marked by a few notable dialectical features."[69] Of interest is the fact that in these Aramaic texts the God of Israel "is always called by more generic titles like God, Most High, or Lord of Eternity, and is never referred to by the Tetragrammaton."[70] "As opposed to the sectarian Hebrew texts at Qumran, the Aramaic cluster was intended for a wide Israelite audience, in diverse geographic locations."[71]

In short, the seeming origins for some of the Enoch traditions in *BG* in ancient Mesopotamia, the antiquity and popularity of *BG* at Qumran, and its divergences from *1 Enoch* — the only substantive ancient Enoch text published in English by 1830 — make it a comparative text of singular importance for those interested in the possibility of ancient threads in the Enoch chapters of the Book of Moses.

Now, some additional context about *BG* that will be helpful in appreciating the detailed comparative analysis that will follow.

3. Some Things to Know about *BG*

There are no "giants" in the *Book of Giants*

A first thing to know is that there are no "giants" in the *Book of Giants*. The word translated as "giants" is *gibborim*, better translated as "mighty heroes" or "warriors."[72] As Frölich makes clear, "there is no sign that these beings had a mixed—human and animal—nature. The name *gibborim* [often mistakenly translated as "giants" in modern translations] refers to their state (armed, mighty men), not their stature which is described as gigantic in a single passage [in the ancient Enoch literature].[73] The term . . . does not involve the idea of a superhuman or gigantic stature. It was the Greek translation that introduced a term (*gigantes*)[74] involving the notion of superhuman stature."[75]

This is important to understand because *BG*, like the Book of Moses, is mainly concerned with Enoch's dealings with wicked *people*, the all-too-human *gibborim*. Both *BG* and the Book of Moses differ in this respect from *1 Enoch*'s *Book of the Watchers*, which relates Enoch's dealings with wicked *superhumans*, fallen angels with a fantastical physical form.

At some point, the terms *gibborim* and *nephilim* (the latter term originally used to refer to what seems to have been a remnant of a race of "giants") were also equated in some contexts, leading to further confusion.[76] Consistent with this distinction between two different groups, the Book of Moses Enoch account specifically differentiates "giants" (*nephilim*?) from Enoch's principal adversaries (*gibborim*?).[77] However, unlike *BG* (which sees the *gibborim* as the offspring of fallen angels called the Watchers[78]), the Book of Moses (like the writings of some prominent early Christian exegetes[79]) depicts Enoch's adversaries as mere mortals. And rather than interpreting the "sons of God" mentioned in Genesis 6:4 as inhabitants of the divine realm, as is commonly done in the pseudepigraphic literature, the Book of Moses portrays them as the covenant posterity of Adam who have had that title bestowed on them by virtue of having received the fulness of the priesthood.[80]

Figure 5. Fragmentary lion-hunting scene from Uruk, ca. 3200 BCE, on display at the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, Iraq. The scene shows "a bearded figure wearing a diadem that appears twice; one at the top killing a lion with a spear and once below killing lions with bow and arrow."[81]

Stories of *gibborim* were critiques of Mesopotamian culture

A second thing to know is that *BG* contains a critique of Mesopotamian civilization, a parody of the near neighbors of the Israelites in the east. While Mesopotamian legends relate stories that tell of the mighty deeds of their great sages and cultural heroes, *BG* describes the *gibborim* as arrogant warriors obsessed with their hunting prowess and with human bloodshed.[82] According to Ronald Hendel, the primeval history in Genesis propounds a negative view of "the human propensity toward evil and violence," specifically conveying "a cultural critique of Mesopotamia, whose kings were the dominant powers over Israel and Judah at the time of the crystallization of the traditions and texts in Genesis 1–11":

> According to the Hebrew Bible, history comes out of Mesopotamia, but it was a dubious and shameful history. . . . The ancient past in these stories offers implicit commentary on Mesopotamian civilization and empire in the present, colored by transgression, hubris, and a desire to rebel.[83]

If we examine what seem to be Jewish caricatures and parodies as critiques of Mesopotamian culture in *BG* within a broader context than

those specifically provided by the *Gilgamesh* epic, possibilities for a bigger picture begin to come into better focus.[84] For example, previous in-depth studies of recurring appearances and echoes of various peoples that were called *gibborim* in the biblical era allow us to understand the general social and geographic settings of Enoch's prediluvial mission in *BG* and the Book of Moses in more specificity.[85] For the present, abbreviated discussion and analysis of the Hebrew word *gibbor* itself provides a starting point to prime our intuitions. "Etymologically, with its doubled middle consonant," writes Gregory Mobley, "*gibbor* is an intensive form of *geber*, 'man.' In this regard, as masculinity squared, *gibbor* roughly compares to the English compound 'he-man.'"[86] And in what manly qualities was a *gibbor* expected to excel? Brian R. Doak summarizes a relevant aspect of his sociolinguistic analysis of the culture of the *gibborim* in biblical times as follows:

> As human-like embodiments of that which is wild and untamed, the biblical [*gibbor*] takes on the role of "wild man," "freak," and "elite adversary" for heroic displays of fighting prowess.[87]

The biblical reference to Nimrod as the first *gibbor*[88] immediately brings to mind the earlier evocation of the "*gibborim* of old" in Genesis 6:4, and it is noteworthy that the Bible provides here a prototype of all *gibborim* in the figure of Nimrod. Though the text does not make it obvious that Nimrod is a "giant," some lines of interpretation suggest that Nimrod was thought to be something greater than an ordinary human.[89] In his biblical role, Nimrod is presented to us as a proud archetype of Mesopotamian civilization that is later described and satirized in capsule fashion within the Genesis 11 story of the Tower of Babel.[90] From a geographic perspective, it does not seem to be a coincidence that the "land of righteousness" (Moses 6:41) of Adam, Seth, and Enoch is meant to be situated in the west, while both the land of Nimrod (which roughly equates to the land of Shinar, where the Tower of Babel was built) and the land of the wicked *gibborim* are said to be located eastward.[91] This picture is consistent with the symbolic geography of *BG* and Moses 6–7 that is discussed later in the chapter.

The echoes of Nimrod's hubris in Jewish traditions about the *gibborim* extend to the *gibborim*'s similar refusal to accept God as their master. Nimrod, like the opponents of Enoch and Noah, is presented as the spiritual progenitor of those who sought to make a name for themselves[92] by building the Tower of Babel. In the *gibborim* culture

portrayed in Genesis, as in the culture of "heroes" throughout much of secular history,

> flesh is elevated above spirit, and the "name" of humanity is elevated above the "name" of God. In contrast to these heroes [stand Noah and Enoch], who [are] unique because [they have] found favor in the eyes of God.[93] [They do] not achieve a "name" through strength and power, but through [their] relationship with God.[94]

While these broad, tentative conclusions about the possible shared Mesopotamian background, geography, and attitudes about the *gibborim* culture of *BG*, Genesis 6 and 11, and Moses 6–7 are necessarily conjectural, we will soon see that they are not inconsistent with the descriptions of the cast of selected characters in *BG* and the Book of Moses that we will now describe in more detail below.

4. Comparison of Selected Names and Characters in *BG* and the Book of Moses

One of the unique features of *BG* is that, "in contrast to other known contemporary Jewish apocalyptic literature, [it] actually provides names for some of the [*gibborim*]."[95] Table 1 presents some of the most prominent members of the cast of characters in *BG*, grouped into rough categories that highlight their co-occurrences in other ancient pre-Christian texts/ traditions and in the Book of Moses. Grouping the names in this fashion helps us gain insight into the rationale for why they may have been included in *BG*. In brief, I will argue that the redactor(s) of *BG* employed a strategy resembling the Victorian bridal custom of "something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue"[96] as they selected or invented named characters to enrich the version of the story they inherited. The result is a broad panoply of names—some more and some less historically plausible—that served to advance their literary aims. By process of elimination, a closer examination of these names will throw light on the question of which of them provide the most promising evidence of historically plausible elements within *BG* and Moses 6–7. I discuss these names and characters by category below. A more extensive discussion of a few of the prominent names in *BG* and the Book of Moses has been published elsewhere.[97]

Table 1. Prominent names in Book of Giants and co-occurrences in other texts

Name	1 Enoch	Mesopotamian	Genesis	Moses 6–7
ʾOhyah				
Hahyah				
Shemiḥazah	X			
Baraqʾel	X			
Gilgamesh		X		
Ḥobabish		Ḥumbaba[98]		
Enoch	X	Enmeduranki?	X	X
Mahaway		*maḫḫû?*	Mehujael?	Mahijah/ Mahujah?

ʾOhyah and Hahyah

Meaning of the names. Enoch scholars have suggested that ʾOhyah (ʾWHYH) and Hahyah (HHYH) were intended as plays on the Hebrew verb "to be" (HYH) or, perhaps, on the Tetragrammaton, the Hebrew name of the Lord (YHWH).[99] The specific proposal that the names ʾOhyah and Hahyah were inserted in *BG* as wordplay is consistent with a long history of analogous patterns across many different cultures and traditions.[100] In these traditions, the two names relevant to the ones used in *BG* have always been presented as a pair[101]—indeed, very often as a pair of *twins* with rhyming names. When described as a single unit, as they so often are, they are variously labeled as "demonic twins," "angels twain," "two youths," and so forth.[102]

   Roles of the characters in BG. In *BG*, we are given a more complete portrait of ʾOhyah and Hahyah than for most of the other named characters in the text. Besides the probable origin of their names, their similar roles are distinctive within the account. For example, ʾOhyah and Hahyah are depicted as deceitful,[103] ineffectual quarrelers,[104] dreamers,[105] and worriers[106]—*doppelgängers* afflicted with nagging *doppelträumes*. Despite being a member of the group that commissioned Mahaway to inquire of Enoch, ʾOhyah rejects the answer Mahaway brings back out of hand.[107] In their appointed role, ʾOhyah and Hahyah seem almost to be sketched with the pen of a skilled caricaturist who has introduced a measure of comic relief that both pervades the larger narrative and persists in the very details of their Tweedledum- and Tweedledee-like

names. Like Hergé's Dupond and Dupont, part of the silliness of the two brothers is in the paradoxical fact that their "most singular quality is what is common to them,"[108] a feature that is most obvious in the tellings of their two complementary dreams.

Figure 6. Painting of the Uygur Manichaean-Buddhist mural of the three-trunked "Jewel Tree" from Bezeklik Thousand Buddha Caves, Cave no. 25 (no. 38 in the modern Chinese numbering system), Flaming Mountains, China, ninth–tenth century.[109] For many years, scholars mistakenly interpreted the tree as portraying an element of the dream of the gibborim *in the* Book of Giants*, where the flourishing tree with three trunks was seen as representing the idea that only Noah and his three sons would escape the Flood.[110]*

Co-occurrences in other texts. In contrast to other *BG* characters, no mention is made of ʾOhyah and Hahyah in other ancient literature of the pre-Christian era, suggesting the likelihood that they are ad hoc inventions of the *BG* author(s). Moreover, while story characters equivalent to ʾOhyah and Hahyah appear in derivative medieval Jewish[111] and Islamic[112] accounts of the two dreamers, characters with names relating to Mahaway, Gilgamesh, or Ḥumbaba go conspicuously *un*mentioned in these late accounts. This fact highlights the virtual inseparability of ʾOhyah and Hahyah, as well as their literary independence from Mahaway, Gilgamesh, and Ḥumbaba.

Summary conjecture. These two late-appearing names do not appear to stem from ancient Enoch traditions, but rather seem to have been invented and inserted in the story for literary purposes.

Shemiḥazah and Baraq'el

Meaning of the names. Michael Langlois suggests that Shemiḥazah's name was associated with a name of God (perhaps adding support for Stuckenbruck's proposal of a theophoric -*yāh* termination in the names of Shemiḥazah's sons ʾOhyah and Hahyah[113]). Langlois interprets the name as "Shem sees" (i.e., "the Name sees),"[114] in which "the Name" refers to God. According to George Nickelsburg, the name "may be an ironic anticipation of the motif of God's seeing the sins committed on earth. . . . In the very name that the angelic chieftain bears is the recognition that his sin will be found out."[115] Thus Shemiḥazah's name, like that of his two sons, appears to be an object of wordplay.[116]

Baraq'el means "lightning of God,"[117] referring to his role in *1 Enoch* in teaching the mysteries of the signs of lightning flashes.[118]

Roles of the characters in BG. Both characters play minor roles in extant fragments of *BG*, and very little is said about them. Shemiḥazah is portrayed as a leader of Enoch's adversaries: Enoch's missive to the *gibborim* is addressed specifically to "Shemiḥazah and all [his] co[mpanions]."[119] As mentioned above, he is the father of ʾOhyah and Hahyah.[120] Baraq'el, on the other hand, is described as the father of Mahaway.[121]

Co-occurrences in other texts. In contrast to the small role given them in *BG*, these two characters are well represented in *1 Enoch*.

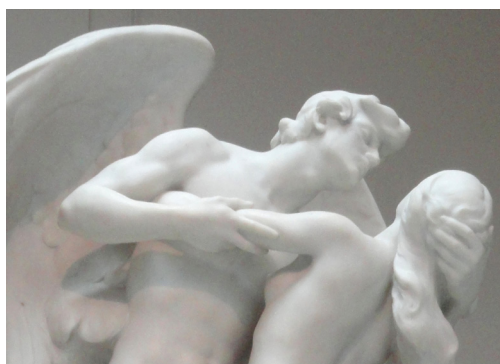*Figure 7. Daniel Chester (1850–1931): The Sons of God Saw the Daughters of Men That They Were Fair, ca. 1923.*[122]

There Baraq'el is said to be one of the twenty fallen Watchers, who are there listed by name.[123] Specifically, Baraq'el is said to be the ninth chief,[124] serving under the leader of the fallen Watchers, Shemiḥazah. Shemiḥazah and Baraq'el are said to have descended on Mount Hermon,

where they "swore together and bound one another with a curse"[125] after they determined that they would "choose . . . wives from the daughters of men."[126] Elsewhere in *1 Enoch*, we learn the secrets that each of the heads of the Watchers revealed to humankind,[127] and we read of their responsibilities in the governing of the seven heavens.[128]

Summary conjecture. In contrast to the singular appearance of ʾOhyah and Hahyah, Shemiḥazah and Baraqʾel are prominent in other early Enoch literature. Though these and other fallen Watchers play a relatively minor role in *BG*, their presence seems to give a tip of the hat to older, common Enoch traditions that seem to lie behind both *BG* and *1 Enoch*. They seem best conceived as representative literary types rather than unique historical characters.

Gilgamesh and Ḥobabish

Meaning of the names. Gilgamesh was the name of a legendary king of Uruk in the land of Sumer. He "appears in the list of Sumerian kings" and would have "flourished about 2750 BC."[129] The *Epic of Gilgamesh* has been aptly characterized as "fictional royal biography."[130] In the epic, Gilgamesh is described a gigantic figure who is two-thirds divine and one-third human.[131]

Figure 8. a. *Indus Valley civilization "Gilgamesh" seal showing a "Master of Animals" motif — a figure between two tigers (2500–1500 BCE);*[132] b. *Head of Ḥumbaba, second millennium BCE.*[133]

Scholars have concluded that the name Ḥobabish is not of Hebrew origin. Rather, its first two syllables (Ḥobab) are related to the name of a second character from the *Gilgamesh* epic, Ḥumbaba. In the epic, Ḥumbaba is a gigantic monster with the face of a lion, a foe of humankind who guards the Cedar Forest. Wordplay on the name of Ḥobabish in *BG*

suggests that he roared or howled with a "sound that is fitting for an animal."[134]

Roles of the characters in BG. Scholarly consensus about a difficult passage in *BG* suggests that it is Gilgamesh who complains about his ignominious defeat at the hands of "all flesh,"[135] which suggests (for readers of the Book of Moses, at least) the victory of Enoch and his people against their adversaries.[136] Gilgamesh also responds to ʾOhyah's mention of the latter's frightening dream.[137] Later ʾOhyah mentions Gilgamesh when he recounts to others what the latter had said.[138]

Only one or possibly two fragments of *BG* refer to Ḥobabish. In the first, the context suggests a negative reaction from Ḥobabish when he hears what ʾOhyah said about his conversation with Gilgamesh.[139] If the second mention of Ḥobabish is properly restored from the fragment in which it seems to appear, it seems he was also involved in a plan to murder some of his fellows.[140]

Co-occurrences in other texts. As mentioned above, both figures are prominent in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. Significantly, *BG* is the only early Enoch text to refer to them. Although both names have Mesopotamian roots and narrative motifs from the famous story are apparent in *BG*,[141] "it is less evident whether on this basis one can maintain that the *Book of Giants* is familiar with the *Gilgamesh Epic* itself."[142]

Summary conjecture. Stuckenbruck, following Reeves, suggests that "the author(s) of the *Book of Giants* have . . . integrated the names of such 'pagan actors' from the *Epic* [*of Gilgamesh*] into the storyline in order to communicate 'a bold polemical thrust against the revered traditions of a rival culture.'"[143] Matthew Goff differs from Stuckenbruck and Reeves, arguing that "the core goal of the composition is to portray the ante-diluvian giants as evil and recount their exploits and punishment, not to polemicize against the *Gilgamesh* epic, or [anyone or anything else]. The text creatively appropriates motifs from the epic and makes Gilgamesh a character in his own right."[144] In either case, the inclusion of the names Gilgamesh and Ḥobabish would seem to advance the redactor(s)' interests by reinforcing the reader's association of the tale with the perceived hubris of the Mesopotamian hero culture.

Enoch and Mahaway

Meaning of the names. Our discussion of Enoch (Enmeduranki?) and Mahaway (*maḫḫû*? Mehujael? Mahijah?) will necessarily be more extensive than that of the previous sets of names. For an in-depth discussion of the *BG* name Mahaway and possible relationships to

Mehujael in Genesis 6:4 and Mahijah/Mahujah in the Book of Moses, the reader is referred to a previously published article by the author, Matthew L. Bowen, and Ryan Dahle.[145] If, as argued eloquently by David Calabro, the names Mahijah and Mahujah were translated from a Greek source text for the Book of Moses written by early Christians, they "could have been rendered from their original Semitic forms, . . . just as the translators of the King James Bible used the forms "Abraham" and "Bethlehem" in the New Testament instead of the Greek forms "Abraam" and "Bethleem.""[146]

Elsewhere Bowen has written about the meaning of the name Enoch:

> Significantly, Enoch (Henoch or Hanoch, Heb. *ḥănôk*) sounds identical to the Hebrew passive participle of the verbal root *ḥnk*, "train up" [or] "dedicate."[147] Thus, for a Hebrew speaker, the name *ḥănôk*/Enoch would evoke "trained up" or "initiated"— bringing to mind not only the general role of a teacher, but also the idea of someone who was familiar with the temple and could train and initiate others as a hierophant. Before it became the name of the post-Mosaic Feast of Dedication, the Hebrew noun *ḥănukkâ* had reference to the "consecration" or "dedication" of the temple altar (Numbers 7:10–11, 84, 88), including the sacred dedication of the altar for Solomon's temple.[148] Strengthening the connection of Enoch's name to the temple, we note that in Egyptian, the *ḥnk* verbal root denotes to "present s[ome]one" with something, to "offer s[ome] thing" or, without a direct object, to "make an offering."[149] The Egyptian nouns *ḥnk* and *ḥnkt* denote "offerings."[150] In other words, it is a cultic term with reference to cultic offerings.[151]

It should also be mentioned that an Enoch-like figure is described in a tablet found at Nineveh, which can be dated before 1100 BCE.[152] It tells of how Enmeduranki of Sippar, the seventh king of Sumer (before ca. 2900 BCE) was received by the gods Šamaš and Adad. According to Andrei Orlov, Enoch

> is depicted in several roles that reveal striking similarities to Enmeduranki. Just like his Mesopotamian counterpart, the patriarch is skilled in the art of divination, being able to receive and interpret mantic dreams. He is depicted as an elevated figure who is initiated into the heavenly secrets by celestial beings, including the angels and God himself.[153] He then brings this celestial knowledge back to earth and, similar

to the king Enmeduranki, shares it with the people and with his son.[154]

Figure 9. Enoch ascends to heaven. British Library,
MS Cotton Claudius B fol. 11v.[155]

The conjecture of a linkage between Enoch and traditions about Enmeduranki suggests the possibility of considerably more ancient roots for Enoch accounts than currently found in Jewish texts or hinted at in in the *Gilgamesh* epic.

In summary, whatever else one believes, it seems certain that Enoch was not invented out of whole cloth at Qumran.

With respect to the name Mahaway, I begin by observing that the vowels in the English transliteration of the *Book of Giants* name MHWY are largely a matter of conjecture at present, since no vowels appear in the Aramaic text. Compounding the difficulty for nonspecialists in recognizing similarities and differences in the spellings of ancient names is the fact that translators differ in their English transliteration. For example, the English letters *j*, *y*, and *i* are variously used to represent the Semitic letter *yod*. Thus, in English translations of the *Book of Giants*, we see several variants of the same name: Mahaway[156] (the most commonly used), Mahawai,[157] Mahway,[158] and Mahuy[159]—or Mahuj, with the *y* transliterated with a *j*, as is frequently done with other names containing a *yod* in the King James Bible.

In discussing Mahaway, we should also consider the seemingly related names Mahijah/Mahujah from the Book of Moses and Mehujael in Genesis 6:4. Regarding Mahijah and Mahujah, we have English versions of the names containing vowels, but it is impossible to tell from the English text alone whether the second consonant in the names would have been written anciently as the equivalent of an *H* (as in the *Book of Giants*) or an *Ḥ* (as in Genesis 4:18). In other words, if we assume an ancient equivalent of the English name Mahijah, it could have been written either as MHYY or MḤYY. Likewise, Mahujah could have been written as MHWY or MḤWY.
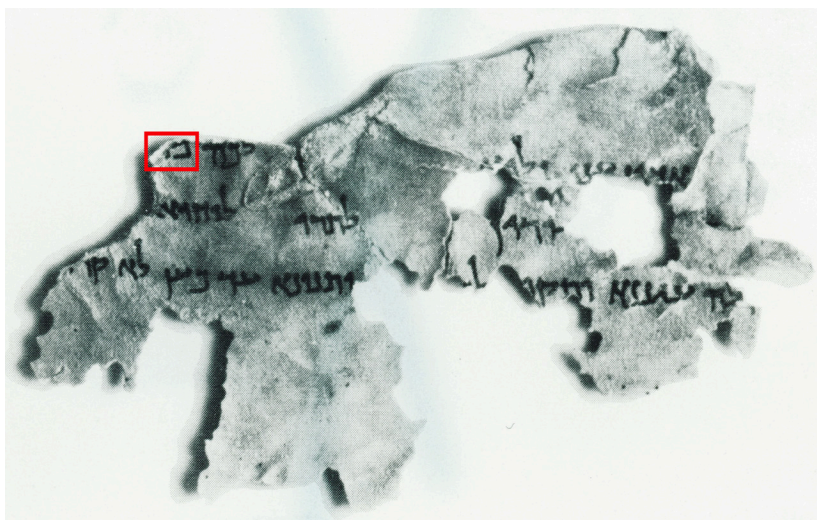

Figure 10. Fragment of the Qumran Book of Giants *(4Q203) that was understood by Milik and Black to contain the first part of the personal name Mahaway (outlined by a rectangle in the upper left of the photograph).*[160] *BYU professor Hugh Nibley was the first to argue that Mahaway (MHWY) is related to Mahijah (MHYY or MḤYY)*[161] *and Mahujah (MHWY or MḤWY)*[162] *in the Book of Moses.*[163]

With respect to the similar name Mehujael, twice mentioned in Genesis 4:18, the Hebrew text spells the archaic name differently in each instance. In other words, though the name is spelled the same way both times in English (Mehujael), in Hebrew it is spelled once as Mehujael (MḤWY-EL) and once as Mehijael (MḤYY-EL).[164] Notably, on one hand, the Book of Moses names resemble the two Hebrew versions of the name in Genesis 4:18 in that both a "u" and an "i" variant of the name exist. However, on the other hand, the Book of Moses names are both similar to the *Book of Giants* name in that they omit the "-EL" ending found in Genesis 4:18.

With regard to the *meaning* of Mahaway, Stuckenbruck has simply repeated the previous suggestion of Milik and Nickelsburg about ʾOhyah and Hahyah with a slight variation, concluding that, in the case of Mahaway (MHWY), "perhaps some derivation from the Aramaic verb 'to be' (HWY) in conjunction with a *mem* prefix is not impossible."[165] The laconic nature of his conclusion, including both a "perhaps" and a "not impossible," is noteworthy. Differing from his predecessors, Stuckenbruck cited the possibility of wordplay on the Tetragrammaton only in connection with ʾOhyah and Hahyah, not Mahujah.[166] The lack of evidence for wordplay leaves the reader bereft of a rationale for why the author of the *Book of Giants* would have invented the name Mahaway from scratch rather than adopting an already-known name from earlier traditions, as he did in the case of other characters such as Gilgamesh.

Why else might Stuckenbruck have been reluctant to commit himself to a derivation? Overwhelmingly, names in the ancient Near East and in ancient Israel follow rules of name formation. Though it is true that the name MHWY might putatively match a participial Aphel form of the Aramaic HWY (meaning "to create or cause to be"), there is a paucity of attested Aphel forms in the relevant literature. Thus, Stuckenbruck is even more diffident than Milik and Nickelsburg, suggesting that "the meaning of the name Mahaway . . . is impossible to decipher with any confidence," speculatively offering only that "perhaps . . . the name includes a derivation from the Aramaic verb 'to be' [HWY] in conjunction with a *mem* prefix."[167] Evidently, Stuckenbruck is not willing on the basis of available evidence to commit to a nominal or a (participial) verbal form.

As with the *BG* name Mahaway, the etymology of the biblical name Mehujael remains uncertain. As Richard Hess observes, "It is generally agreed that Mehujael is composed of two elements, the second of which is ʾl,' 'god;' [*sic*] but the first element is generally disputed."[168]

In attempting to shed further light on the meaning of Mehujael, it can be said with certainty that the name Mehujael is older, perhaps much older, than the biblical text of Genesis as we have it today. If one limits an investigation of Mehujael to possible West Semitic etymologies, "West Semitic *mḥʾ*, 'to smite,' and a participial form of *ḥyh*, 'to live'" are the most viable options for the disputed first element.[169] However, limiting our search to West Semitic etymologies is an unreasonable requirement, since the ultimate origin of Mehujael and Mahaway seems at least as likely to be East Semitic as West Semitic. For example, although Ronald

Hendel narrowly considers only Hebrew onomastics for the name Mehujael,[170] Nahum Sarna[171] and Richard Hess,[172] following Umberto Cassuto,[173] suggest that the name might be explained on the basis of the Akkadian *maḫḫû*, denoting "a certain class of priests and seers."[174]

Further strengthening Cassuto's argument for the derivation of the name is the agreement he finds in the word behind Mehujael (*maḫḫû*), the name of Mehujael's son Methusael (a name that is "analogous not only in form but also in meaning"[175]), and the name of Mehujael's grandson Lamech, which Cassuto sees as likely to have come from the Mesopotamian word *lumakku*, also signifying a certain class of priests.[176] Significantly, Hess reports that while the root *lmk* is unknown in West Semitic, it is found both in third millennium BCE personal names and in names from Mari in Old Babylon in the early second millennium BCE.[177]

That the name Mahijah is the only name preserved in Moses 6–7 besides Enoch the prophet is evidence of Mahijah's importance to the story. Similarly, Loren Stuckenbruck underlines the importance of Mahaway to both the Qumran and Manichaean versions of the *Book of Giants*. He observes a notable pattern of preservation in Chinese Manichaean fragments of the *Book of Giants*, which includes names of other individuals besides Mahawai that are, for one reason or another, significantly altered. Especially given the potential for "instances in which onomastic changes [i.e., changes in characters' names] may have been due to the change of the language media," Stuckenbruck is impressed with the "straightforward correspondence between the name(s) Mahawai in the Manichaean texts and Mahaway in the Aramaic [*Book of Giants*], in which the character, acting in a mediary role, encounters Enoch 'the scribe.'"[178]

In summary, Enoch and Mahaway seem to differ from the other names that have been considered previously not only because there is no known literary motivation for their appearance in *BG* but also because both names have a plausible ancient Mesopotamian prehistory.

Roles of the characters in BG. Regarding the figure of Enoch in *BG*, scholars have observed that in the Aramaic *BG*, as in *1 Enoch*, the prophet is portrayed exclusively as a remote figure "dwelling . . . with the angels"[179] at "the ends of the earth, on which the heaven rests, and the gates of heaven open."[180] He seems to communicate exclusively through Mahaway, the messenger of the *gibborim*. And, once Enoch's presence has been "veiled" after his heavenly ascent,[181] even Mahaway is not in a position to see him in his transfigured state; they communicate only by

voice.[182] Enoch, as befits one whose traditional role in heaven is scribal, writes missives of revelation and judgment that Mahaway brings back to the *gibborim*. But, asks Wilkens,[183] if it were true that Enoch could never communicate directly with the *gibborim*, what do we make of *BG* fragments that indicate he taught at least some of the *gibborim* directly?[184] This seeming inconsistency poses no problem for the Book of Moses, which includes an account of Enoch's preaching mission to the *gibborim* before his heavenly ascent, as I will discuss in more detail below. For the present, I will simply suggest that Enoch's role in both *BG* and the Book of Moses in reproving and preaching to the *gibborim* is undertaken at first from earth and then from heaven.

As to the role of Mahaway, note that his primary role seems to be that of a serious-minded, message-bringing mediator.[185] He seems to enjoy a unique relationship with Enoch, which seems to be one of the reasons why he is chosen by his peers as an envoy. More will be said about this below.

Co-occurrences in other texts. As seen in table 1, Enoch figures prominently not only in *1 Enoch*, Genesis, and the Book of Moses but also in Mesopotamian texts, if one takes Enmeduranki traditions as being relevant.

With respect to the *BG* name Mahaway, there is currently no compelling reason why the *Book of Giants* name Mahaway (MHWY) could not have been related at some point in its history to the King James Bible name elements Mehuja- and Mehija- (MḤWY- and MḤYY-) and to the Book of Moses names Mahujah (MHWY/MḤWY) and Mahijah (MHYY/MḤYY). The rationale for this conclusion is more fully explained elsewhere.[186]

Provisional conclusion. As a literary figure, Mahaway is unique among all the characters of *BG* discussed above. Unlike ꞌOhyah and Hahyah, there has been no strong argument to date for his name having been introduced into *BG* for the purpose of wordplay. In contrast to Shemiḥazah and Baraqꞌel, the appearance of Mahaway in the story could not have been motivated by a desire to link *BG* with currently known early Enoch traditions. Differing from Gilgamesh and Ḥobabish, the name is absent from the *Gilgamesh* epic and thus could not have been intended to provide Mesopotamian flavor to *BG* through well-pedigreed associations with that literature. All this helps us understand why the only two names mentioned both in the Book of Moses Enoch account (Enoch and Mahijah/Mahujah) and in *BG* (Enoch and Mahaway) stand out so distinctly from the other names.

Does the lack of a literary motive for the inclusion of Mahaway in *BG* make the alternative that the name was introduced, like Enoch, as part of a more ancient Enoch tradition more likely? When such a conjecture is added to the fact of Enoch's possible connection to Enmeduranki and plausible origins of Mahaway as a name with ancient East Semitic roots, it becomes easier to lend credence to the suggestion that, of all the names mentioned in *BG*, Enoch and Mahaway may be the two most likely to share some basis in historical — rather than merely literary — traditions about Enoch. Of course, the ultimate basis for the acceptance of scripture lies in faith and divinely provided testimony, and the argument for the historicity of the scriptural characters can never be proven beyond the shadow of a doubt by an appeal to textual or archaeological evidence. However, evidential support for the antiquity of relevant names for Enoch and Mahaway/Mahijah/Mahujah in a milieu that is compatible with the scriptural setting and is otherwise consistent with ancient narrative motifs that parallel the scripture account creates additional space for rational belief in the material existence of ancient individuals that once stood behind both names.

In short, of all the prominent names in *BG*, Enoch and Mahijah/ Mahaway, the only two names that appear in the Enoch story of the Book of Moses, also seem to be the most historically plausible.

Continuing with this line of argument, I will now show how storyline similarities and thematic resemblances to Moses 6–7 in *BG* draw on allusions to Mesopotamian culture and the distinctive name and role of Mahaway that I have already described to provide a somewhat faint but surprisingly coherent picture of shared narrative elements that seems to lie behind both Moses 6–7 and *BG*.

5. Comparing the Storyline of Moses 6–7 to *BG* and Other Enoch Texts

Table 2. Similarities and differences in major storyline elements among BG*, Moses 6–7, and other ancient Enoch literature*

Simplified Outline	Major Storyline Elements	Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*	Other Enoch Texts
Introductory Events				
	History of the Sons of God/Watchers and Their Progeny	X	X	X

Simplified Outline	Major Storyline Elements	Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*	Other Enoch Texts
	Call of Enoch	X		X
	Violence and Secret Oaths/Mysteries	X	X	X
	Dreams and Antics of 'Ohyah and Hahyah		X	
First Visit to Enoch				
	Mahijah/Mahaway Encounters Enoch	X	X	
	Enoch's Call to Repentance	X	X	
	Messianic Teachings of Enoch	X		X
	Dreams and Quarreling of 'Ohyah and Hahyah; Mahaway Sent to Enoch		X	
Second Visit to Enoch				
	Mahujah/Mahaway and Enoch in a Sacred Place	X	X	
	Enoch Clothed in Glory	X		X
Parting of the Ways				
	Wicked Defeated in Battle	X	X	
	Repentant Gathered	X	X	
Concluding Events				
	Enoch's Grand Vision	X		X
	Enoch's People Are Taken Up to Heaven	X	X	X

The table above summarizes the results of an investigation to understand which of the major storyline elements of the Book of Moses are included in *BG* and other ancient Enoch literature. Of course, elements absent in surviving Qumran and Manichaean fragments of *BG* may be present in nonextant fragments. For example, most scholars have concluded that *BG* originally contained an account of a first visit of Mahaway to Enoch, which would seem to correspond to the first visit of Mahijah to Enoch in the Book of Moses, even though a *BG* account of Mahaway's first visit does not occur explicitly in the text. More on that subject in a later section below.

In the table, three types of storyline elements are distinguished: (1) those that are part of what we are calling the "narrative core," shown in normal typeface; (2) those that contain material relating to sacred teachings, heavenly encounters, or rituals, the kinds of events that David Calabro has highlighted in his paper in this volume,[187] shown in **bold**; and (3) those that are unique to *BG*, appearing neither in Moses 6–7 nor anywhere else in the ancient Enoch literature, shown in *italics*.

Unexpected patterns in the table

The table exhibits some unexpected patterns:

- *At least one fragment of every narrative storyline element of the Book of Moses is also present within* BG *(normal typeface).* Notwithstanding significant differences in specifics, the basic storylines of both texts can be seen as sharing a similar focus and outcome. The *BG* account seems to begin with a brief reference to the Watchers that corresponds structurally to the genealogy of the righteous descendants of Adam who are called "sons of God" at the beginning of the Book of Moses Enoch account. But following this short introductory intrusion of the Watchers mythology into the *BG* story, there quickly follows—in sharp contrast to the *Book of the Watchers* in *1 Enoch*—what Stuckenbruck calls a "most significant . . . shift of the spotlight from the disobedient angels"[188] to the *gibborim*, who remain the focus in the remainder of the *BG* account.[189] And as to the most significant outcome of the texts, the common concern of both *BG* and the Book of Moses Enoch account is ultimately the fate of the *gibborim*—proud self-styled *human* heroes—who either, on one hand, choose to reject Enoch's message and are subsequently humbled by an ignominious defeat in battle or, on the other hand, choose to repent and eventually gather to a divinely prepared place from which they ultimately ascend to the divine presence.

- *The sacred storyline elements in the Book of Moses are left out of* BG*, even though they are always present in some form elsewhere in the ancient Enoch literature (shown in boldface).* The surviving fragments of *BG*, while preserving the same basic narrative core found in the Book of Moses, omit the most sacred and esoteric details of the account, including Enoch's call; messianic prophecies in the preaching of Enoch; Enoch's being clothed in glory; and the sweeping contents of his grand

apocalyptic vision. The fact that variations on all these themes are prominent elsewhere in the ancient Enoch literature makes their virtual absence in *BG* a surprise, though there are precedents for the preparation and selective distribution of two versions of some Jewish and early Christian texts—one version for initiates that contains hierophantic teachings and the other for novices that leaves out such information.[190] A brief discussion of each of these sacred story elements is given below and are discussed in greater length elsewhere.[191]

- *Enoch's call.* In reading the account of Enoch's call, its Johannine imagery in Moses 6:26–27 comes to mind. However, we are told by Samuel Zinner, that this seemingly New Testament imagery originally "arose in an Enochic matrix,"[192] in other words, within literary traditions concerning the prophet Enoch. No less surprising in its relevance to the ancient Enoch literature is the unexpected co-occurrence of references to Enoch as a "lad" when he receives his prophetic commission in Moses 6:31 when seen in light of the prominence of "lad" as a title for the prophet in *2 Enoch*, *3 Enoch*, and the Mandaean *Ginza*.[193] Additionally, the opening of Enoch's eyes so he could see things "not visible to the natural eye" (Moses 6:36) is mentioned in *1 Enoch*[194] and *2 Enoch*.[195] Perhaps most remarkably, the fulfillment of the promise made to Enoch at his call that he would be able to "turn [waters] out of their course" (Moses 6:30), although appearing nowhere else in scripture, is described in the *Ginza* Enoch account.[196]

- *Messianic titles and prophecies in the preaching of Enoch.* The striking equivalents of each of the titles mentioned in Moses 6:57—"Only Begotten," "Son of Man," "Jesus Christ," and "Righteous Judge"—are described in the pre-Christian *Book of Similitudes* in *1 Enoch*[197] and related Jewish traditions. Elsewhere in S. Kent Brown and I describe these and other relevant affinities in the Second Temple Tradition to Moses 6–7.[198] In this context, it may be noteworthy that some aspects of the knowledge about the last days and the "Righteous One" revealed to Enoch in the *Similitudes* are explicitly mentioned as being among the "hidden things" not to be shared publicly or, in some cases, not be to be committed to writing at all.[199] (Were any of the other sacred storyline elements "missing" in *BG* also similarly considered?)

- *Enoch's being clothed in glory.* The pseudepigraphic books of *2* and *3 Enoch* purport to describe the process by which Enoch was "clothed upon with glory" (Moses 7:3) in more detail. As a prelude to Enoch's introduction to the secrets of creation, both accounts describe a "two-step initiatory procedure" whereby "the patriarch was first initiated by angel(s) and after this by the Lord" Himself.[200] In *2 Enoch*, God commanded his angels to "extract Enoch from (his) earthly clothing. And anoint him with my delightful oil, and put him into the clothes of my glory."[201] *Third Enoch* tells us that after Enoch was changed, he resembled God so exactly that he was mistaken for Him.[202] As this process culminates, Enoch, both in ancient sources and modern scripture, receives "a right to [God's] throne."[203] As in other instances of sacred episodes, *BG* does not explicitly detail these events.

- *Enoch's grand apocalyptic vision.* Compare Enoch's grand vision in Moses 7 with the tour of heaven and vision of the future that are among the principal themes of *1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, and *3 Enoch*.[204] In contrast to *BG*, which seems to conflate Enoch's temporary heavenly ascent during the visit of Mahaway with the event of his definitive translation to heaven, accounts in other Enoch texts make it clear that these were two separate events. In other words, while *BG* seems to end Enoch's direct earthly ministry at the time of his initial ascent, other Enoch texts, consistent with the Book of Moses, have him continuing his earthly ministry afterward until the moment that he and his people rise together to the divine presence.

- *The BG-unique themes notably include the dreams, antics, and quarreling of 'Ohyah and Hahyah (shown in italics).* Earlier I argued that, of all the prominent names in *BG*, these two names are the ones that most look like they were invented out of whole cloth in *BG*.

Describing these patterns differently, one could summarize by saying that if you look at the vertical column for *BG* across all the storyline elements, you will notice that every entry is either in regular typeface or italics—none are in bold. In other words, *BG* contains something relating to *every* narrative core story element found in the Book of Moses while containing *none* of its sacred storyline elements, even though hints of each of the "missing" sacred elements are found in one form or anther *elsewhere* in the ancient Enoch literature. Indeed,

the resemblances between Moses 6–7 and *BG* in the narrative core story elements are so striking that one is tempted to speculate that *BG* and the Book of Moses were rooted in some of the same ancient Enoch traditions but that somewhere along the line, the sacred stories now found only in the Book of Moses were either removed from the tradition inherited by the *BG* redactor(s) or, alternatively, were left out when *BG* was composed.

Other items of note

The synoptic outline makes obvious the primary bipartite division of the story of Enoch in the Book of Moses into an earth-focused mission followed by a heaven-focused commission. More specifically, while Moses 6 is primarily concerned with Enoch's initial divine call to preach repentance and salvation to the wicked on *earth*, the major preoccupation of Moses 7 is Enoch's subsequent *heavenly* commission as a new member of the divine council[205] and the preparation of his people to meet God face-to-face (see Moses 7:69). Analogous doubling of other themes in *BG* has been highlighted previously by Stuckenbruck.[206]

Finally, it should be observed that the overall tone of the *BG* account differs from that of Moses 6–7. Moses 6–7, though at times exploiting elements of humor and irony in its account, is generally sober in tone, is firmly rooted in the material world of humankind, and is illuminated by the apocalyptic visions of the prophet Enoch. *BG*, on the other hand, seems to be much more of a polemical parody on Mesopotamian *gibborim* culture, is occasionally tainted with the mythical elements of the Watchers, and, while missing the detail of the sacred accounts of Enoch's call, teachings, and visions, adds the harrowing dreams of the inept, anxiety-ridden, and ultimately tragicomical characters 'Ohyah and Hahyah.

6. Detailed Analysis of Thematic Resemblances of *BG* to Moses 6–7

Elsewhere in the present volume, an extended discussion of approaches to address the potential pitfalls in comparative analysis has been provided.[207] The detailed analysis in the present chapter draws inspiration from Enoch scholar Loren Stuckenbruck's study of possible influences of *1 Enoch* on the New Testament book of Revelation.[208] In that study, he concluded from a discussion of a set of resemblances in both works "that the writer of [the later text] was either directly acquainted (through literary or oral transmission) with several of the major sections of [the earlier text] or at least had access to traditions that were influenced by these writings."[209]

Significantly, he argued for the likelihood of his conclusion, even when realizing that "at no point [could] it be demonstrated that the [later text] quotes from any passage in [the earlier text]."[210]

The primary question that motivated Stuckenbruck's study is reasonably similar to our own, except that in our case we know that Joseph Smith could *not* have been acquainted with *BG* (since it was lost to modern scholarship until 1948), so any persuasive evidence of a literary association between the two texts would have to be interpreted as a demonstration that *BG* and the Book of Moses were *independently* influenced by similar ancient Enoch traditions that informed and antedated both of them.

In Stuckenbruck's comparison and analysis, he provided a table for each potential resemblance. In each table there were three columns: one column describing the topic of interest common to the resemblance and the other two columns containing the seeming parallels as found in each of the two texts. Since the parallel texts were in different languages, their rendering was given in English. The table for each resemblance was followed by a brief discussion describing and analyzing the similarities and differences in the selected texts.[211]

In this section, I will do something similar for eighteen thematic resemblances of *BG* to Moses 6–7. By the term "thematic resemblances," I mean instances in which reasonably similar topics of discussion occur in both texts, even when some elements and perspectives differ. The criterion of thematic similarity rather than identical vocabulary is appropriate because, like Stuckenbruck, I will be comparing two English translations. All but two of the seventeen thematic resemblances are supported by multiple sources within *BG* textual and visual depictions.

In the results section of the study that follows the presentation and analysis of each resemblance, we will not only consider the number of resemblances, their density, the degree of correlation in their order of appearance within the presumed *BG* storyline sequence (according to the current storyline sequencing conjectures of Stuckenbruck), and the range of their extent through nearly the entire storyline, but also, like Stuckenbruck, their specificity as another proxy measure of the strength of association between *BG* and the Latter-day Saint Enoch account. Thematic resemblances to Moses 6–7 that are exclusive to *BG* and the Book of Moses will be deemed stronger than ones that appear in other ancient Enoch literature, and resemblances for themes that are rare or absent outside the ancient Enoch literature will be seen as stronger than ones that also occur elsewhere within Second Temple texts and the Bible.

Description of the table of thematic resemblances

Eigtheen thematic resemblances are summarized in the table below. The resemblances have been sequenced with reference to the chapter-and-verse order in the Book of Moses in which they appear.[212] Specific citations of passages in Moses 6–7 and *BG* follow in the second and third columns.

Understanding the fourth and last column in the table requires additional explanation. By way of background, remember that a full grasp of the *BG* narrative is made difficult by the fact that the extant manuscripts are short and fragmentary. As a service to *BG* scholars, Stuckenbruck investigated the question of sequencing for the Qumran *BG* fragments in 1997.[213] In 2016, he updated his findings.[214] In the 2016 version of Stuckenbruck's helpful, though necessarily tentative and speculative outline of the *BG* account, he assigned letters of the alphabet A–V to indicate his current conjectures about the relative sequencing of extant *BG* fragments. For *BG* themes with resemblances to passages in Moses 6–7, I have added letters in the fourth column of the table corresponding to his sequencing attempt. Because some events in *BG* have no correspondence with the Book of Moses, some of the letters are missing. And, likewise, because Stuckenbruck did not attempt to classify every theme and fragment from Qumran and Manichaean sources for *BG* within his sequencing scheme, not every entry in the last column has a corresponding letter associated with it.

The arrangement of the table below allows us to compare the relative sequencing of *BG* themes, according to Stuckenbruck's tentative investigations, to the fully known sequencing of themes in the corresponding Book of Moses account. I will compare Moses 6–7 to Stuckenbruck's themes and sequencing proposal in greater detail below.

Additional context for evaluating the thematic resemblances

Before discussing the table below in more detail, some additional for the comparisons should be taken into consideration:

- *Fragmentary nature of* BG. As previously mentioned, the extant text of *BG* is literally in tatters. We have no idea what significant elements of the story may have been omitted due to damage or loss of ancient manuscript witnesses.
- *Double phenomena.* According to Stuckenbruck, several indications in the text "allow us to infer that *BG* was structured around a series of double phenomena (dream visions, tablets,

journeys) linked to the [*gibborim*], among whom are brothers 'Ohyah and Hahyah, and Mahaway, who travels to Enoch the second time in order to secure an interpretation for these dreams."[215] This interesting feature of the narrative sometimes makes it difficult to be certain, when doubled events are mentioned, whether the manuscripts are referring to the first or second instance of similar happenings. For example, Jens Wilkens argues that some of the *BG* material that Stuckenbruck assigned to the *second* journey of Mahaway better fits with his *first* journey.[216] However, we will see later how the added witness of the Book of Moses may contribute to the resolution of this ambiguity.

Table 3. *Thematic resemblances of BG to Moses 6–7*

Thematic Resemblances	Book of Moses	Book of Giants		Narrative Outline
A. The Begetting of the Sons of God/ Watchers, the Giants, and the *Gibborim*	6:22 (See also 7:15; 8:13–14; Genesis 6:4)	•	4Q531, frg. 1, l. 1–3	A
		•	Henning, text A, frg. i, 100	
		•	Sundermann 20 (M 8280), Verso/I/, 1–4	
B. Murders	6:28 (See also 6:15)	•	1Q23, frgs. 9 + 14 + 15, l. 2–5	B
		•	4Q203 frg. 3, l. 2–4	
		•	Henning, text A, frg. j	
C. Oath-Inspired Violence	6:29 (See also 6:28; 6:15)	•	1Q23, frg. 17, l. 1–3	B
		•	Henning, text A, frg. i	
		•	1Q23, frgs. 9 + 14 + 15, l. 2	
		•	Henning, text A, frg. j	
D. A "Wild Man"	6:38	•	(Compare 4Q531 22, 3–8)	(Compare K)
E. Mahijah/ Mahaway's First Journey to Meet Enoch	6:40	•	4Q530, frg. 7 II, l. 6–7	H
		•	4Q530, frgs. 2 col. II + 6 + 7 col. I + 8–11 + 12(?), l. 22–23	
F. Enoch/Mahaway Reads Record of Deeds	6:46–47	•	4Q203 frg. 7b II, l. 1–3	I
		•	4Q203 frg. 8, l. 1–4	
		•	Sundermann 1984, frg. L, 1r, II.1–10	
G. Trembling and Weeping	6:47	•	4Q203 frg. 4, l. 6	I
		•	Henning, text E	

Thematic Resemblances	Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*	Narrative Outline
H. Call to Repentance	6:52	• 4Q203 frg. 8, l. 14–15 • 4Q530 frg. 13, l. 1 • *MCP*, Kósa 2016, fig. 2c (kneeling "demons," arguably repentant *gibborim*) • Henning, text E	(Compare O)
I. Sexual Defilement	6:55	• 4Q203, frg. 8, l. 6–9	(Compare O)
J. Mahujah/ Mahaway's Second, Heavenly Journey to Meet Enoch	7:2 (Compare 7:2, OT1)	• 4Q530 frg. 7 II, l. 3–5 • *MCP*, Gulácsi 2015 (kneeling figure on mountaintop, arguably representing Mahujah/Mahaway) • Henning, text A, frg. b (Mainz 317)	S
K. Enoch Clothed with Glory	7:2–4	• 4Q531 14, 1–4	—
L. *Gibborim* Defeated in Battle	7:13, 15–16	• 4Q531 frg. 22, l. 3–7 • 4Q531 frg. 7, l. 5–6 • Henning, text G • Henning, text Q • Henning, text A, frg. i • *MCP*, Kósa 2016, fig. 2a (armored angels protecting a divine figure, arguably representing Enoch) • Sundermann, M5900, 1551–1556, 1574–1581	K
M. The "Roar of Lions/Wild Beasts" Following Battle	7:13	• 4Q531 frg. 22, l. 8 • Henning, text A, frg. c • Henning, text A, frg, k	K
N. Repentant Gather to Divinely Prepared Cities	7:16–18	• Henning, text G • Henning, text S (*Kephalaia*, 45 [117])	—

Thematic Resemblances	Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*	Narrative Outline
O. Imprisonment of the Wicked	7:38–39	• Henning, text A, frg. l • 4Q203 8, 2 • 4Q203 7b I, 5 • Henning, text T • Henning, text P (*Kephalaia*, 38 [93]) • Henning, text S (*Kephalaia*, 45 [117])	N
P. Flood of Noah Anticipated in Vision/Dream	7:42–43	• 4Q530 frg. 7 II, l. 10 • (Compare 4Q530 frgs. 2 col. II + 6 + 7 Col. I + 8–11 + 12(?), l. 10–12)	T
Q. The Earth Cries Out against the Wicked	7:48	• 4Q203 frg. 8, l. 9–11	(Compare E)
R. Ascent of Enoch's people to the bosom of God	7:69	• *MCP*, Gulácsi 2015 (small palaces in a divine realm adjacent to a divine palace)	—

- *Deliberate or accidental changes and omissions in various versions and recensions of* BG. As Stuckenbruck writes, readers should hold in mind "a two-fold awareness that the relationship between the Qumran fragments and the Manichaean *Book of Giants*, on the one hand, and the relationship among the Qumran materials themselves, on the other, may very well have been . . . complicated. . . . Not only does one have to reckon with the likelihood that over time parts of the *Book of Giants* were abbreviated, expanded, or conflated, but also that in places the order of the *Vorlage* was affected. Furthermore, it ought not to be assumed that each manuscript belonging to Qumran *BG* must have represented an identical recension."[217] Moreover, it is natural that the Qumran and Manichaean recensions would have differed in at least some respects, perhaps in some cases with the Manichaean texts having been altered or paraphrased "in order to gloss over dissonances with the Manichaean doctrine."[218] Surprisingly, however, in at least one instance it seems that an important, dissonant *BG*

element was left standing by the Manichaeans, even though it contradicted core Manichaean doctrine.[219]

- *Significant differences in provenance and pedigree.* If indeed there is early, shared content that sits behind both *BG* and Moses 6–7, we must assume that the process of transmission was very different in each case. While *BG* went through many hands over centuries, likely in oral as well as in written forms, Latter-day Saints who see the Book of Moses Enoch account as containing traditions from antiquity are likely either to posit a much shorter and direct line of transmission between the Joseph Smith and ancient tradents of a Moses 6–7 *Vorlage* or, alternatively, to see the account as directly revealed to the Prophet with no prior written texts as sources.

Overall comparison of Moses 6–7 to Stuckenbruck's proposal for principal themes and narrative outline sequencing

With these considerations as a backdrop, we are prepared to consider the contents of column 4 of the summary table. A first finding of great interest is the fact that—despite significant differences of pedigree and provenance between Moses 6–7 and *BG*, as well as the latter's fragmentary nature and the likelihood of changes, abbreviations, expansions, and conflation discussed above—when we look specifically at the structure and text of portions of *BG* that are similar to the Book of Moses, we find a generous quantity of plausible resemblances, many of them unique in the ancient Enoch literature. The seventeen resemblances are spread across a large swath of the narrative of both accounts, touching to a greater or lesser degree on ten of the twenty-two letters identifying the individual elements in Stuckenbruck's narrative sequence, while adding three additional points of resemblance to elements of *BG* that were not included in Stuckenbruck's selective outline.

Consistent with my previous arguments that 'Ohyah and Hahyah are the characters in *BG* most likely to have been invented ad hoc for literary purposes, it is not surprising that the portions of Stuckenbruck's narrative outline having to do with their activities are largely missing in the Book of Moses (F, G). Others are missing because Stuckenbruck's schema mistakenly assumes that Enoch was already permanently situated in heaven at the beginning of the story (C, D, E), having not fully taken into account the relevant Manichaean fragments that witness his initial direct preaching mission on earth. In addition, it is not surprising that J, L, M, U, and V are missing from the Book of Moses, since they

have to do with further entertaining intrigues among 'Ohyah, Hahyah, and the *gibborim* as well as the second set of dreams and the subsequent report of Mahaway. Significantly, it should be observed that *none* of the just-mentioned elements from *BG* that are lacking in the Book of Moses appear in any significant detail elsewhere within the ancient Enoch literature, lending credence that they have all been specially invented by the redactor(s) of *BG* or of the tradents of older traditions from which *BG* inherited.

While the number and quality of the resemblances between the Book of Moses Enoch account and *BG* will not be unexpected for those who are already familiar with previously published results of earlier comparisons, it was new and surprising to me to learn that the list of apparent affinities between Moses 6–7, ordered by chapter and verse, more often than not follow the same relative *sequence* posited by Stuckenbruck for *BG*. If our admittedly preliminary and tentative analysis holds up under continuing scrutiny, the similarity in sequence of shared narrative elements in the two texts of interest can be taken as further evidence of a common ancient tradition behind both.

The seeming exceptions in column 4 to Stuckenbruck's alphabetic ordering of events (O [twice], S, E, K) can be accounted for by a different interpretation of the ordering of events. In some cases, this reordering can be supported by evidence from the Book of Moses, on basis of my personal assumption that it is the more reliable of the two witnesses. The two "O" exceptions can be accounted for under the assumption that they are a mistaken interpretation by Stuckenbruck when he takes certain events from Mahaway's first journey as being from his second journey. Correcting his presumably faulty assignment of *BG* material to "O" (having to do with the reading of Enoch's message and reactions to his call to repentance), the table moves these events to an earlier part of the narrative. Another difference (S) has to do with Stuckenbruck's placement of the second journey of Mahaway earlier in the overall account than the Book of Moses. Apparently, *BG* conflates Enoch's ascent in the presence of Mahaway in Moses 7:2–4 (S) with the account of Enoch's grand vision in a later part of the same chapter, which included the story of the great flood (T). The motif of the earth crying out against the wicked (E) also occurs as part of Enoch's grand vision in the Book of Moses account.

The fourth exception (K) occurs because the reference to a "wild man" occurs early in the Book of Moses account but appears in a later part of the *BG* story. Because the *BG* account is so incomplete, this is not necessarily an inconsistency between the two accounts. Rather, it

seems possible, considering the frequent doubling of phenomena in *BG* discussed previously,[220] that the reference to a "wild man" later in the story may correspond to an earlier reference to the same rare term corresponding to the early position of the Book of Moses use of it. Such a doubling of the application of the term "wild man"—used the first time, sarcastically, to describe Enoch and applied the second time, pathetically, to describe Gilgamesh—becomes another instance of the literary irony that pervades the two texts.

Specific sources cited in the table of thematic resemblances

Full citations for the short references to *BG* works listed in column three of the table are listed below. These are the primary sources:

- *Gulácsi 2015* [Manichaean Cosmology Painting]: Zsuzsanna Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies* 90. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- *Henning 1943* [*Manichaean* BG *fragments*]: W. B. Henning. "The Book of the Giants." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11, no. 1 (1943): 52–74. http://www.sacred-texts.com/chr/giants/giants.htm.
- *Kósa 2016* [Manichaean Cosmology Painting]: Gábor Kósa. "The *Book of Giants* Tradition in the Chinese Manichaica," in *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences*, edited by Matthew Goff, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Enrico Morano, 145–86. *Wissenschlaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 360, edited by Jörg Frey. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.
- *Parry 2013* [*Qumran* BG *fragments*]: Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, vol. 1, *Texts Concerned with Religious Law, Exegetical Texts and Parabiblical Texts*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- *Sundermann 1973* [*Manichaean* BG *fragments*]: Werner Sundermann. *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 8. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973. https://www.scribd.com/document/396552610/Werner-Sundermann-Mittelpersische-und-parthische-kosmogonische-und-Parabeltexte-der-Manichaer-1973.

Other important sources, analyses, and commentaries listed in the summary table and the detailed tables for each thematic resemblance include the following:

- *Angel 2016*: Joseph L. Angel. "The Humbling of the Arrogant and the 'Wild Man' and 'Tree Stump' Traditions in the *Book of Giants* and Daniel 4," in *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences*, edited by Matthew Goff, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Enrico Morano, 61–80. *Wissenschlaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 360, edited by Jörg Frey. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.
- *Gardner 1995*: Iain Gardner, ed. *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies* 37, edited by James M. Robinson and H. J. Klimkeit. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- *Martínez 1996*: Florentino García Martínez, ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996.
- *Milik 1976*: J. T. Milik and Matthew Black, eds. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Cave 4*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976. https://archive.org/details/MILIKEnochInAramaicQumranCave4.
- *Reeves 1992*: John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions. Monographs of the Hebrew Union College* 14. Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992.
- *Stuckenbruck 1997*: Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- *Stuckenbruck 2017*: Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2017.
- *Sundermann 1984*: Werner Sundermann. "Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch," in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata. Acta Iranica* 23, 491–505. Leiden: Brill, 1984.
- *Wilkens 2016*: Jens Wilkens. "Remarks on the Manichaean *Book of Giants*: Once Again on Mahaway's Mission to Enoch," in *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences*, edited by Matthew Goff, Loren T.

Stuckenbruck, and Enrico Morano, 213–29. *Wissenschlaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 360, edited by Jörg Frey. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.
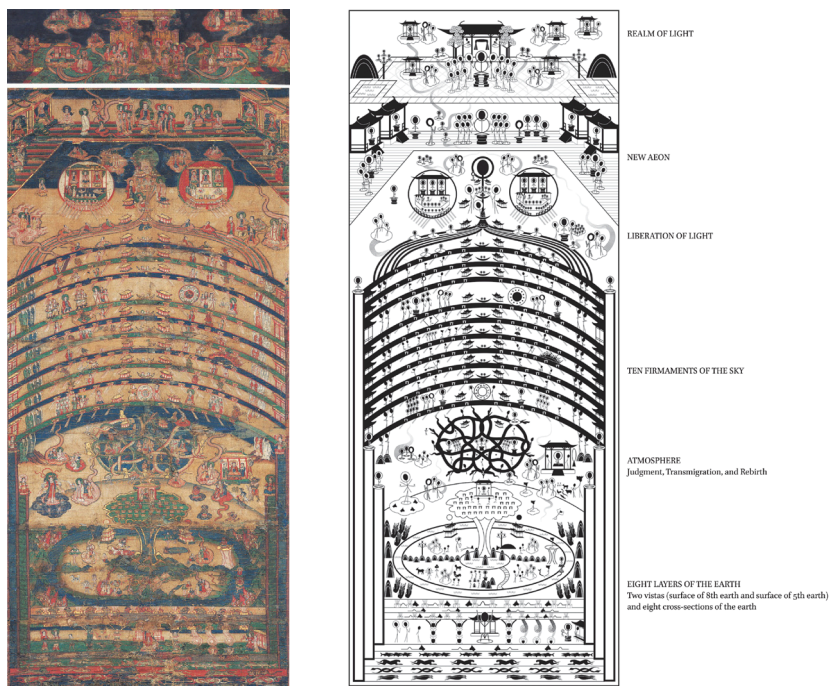

Figure 11. a. Manichaean Cosmology Painting (MCP) *containing motifs from* BG; b. *Visual syntax of the painting.*[221]

In addition to these written sources, we will draw on details from the fourteenth–fifteenth century *Manichaean Cosmology Painting* (*MCP*), depicted on a hanging scroll as shown above. In the Manichaean tradition, such paintings were often created for didactic purposes. It was only recently discovered that from this painting significant portions of the *BG* account of Enoch can be illustrated, filling in gaps in our overall understanding of the story and defining the events and characters more concretely.[222]

With one exception (i.e., illustration of the imprisonment of "demons"), the details from *MCP* in figures later in the study are taken from the depiction of the eighth and fifth layers in the section named "eight layers of the earth."[223] These layers, shown within the bottom third of the painting shown above, feature a symbolic representation of the four continents of the earth below a large treelike mountain—in

Indian culture, this feature is identified as Mount Sumēru, the sacred center place. The name "Sumēru," which literally means "good Mēru," refers not only to a place in the symbolic geography of the story but also to an actual mountain located in the Himalayas.[224]
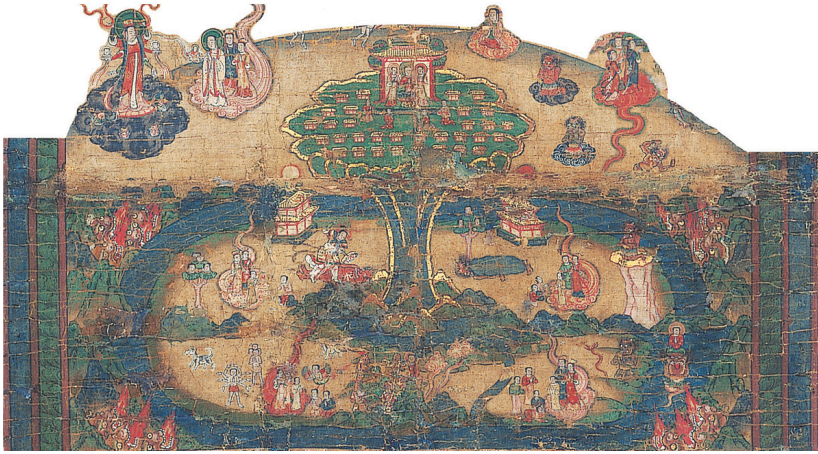

Figure 12. Detail of MCP, depicting the "eighth and fifth layers of the earth."[225] Mount Sumēru, the treelike sacred center place, is surrounded by four continents and the great ocean.[226] Thirty-two palaces at the top of Sumēru surround a larger palace of Deity, pictured with an acolyte on either side. The four supplicants surrounding the throne may correspond to four figures who bring the judicial complaint of the earth or a plea for clemency of the repentant wicked before the heavenly judge.[227] The four archangels mentioned in BG, who (in the Manichaean conception) led the battles against the wicked[228] and gathered the repentant, are clothed in armor in front of a seated deity—likely Enoch[229]—among the smaller green mountains at the foot of Mount Sumēru.[230] In other parts of the painting (not shown) wicked "demons" are imprisoned.[231] In the upper right, two repentant figures kneel. In addition, a solitary figure—perhaps Mahujah/Mahaway—kneels while perched on a high mountaintop, seemingly evoking themes from Mahujah/ Mahaway's second journey to meet Enoch.

Each of the thematic resemblances will be examined in more detail, one by one, below.

A. The begetting of the sons of God / Watchers, the giants, and the *gibborim*

Table 4. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme A

Book of Moses	Book of Giants
And this is the genealogy of the sons of Adam, who was the son of God, with whom God, himself, conversed (6:22)	1. the Watch]ers are defiled [2. they begot] giants [= *gibborim*] and monsters [= *nephilim*] [
And the giants of the land, also, stood afar off . . . (7:15)	3. of the Watchers] they begot, and behold, as g[iants ? (Parry 2013, 4Q531, frg. 1, l. 1–3, p. 953; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 149–53; Reeves 1992, pp. 67–76)
And Noah and his sons hearkened unto the Lord, and gave heed, and they were called the sons of God. And when these men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, the sons of men saw that those daughters were fair, and they took them wives, even as they chose (8:13–14)	. . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful [women], and demanded . . . them in marriage. Sordid . . . (Henning 1943, text A, frg. i, 100, p. 62; see Reeves 1992, pp. 75–76)
There were giants [= *nephilim*] in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men [= *gibborim*] which were of old, men of renown (Genesis 6:4)	1. They [descended?] to earth because 2. of the beauty of the female beings 3. [li]ke assailants among 4. . . . they came down (?) from (Sundermann 1973, 20 (M 8280), Verso/I/, 1–4, pp. 76–77; translated in Reeves 1992, p. 75)

The Bible, the Book of Moses, and the *Book of Giants* share a common concerns with the offspring of the sons of God (equated with the Watchers in *BG*), the *gibborim* (literally "mighty men," often erroneously translated as "giants"), and the *nephilim* (literally "fallen ones," usually translated as giants/monsters). All three accounts describe the parentage

of one or more of these classes of individuals as mismatched couples of partly divine (or, at least, divinely *commissioned*) parentage whose progeny (in some of the ancient Enoch literature) becomes literally monstrous in their appearance and — in the Bible, the Book of Moses, and the ancient Enoch literature — figuratively monstrous in their evil deeds. These evil deeds lead to the inevitable consequences of a great flood in the days of Noah.

While most scholars agree on these general points, the interpretation of their specifics is mired in controversy. The description in Genesis 6:4 is tantalizingly brief and allusive, seemingly hinting at an larger, untold story.[232] The Book of Moses is closer to the ancient Enoch literature than to the Bible in its more expansive descriptions of the wickedness of these groups and of Enoch's early interventions well prior to Noah's ministry.

Importantly, the *BG* and Moses 6–7 accounts are more alike in other respects. While both the *Book of Giants* and the Book of Moses describe the *nephilim* and the *gibborim* as distinct groups, English Bible translations often equate them.[233] Also, as mentioned previously, both *BG* and Moses 6–7 are similar to each other and different from the *Book of the Watchers* in *1 Enoch* in that their stories spotlight the human *gibborim* rather than a group of rebellious divine Watchers.

The Book of Moses motif of mismatched couples begins in earnest within the later story of Noah. The Enoch account in Moses 6–7 opens its description of the three groups by emphasizing the orderly and righteous posterity of Adam through Seth and down to Enoch (Moses 6:22). They are "sons of God," and, like Adam, are not fallen angels but rather mortals who have received a fulness of the Melchizedek Priesthood (Moses 6:67–68) and the charge to serve as "preachers of righteousness" (Moses 6:23). In these respects, the Book of Moses account is closer to Syriac Christian and Islamic traditions. In a fashion that is analogous to but not identical with the Book of Moses, these two traditions saw the "sons of God" as Sethites and the "daughters of men" as Cainites. For example, Ephrem the Syrian understood the events relatinig to the mismatched marriages as meaning that "those who lived on higher ground, who were called 'the children [=sons] of God,' left their own region and came down to take wives from the daughters of Cain down below."[234] This subject is treated in greater detail elsewhere.[235]

In brief, *BG* and Moses 6–7 generally are more similar to each other than they are to the Bible and *1 Enoch*. They differ in some ways, most importantly in that *BG* sees the "sons of God" as divine *beings*, whereas

the Book of Moses, analogous to Syriac Christian and Islamic traditions, sees them as divinely *commissioned* individuals.

B. Murders

Table 5. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme B

Book of Moses	Book of Giants
. . . in their own abominations have they devised murder (6:28) . . . wars and bloodshed; and a man's hand was against his own brother, in administering death . . . seeking for power (6:15)	2.]and they knew [3.] was great upon the earth[4.] and they killed man[y 5.]a hundred giants, [a]ll who[(Parry 2013, 1Q23, frgs. 9 + 14 + 15, l. 2–5, p. 939; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 58–59; Reeves 1992, pp. 74–76) 2. his companions [3. Ḥobabish and [4. and what will you give me for k[illing (Parry 2013, 4Q203, frg. 3, l. 2–4, p. 943; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 70–74, 124–26) Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and [to abduct their wives]. The creatures, too, began to kill each other (Henning 1943, text A, frg. j, p. 60; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 50, 59, 72; Reeves 1992, p. 76)

The theme of widespread murder, introduced on an individual scale in the earlier biblical stories of Cain and Lamech, is given full sway in Moses 6–7 and *BG*. Although the love of bloodshed as a proof of manliness seems more than sufficient to motivate the wicked at the time of Enoch to great slaughter, Moses 6:15 makes additional incentives explicit—namely, an all-consuming quest for "power" and riches. This is

the essence of the Mahan principle, what Hugh Nibley called "the great secret of converting life into property"[236]—"*your* life for *my* property."[237] Why should a well-respected *gibbor* settle for the pleasure of murder alone if a financial bonus can be added to the deal? Hence, *BG*'s report of one of the *gibborim* repeating, "What will you *give* me for killing?"[238]—a close echo of Satan's famous golden question, "Have you any money?"[239]

In short, both *BG* and the Book of Moses chronicle the perennial appeal and virtually inseparable relationship of power, ill-gotten riches, and murder.

C. Oath-inspired violence

The bloodshed described previously was accompanied by other forms of violence. The Book of Moses speaks of how "Satan had great dominion among men, and raged in their hearts" (Moses 6:15), and Stuckenbruck sees the truncated phrases of 1Q23 17, 1–3 ("and they entered," "through their hands," "and they began to") as indicating a list describing the variety of their wicked acts.[240] The Henning fragment gives us to understand that this included subjecting various peoples to servitude.[241]

Of greatest significance in these descriptions from the Book of Moses and *BG* is their emphasis on the secret oaths behind the violence, a prominent theme in both texts that is absent from the Bible. Moses 6:28–29 refers with vivid imagery to the people having "sought their own counsels in the dark" and having also "foresworn themselves . . . by their oaths." The mention of "secret works" and "administering death" in close proximity within Moses 6:15 parallels the description in *BG*: "They knew the se[crets[242] . . .] and they killed ma[ny . . .]."[243] Gestures associated with these oaths may be conjectured in the mention that one of the *gibborim* "[made an oath?] before the sun, one hand in the air, [while with] the other [performed deeds of wickedness?]."[244]

Elsewhere the Qumran manuscripts clarify these brief references by describing the spread of the "mystery of wickedness."[245] Later Islamic tradition taught that the most important of these *mysteria*, wickedly taught by the Watchers to a woman who was their accomplice in sin,[246] was knowledge of the "Name of God," by means of which the fallen angels were able to "ascend to Heaven."[247]

Table 6. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme C

Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*
Wherefore, they have foresworn themselves, and, by their oaths, they have brought upon themselves death; and a hell I have prepared for them, if they repent not (6:29)	1. and they entered[ ] [2. through their hands [3. and they began to[(Parry 2013, 1Q23, frg. 17, l. 1–3, p. 939; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 49–50)
. . . have sought their own counsels in the dark (6:28)	all . . . carried off . . . severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they . . . from each city . . . and were, ordered to serve the . . . The Mesenians [were directed] to prepare, the Khūzians to sweep [and] water, the Persians to . . . (Henning 1943, text A, frg. i, 103–10, p. 62; see Reeves 1992, pp. 75–76)
And in those days Satan had great dominion among men, and raged in their hearts; and from thenceforth came wars and bloodshed; and a man's hand was against his own brother, in administering death, because of secret works, seeking for power (6:15)	]and they knew m[ysteries (Parry 2013, 1Q23, frgs. 9 + 14 + 15, l. 2, p. 939. "Mysteries" or "secrets" is restored conjecturally to the text by some translators.) The creatures, too, began to kill each other. Sām . . . before the sun, one hand in the air, the other (Henning 1943, text A, frg. j, p. 60; see Stuckenbruck 1997, p. 50; Reeves 1992, p. 76)

This interpretation is consistent with Nibley's conclusion that traditions about these illicitly revealed "secrets" have their roots in the wicked practice of "divulging the pure ordinances of heaven to people unworthy to receive them, who then proceed . . . to exercise them in unrighteousness while proclaiming their own righteousness on the grounds of possessing them."[248]

As discussed earlier, a tentative case can be made for the identification of the *BG* Mahujah with the biblical Mehuja-el, who was a descendant of Cain and the grandfather of the wicked Lamech,[249] by virtue of the similarity of their names. This case is only made stronger when we consider the additional material about Mehuja-el's family line included in the Joseph Smith account. Note that in the Book of Moses, Mehuja-el's grandson, like the other "sons of men" (Moses 5:52, 55), "entered into a covenant with Satan after the manner of Cain" (Moses 5:49). Similarly, drawing on the additional background provided in *1 Enoch*,[250] we come to understand that a group of conspirators, here depicted as fallen sons of God, "all swore together and bound one another with a curse." Elsewhere in *1 Enoch* we learn additional details about that oath:

> This is the number of Kasbe'el, the chief of the oath, which he showed to the holy ones when he was dwelling on high in glory, and its (or "his") name (is) Beqa. This one told Michael that he should show him the secret name, so that they might mention it in the oath, so that those who showed the sons of men everything that was in secret might quake at the name and the oath.[251]

The passages in *1 Enoch* are similar to a section of the Book of Moses that describes a "secret combination" that had been in operation "from the days of Cain" (Moses 5:51). As to the deadly nature of the oath, we read in the Book of Moses, "Swear unto me by thy throat, and if thou tell it thou shalt die,"[252] just as in *1 Enoch*, when the conspirators "bound one another with a curse"[253] that would take effect if they broke their oath.

In *1 Enoch*, the conspirators agreed on their course of action by saying, "Come, let us choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men."[254] Likewise, in the Book of Moses, Mehuja-el's grandson became infamous because he "took unto himself . . . wives"[255] to whom he revealed the secrets of their wicked league (to the chagrin of his fellows).[256] In *1 Enoch*, as in the Book of Moses,[257] we also read specifically of how "they all began to reveal mysteries to their wives and children."[258]

In summary, *BG*, *1 Enoch*, and the Book of Moses are in agreement in their emphasis on the secret oaths that stood behind the increasing violence, a prominent theme in the Enoch texts that, significantly, is absent from the Bible.

Figure 13. Giorgio Schiavone (1436/7–1504), Samson Smiting a Philistine with the Jawbone of an Ass.[259] *In the background lies a beast he has already slain.*

D. A "wild man"

Table 7. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme D

Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*
And they came forth to hear him, upon the high places, saying unto the tent-keepers: Tarry ye here and keep the tents, while we go yonder to behold the seer, for he prophesieth, and there is a strange thing in the land; *a wild man* hath come among us (6:38; emphasis added)	3. [I am] mighty, and by the mighty strength of my arm and my own great strength 4. [and I went up against a]ll flesh, and I made war against them; but I did not 5. [prevail, . . . 8.] of the wild beast has come, and *the wild man* they call [me] (Parry 2013, 4Q531, frg. 22, l. 3–8, p. 959; emphasis added; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 161–67; Reeves 1992, pp. 118–22; Angel 2016, pp. 66–68)

The term "wild man" is uncommon and in both texts fairly pops out at the attentive reader. It is used only once elsewhere in scripture, as part of Jacob's prophecy about how Ishmael would live to become everyone's

favorite enemy.[260] It is a translation of the literal Hebrew "wild-ass man," calling to mind

> the sturdy, fearless, and fleet-footed Syrian onager (Hebrew *pere'*), who inhabits the wilderness and is almost impossible to domesticate. Jeremiah describes the wild ass of the desert: "snuffing the wind in her eagerness, whose passions none can restrain."[261] Hagar[, the mother of Ishmael,] . . . will produce a people free and undisciplined.[262]

Intriguingly, in light of the presumed Mesopotamian background of both Moses 6–7 and *BG*, the description of Ishmael as an "onager man" matches that of Enkidu as *akkanu* ("onager") in the *Gilgamesh* epic. Enkidu is portrayed as an indomitable warrior whose prowess was proved in bloody battle: a "wild ass on the run, donkey of the uplands, panther of the wild"[263] who "slaughtered the Bull of Heaven" and "killed Humbaba."[264]

How can the application of the term "wild man" to Enoch in the Book of Moses be explained? For reasons that are discussed at length elsewhere,[265] I am persuaded that Enoch did not fit the mold of a "wild man" in any sense that would have been intelligible to the *gibborim*, but rather was simply *called* one in mockery. A parallel to such rude humor can be found in Moses 8, in which a reversal of labels was used to please the partygoers in Noah's day. As the drunken crowd of "sons of *men*"[266] who had spurned Noah's preaching[267] and married his granddaughters[268] filled and refilled their wine cups, they laughingly called themselves the "sons of *God*."[269] At the same time, after playfully exalting their own status, they sarcastically called their wives "daughters of *men*,"[270] deliberately deprecating the lineage of their wives as daughters of the sons of Noah. Significantly, these sons of Noah, the fathers of these wives, had been specifically characterized as "the sons of *God*."[271] Though the labels vary, this tasteless and worn-out brand of humor persists in every generation.

However, by the time we approach the end of the story, we realize that Enoch's initial self-characterization as being "but a lad" who is "slow in speech" has prepared us for the ironic turning of the tables that plays out on a larger stage in his final military victory (Moses 6:31). This may constitute one of the primary lessons of the account—namely, that Enoch conquered his foes through the "virtue of the word of God,"[272] in contrast to the *gibborim*, aspiring wild men who, like Korihor, "conquered according to [their] strength" (Alma 30:17).

Consistent with the moral of such a lesson, later biblical authors pointedly taught that "Israel's future did not lie along"[273] the "way [of] all [their] warriors [*gibborim*],"[274] but rather in "turn[ing] back to the Lord with all [one's] heart."[275] Proverbs 24:25 averred that "a wise man is mightier than a strong one."[276] Paraphrasing, we might understand this to mean that the "wise man" is more of a *geber*[277] than the *gibbor*—in other words, the "wise man" is more of a "man" than the "he man." Similarly, the preacher of Ecclesiastes 9:16 concluded that "wisdom (*ḥokmâ*) is superior to ["manly"] heroism (*gĕbûrâ*)."[278] Perhaps the redactor{s} of *BG* intended to make a similar point.

In line with this conjecture, as the end of the *BG* account approaches, one of the wicked leaders of the *gibborim*, in all likelihoood Gilgamesh,[279] called himself "the wild man" as part of his admission of his humiliating defeat and resulting personal debasement by Enoch and his people.[280] Joseph Angel ably compares the humbling of the arrogant leader of the *gibborim*, muttering to himself in dismay after his defeat, to the principal theme of the story of Nebuchadnezzar, a prominent type of the "wild man" in the Old Testament. Angel perceptively recognizes that the characterization of both Nebuchadnezzar and Gilgamesh as "wild men both appear to be related to the *Epic of Gilgamesh*."[281] In this dramatic turn of events, the would-be *mighty* wild man (in the proud tradition of the *gibborim*) is literally or figuratively transformed into a *beastly* wild man of Mesopotamian and biblical tragedy.[282]

The Book of Moses and the *Book of Giants* are two different works, published millennia apart, each with a unique past and its own story to tell. That said, whatever the exact meaning of the term "wild man" in these two accounts may be, the fact that this rare and peculiar description shows up in these already closely related stories about Enoch hints that they may each contain shards of a common, preexisting literary tradition. So far as can be determined at present, the single occurrence of the term "wild man" in the extant ancient Enoch literature is in the *BG*, and the only instance of it in the scripture translations of Joseph Smith is in the Enoch account in the Book of Moses. And, from a literary perspective, the conjecture of a paired usage of the term in *BG* that would contrast a mocking reference of "wild man" to a meek and mild adversary at the beginning of the story with a painful application of the term to the proud, defeated leader of the *gibborim* at the end of the story would constitute a poignant instance of poetic justice. From a literary perspective, the twofold occurrence of "wild man" might be explained

as yet another instance of the pattern of "doublings" that Stuckenbruck has noticed in *BG*.[283]

In short, the fitting references to the term "wild man" in *BG* and in the Book of Moses, absent elsewhere in the Enoch literature and in modern Latter-day Saint scripture, constitute remarkable evidence of a shared ancient tradition.

E. Name and role of Mahijah/Mahaway revealed in his first, earthly journey to meet Enoch

Table 8. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme E

Book of Moses	Book of Giants
And there came a man unto him, whose name was Mahijah, and said unto him: Tell us plainly who thou art, and from whence thou comest? (6:40)	22. [and they delib]erated and said to him: 'Go [to him for the ro] ad [of the place] is similar for you since
	23. for the *first* [*time*] you have heard his voice (Parry 2013, 4Q530, frgs. 2 II + 6 + 7 I + 8–11 + 12(?), l. 22–23, p. 951; emphasis added; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 124–27; Reeves 1992, pp. 93–94)
	6. and Enoch saw him and hailed him, . . . and Mahway replied to him: 'I have been sent]
	7. hither and thither *a second time* to Mahway [in order that you will explain to me/us the meaning of the two dreams which I/we hear] (Parry 2013, 4Q530, frg. 7 II, l. 6–7, p. 951; emphasis added; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 128–34; Reeves 1992, p. 105; Wilkens 2016, pp. 219–20, 224–25)

Previously, I described the remarkable nature of the resemblance that Nibley and other scholars saw between the Book of Moses name

"Mahijah" and the *BG* name "Mahaway," in addition, I discussed the possibility of a narrative affinity of Mahijah with the biblical name Mehujael that one of the descendants of the latter is mentioned in the Book of Moses in connection with the kinds of oaths described in *BG*. Going further, we will now see how the similarly named characters in *BG* and the Book of Moses resemble each other in their respective *roles* in each text.

We have already seen that the name Mahijah/Mahujah/Mahaway might be explained on the basis of the Akkadian *maḫḫû*, denoting "a certain class of priests and seers."[284] And what was the role of these seers? Among other things, the royal archives of the Old Babylonian kingdom of Mari recount the comings and goings of *maḫḫû* as intermediaries and messengers, bearing words of warning from the gods for the king,[285] a role that evokes the role of Mahaway—"the messenger *par excellence* of the [*gibborim*] both in the [*BG*] Enochic tradition from Qumran and in Manichaeism."[286] Hugh Nibley presciently observed that "this is exactly the role, and the only role," that Mahijah plays in the Book of Moses.[287]

Incidentally, Enoch, like Mahijah/Mahaway, is also portrayed as a messenger. In *BG*, he is called "the apostle,"[288] a word of Greek derivation signifying one sent forth as a "delegate," "envoy," or "messenger."[289] Thus the roles of Mahijah/Mahaway and Enoch are both complementary and contrastive—one is the messenger of the chiefs of the wicked, the other is the messenger of the Lord.

In the Book of Moses, Mahijah raises a direct question to Enoch during his earthly preaching mission to the *gibborim*: "Tell us plainly who thou art, and from whence thou comest?" (Moses 6:40). Complicating the existence of the Book of Moses account of a direct preaching mission by Enoch is the fact that an earthly mission by Enoch is not mentioned explicitly in the surviving fragments of *BG* from Qumran. Thus, Stuckenbruck concludes that Enoch was already permanently ensconced in heaven at the beginning of the *BG* story and for this reason could never have interacted with the *gibborim* at large.[290] However, contradicting Stuckenbruck's view, incidents relating to Enoch's direct preaching to a group of *gibborim*, presumably in connection with Mahijah/Mahaway's first visit to Enoch, is accepted by at least one translator of the Qumran *BG* and is likewise explicitly described in the Manichaean *BG* fragments.[291] I will return to this subject below.

In the Book of Moses, the name of Enoch's questioner, Mahijah, comes out of nowhere. Likewise, the *BG* gives us no direct information about Mahaway's first journey to meet Enoch. However, *BG* does give

us hints about why Mahaway was the one chosen to make a journey to Enoch the *second* time:

- *Previous familiarity.* One of the *gibborim* states that Mahaway already knew Enoch, for he had "heard his voice" previously, "the first time" he went there, and that because of his earlier visit the "road" would be "similar" to him when he went there again the next time.[292]

- *Moral fitness.* Wilkens concludes, based on a Manichaean *BG* fragment, that Mahaway "is not as corrupted as his fellows."[293] This would provide a reasonable rationale for Mahaway as a mediator who is morally fit to speak with the prophet Enoch.

- *Physical makeup.* Another reason for the choosing of Mahaway as the envoy of the *gibborim* to Enoch may be that Mahaway differed in his physical makeup from those who selected him. Specifically, among Mahaway's additional qualifications for making the long voyage to the eastern end of the earth[294] to question Enoch, is that he seems to be "the only giant with wings."[295] In this respect and others, Mahaway resembles the winged angel Yahoel in the pseudepigraphic *Apocalypse of Abraham*,[296] who played a similar mediating role for Abraham.

- *Courage.* Nibley gives his opinion that, in contrast to Mahaway, the *gibborim* were afraid of a meeting with Enoch. Nibley's observation is consistent with the evidence mentioned earlier about the depiction of ʾOhyah and Hahyah as ineffectual worriers.[297] Nibley notes: "[The *gibborim*] are scared; they don't know who Enoch is so they force Mahijah [= *BG* Mahaway] to go."[298]

In conclusion, the posing of direct questions by Mahijah in the Book of Moses in a first visit that occurred during Enoch's personal preaching mission is consistent both with the *BG* role of Mahaway as a messenger and with *BG* fragments describing how Enoch taught the *gibborim* face to face on earth before he ascended to heaven.

F. Enoch/Mahaway reads record of deeds

Table 9. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme F

Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*
For a book of remembrance we have written among us, according to the pattern given by the finger of God; and it is given in our own language. And . . . Enoch spake forth the words of God (6:46–47)	1. to you [2. the two tablets[3. and the second until now has not been rea[d (Parry 2013, 4Q203, frg. 7b II, l. 1–3, p. 945; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 84–87) 1. [The] boo[k of] . . . 3. A copy of the s[ec]ond tablet of the le[tter] 4. in a do[cu]ment of the hand of Enoch, the scribe of interpretation . . . (Parry, 2013, 4Q203, frg. 8, l. 1–4, p. 945; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 87–93; Reeves 1992, pp. 109–11) Bring there (?) what is written (upon?) these two stone tablets. . . . Now I have come and brought these two tablets that I might read aloud before the [*gibborim*] the one about the demons [i.e., the *gibborim*, in this context[299]]. . . . Read the handwriting which Enoch the wise [scribe?] (Sundermann 1984, frg. L, 1r, II.1–10, pp. 495–96; translated in Reeves 1992, pp. 109, 117. See Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 84–87.)

In Moses 6, we read of Enoch's preaching to the people out of a "book of remembrance,"[300] in which both the words of God and the deeds of the people were recorded. The specific type of heavenly book referred to in

the Book of Moses[301] is similar to one that appears frequently in related Old Testament passages and Jewish pseudepigrapha.[302] It resembles most closely what is sometimes called a Book of Deeds, a "heavenly accounting of people's works, good or evil," which "regulates entrance into eternal happiness."[303] In correspondence to this depiction in the Book of Moses, *BG* describes a heavenly book in the form of "two stone tablets"[304] that is given by Enoch to Mahujah to stand as a witness of "their fallen state and betrayal of their ancient covenants."[305] Both Stuckenbruck and Reeves plausibly suggest that in *BG* the speaker introducing the book in this case is apparently Mahawai, having returned from his second visit to Enoch with it,[306] though it is significant that in *1 Enoch*, as in the Book of Moses, the corresponding speaker is Enoch himself.

Figure 14. Enoch as a preacher. Elijah and Enoch *(detail), 17th century.*[307]

In the Book of Moses, Enoch says that the book from which Enoch was reading was written "according to the pattern given by the finger of God" (Moses 6:46). This may allude to the idea that a similar record of the wickedness of the people was being kept in heaven. Note that the *Book of Giants* refers to the second tablet given to Mahujah by Enoch as being a "copy" (4Q203 frg. 8, l. 2).

In short, the idea of Enoch as a scribe and witness of the heavenly book of remembrance, as described in the Book of Moses, fits squarely into ancient Jewish teachings about Enoch, including those in *BG* and *1 Enoch*.

G. Trembling and weeping after record is read

Table 10. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme G

Book of Moses	Book of Giants
And as Enoch spake forth the words of God, the people trembled, and could not stand in his presence (6:47)	they prostrated and wept bef[ore (Parry 2013, 4Q203, frg. 4, l. 6, p. 943; cf. Martínez 1996, p. 260: "they bowed down and wept in front of [Enoch]." See Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 74–76; Milik 1976, p. 312.)
	[when] they saw the apostle [i.e., Enoch[308]] … those that were tyrants and criminals [i.e., the unrepentant faction of the *gibborim*], they were [worried] and much afraid (Henning 1943, text E, p. 66)

In the Book of Moses, Enoch's reading of the book of remembrance caused the people to greatly fear: "And as Enoch spake forth the words of God, the people trembled, and could not stand in his presence" (Moses 6:47). The *BG* fragments shown in the table at right likewise attest to the state of worry and fear that followed Enoch's message.

As mentioned previously, the idea that the *gibborim* ever met up with Enoch face-to-face is problematic to Stuckenbruck.[309] Thus, he refrains from making any conjectural reference to Enoch in his translation of 4Q203 frg. 4, l. 6, as shown in the table above.[310] However, Martínez, disagreeing with Stuckenbruck on that point, reads that *BG* passage in a way that is consistent with the Book of Moses, suggesting in his translation that the leaders of the mighty warriors "bowed down and wept in front of [*Enoch*]."[311] Milik[312] views the passage similarly. In additional support of his interpretation, he cites a Manichaean fragment of *BG* that says that "[when] they saw the apostle [i.e., Enoch[313]] … those that were tyrants and criminals . . . were [worried] and much afraid."[314]

In further support of the idea that the context of fear, trembling, and prostration of the wicked (who were, in this instance, the Watchers rather than the *gibborim*) occurred in the context of Enoch's personal rehearsal of their sins, see this parallel passage from *1 Enoch*. It describes

a reaction similar to both the Book of Moses and *BG* after Enoch finished his preaching:

> Then I [i.e., Enoch] went and spoke to all of them together. And they were all afraid and trembling and fear seized them. And they asked that I write a memorandum of petition[315] for them, that they might have forgiveness, and that I recite the memorandum of petition for them in the presence of the Lord of heaven. For they were no longer able to speak or to lift their eyes to heaven out of shame for the deeds through which they had sinned and for which they had been condemned. . . . and they were sitting and weeping at Abel-Main,[316] . . . covering their faces.[317]

In summary, supporting evidence favors the similarity of the reaction of the *gibborim* in *BG* to Enoch's preaching about their wicked deeds to the response of Enoch's hearers in the Book of Moses.

H. Call to repentance

After describing the rampant wickedness among the *gibborim*, both the Qumran and the Book of Moses sermons of Enoch "end on a note of hope"[318]—a feature unique in the Enoch literature to these two accounts. In the Book of Moses account, Enoch draws attention to God's invitation of repentance that had been given previously to Adam:

> If thou wilt turn unto me, and hearken unto my voice, and believe, and repent of all thy transgressions, and be baptized, . . . ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost . . . and whatsoever ye shall ask, it shall be given you. (Moses 6:52)

In *BG*, we are given to understand more specifically that the possibility of forgiveness through repentance is only available for the *gibborim*, not the Watchers.[319] Such a distinction would be consistent with *1 Enoch* 12:5, when the Watchers are told that they are beyond the possibility of forgiveness—even if they should "lament and make petition forever, . . . they will have no mercy or peace."[320] On the other hand, in *BG* and the Book of Moses, hope is provided to the wicked *gibborim* through repentance. *BG* relates the command of Enoch as follows: "Set loose what you hold captive . . . and pray" (4Q203, frg. 8, l. 14–15).[321] It seems that at least part of the group of hearers subsequently "[prostrat]ed" themselves (4Q530, frg. 13, l. 1).[322] While this repentant group was "very, very glad at seeing the apostle [i.e., Enoch[323]]" and "assembled before him," we have already seen that Enoch's message was not received uniformly

by all: "those that were tyrants and criminals [i.e., the unrepentant faction] . . . were [worried] and much afraid" (Henning, text E).[324]

Table 11. *Examples of resemblances for narrative theme H.*

Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*
And he also said unto him: If thou wilt turn unto me, and hearken unto my voice, and believe, and repent of all thy transgressions, and be baptized, . . . ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost, asking all things in his name, and whatsoever ye shall ask, it shall be given you (6:52)	14. . . . So now, set loose what you hold captive [15. and pray. (Parry 2013, 4Q203, frg. 8, l. 14–15, p. 947; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp 87–93; Reeves 1992, pp. 116–17) 1. and] they [prostrat]ed from [(Parry 2013, 4Q530, frg. 13, l. 1, p. 947; see Stuckenbruck 1997, p. 139) *MCP* depiction of kneeling "demons" (Kósa 2016, pp. 173–75; fig. 2c, p. 185) [when] they saw the apostle [i.e., Enoch[325]], . . . before the apostle . . . those demons [i.e., the *gibborim*, in this context] that were [timid], were very, very glad at seeing the apostle. All of them assembled before him (Henning 1943, text E, p. 66; Reeves, 1992, p. 117)

Reeves conjectures that an additional difficult-to-reconstruct phrase in *BG*[326] might also be understood as an "allusion to a probationary period for the repentance of the [*gibborim*]."[327] The description of a period of repentance seems to echo a specific Jewish tradition that continues to modern times. In this regard, I note Geo Widengren's description of the Jewish tradition that "on New Year's Day, . . . the judgment is carried out when three kinds of tablets are presented, one for the righteous, one for sinners, and one for those occupying an intermediate position."[328] Widengren explains that "people of an intermediate position are granted ten days of repentance between New Year's Day and Yom Kippurim."[329]

Figure 15. Detail of Manichaean Cosmology Painting (MCP), showing "demons" (in this case likely representing a faction of repentant gibborim) kneeling on pitch-dark clouds with their hands clutched.

Thus, it appears that in both the Book of Moses and *BG* a "space [is] granted unto man in which he might repent" (Alma 12:24).

I. Sexual defilement

Table 12. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme I

Book of Moses	Book of Giants
[Enoch said:] And the Lord spake unto Adam, saying: Inasmuch as thy children are conceived in sin, even so when they begin to grow up, sin conceiveth in their hearts, and they taste the bitter, that they may know to prize the good (6:55)	6. 'Let it be known to you th[at] [7. your activity and (that) of [your] wive[s] 8. those ([*gibborim*])[and their] son[s and] the [w]ives o[f] 9. through your fornication on the earth (Parry 2013, 4Q203, frg. 8, l. 6–9, p. 945)

Among the declarations that the Book of Moses Enoch makes to his hearers from the book of remembrance is that their children "are conceived in sin" (Moses 6:55). Richard Draper, Kent Brown, and Michael Rhodes explain the appearance of this surprising phrase, seemingly inconsistent with the preceding verse, as follows:

> This statement appears to be troublesome in light of an earlier passage declaring that "children are whole from the foundation of the world" (Moses 6:54). The act of conceiving between married parents is not itself sinful. Rather, it seems that because of the Fall, children come into a world saturated with sin. There is no escape. Therefore, "when they begin to grow up, sin conceiveth in their hearts."[330]

When verses 54 and 55 are put together, it becomes apparent that the tragic state of the children of Enoch's hearers is not due simply to their fallen nature, but rather to the depth of their parents' willfully chosen corruption. As Nibley expressed it, "The wicked people of Enoch's day . . . did indeed conceive their children in sin, since they were illegitimate offspring of a totally amoral society"[331]—in other words, they were conceived in a sinful world. The relevant passage in *BG* reads with a similar import:[332] "Let it be known to you th[at] . . . your activity and (that) of [your] wive[s] those (giants) [and their] son[s and] the [w]ives o[f] through your fornication on the earth."[333]

Figure 16. Angel of Revelation 14:6, carrying a scroll.[334] *In similar fashion, Mahaway, bearing questions from the* gibborim, *"mounted up in the air like strong winds and flew with his hands like an eagle to the east of the earth and he passed above in the direction of the Paradise of Justice."*[335]

J. Mahujah/Mahaway's second, heavenly journey to meet Enoch

In order to explore the career of Mahijah/Mahaway more extensively, it must be understood that in *BG*, Mahaway's role as a messenger and go-between for the *gibborim* results in his taking *two* separate journeys, one earthly and one heavenly, to meet with the Enoch. But in the Book of Moses, it is typically assumed that Mahijah had only *one* encounter with Enoch, as recorded in Moses 6:40. Are there hints elsewhere in Moses 6–7 of a second journey of Mahijah corresponding to Mahaway's second, heavenly journey in *BG*? The answer is yes — but before saying more, let's look more at the *BG* account of the second journey of Mahaway in more detail (4Q530, frg. 7, col. ii, l. 3–5).

Table 13. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme J

Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*
As I was journeying, and stood upon the place Mahujah, and cried unto the Lord, there came a voice out of heaven, saying — Turn ye, and get ye upon the mount Simeon (7:2)	6. 'Let it be known to you th[at] [7. your activity and (that) of [your] wive[s] 8. those ([*gibborim*])[and their] son[s and] the [w]ives o[f] 9. through your fornication on the earth (Parry 2013, 4Q203, frg. 8, l. 6–9, p. 945) 3. . . . [he (i.e., Mahaway) mounted up in the air]
As I was journeying and stood in the place, Mahujah and I cried unto the Lord. There came a voice out of heaven, saying — Turn ye, and get ye upon the mount Simeon (7:2, OT1, p. 15)	4. like strong winds, and flew with his hands like an ea[gle to the east of the earth and he passed above] 5. . . . in the direction of the Paradise of Justice] (Parry 2013, 4Q530, frg. 7, col. ii, l. 3–5, p. 951; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 128–34; Reeves 1992, pp. 103–4) Kneeling figure of Mahujah/Mahaway (?) on mountaintop (*MCP*, Gulácsi 2015, pp. 470, 489)

Book of Moses	Book of Giants
	[Mahaway said:] "Fire was rising.[336] And furth[ermore I saw] that the sun was rising. [Its] palace wa[s] revolving without being carried over.[337] Then, from heaven above came a voice [of an archangel?[338]] It called me and said: "You, son of Virōgdād [i.e., Mahaway[339]], the order for you is exactly this: You [h]ave seen more than enough! Do not die prematurely now! Return quickly [from] here!" And then, besides this, I heard the voice of the apostle Enoch from the south. But I did no[t] see him in person. Then, very affectionately, he called out my name. . . . I shook (or: beat) my wings and quickly descended fr[o]m heaven.
	. . . And again from above came a voice. It conferred the words of the apostle Enoch. It said: "I call you, o son of Virōgdā[d], I know [th]is: you are [l]ike some of them.[340] You are . . . (31–33) (Wilkens 2016, Mainz 317 fragment, pp. 227–28; Henning 1943, text A, frg. b, p. 65. See Wilkens 2016, 214–29; Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 132–34; Reeves 1992, p. 94)

From *BG* we learn that Mahaway had to mount up "in the air like strong winds" and "fly like an eagle" to the "east of the earth . . . in the direction of . . . Paradise"[341] in order to meet Enoch. Though in the symbolic geography of the ancient world a central, cosmic mountain typically represents the most sacred place *on earth*, its "east edge,"[342] the dawn horizon,[343] the location of the boundary where the round dome of heaven *meets* the square plane of earth,[344] is not only where visions of God are often situated but also the "launching point" from which actual heavenly ascents sometimes occurred.[345]

Consistent with this view, in *1 Enoch*, the prophet described his journey as taking him to "the ends of the earth, on which the heaven rests, and the gates of heaven open,"[346] and gave a brief account of its great beasts[347] and

birds with beautiful voices.[348] Likewise, the description of Methuselah's journey to the end of the earth in the *Genesis Apocryphon*,[349] where Enoch's "dwelling is with the angels,"[350] "can be plausibly understood as [an allusion] to the [Garden of] Eden."[351]

Couched within this symbolic geography, Mahaway's second journey to visit Enoch in *BG*[352] "is clearly from the west to the east and back again."[353] Among his other qualifications to make this voyage to the eastern end of the earth,[354] he seems to be "the only giant with wings."[355] Just as Enoch, who flew east with the angels, used "this mode of transportation . . . to visit areas that normally humans cannot reach,"[356] so also
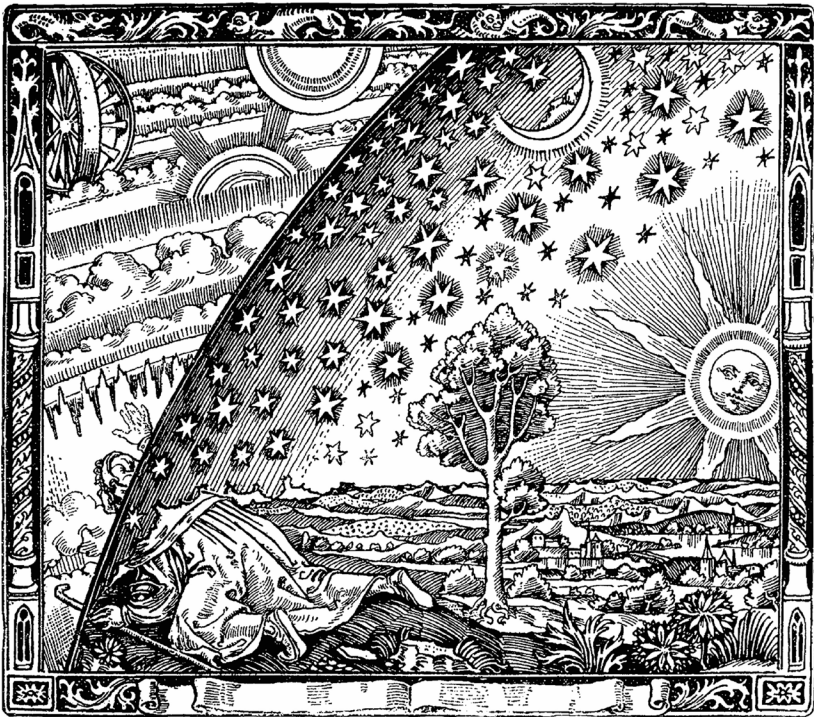

Figure 17. Camille Flammarion (1842–1925): Engraving, 1888. "The image depicts a man crawling under the edge of the sky, depicted as if it were a solid hemisphere, to look at the mysterious Empyrean beyond. The caption . . . translates to 'A medieval missionary tells that he has found the point where heaven and earth meet.'"[357] In line with the idea that the Garden of Eden is at the eastern edge of the earth, note the prominent tree just behind the man.[358]

the flight of Mahaway should be understood in a similar way. [He] is able to reach Eden because he can fly over a desolate

desert that would be, following this logic, impossible to cross on foot. This underscores the extraordinary and difficult nature of [his] voyage. Asking Mahaway to undertake such an arduous journey highlights how seriously [the *gibborim*] wanted an interpretation to the two visions of ʼOhyah and Hahyah.[359]

Salvatore Cirillo finds the parallel accounts of Mahaway's journeys in *BG* and the Book of Moses impressive: "The emphasis that [Joseph] Smith places on Mahijah's travel to Enoch is eerily similar to the account of Mahaway to Enoch in [*BG*]."[360]

In the *Manichaean Cosmology Painting*, a lone figure kneels repentantly on the top of the only other mountain shown in the scene. So far as I am aware, no *BG* scholar has attempted to identify this uniquely prominent figure, however it is hard to imagine a better candidate than Mahijah/Mahujah/Mahaway. But why would a repentant Mahijah/Mahujah/Mahaway be perched alone on a mountain top?

Figure 18. Detail of MCP *depicting a solitary, repentant individual, possibly representing Mahaway kneeling atop a high mountain. The imagery recalls the OT1 text of Moses 7:2 where Mahujah and Enoch "cried unto the Lord" and heard the divine command: "Turn ye, and get ye upon the mount Simeon.*"[361]

A clue to that possibility lies in Old Testament Manuscript 1 (OT1), the manuscript of the Book of Moses that was directly recorded from Joseph Smith's dictation. In the OT1 version of Moses 7:2, the second and only other mention of Mahijah is found, though with a slightly different spelling: Mahujah. Importantly, while the canonized version of Moses 7:2 reads Mahujah as a *place* name, OT1 renders Mahujah as a *personal*

name.[362] In other words, the original dictation seems to indicate that Enoch is "standing *with*" the figure Mahujah, "not standing *on*" the place Mahujah.[363]

With respect to the mention of "the place," Kent Brown has elsewhere observed that in a biblical context, references to "the place" (Hebrew *maqōm*; Greek *topos*) may describe a special or sacred location. For example, in the New Testament the Garden of Gethsemane metaphorically becomes "the holy place" where Jesus enters to pray and to shed His blood.[364] Here, "the [holy] place" also became a place of prayer for Mahujah and Enoch when they "cried unto the Lord." As Draper et al. emphasize,[365] it is the cry of the righteous that mobilizes the Lord to take action—whether it be in providing further knowledge and understanding, as we see here and again later throughout the grand vision of Enoch,[366] in taking action to correct injustices,[367] or in delivering His people from distress.[368] The initial words of God's command "Turn ye" express something more than physical movement. Though the Hebrew term *teshuvah* literally denotes "return," it can be understood by modern English speakers as signifying "repentance" or "conversion" in scriptural contexts. God turns to the petitioner when the petitioner turns to Him.[369]
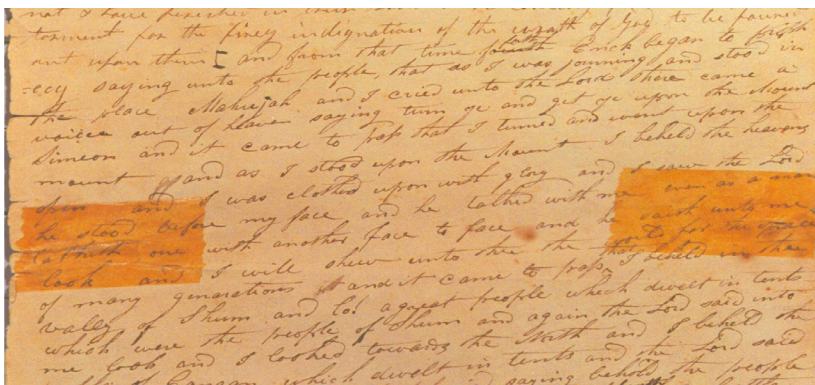

Figure 19. Moses 7:2–3, Old Testament 1 Manuscript,
Joseph Smith Translation.[370]

All this seems consistent with the idea that Mahaway may be the individual depicted in the *MCP* scene shown in figure 18. Significantly, the mountain on which the figure kneels is nearer to Mount Sumēru, in other words closer to the sacred *center* of the scene, than the other *gibborim* who kneel in the distant land across the river.

As to the similarly spelled name that appears at this point in the story—"Mahujah" instead of "Mahijah"—the question arises as to whether this is a scribal error or a deliberate change.[371] If taken as a deliberate and meaningful change, the sacred setting of the change, in close association with the mention of Enoch's being "clothed upon with glory" (Moses 7:2) recalls the bestowal of new names upon Abram/ Abraham and Sarai/Sarah.[372] Simultaneously seeming both to highlight Enoch's personal investment in the spiritual progress of Mahujah/ Mahaway and the sacred symbolism of names in initiatory rites, *BG* obliquely relates the brief remembrance of Mahaway that Enoch "very affectionately . . . called out my name."[373] *BG* scholar Jens Wilkens comments, "One is tempted to postulate an emotional relationship between [Mahaway] and Enoch."[374]

Then, as Mahaway departed, Enoch spoke to him a last time: "I call you, o son of Virogdad, I know [th]is: you are like some of them."[375] The sense of the warning seems to be "you are *too much* like some of them," in other words, it seems that Mahujah/Mahaway, like the wicked faction of the *gibborim*,[376] ultimately would reject the invitation to repent and be exalted with Enoch.

If additional speculation can be tolerated, the ending of the *BG* story of Mahujah/Mahaway might be seen as a sort of parable that evokes the themes of Jesus' encounter with the rich young ruler.[377] Like the rich young ruler, we might say in modern terms that Mahujah/Mahaway was offered the gift of eternal life if he would follow the path he had begun as a disciple of Enoch to its glorious end through complete obedience to the law of consecration, as was later strictly observed by Enoch's people in Zion. Sadly—after Mahujah/Mahaway's promising but brief encounter with Enoch in a sacred place where together they "cried unto the Lord," a place where Mahujah/Mahaway had been called by name "very affectionately" and in sorrow warned at his departure—the account implies Mahujah/Mahaway not only lost his life but also, more tragically, perished spiritually.

We are not told directly whether Mahujah/Mahaway remained repentant or became recalcitrant when he died, but the *BG* description of his slaughter suggests that he remained too long in the "tents of [the] wicked" (Numbers 16:26) and for that reason, if for no other, he ultimately shared in their tragic demise. *BG* records these words as a lament for Mahaway's violent death: "Slain, slain was that angel who was great, [that messenger whom they had[378]]. Dead were those who were joined with flesh."[379]

K. Enoch clothed with glory

Table 14. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme K

Book of Moses	Book of Giants
There came a voice out of heaven, saying—Turn ye, and get ye upon the mount Simeon. And it came to pass that I turned and went up on the mount; and as I stood upon the mount, I beheld the heavens open, and I was clothed upon with glory; And I saw the Lord; and he stood before my face, and he talked with me, even as a man talketh one with another, face to face (7:2–4)	1.] a thousand thousands [were serving] him [2.] not alarmed at any king and [3. great fear] seized me and I fell on my face; I hea[rd] his voice [4.] he dwelt [not] among human beings and he did not learn from them[(Parry 2013, 4Q531, frg. 14, l. 1–4, p. 957; see Stuckenbruck 2013, pp. 154–56)

Though both Enoch and Mahujah were commanded to ascend ("Turn *ye*," using a plural pronoun), it seems that only Enoch made an immediate response ("*I* turned and went up on the mount"). Moses 7:3 relates that as Enoch stood on the mount, the heavens opened and he was "clothed upon with glory." *2 Enoch* and *3 Enoch* purport to describe the process by which Enoch was "clothed upon with glory" in more detail, as discussed previously.

In an uncanonized revelation on Enoch found in Joseph Smith's *Revelation Book 2*,[380] Mount Simeon, where Enoch and Mahujah are called to go, is called the "Mountain of God,"[381] appearing to correspond symbolically to a sacred center like Mount Sumēru in the *BG* account. The name Simeon (Hebrew *Shim'on*) is generally taken to derive from the Hebrew *shama'* (= "to hear"), as indicated in Genesis 29:33.[382] Remembering that Enoch preached "upon the hills and the high places,"[383] Nibley associates the term with the concepts of "an audition, a hearing, both attention, a place of preaching" or "conversation," hence an "exchange of ideas."[384] Thus, Simeon is a fitting name for a meeting place between Enoch and the Lord. Incidentally, there is a Mount Simeon (*Jabal Sem'an*) in Syria—also known as Mount Nebo. There Moses received a vision of the promised land.

The brief summary of the prelude to Enoch's transfiguration is augmented by the account in *Revelation Book 2*. As Enoch

Figure 20. Franz Johansen (1938–), Resurrection. *BYU sculpture garden.*[385]
In a vision of his own resurrection, President Lorenzo Snow, then an Apostle,
experienced something similar to what is described in 2 Enoch *and* 3 Enoch. *He*
recounted: "I heard a voice calling me by name, saying: 'He is worthy, he is worthy,
take away his filthy garments.' My clothes were then taken off piece by piece and a
voice said: 'Let him be clothed, let him be clothed.'"[386]

gazed upon nature and the corruption of man, and mourned
their sad fate, and wept and cried with a loud voice, and heaved
forth his sighs, "Omnipotence, Omnipotence! O may I see
thee!"

And with his finger he [i.e., God] touched his [i.e., Enoch's]
eyes and he saw heaven, he gazed on eternity and sang an
angelic song and mingled his voice with the heavenly throng,
"Hosanna! Hosanna!" The sound of the trump around
the throne of God echoed and echoed again, and rang and
reechoed until eternity was filled with his voice.

He saw, yea, he saw and he glorified God.[387]

Thus, among other things, we learn that Enoch "was not simply given the privilege of seeing God. Rather the glorious opportunity to see God came to Enoch because he asked to see God."[388]

Figure 21. Gerard Hoet (1648–1733), God Took Enoch.[389] *In a separate event that took place long before the long-term translation of Enoch and his people to the "bosom of God," the Book of Moses recounts that Enoch was "clothed upon with glory" (Moses 7:3).*

By taking the liberty to combine insights from both the *BG* and Book of Moses accounts, we seem to be able to see a glimpse of Enoch's glory in heaven from Mahujah/Mahaway's secondhand perspective: "A thousand thousands [were serving] him. . . . Great fear] seized me and I fell on my face."

After Enoch's presence is "veiled" following his glorification,[390] Wilkens observes that "only Enoch's voice is mentioned."[391] In explanation of this state of affairs, Wilkens mentions a Uyghur fragment of *BG* in which a speaker says (likely Mahaway, referring to Enoch), "But I did not see him in person."[392] From the combined textual evidence, it seems that we are meant to understand that

the final scene of Mahaway's second visit with Enoch "takes place in the sky"[393] in voice-to-voice rather than face-to-face fashion. In other words, it seems that at this point Mahaway can still speak with Enoch through the "veil" but is no longer permitted to see Enoch in his transfigured state in the divine realm. Thus, we read in 4Q531 14, 1–4, after Enoch passed out of view into the celestial world, Mahujah/Mahaway's concluding report: "I hea[rd] his voice."

BG scholars differ in their interpretation about what happened to Enoch after his glorification. While the English translation in Parry and Tov adds a conjectural "not" to be able to state that Enoch "dwelt [*not*] among human beings,"[394] Stuckenbruck accepts the literal reading that Enoch "*dwelt* among human beings."[395] The "not" is assumed by scholars who are looking for consistency in this passage with their view that, in *BG*, Enoch did not minister directly to humankind. However, omitting the conjectural "not" leaves us with a reading that agrees with the Book of Moses account, in which Enoch continued to lead and teach his disciples personally *after* his initial glorification. The Book of Moses separately describes the eventual, more permanent translation of Enoch and his people at that time when "Zion fled" (Moses 7:69).

L. *Gibborim* defeated in battle

The Book of Moses briefly summarizes how the "enemies" of the "people of God" "came to battle against them," crediting the victory of Enoch not to their superior numbers or weaponry but to the power of the "word of the Lord" that he spoke (Moses 7:13–15). Notably, Moses 7:15 contains the single mention in the Book of Moses Enoch account of a group of "giants" who "stood afar off." The *BG* picture of the conflict agrees with the ignominious defeat of Enoch's opponents. The profound disappointment of the speaker of 4Q531 frg. 22, l. 3–7, probably one of the *gibborim*,[396] is magnified by his overweening ambition to dominate and humiliate his foes. Reeves writes:

Table 15. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme L

Book of Moses	Book of Giants
And so great was the faith of Enoch that he led the people of God, and their enemies came to battle against them . . . And the giants of the land, also, stood afar off; and there went forth a curse upon all people that fought against God; And from that time forth there were wars and bloodshed among them; but the Lord came and dwelt with his people, and they dwelt in righteousness (7:13, 15–16)	3 [I am] mighty [literally "I am a *gibbor*"[397]], and by the mighty strength of my arm and my own great strength 4. [and I went up against a]ll flesh, and I made war against them; but I did not 5. [prevail, and I am not] able to stand firm against them, for my opponents 6. [are angels who] reside in [heav]en, and they dwell in the holy places. *vacat* And they were not 7. [defeated, for they] are stronger than I. (Parry 2013, 4Q531, frg. 22, l. 3–7, p. 959; see Stuckenbruck, pp. 161–67; Reeves 1992, pp. 118–21) 5.] Did not all these depart through your sword[6. much blood was shed,] like great rivers on [the] e[arth[398] (Parry 2013, 4Q531, frg. 7, l. 5–6, p. 955; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 146–49) And those two hundred demons[399] fought a hard battle with the [four angels], until [the angels used] fire, naptha, and brimstone (Henning 1943, text G, p. 69; see Reeves, pp. 122–23) "The Righteous who were burnt in the fire, they endured. This multitude that were wiped out, four thousand. . . . Enoch also, the Sage, the transgressors being . . ." (Henning 1943, text Q, p. 72)

Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*
	many . . . were killed, four hundred thousand Righteous . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone . . . And the angels veiled (*or*: covered, *or*: protected, *or*: moved out of sight) Enoch (Henning 1943, text A, frg. i, p. 61 [and 62n4]. See Stuckenbruck 1997, 19n82; Wilkens 2016, p. 225.)
	MCP depiction of Enoch being protected by angels (Kósa 2016, pp. 162–63, 168–69; fig. 2a, p. 183)
	"Then Atambīš two hundred . . . he seized . . . he cut off (?) before (?) . . . he smashed and he tossed [to] the four end[s] of the ea[rth]. . . . Slain, slain was that angel who was great, [that messenger whom they had[400]]. Dead were those who were joined with flesh, and defeated were those who were . . . (?) with . . . (?) were slain, those who . . . with one step (?) . . ." (Sundermann 1973, M5900 (22), lines 1551–56, 1574–81, pp. 77–78, as translated in Reeves 1992, p. 123. See Stuckenbruck 1997, 73n43; Wilkens 2016, p. 227)

The confident, even boasting character of the [statement] accords well with several testimonia contained in Jewish sources that stigmatize the "pride" or "arrogance" of the [*gibborim*]. 3 Maccabees 2:4 states: "Those who formerly practiced lawlessness, among whom were [*gibborim*] *confident of (their) might and boldness*." . . . Note also Wisdom of Solomon 14:6: "For also in the beginning, *while arrogant* [*gibborim*] *were dying*." . . . Josephus is also familiar with this motif: ". . . sons who were arrogant and contemptuous of all that was good, *placing confidence in their strength*."[401]

Significantly, *BG* and the Book of Moses emphasize not only war but "bloodshed," which a speaker in *BG* compares to horrible "great rivers on the earth."[402]

Some of the *BG* fragments shown in the table above describe three specific motifs relating to the battle:[403]

- *The idea that battles were waged (at least in part) against heavenly forces.* In at least one place, "four angels"[404] are specifically mentioned—a reference to Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Istrael (also known as Sariel, Uriel, or Fanuel).[405] Kósa's interpretation suggests that, "in contrast to the non-armored, other heavenly figures in the firmaments [of the *MCP* depiction], the four armored angels depicted in action constitute a special squad, charged with very difficult tasks."[406]

Figure 22. Detail from the MCP.[407] *The four archangels mentioned in* BG, *who (in the Manichaean conception) were in the forefront of the battles against the wicked*[408] *and helped gather the repentant* gibborim, *are standing, clothed in armor, in front of a seated deity that one scholar suggests may be Enoch.*[409]

- *The use of "fire, naphtha, and brimstone"*[410] *by these heavenly forces.*
- *The fact that although "the Righteous who were burnt in the fire, they endured"*[411] *and that Enoch was "veiled" or "moved out of sight" for his protection.*[412] While neither the participation of heavenly forces in battles nor the use of fire, naphtha, and brimstone are mentioned in the Book of Moses, the general

idea that Enoch and the righteous were protected is consistent with Moses 7:16.

Figure 23. Bas-relief showing Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, stabbing a wounded lion. North Palace, Nineveh, Mesopotamia, Iraq, ca. 645–635 BCE.

M. The "roar of lions/wild beasts" following battle

Table 16. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme M

Book of Moses	Book of Giants
and he spake the word of the Lord, and the earth trembled, and the mountains fled, even according to his command; and the rivers of water were turned out of their course; *and the roar of the lions was heard out of the wilderness*; and all nations feared greatly, so powerful was the word of Enoch, and so great was the power of the language which God had given him (7:13; emphasis added)	6. . . . they were not 7. [defeated, for they] are stronger than I. *vacat* 8.] *of the wild beast has come*, and the wild man they call [me.] (Parry 2013, 4Q531, frg. 22, l. 6–8, p. 959; see Stuckenbruck, pp. 161–67; Reeves 1992, pp. 118–21; emphasis added) . . . hard . . . arrow . . . bow, he that . . . (Henning 1943, text A, frg. c, p. 60) [Not the] . . . of the lion, but the . . . on his . . . (Henning 1943, text A, frg. k, p. 60)

The puzzling phrase "[ ] of the wild beast has come" immediately follows the description of the battle. The first portion of the phrase, indicated by brackets in Cook's translation above, has proven difficult for other translators to reconstruct as well. Thus, for example, Loren Stuckenbruck renders it simply as two untranslated letters: "*rh*" (i.e., "*rh* of the beasts of the field is coming"[413]). However, Martínez and Milik, confident enough to make a conjecture, respectively understand the phrase as "*the roar of the wild beasts* has come"[414] and "*the roaring of the wild beasts* came."[415] Lending credence to their reading, the Enoch account in the Book of Moses has a remarkably similar phrase: "*The roar of the lions* was heard."[416] This phrase, placed in analogous post-battle settings in both texts, is one of the most striking and unexpected affinities between Joseph Smith's Enoch story and the ancient *Book of Giants*.

Table 17. Comparison of English translations on "the roar of the wild beasts/lions"

Stuckenbruck Translation	Martínez Translation	Milik Translation	Moses 7:13
rh of the beasts of the field is coming	*the roar of the wild beasts* has come	*the roaring of the wild beasts* came	*the roar of the lions* was heard

Brian R. Doak's sociolinguistic analysis reveals a convincing rationale for the author of the *Book of Giants* having placed these references together. Among other evidence, he cites an Old Testament example in which victory against an elite adversary (in this case, a giant) and a prestige animal (lion) were also deliberately juxtaposed.[417] Yet, while there was indeed a close connection in ancient times between a military victory and "the roar of wild beasts," that association would likely have been just as unfamiliar to Joseph Smith as it is to general readers today.

In addition to the ironic reversal of the roles of Enoch and his wicked opponent as "wild men" (as discussed earlier), this example provides a similar turning of the tables in the subjugation of the wild beasts/lions to the God of the righteous Enoch, rather than to his wicked adversaries. The same God who "shut the lions' mouths"[418] to save Daniel from harm opened the mouth of Enoch to destroy his enemies through the "power of [his] language."[419]

N. Repentant are gathered to divinely prepared cities

Table 18. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme N

Book of Moses	Book of Giants
the Lord came and dwelt with his people, and they dwelt in righteousness. The fear of the Lord was upon all nations, so great was the glory of the Lord, which was upon his people. And the Lord blessed the land, and they were blessed upon the mountains, and upon the high places, and did flourish. And the Lord called his people Zion (7:16–18)	And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. … And they led one half of them eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the Sumēru mountain, into thirty-two towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning. And one calls (that place) Aryān-Waižān (Henning 1943, Text G, p. 69. See Reeves, pp. 122–123; Wilkens 2016, p. 220) Before the children of the [*gibborim*] were born, they who had [no] knowledge of righteousness in them nor divinity, thirty-six cities were assigned and co[nstructed] for them wherein the children of [the (*gibborim*) would] live; they who would come to beget from each othe[r, they w]ho shall spend ten hundred years alive (Gardner 1995, 45 (117), p. 123; Henning 1943, text S, pp. 72–73. See Reeves, p. 124)

Earlier we described how the wicked *gibborim* sorrowed and trembled after Enoch read the record of their deeds out of the book of remembrance and tendered to them the possibility of repentance. Drawing jointly on the Manichaean and Qumran accounts, Matthew Goff conjectures that the *Book of Giants* follows a set of Jewish traditions where at least some of the *nephilim* and *gibborim* "are not killed in a flood but rather have long lives."[420] However, we have already seen that there were both supporters and detractors of Enoch among the *gibborim*.

For example, a Sogdian fragment of *BG* tells us that a righteous faction "'are glad at seeing the apostle, who is obviously Enoch, and 'assembled before him.'"[421] But those who are called "tyrants and criminals" are "afraid."[422] In one of the most significant thematic resemblances of *BG* to the Book of Moses, we are told in both texts that the righteous were gathered to a place of safety. To fully understand the account of the gathering of Enoch's people in *BG*, we first need to appreciate how it fits within the conception of a universe that is conceived as "hierocentric."
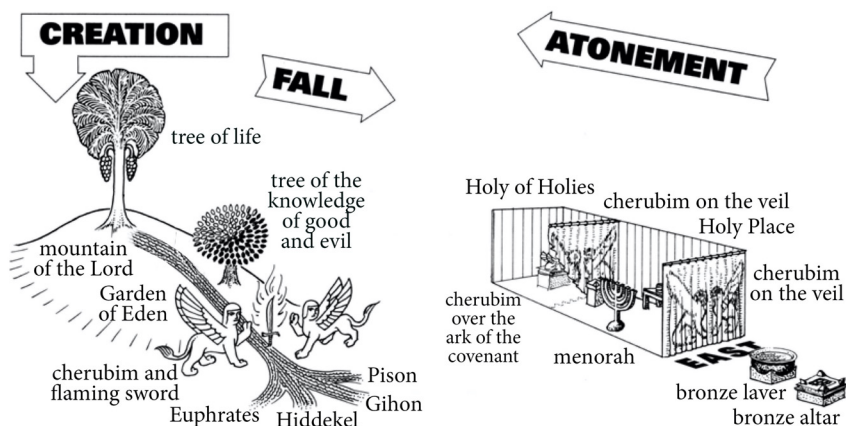

Figure 24. Adapted from Michael P. Lyon (1952–), Sacred Topography of Eden and the Temple, *1994.*[423] *The outbound, downward journey of the Creation and the Fall at left is mirrored in the inbound, upward journey of the temple at right.*

Hugh Nibley, following Eric Burrows, defined "the term 'hierocentric' as that which best describes those cults, states, and philosophies that were oriented about a point believed to be the exact center and pivot of the universe."[424] Like the story of Enoch in *BG* and the Book of Moses, ancient visualizations and descriptions in scattered sources are sometimes constructed around a sacred center, though, of course, representations of this symbolic, pre-scientific approach to geography vary in significant details.[425]

Such sacred centers often coincide with the location of a "mountain or artificial mound and a lake or spring from which four streams flowed out to bring the life-giving waters to the four regions of the earth. The place was a green paradise, a carefully kept garden, a refuge from drought and heat."[426] A version of this perspective is reflected biblically in the layout of the Garden of Eden and the temple,[427] as well as in the geography of later stories and prophecies of divinely directed scatterings and gatherings of Israel and other peoples.

Scholars have argued convincingly that the outbound, downward journey of the Creation and the Fall in Genesis is mirrored in the inbound, upward journey of the temple (figure 24).[428] The Garden of Eden can be seen as a natural "temple," where Adam and Eve lived at first in God's presence. Significantly, each major feature of Eden (e.g., the river, the cherubim, the Tree of Knowledge, the Tree of Life) corresponds to a similar symbol in the Israelite temple (e.g., the bronze laver, the cherubim, the veil,[429] the menorah[430]).

The corresponding course taken by the Israelite high priest through the temple can be seen as symbolizing the journey of the Fall of Adam and Eve in reverse. In other words, just as the route of Adam and Eve's departure from Eden led them *eastward* past the cherubim with the flaming swords and out of the sacred garden into the mortal world, so in ancient times the high priest would return westward *from* the mortal world, past the consuming fire, the cleansing water, the woven images of cherubim on the temple veils, and, finally, back into the presence of God.[431] "Thus," according to Parry, the high priest has returned "to the original point of creation, where he pours out the atoning blood of the sacrifice, reestablishing the covenant relationship with God."[432]

An analogous conception is depicted in the frontispiece of an Armenian adaptation of the *Treatise on the Work of the Six Days of Creation* by Bartholomew of Bologna (d. 1333. See figure 25).[433] It shows Adam and Eve, seemingly within a cave-like structure, at the top and in the center of the paradisiacal creation. In that unique setting, they have direct access to the divine Presence above, while also being surrounded by a perimeter of angels beneath.

Figure 25. Adam and Eve at the top of the newly created paradise. Frontispiece, Treatise on the Work of the Six Days of Creation.[434]

A 12th-century Christian illustration also shows Adam and Eve at the top of a mountain (figure 26a).[435] However, the fig leaf aprons they wear witness that the scene represents their fallen state *after* their transgression but *before* they were clothed by God.[436] In contrast to the previous figure, they are now "lamenting their Fall on a brown, bare hill,"[437] having lost their access to the luxuriant trees of the Garden and the continual, protective presence of heavenly beings, including the Lord Himself. The diagram shown in figure 26b, annotated with relevant terminology for the benefit of Latter-day Saint readers, summarizes the symbology of the same three zones of sacredness depicted in figure 26a. In a central place at the top of the mountain, Adam and Eve sit within the most sacred of the three zones pictured. Tongues of flame adorn the upper part of the hill and the entrance to the cave,[438] suggesting both the glory of God within each of the two most sacred zones and the potential danger for those who approach the portals of entry unprepared. On the following page of the manuscript is "an image of the Garden of Eden, now empty, its door barred by three angels."[439]

In the heart of the mountain, the middle zone of sacredness, an aged Adam and Eve, having been cast out of the Garden and clad in robes of animal skins made by God for their protection, confer within a "Cave of Treasures," in some sources, the cave is symbolically equated to the Holy Place of the temple, where heaven and earth meet.[440] The "Cave of Treasures" was so named in Jewish and Christian tradition because it was conceived as a safeguard for gold, frankincense, and myrrh, retrieved by angels from the Garden of Eden after Adam and Eve's departure.[441] These three items, later withdrawn from the earth but thought by some Christians to have been returned to humankind when the Magi visited the Christ child, respectively symbolized kingship, priesthood, and the anointing oil that transformed kings and priests into "sons of God."[442] The significance of the treasures becomes more clear with the understanding that the cave where Adam and Eve were made to dwell was a understood to be a proto-temple, a temporary replacement and consolation for their loss of Eden.[443]

Cain and Abel offer their respective grain and animal sacrifices on the other hills portrayed on either side of the principal peak at the center. At right, God is shown consuming the sacrifice of Abel while, at left, He rejects that of Cain. At the bottom of the mountain, the mortal world that corresponds symbolically to the "outer courtyard" of the temple, Cain has words with Abel, leads him out to the field, and, finally, murders him. Because of Cain's grievous killing, we are told in scripture

that he and his posterity were "shut out from the presence of the Lord" and cast further downward and outward to dwell "in the land of Nod [i.e., wandering], on the east of Eden."[444] Following what became the standard tradition in the Syriac Church that saw the "sons of God" as Sethites and the "daughters of men" as Cainites,[445] Ephrem the Syrian wrote that, tragically, some of "those who lived on higher ground,[446] who were called 'the children of God,' left their own region and came down to take wives from the daughters of Cain down below."[447]
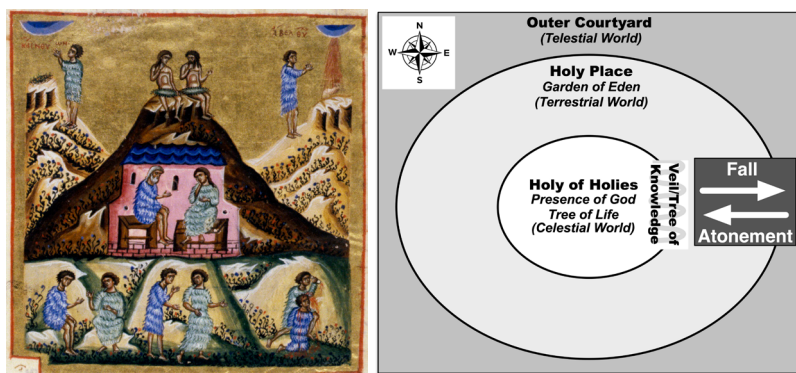

Figure 26. a. Adam and Eve Outside Paradise, Cain and Abel, 12th century;[448] b. *Top down view of three zones of sacredness in the Garden of Eden and the temple.*

Moses 6:23 speaks of how "preachers of righteousness" who also symbolically descended from higher ground, initiated a missionary program aimed at wanderers who had deliberately forsaken God and dwelt below. Among these preachers was Jared,[449] the father of Enoch, the root of whose name probably means "to descend."[450] And among those to whom they preached were the "giants" or *nephilim*,[451] a name that fittingly means "fallen ones."

Circular maps with top-down perspectives on a hierocentric cosmos are common in some cultures. Though they vary widely in their details, many share general characteristics. Nakamura Hiroshi used the term *mappaemundi* to refer to such maps, that, in contrast to modern maps, were "used to convey a certain idea of space, and not preoccupied with topographical accuracy."[452] A late Korean example of such a map is shown in figure 27, but maps that are at least superficially similar to this one go back thousands of years. However, despite some similarities, it should be mentioned that influence on circular Korean maps from Babylonian or medieval sources seems unlikely, since the earlier maps "had long been

out of circulation when the circular world maps became so popular in Korea."[453]

Figure 27. 'Cheonhado' map of the square earth and the round cosmos, Seoul, Korea, ca. 1800.[454] In the central area is an internal continent surrounded by an internal sea, which is in turn surrounded by an external continent and an external sea. The names of real places are shown exclusively within the internal continent, while the names that appear elsewhere describe mythological locations[455] "where immortals live."[456]

In figure 27, an internal continent, corresponding to known earthly geography, is surrounded by an external continent where immortals (both good and evil) live, separated from earth by an internal sea. In such maps, movement away from the center of the internal continent is represented as being in an eastward direction that reflects increasing distance from access to the divine. For example, with respect to the structure of maps like this one, Mark E. Lewis notes "there is a progressive decline as one moves away from the center."[457] Note the large medallion bearing the name of China that is shown near the middle of the map—just east of Mount K'un-lun, reflecting the idea of China as perhaps the most sacred place on earth outside of the sacred mountain itself. Mount K'un-lun, it was anciently revered as the sacred center of

the universe where heaven and earth meet and from which four great rivers emanate[458]—recalling the four rivers of Eden.[459]

Though I am not suggesting that Cheonhado maps such as the one above and the Sogdian fragments of the *Book of Giants* have any necessary relationship, at least one scholar has argued for evidence of "weak and distant influence"[460] in the resemblance of the symbolic geography of Mount K'un-lun to that of Mount Sumēru. Of relevance for the present chapter is that Mount Sumēru—the sacred mountain of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism—is mentioned in Manichaean fragments of the *Book of Giants*—and visually depicted in the *Manichaean Cosmology Painting*—as the place of resort for the gathered righteous, as we will discuss in more detail below.

When seen in the light of hierocentric maps of the world, certain details relating to the layout of sacred, symbolic geography in both ancient Enoch accounts and the Book of Moses take on greater meaning. Though the symbolic geography tells us little — or, more likely, nothing — about the physical geography of the story, knowing something about it helps unravel the significance of *BG*'s narrative of Enoch's missionary journeys and the subsequent gathering and scattering of various peoples.

As mentioned previously, Jewish sources usually detail a decrease in sacredness as one moves eastward away from the center and an increase as one travels (or returns) toward it, often in a westward direction.[461] This direction of movement is analogous to the westward movement toward increasingly sacred compartments within Israelite temples. An understanding of the map helps us understand the nature of Enoch's eastward missionary journey. For example, in answer to Mahijah's question in Moses 6:41, Enoch replied:

> I came out from the land of Cainan, the land of my fathers, a land of righteousness unto this day.

Thus, in line with the presumed hierocentric, symbolic geography of Enoch's world, we are not surprised to read the significant detail in the Book of Moses account that his missionary journey took him away from the "sacred center"—in other words, he went out "from the land of Cainan,"[462] "a land of righteousness"[463] in the west, to the land of the wicked in the east, presumably not far from the western edge of "the sea east,"[464] where he is said to have received a vision. Significantly, *1 Enoch* also records a vision that Enoch received "by the waters of Dan,"[465] arguably corresponding to the "sea east" mentioned in the Book of Moses.[466]

However, *1 Enoch* also contains the account of an elaborate "journey round the world"[467] undertaken by Enoch that is lacking in the Book of Moses and *BG*. In *BG* we are only given the account of Mahaway's long and apparently direct flight eastward to the end of the earth to meet Enoch at the mountain of the "Paradise of Justice," distinct from the "mountain of God" which, in *1 Enoch*, is located in the north and prominently features the Tree of Life.[468]
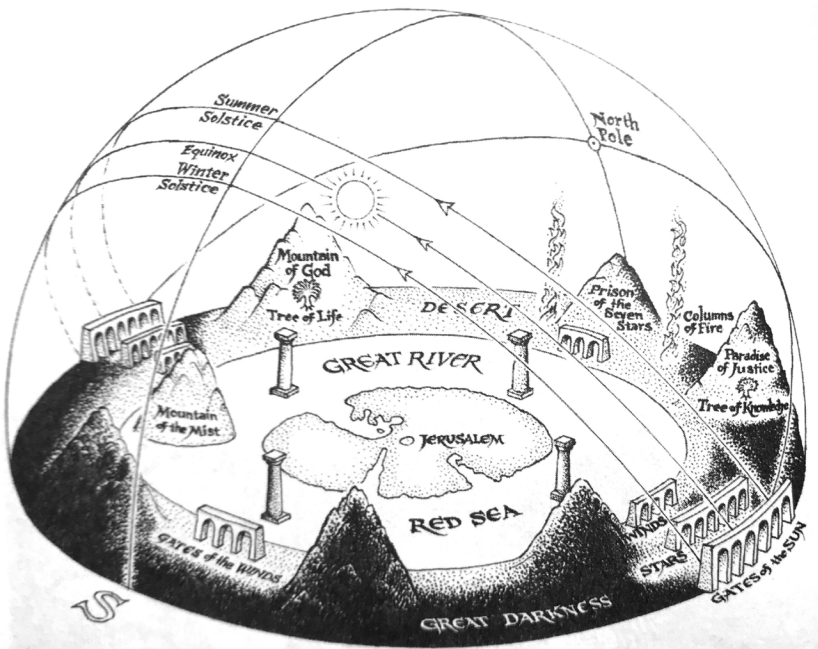

Figure 28. Representation of the world based on 1 Enoch. *"In the conception of the universe in the book of* [1 Enoch], *the sun emerges from the six eastern gates, moves in the six months between the winter and summer solstices, and sets in the western gates. The seven great mountains are based on the ancient Babylonian conception of the universe."*[469] *Although not shown here, the author of* 1 Enoch 26 *described Jerusalem and "Judaea, the center of the earth" as containing "a sacred mountain, the hill of the Temple,"*[470] *as would be expected. Milik observed that the map shows tension between competing concerns between the requirements of cartography and fidelity to the (sometimes conflicting) Enoch texts.*[471]

With this general understanding of roughly analogous hierocentric circular maps with a mountain at the sacred center made at other times and places, we are ready to return to the account of the gathering of Enoch's people in *BG* and the Book of Moses. In the general fashion of Indian cartography, produced under the influence of Manichaean disciples familiar with *BG*, the universe is depicted as "countless

spherical separate worlds," with "our earth [as] one of the concentric rings in a disc detached from a globe."[472] At the center is Mount Sumēru, "from which flow all rivers."
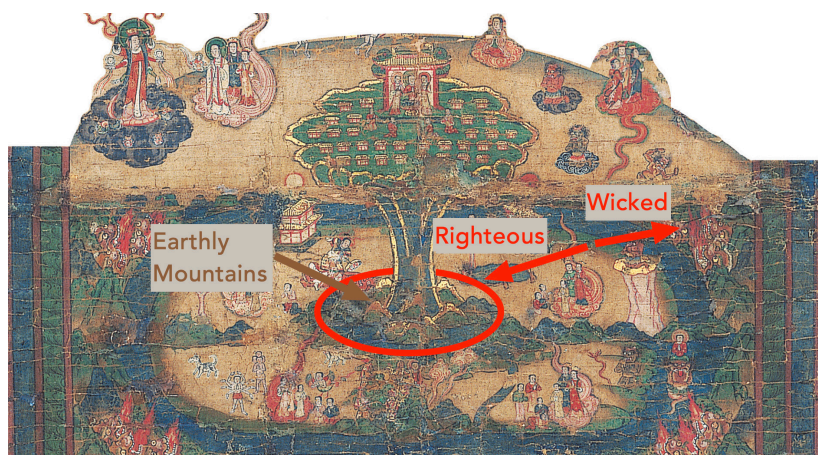

Figure 29. Detail of MCP.[473] *Movement of the wicked and the righteous with respect to the high, treelike cliff at the center of the world, corresponding to the sacred Mount Sumēru. The cities that were established by the repentant* gibborim *were said to have been situated in earthly mountains that were westward of their point of origin. Note the mountains at the foot of Sumēru.*

Book of Moses readers will recall that the righteous followers of Enoch were brought to a place of safety where "the Lord came and dwelt with his people. … And Enoch … built a city that was called the City of Holiness, even Zion."[474] One interesting feature of the Manichaean *BG* fragments is that they tell us the direction that Enoch's people traveled. Specifically, according to *BG*, four angels ultimately led the wicked to their eventual destruction in the *east*—away from the "sacred center"— while the righteous went *westward* to inhabit cities near the foot of the holy mountain, as shown by the annotations in the figure above.

Although the Manichaean version of these events highlights only the prominent role of the angels in leading the battles and gathering the righteous, we can safely presume that the role of Enoch was closely intertwined with that of the angels. For example, note that the protection of Enoch by these angels is mentioned elsewhere in the Manichaean *BG* text[475] and the angels and Enoch seem to be shown together visually within *MCP* as previously mentioned:[476]

> And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. … And they led one half of them eastwards, and the

other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the Sumēru mountain, into thirty-two[477] towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning.

While there are indications in some Manichaean traditions suggesting that both the eastward and westward bound groups were wicked,[478] Matthew Goff sees it as more reasonable to view the westward bound group in *BG* as consisting of repentant *gibborim*, reminding readers that the area near Mount Sumēru is the sacred *omphalos mundi*[479] of Indian tradition":[480]

> No reason is given as to why the [*gibborim*] are placed in cities. The division of the [*gibborim*] along an east-west axis suggests two opposed fates for them — one half was killed and the other survived. This could be explained by positing that some of the [*gibborim*] repented and changed their ways while others did not.

In a further detail that parallels the Book of Moses, observe that *BG* describes the righteous dwelling "on the skirts of four huge mountains."[481] Significantly, this imagery recalls Moses 7:17, which relates that the righteous "were blessed upon the mountains, and upon the high places, and did flourish."

O. Imprisonment of the wicked

Table 19. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme O.

Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*
But behold, these which thine eyes are upon shall perish in the floods; and behold, I will shut them up; a prison have I prepared for them.	Enoch, the apostle, . . . [gave a message to the demons (i.e., Watchers, in this context) and their] children (i.e., *gibborim*): to you . . . not peace [The judgment on you is] that you shall be bound for the sins you have omitted. You shall see the destruction of your children. Ruling for a hundred and twenty [years] (Henning 1943, text A, frg. l, p. 61; see Stuckenbruck 1997, p. 63)

Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*
And that which I have chosen hath pled before my face. Wherefore, he suffereth for their sins; inasmuch as they will repent in the day that my Chosen shall return unto me, and until that day they shall be in torment (7:38–39)	There is]not peace for you[(Parry 2013, 4Q203, frg. 8, l. 2, p. 943; see Stuckenbruck 1997, p. 63)
	he has imprisoned us and overpowered yo[u (Parry 2013, 4Q203, frg. 7b I, l. 5, p. 945; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 83–84; Reeves 1992, pp. 126–27)
	Then . . . and imprisoned the demons (i.e., Watchers, in this context) (Henning, text T, p. 73; Reeves 1992, pp. 123–24)
	They bound the Watchers with an eternal chain, in the prison of the blackened ones (?). [Th]ey obliterated their children [i.e., the *gibborim*] from the earth (Gardner 1995, 38 (93); Henning 1943, text P, p. 72. See Reeves 1992, p. 124.)
	Before the Watchers rebelled and came down from heaven, a prison was fashioned and constructed for them in the depths of the earth, below the mountains (Gardner 1995, 45 (117), p. 123; Henning 1943, text S, pp. 72–73)

The conclusion of the story of the rebellion of the Watchers in *1 Enoch* tells of their terrible binding and eternal imprisonment:

> Go, Michael, bind Shemihazah and the others with him, . . . bind them . . . in the valleys of the earth, until the day of their judgment. . . . Then they will be led away to the fiery abyss, and to the torture, and to the prison where they will be confined forever.[482]
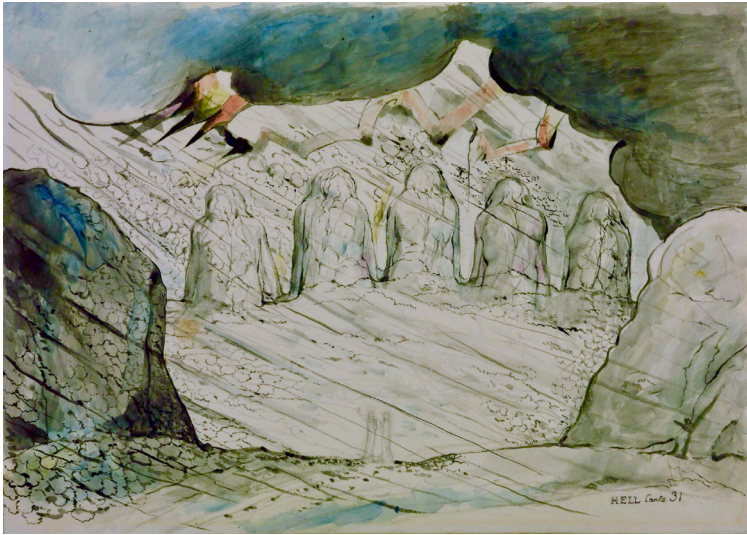
Figure 30. William Blake (1757–1827), The Primaeval Giants
Sunk in the Soil, *1824–1827.*[483]

Blake's drawing in figure 30 illustrates canto 31 of Dante's *Divine Comedy.* After seeing what he mistakenly thinks is a ring of towers surrounding a central deep, Dante is told by Virgil about the Giants who are sunk to their waists in a well whose massive drop leads to Cocytus, a great frozen lake of the lowest region of hell. Their defiant rebellion, born of the same envy and pride that ruled the fallen angels who "rained down from heaven" in the beginning,[484] was all the more terrible and destructive because of the coupling of their evil will with the brute force of their mighty stature. Now reduced to pale, mountainous shapes amid the chaos, they stand eternally unmoved by the sharp fires of lightning above and the rude blasts of icy storm winds swirling upward from below.

Both the Book of Moses and the *Book of Giants* contain a "prediction of utter destruction and the confining in prison that is to follow"[485] for the unrepentant wicked, a scenario that is similar in some ways to *1 Enoch.* From the Book of Moses we read, "But behold, these . . . shall perish in the floods; and behold, I will shut them up; a prison have I prepared for them" (Moses 7:38). Likewise, in *BG* we read the lament of a speaker who complains, "He has imprisoned us and overpowered yo[u."[486]

Figure 31. Detail of MCP, *showing imprisoned "demons;"*[487] here most likely depicting "Watchers" who are adjudged to have committed unpardonable sins.

That said, although the three texts are similar in a general way, there is an important difference between the outlook of *1 Enoch* and that found in the Book of Moses and *BG* — namely, the possibility of repentance and salvation for those who have sinned.[488] Jed Woodworth summarizes:

> What is the fate of those who perish in the flood? In [*1 Enoch*], there is one fate only: everlasting punishment. Those who are destroyed in the flood are beyond redemption. For God to be reconciled, sinners must suffer forever. Enoch has nothing to say because God has no merciful side to appeal to. In [the Book of Moses account], however, punishment has an end. The merciful side of God allows Enoch to speak and be heard. God and Enoch speak a common language: mercy. "Lift up your heart, and be glad; and look," God says to Enoch after the flood.[489] There is hope for the wicked yet:[490]
>
> I will shut them up; a prison have I prepared for them. And that which I have chosen hath pled before my face. Wherefore, he suffereth for their sins; inasmuch as they will repent in the day that my Chosen shall return unto me, and until that day they shall be in torment.
>
> The Messiah figure in [*1 Enoch* 45–47] and in [the Book of Moses] function in different ways. In [the Book of Moses], the Chosen One will come to earth at the meridian of time to rescue the sinners of Enoch's day. After the Messiah's death and resurrection, "as many of the spirits as were in prison

came forth, and stood on the right hand of God."[491] The Messiah figure in [*1 Enoch*] does not come down to earth and is peripheral to the text; he presides over the "elect" around God's throne[492] but does not rescue the sinners of Enoch's day. "In the day of trouble evil shall [still] be heaped upon sinners,"[493] he tells Enoch [in that account].[494]

The use of the term "demons" in *BG* can be confusing because it applies to different groups at different times. For example, while the term "demons" denotes the *gibborim* in some places in *BG*,[495] within the passages on the right-hand side of table 19 above it clearly refers to the Watchers. In addition, though *BG*, like *1 Enoch*, does not hold out the possibility of forgiveness for the Watchers (who apparently are adjudged to have committed unpardonable sins), we have already seen that *BG* elsewhere records Enoch's hope that the *gibborim* will reform and escape the severe judgments that otherwise await them.[496] Similarly, in Moses 6:52, Enoch preaches that it is not too late for the *gibborim* to change their ways — his message is "that *all* men, *everywhere*, must repent."[497] In brief, the outlooks of the Book of Moses and the *Book of Giants* toward the *gibborim* are similar to each other but different from *1 Enoch*.

Unfortunately, as later events make clear, the initial sorrowing of what seems to have been many of the *gibborim* brought about only short-lived repentance for some of them. However, drawing on both the Qumran and Manichaean versions of the *Book of Giants*, Matthew Goff concludes that a faction of the *gibborim* may have repented more sincerely and permanently. He asks:

> Why would God give the [*gibborim*] a vision about the Flood in the first place? Why give them the opportunity to know about the Flood before it happens? If God's plan is to kill them, why bother? The dreams disclosed to Ohyah and Hahyah may signify that God, by making clear to the [*gibborim*] what the punishment for their crimes would be, gives them the opportunity to repent. This may be a variation of the tradition often associated with the 120 years of Genesis 6:3. And, even though there is no explicit evidence for this proposal in the Qumran *BG*, the Manichaean *BG* suggests that this narrative element could have been present in the Qumran text and that the prayers of the [*gibborim*], in striking contrast to those of the angels in [the *1 Enoch Book of*] *Watchers*, could have been successful.[498]

Of course, Latter-day Saints know that repentance continues after this life. And those who accept the possibility of the preaching of the gospel to those beyond the grave — a group that includes not only Latter-day Saints[499] but also early Christians[500] and selected scholars from outside the Church[501] — frequently cite 1 Peter 3:18–20 and 4:5–6.

These verses are well known among Latter-day Saints. But it is not common knowledge among them that Peter is alluding to the unrepentant wicked who heard Enoch's preaching when he refers to the "spirits in prison; which sometime were disobedient." Of course, the verses in Peter allude to a very long time frame, stretching from the time of Enoch's preaching into Noah's day (i.e., when "the ark was a preparing"), but what evidence we have points to a continuity of culture among the wicked throughout that entire period. Thus, Peter's illustration is equally apt for the hearers of Enoch and the hearers of Noah.

The eminent Enoch scholar George Nickelsburg[502] does not doubt that Peter is "alluding to the tradition about the Watchers of *1 Enoch*" and that in 1 Peter 3:19–20 Peter "attributes to Jesus a journey to the underworld that parallels Enoch's interaction with the rebel Watchers," while comparing "baptism with the purifying effects of the Flood."[503] If Nickelsburg is correct, then Peter's writings, like the Book of Moses, imply the hope that God's mercy will be extended even to the wicked Watchers who rejected Enoch while they lived on earth, such that, through eventual repentance and the power of the Atonement, they might eventually "live according to God in the spirit" (1 Peter 4:6). Arguing on the basis of 1 Peter and Moses 7:37–38, Hugh Nibley gives hope of eventual deliverance for even the most depraved sinners of Enoch's day:

> Those in prison, chains, and darkness are only being kept there until the Judgment, which will liberate many, not only because of their repentance, but through the power of the Atonement. . . . It was specifically the spirits who were disobedient in Enoch's day who were to enjoy the preaching of the Lord and the promise of deliverance in the meridian of times.[504]

In summary, while the mention of imprisonment is frequent throughout the ancient Enoch literature, the real hope of repentance preached by Enoch to the *gibborim* in the Book of Moses[505] and in *BG* is both a significant resemblance between these two texts and also another important difference with *1 Enoch*.

P. Flood of Noah anticipated in vision/dream

Table 20. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme P

Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*
And Enoch also saw Noah, and his family; that the posterity of all the sons of Noah should be saved with a temporal salvation; Wherefore Enoch saw that Noah built an ark; and that the Lord smiled upon it, and held it in his own hand; but upon the residue of the wicked the floods came and swallowed them up (7:42–43)	[in order that we may k]now from you their interpretation. [*vac* Then Enoch explained to Mahway dreams] (Parry 2013, 4Q530, frg. 7 II, l. 10, p. 951; see Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 128–34; Reeves 1992, pp. 102–7) 10. [heaven came down. I watched until the di]rt was covered with all the water, and the fire burned all 11. [the trees of this orchard all around and it did not burn the tree and its shoots on] the earth, whil[e it was 12. [devastated with tongues of fire and water of the delug]e. . . . 15. . . . this [dr]eam you will give [to Eno]ch the noted scribe, and he will interpret for us (Parry 2013, 4Q530, frgs. 2 col. II + 6 + 7 col. I + 8–11 + 12(?), l. 10–12, 14, pp. 949, 951. See Stuckenbruck 1997, pp. 112–15; Reeves 1992, pp. 84–91)

In the Book of Moses, Enoch is shown the great flood in Noah's day as part of his grand vision in chapter 7. The parallel with *BG* is clear enough, but it should also be noted that the corresponding dream in *BG* seems almost a parody of Enoch's experience because Hahyah, one of the hapless twins in *BG*, receives his knowledge about the Flood in a nightmare rather than as part of a heavenly vision. In *BG*, this nightmare becomes the impetus for sending Mahaway on a second journey to ask Enoch to interpret the frightening dream.

Figure 32. Boleslaw Parasion (1950–), Noah's Ark.[506] 1 Enoch *67:2: "I will put my hand upon [the Ark] and protect it."*[507] *Moses 7:43: "The Lord . . . held [the Ark] in his own hand."*

Q. The earth cries out against the wicked

Table 21. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme Q

Book of Moses	Book of Giants
And it came to pass that Enoch looked upon the earth; and he heard a voice from the bowels thereof, saying: Wo, wo is me, the mother of men; I am pained, I am weary, because of the wickedness of my children. When shall I rest, and be cleansed from the filthiness which is gone forth out of me? When will my Creator sanctify me, that I may rest, and righteousness for a season abide upon my face? (7:48)	9. (the earth) has [risen up ag]ainst y[ou and is crying out] 10. and raising accusation against you [and ag]ainst the activity of your sons[11. the corruption which you have committed on it (the earth) (Parry 2013, 4Q203, frg. 8, l. 9–11, p. 945)

Although the motif of a complaining earth is not found anywhere in the Bible, it does turn up in both *1 Enoch* and *BG*.[508] In *1 Enoch* we find the following:

- *1 Enoch* 7:4–6; 8:4:[509] "And the giants began to kill men and to devour them. And they began to sin against the birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish, and to devour one another's flesh. And they drank the blood. Then *the earth brought accusation* against the lawless ones. . . . (And) as men were perishing, the cry went up to heaven."
- *1 Enoch* 9:2, 10:[510] "And entering in, they said to one another, '*The earth, devoid (of inhabitants), raises*[511] *the voice of their cries* to the gates of heaven. . . . And now behold, the spirits of the souls of the men who have died make suit; and their groan has come up to the gates of heaven; and it does not cease to come forth from before the iniquities that have come upon the earth."
- *1 Enoch* 87:1:[512] "And again I saw them, and they began to gore one another and devour one another, and *the earth began to cry out*."

In *BG* 4Q203, frg. 8, l. 9–11 we read:[513]

6. 'Let it be known to you th[at] [

7. your activity and (that) of [your] wive[s]

8. those (giants) [and their] son[s and] the [w]ives o[f]

9. through your fornication on the earth, *and it (the earth) has [risen up ag]ainst y[ou*

and is crying out]

10. *and raising accusation against you [and ag]ainst the activity of your sons[*

11. *the corruption which you have committed on it (the earth)* . . .

12. has reached Raphael. . . .

Consistent with other comparisons that have been made between the accounts of Enoch in the Book of Moses, *BG*, and *1 Enoch*, Andrew Skinner finds that resemblances to *BG* are more compelling than those found in *1 Enoch*. First, he notes that the nature of the wickedness in *BG* is described as "fornication,"[514] which corresponds semantically to the term "filthiness" used in the Book of Moses.[515] By way of contrast, the

crimes of wickedness being complained of in *1 Enoch* are murder and violence.

Second, Skinner notes that in both *BG* and "Moses 7 the earth *itself* complains of and decries the wickedness of the people, while the [first two] *1 Enoch* texts emphasize the cries of *men* ascending to heaven"[516] by means of the earth.[517]

Skinner also notes that in *BG* and the Book of Moses, "the ultimate motivation behind the earth's cry for redress against the intense wickedness on her surface" is a plea "for a cleansing of and sanctification from the pervasive wickedness by means of a heavenly personage and heavenly powers. In the Book of Moses the earth importunes,[518] 'When shall I rest, and be cleansed from the filthiness which has gone forth out of me? When will my Creator sanctify me, that I may rest, and righteousness for a season abide upon my face?'"[519] Likewise, in *BG*, the earth complains about how the wicked have corrupted it through licentiousness and anticipates a destruction that will cleanse it from wickedness.[520]

Once again, we find that *BG* and the Book of Moses are more similar to each other in their expression of this rare motif than either of them is to *1 Enoch*.
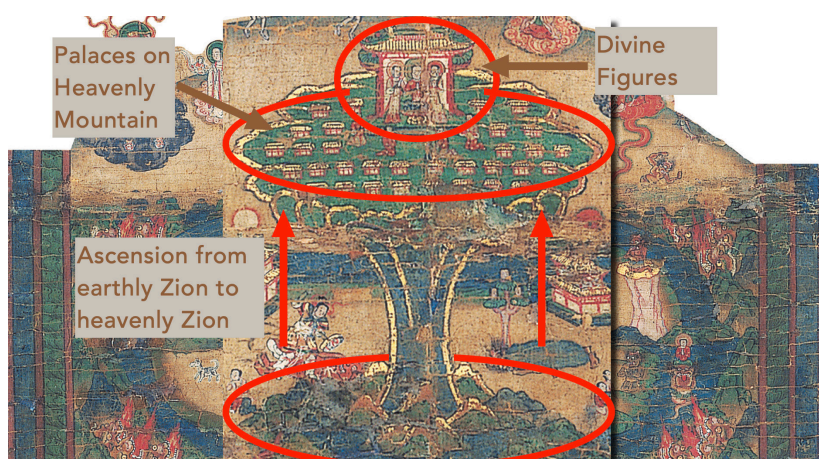

Figure 33. Detail of MCP.[521] *Ascent and transformation of* BG's *thirty-two divinely prepared cities of earthly Zion to thirty-two palaces of heavenly Zion atop Mount Sumēru. The palaces surround a deity with two attendants in a thirty-third palace.*

R. Ascent of Enoch's people to the bosom of God

Table 22. Examples of resemblances for narrative theme R

Book of Moses	*Book of Giants*
And Enoch and all the people walked with God, and he dwelt in the midst of Zion; and it came to pass that Zion was not, for *God received it up into his own bosom*; and from thence went forth the saying, Zion is Fled (7:69; emphasis added)	Small palaces in the divine realm adjacent to the palace of Deity (*MCP*, Gulácsi 2015, p. 470. See Kósa 2016, pp. 171–172)

BG scholar Gåbor Kósa sees the thirty-two palaces, shown "on the 'foliage' [at the top] of the tree-like Mount Sumēru,"[522] as implying "a divine association; this is reinforced by the presence of three divine figures in front of the [much bigger] thirty-third palace, with the central figure seated on a lotus throne and the two acolytes standing on either side. All in all, this seems to indicate the purely divine nature of this Manichaean Mount Sumēru."[523] In addition, Kósa sees the description of the mountain with its tree-like iconography as resonating with the description of the mountain of God and the Tree of Life in *1 Enoch* 25:2–4:[524]

> Then I answered him — I, Enoch — and said, "concerning all things I wish to know, but especially concerning this tree."
>
> And he answered me and said, "this high mountain that you saw, whose peak is like the throne of God, is the seat where the Great Holy One, the Lord of glory, the King of eternity, will sit, when he descends to visit the earth in goodness. And (as for) this fragrant tree, no flesh has the right to touch it until the great judgment, in which there will be vengeance on all and a consummation forever.

The scene also evokes the imagery of Nephi's vision:

> I was caught away … into an exceedingly high mountain …
>
> And I said: I desire to behold the things which my father saw.

> And the Spirit said unto me: Believest thou that thy father saw the tree of which he hath spoken? …
>
> And I looked and beheld a tree; … and the beauty thereof was far beyond, yea, exceeding of all beauty. …
>
> And I … beheld that the tree of life was a representation of the love of God.

Going further, though Kósa recognizes an obvious correspondence of some kind between the visual depiction of thirty-two palaces at the *top* of Mount Sumēru and the report in the *BG* text of "thirty-two towns" for the repentant *gibborim* at the *base* of Mount Sumēru he finds it difficult to reconcile the fact that the *palaces* shown at the top within *MCP* "are definitely not *towns*; [neither are they] at the *foot* of the mountains"[525] as is described in the text of *BG*.

In trying to unravel these anomalies, we should recall that the Book of Moses chronicles a transformation of the *earthly* Zion, symbolically located in the *foothills* of the "mountain of the Lord," into a *heavenly* Zion, as shown in the annotated figure above. In this way, the redemptive *descensus* initiated by Jared and his brethren culminated in the glorious *ascensus* led by Enoch:[526]

> And Enoch and all the people walked with God, and he dwelt in the midst of Zion; and it came to pass that Zion was not, *for God received it up into his own bosom*; and from thence went forth the saying, Zion is Fled.
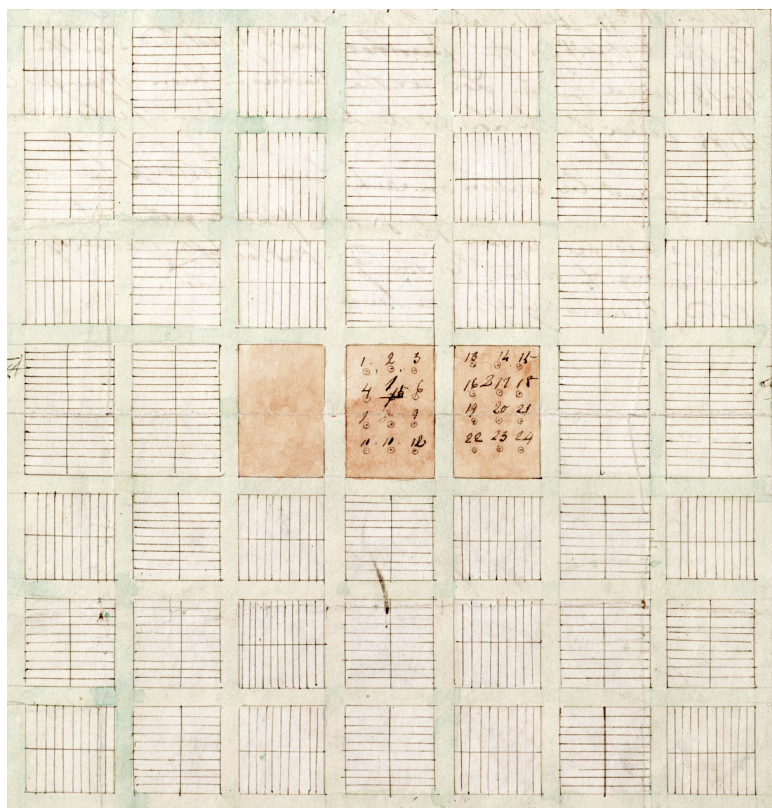
Figure 34. Original City of Zion Plat Drawing *(detail), with twenty-four numbered temple sites located in the center, June 1833.*[527]

Whether or not by sheer coincidence, the symbolic geography shared by the Manichaean *BG* fragments and *MCP* are mirrored in a general way in the itinerary of the gathering and the layout for Joseph Smith's City of Zion in Missouri. This latter-day city is described in modern scripture in close connection with descriptions of Enoch's ancient city.[528] As the righteous of Enoch's day were remembered by *BG* as having been divinely led westward, so the early Saints were told by the Lord: "gather ye out from the eastern lands" and "go ye forth into the western countries" (Doctrine and Covenants 45:64, 66).

Moreover, in both cases the destination of the western movement of each group is identified as a unique hierocentric location: for Enoch's people that location was Mount Sumēru in the middle of the world map, while for the early Saints that location was "Mount Zion, which shall be the city of New Jerusalem,"[529] a relatively central location on the North American continent. Significantly, the city of New Jerusalem envisioned

by the Saints is expressly called in revelation, "the center place,"[530] or "center stake."[531]

Finally, while the cosmology painting depicts Mount Sumēru with thirty-two or thirty-six palaces at its summit, the plat for the city of Zion prominently featured twenty-four numbered temple sites at its center. Thus, in the *MCP* depiction of *BG*, in the Book of Moses, and in the envisioned latter-day City of Zion, "God . . . dwelt in the midst,"[532] literally and symbolically central in the eyes of His people.

Where in all the ancient Enoch tradition do we find anything close to the story of the gathering of Enoch's repentant converts to cities in the mountains to prepare as a people for an eventual ascension to the bosom of God? Only in *BG* and the Book of Moses.

Summary of Results

I began this essay with a review of Nibley's pioneering research on resemblances of *BG* to the Book of Moses. In section 2, I argued that *BG*, apparently more popular than *1 Enoch* among those who collected the Dead Sea Scrolls and arguably the oldest extant Enoch manuscript found anywhere, is particularly helpful to scholars seeking to "reconstruct the literary shapes of the early stages of the Enochic tradition."[533] I cited scholarship concluding that *BG*, discovered in 1948, owes relatively little directly to the Bible and *1 Enoch*, the sources most often cited by those who havbe argued that Moses 6–7 was primarily inspired by sources and ideas available to Joseph Smith in the nineteenth century.

I concur with scholars who have found that the antiquity and unique nature of certain elements of *BG* traditions can be better understood by looking "for the original of *BG* in an eastern diaspora"[534]—that is, ancient Mesopotamia. In section 3, I summarized in-depth studies of recurring appearances and echoes of various peoples that were called *gibborim* in the biblical era that may help us understand the general social setting and symbolic geography of Enoch's prediluvian mission in *BG* and the Book of Moses.

In section 4, I described some of the most prominent members of the cast of characters in *BG*, grouped into rough categories that highlight co-occurrences of their names in other early texts and in the Book of Moses. A closer examination led to the conclusion that of all these names, the only two names mentioned both in the Book of Moses Enoch account (Enoch and Mahijah/Mahujah) and in *BG* (Enoch and Mahaway) are also the most plausible from a historical perspective.

Following the analysis of the names and roles of individuals mentioned in the two Enoch accounts, a simplified storyline of Moses 6–7 was compared with shared storyline elements in *BG* and other ancient Enoch texts. It was found that *BG* contains hints of every core narrative storyline element found in the Book of Moses while containing none of its sacred storyline elements, despite the fact that hints of each of the "missing" sacred stories can be found in one form or another elsewhere in the ancient Enoch literature. These striking and unexpected patterns of inclusion and omission prompted the suggestion that *BG* and the Book of Moses may have been rooted in some of the same ancient Enoch traditions but that somewhere along the line, the sacred stories now found only in the Book of Moses were either removed from the tradition inherited by the *BG* redactor(s) or, alternatively, were left out when *BG* was composed.

Our discussion of the eighteen thematic resemblances highlighted not only the interesting ways in which *BG* descriptions converged and diverged with the related Book of Moses account, but also the surprising degree to which they matched the presumed *BG* storyline sequence. Significantly, the set of resemblances of *BG* was not confined to a small fraction of the Moses 6–7 account, but instead range throughout the main storyline.

Now let's continue to a summary of our comparative analysis to look for an answer to the following question: Is it reasonable to believe that the thematic resemblances of *BG* to the Book of Moses may not have come merely by chance? In the summary, we will not only consider the *number* and relative *density* of resemblances but also, like Stuckenbruck, their *specificity* as an additional indication of the strength of association between the two texts. Thematic resemblances to Moses 6–7 that are exclusive to *BG* and the Book of Moses will be deemed stronger than ones that co-occur in other ancient Enoch literature. Resemblances for themes that occur rarely or are absent outside the ancient Enoch literature will be seen as stronger than ones that appear elsewhere within passages of Second Temple texts or the Bible not specifically related to Enoch.

The two tables below provide a detailed summary of thematic resemblances of Enoch texts to Moses 6–7, classified by the type of resemblance. Table 23 displays resemblances found in the major ancient Enoch texts sampled, excluding *BG*, whereas table 24 shows resemblances found within *BG*.

Table 23. Thematic resemblances of Enoch texts to Moses 6–7, excluding BG,
classified by type

Type of Thematic Resemblance	Occurrences
Selected Themes in Enoch Traditions, Excluding *BG*, That Also Appear Elsewhere in the Bible or Other Second Temple Texts	1. Johannine Language Arising from an Enochic Matrix and the Opening of His Eyes at His Call 2. Enoch Clothed in Glory 3. Enoch's Apocalyptic Vision 4. Weeping for Sinful Humankind[535] 5. Shaking/Trembling of the Earth[536]
Themes in Enoch Texts, Excluding *BG*, That Are Rare or Absent Elsewhere	6. Turning Waters out of Their Course 7. Messianic Titles and Prophecies 8. Enoch's People Taken Up to Heaven 9. Vision Near a Body of Water During a Journey[537] 10. Enoch to Receive a Throne of Glory[538]
Specific Terms in Enoch Traditions, Excluding *BG*, That Are Rare or Absent Elsewhere	11. "Lad" in Enoch's Call 12. The Hand of the Lord to Be on Noah's Ark[539]

Table 24. Thematic resemblances of BG *to Moses 6–7, classified by type*

Type of Thematic Resemblance	Occurrences
Selected Themes in *BG* That Also Appear Elsewhere in the Bible or Other Ancient Texts	1. B. Murders 2. G. Trembling and Weeping After Record is Read 3. H. Call to Repentance 4. I. Sexual Defilement 5. K. Enoch Clothed with Glory

Type of Thematic Resemblance	Occurrences
Themes in *BG* That Are Found in Other Enoch Texts, But Are Rare or Absent Outside the Enoch Literature	6. A. The Begetting of the Sons of God/Watchers, the Giants, and the *Gibborim* 7. C. Oath-Inspired Violence 8. F. Enoch/Mahaway Reads Record of Deeds 9. O. Imprisonment of the Wicked 10. P. Flood of Noah Anticipated in Vision/Dream 11. Q. The Earth Cries Out against the Wicked
Themes in *BG* That Are Rare or Absent Outside of *BG* and Moses 6–7	12. J. Mahujah/Mahaway's Heavenly Journey to Meet Enoch 13. L. *Gibborim* Defeated in Battle 14. N. Repentant Gathered to Divinely Prepared Cities 15. R. Ascent of Enoch's People to the Bosom of God
Specific Terms in *BG* That Are Rare or Absent Outside of *BG* and Moses 6–7	16. D. A "Wild Man" 17. E. Mahijah/Mahaway 18. M. The "Roar of Lions/Wild Beasts" Following Battle

The first question addressed is: "How many of the proposed thematic resemblances in the sampled Enoch literature to the Book of Moses Enoch chapters are found in *BG*?" (see table 23: 1–12; table 24: 1–18; figure 35). Of course, results of this kind will always remain tentative because new resemblances can, in principle, always be found, and previously identified resemblances can always be disputed or reclassified.

However, considering the relative brevity of *BG*, the number of currently identified thematic resemblances to Moses 6–7 is remarkable. Although the combined fragments of the Qumran *BG* scarcely fill three pages in the English translation of Florentino García Martínez, the results

indicate that this single text contains eighteen, fully three-fifths, of the thirty proposed thematic resemblances of the combined ancient Enoch literature to the Book of Moses Enoch account. These resemblances range from general themes in the storyline to specific occurrences of rare terms or phrases in appropriate contexts.[540]
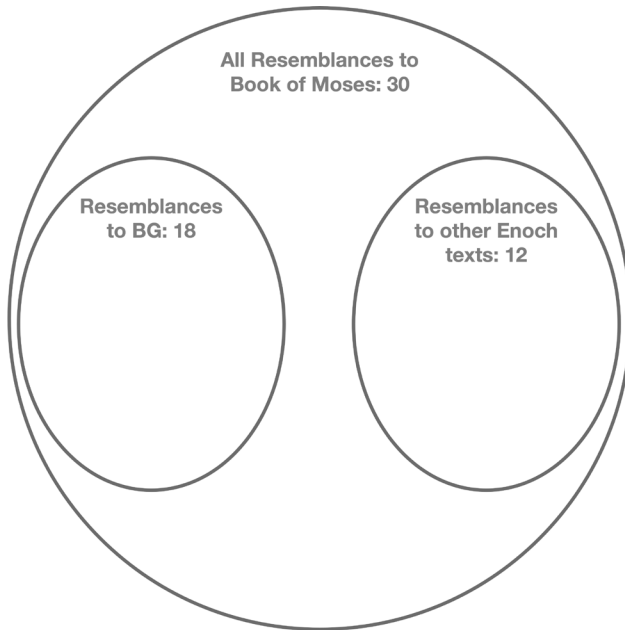

Figure 35. Proportion of thematic resemblances of Moses 6–7 to ancient Enoch texts in BG *vs. other Enoch sources.*

To get a better handle on the *density* of thematic resemblances to Moses 6–7 within the brief, extant fragments of *BG*, a comparison to the size of *1 Enoch* may be useful. Because *1 Enoch* is so much longer than *BG*, any claim that *1 Enoch* is more related to Moses 6–7 than *BG* would need to demonstrate, according to our best current estimate,[541] roughly eight to fifty times the number of thematic resemblances in *1 Enoch* than can be found in *BG*. However, in actuality, the parallels in *1 Enoch* not only fall far short of that magnitude[542] but also, as we have described in several of the detailed analyses of thematic resemblances discussed previously, are also generally looser and less relevant than those in *BG*. This difference is even more evident if one excludes the *1 Enoch Book of Parables*, where some of the most important and singular resemblances to Messianic titles and prophecies occur.[543] Note also that a good proportion of the resemblances between *BG* and the Book of Moses

are also unique, while many of the resemblances in *1 Enoch* are also found in *BG*.

Of course, these rough calculations to estimate relative density are overly conservative, since they do not include other sizable works such as *2 Enoch*, *3 Enoch*, and the Mandaean Enoch literature, which also were, along with *1 Enoch*, among the other Enoch texts that contributed a significant proportion of the twelve resemblances to the Book of Moses *not* found in *BG*.

Besides the fact that the *BG* resemblances are high in relative density, the sequence of their occurrence is remarkably similar to the Book of Moses, especially when explanations for the exceptions are considered.

Of course, some of the thematic resemblances of Moses 6–7 to ancient Enoch texts are stronger and more specific than others. Using Stuckenbruck's study as a model for our approach, I have separated selected motifs in Moses 6–7 that are not unknown elsewhere in the Bible or other Second Temple texts from those that are found exclusively or nearly exclusively in the sampled ancient literature on Enoch. Again, the results were impressive. Of the thirty resemblances identified, twenty (fully two-thirds) were to themes or terms/phrases that are rare or absent outside of the Enoch literature (see table 23: 6–10; table 24: 6–18; figure 36). Thus it seems that the Book of Moses is not merely hitting on themes in the Enoch literature that are just as likely to be found elsewhere in biblical and Second Temple texts. Instead, Moses 6–7 seems to be well tuned to many specifically *Enoch-related* motifs.

These items are especially notable because they are not isolated instances, but rather occur in most cases as part of a "uniquely shared *combination* of ideas or motifs."[544] Like Stuckenbruck, I separated items that exhibit a more general, "conceptual level of commonly held motifs"[545] (see table 22: 6–10; table 23: 6–15) from those that stood out because they shared significant but relatively rare or specific "terms or closely comparable phrases"[546] (table 23: 11–12; table 24: 16–18). Importantly, five of the twenty resemblances that are rare or absent outside of the ancient Enoch literature share significant, rare or specific terms or closely comparable phrases with Moses 6–7.
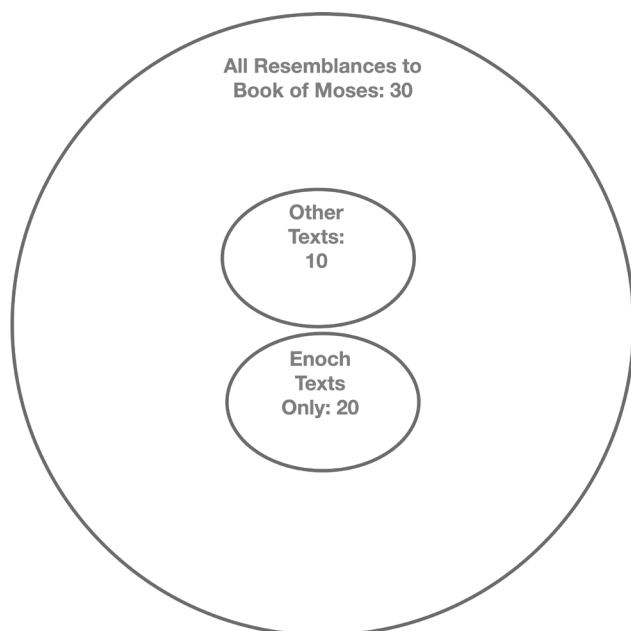
Figure 36. Number of resemblances to Moses 6–7 that are found in the Bible or other ancient texts of Jewish origin vs. exclusively or nearly exclusively in Enoch texts alone.

We have already seen that Moses 6–7 contains more thematic resemblances to *BG* than to all the other ancient Enoch literature combined (table 24: 1–18 vs. table 23: 1–12; figure 35). Not surprisingly in light of this previous finding, we see here that, compared to other Enoch texts, *BG* also contains most of the resemblances (thirteen out of twenty) that are rare or absent outside the Enoch literature (table 24: 6–18 vs. table 23: 6–12; figure 37). Going further, we wonder how many of these resemblances are *unique* to *BG*? The answer is that fully seven of *BG*'s eighteen resemblances, more than one-third, are found *only* in *BG*, and nowhere else (table 24: 12–18; figure 37).

In summary, these results allow us to say that although the Book of Moses seems to be related in a uniquely close fashion to the themes of *BG*, it is also broad enough in scope that it also matches several important singularly Enochic themes in every other major ancient Enoch text. Saying it differently, the fact that not only *BG* but also nearly all the major Enoch texts from antiquity contain resemblances to Moses 6–7 helps make the case that the Book of Moses Enoch account contains themes rooted in a broad, common inheritance from ancient Enochic traditions stronger than if the account were only related to *BG* alone.
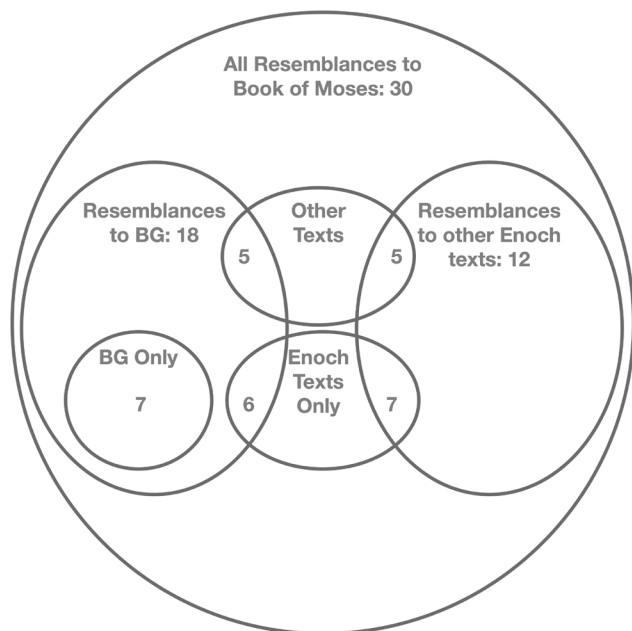
Figure 37. Number of resemblances to Moses 6–7 that are found only in BG.

We note that Stuckenbruck's analysis, like this one, relied largely on English comparanda and in a situation where "at no point [could] it be demonstrated that the [later text] quotes from any passage in [the earlier text]."[547] If Stuckenbruck's study was sufficient to demonstrate "that the writer of Revelation was either directly acquainted (through literary or oral transmission) with several of the major sections of *1 Enoch* or at least had access to traditions that were influenced by these writings,"[548] it does not seem unreasonable to conclude from the results presented here that an Enoch book that was buried in the rubble until 1948 and an Enoch book that was independently translated in 1830 may be related in some way, despite admittedly important differences in provenance, perspective, and contents.

One additional observation: Though in this paper I have focused on the possibility of ancient Mesopotamian precedents for Moses 6–7, David Calabro has provided well-reasoned arguments that the *direct* connection between antiquity and the Book of Moses need go no further back than the late first or early second century CE, perhaps serving at that time as part of an early Christian baptismal liturgy, with hints of influence from earlier traditions appearing only *indirectly* as part of Joseph Smith's translation. As Calabro writes,

Just as Joseph Smith restored the text in modern times, [an] early Christian text may also have been a restoration of a much earlier text, although reformulated in language appropriate to the times.[549] This earlier text may also have been used in a ritual context, possibly in the consecration of priests and/or the coronation of kings.[550]

In line wth Calabro's conjecture about the uses of an earlier text within a ritual context, I have argued for the possibility that the Book of Moses, in an earlier form, could be conceived as a temple text for ritual use in royal investiture, analogous to temple rites restored by the Prophet Joseph Smith and containing a specific sequence of stories illustrating the keeping and breaking of associated covenants.[551]

It is my hope that all scholars interested in the nature and origins of the Book of Moses will include such evidence of literary *affinities* of Moses 6–7 to the ancient Enoch literature in tandem with any complementary arguments they make for nineteenth-century literary *influences* on the production of this work of modern scripture.

Concluding Thoughts

Hugh Nibley introduced the term "the expanding gospel"[552] to refer not only to the phenomenon of an open-ended canon due to continuing revelation but also to the astonishing recovery of fragments of inspired religious teachings from ancient times. Even if many conclude that these tattered fragments of admittedly mixed, uncertain, and checkered provenance may contain little of enduring religious value, Nibley argued that they could sometimes serve, despite their imperfections, as valuable witnesses of truths known anciently. By way of analogy, he wrote:

> If one makes a sketch of a mountain, what is it? A few lines on a piece of paper. But there is a solid reality behind this poor composition; even if the tattered scrip is picked up later in a street in Tokyo or a gutter in Madrid, it still attests to the artist's experience of the mountain as a reality. If the sketch should be copied by others who have never seen the original mountain, it still bears witness to its reality. So it is with the apocryphal writings: most of them are pretty poor stuff, and all of them are copies of copies. But when we compare them we cannot escape the impression that they have some real model behind them, more faithfully represented in some than in others. All we ever get on this earth, Paul reminds us,

is a distorted reflection of things as they really are.[553] Since we are dealing with derivative evidence only, we are not only justified but required to listen to all the witnesses, no matter how shoddy some of them may be.[554]

In closing, I confess my love for the Book of Moses. It is a joy and a privilege to live in a day when it is widely available, putting us in a position where we can sound the depths of its inspiring stories and eternal verities to our heart's content. Just as prophets have spoken of God's hand in the advances of *new technology* we see in our day,[555] I believe that He is equally willing to help us in the discovery and elucidation of *ancient documents* that strengthen our witness and increase our understanding of Restoration scripture. I believe that many new discoveries relating to ancient scripture are yet to be made and that the Lord expects us to actively seek them out, since Latter-day Saints hold as core beliefs many of the essential keys to understanding and applying them vigorously in their fulness. Hugh Nibley wrote that discoveries in ancient digs and ancient texts, tangible artifacts that sometimes provide striking witnesses of the fact that truths restored in our day were also known in former times, are a "reminder to the Saints that they are still expected to do their homework and may claim no special revelation or convenient handout as long as they ignore the vast treasure-house of materials that God has placed within their reach."[556] May we all resolve to search and understand with greater diligence "the vast treasure-house of materials that God has placed within [our] reach."

Acknowledgments

Discussion

Jo Ann H. Seely:

Thank you so much for a thorough and comprehensive view of your topic, including some fascinating and beautiful images. If we have time, I'll ask you a little bit about that, too. But my first question is: There is such a vast and growing corpus of scholarly publication and information

on the ancient books of Enoch and the Pearl of Great Price. Where might a Latter-day Saint, who is not familiar with the scholarly literature but is interested in learning more go for some beginning resources?

Jeffrey M. Bradshaw:

Well, I'd recommend starting in the same place where I started when I first began doing serious research on the Book of Moses; that is with the wonderful commentary on the Pearl of Great Price written by Richard Draper, Kent Brown, and Michael Rhodes.[557] I found all kinds of interesting things there, including some things I used in today's presentation. I think that's the place to start. After that, there's plenty of things that will take you deeper into the text. We've now put all the research resources we could find on the Book of Moses into a online bibliography, so that might be another good starting point.[558]

Jo Ann:

That's great. Okay. This is just a general question. Why is the study of all of this context and background to the scripture so important? Isn't it more important just to read the scriptures themselves and figure out what their personal application is for our lives? Why do we need all this background?

Jeff:

That's a great question. Obviously if scripture study isn't helping us in our quest to become Saints, we are on the wrong track. We might compare, in a very broad fashion, the blessings of scripture study to those we receive in doing temple work. We go to the temple to receive our certain blessings there — essential ordinances we can receive in no other way — and also to help others on the other side of the veil to receive the same blessings. Those blessings are conditional, based on our being faithful in the covenants we make until the end of our mortal lives and beyond. But if our only thought in participating in the temple ordinances was to go through the motions, as it were, if part of the reason we need to go there was not the fact that we also need specialized instruction and learning that we can get only by performing and reflecting on the ordinances we receive there, all the words accompanying the ordinances could simply be omitted and we could perform each ordinance much more quickly. In a roughly analogous way, if everything we needed to learn from the scriptures could be contained in a list of commandments accompanied by the admonition to love God and our neighbor, the Lord could have

easily condensed our four volumes of canonized scripture into a short pamphlet-sized tract.

But I think the Lord gave us a treasure house of lifelong learning in our scriptures. And I think that He expects us to spend serious time digging those treasures out. Not just the essential behioral foundation of Christian ethics and the basic doctrines we can read in five minutes within the *Articles of Faith*, but also "wisdom and great treasures of knowledge, even hidden treasures" (Doctrine and Covenants 89:19) that won't be accessible to us through casual glances at the words in isolation. Of course, many of these "hidden treasures" are given to us through revelation, spurred as part of our prayerful study when accompanied by doing our best to apply what we have already learned. But, as President Nelson often teaches us in words (and by example): "The Lord loves effort, and effort brings rewards."[559] When we start to get a feel for the background and context of scripture, when we know something about the ancient languages, when we know something about why things are expressed in the way that we are, a whole world of understanding opens up to us. I think helps us not only to better understand the scriptures, but also to better understand how God works in the world. None of us has the right to excuse ourselves by saying: "I'm just not a gospel scholar." Each of us can start where we're at and go from there. And the Lord will love and reward our small efforts with unimaginable joy.

Jo Ann:

That's certainly true. When our perspective is widened, we learn so much. We're often surprised at what we learn.

What do you make of the fact that the Joseph Smith Translation consists mostly of additions to the text and rarely deletions or subtractions?

Jeff:

Well, I think we can find the answer in the Book of Mormon for that. Nephi was told that in our day the Lord would make known "other books" that would "make known the plain and precious things which have been taken away" (1 Nephi 13:39–40). In most cases the most precious things that we learn from the Book of Moses are, as you said, part of *additions* that have been made to the Bible. Of course, we don't know enough to say whether these additions were ever part of some kind of proto-Genesis, whether they were recorded elsewhere, or whether they were written down for the first time when Joseph Smith translated

them. But, in any case, we're very blessed to have so much wonderful truth available to us, once lost to the world but now restored in our day.

Jo Ann:

Okay. Here's another question about all of your work. You've done so much detailed work in your study of the Pearl of Great Price. What do you think are the three most important things that the members of the church might not realize or be aware of about the Book of Moses or the Pearl Great Price in general?

Jeff:

Well, first of all, in my opinion, the Book of Moses is absolutely foundational to our understanding of Latter-day Saint doctrine and teachings about the plan of salvation and the doctrine of Christ. I think that's underappreciated. Secondly, I'd say in connection with that that the Book of Moses is absolutely foundational, to our understanding of the priesthood and the ordinances of the temple, not just the initial stories about the Creation and the Fall of Adam and Eve, but also the continuous thread of temple teachings that runs through the rest Book of Moses to Enoch and the law of consecration that was observed by his people in Zion. I also wish that these teachings were better appreciated. To learn more about that, listen to Elder and Sister Hafen's talk from the September 2020 "Tracing Ancient Threads in the Book of Moses" conference.[560] It was wonderful!

Jo Ann:

Yes, it was outstanding.

Jeff

The third thing, how should I say it? The Book of Moses is just so incredibly beautiful. We heard Brother Bushman quote some non-Latter-day Saint scholars on that very thing last night. I feel so edified when I read it. I'm sure not everybody feels the same way I do about the Book of Moses—different people are touched by different books of scripture—but each time I read the Book of Moses I walk away filled with light and joy. Ever since I was a young boy, I've experienced deep feeling of beauty and uplift from the reading it.

Jo Ann:

That's wonderful. Well, we're just about out of time, but I'm going to sneak in this one little quick question. In so many of your scholarly publications, you have astonishing images that accompany your texts. I just want to know if there's a secret that you have to finding these. How do you go about that?

Jeff:

No particular secret I can think of. I used to find a lot of these wonderful drawings in old books but now the old books are getting harder to find. Sadly, when I do find them I open them up and learn that they are discards from universities and theological schools. Sadly, few people are reading old books anymore, which is something C. S. Lewis found so distressing and frightening even many decades ago when he wrote about it.[561]

So I rely increasingly on Google, like everybody else, because I have no other choice. And, fortunately, many wonderful images are out there and so easily accessible now, even though so many more may never be put online and are now almost impossible to find in print.

But the most powerful form of advanced search is what comes to you through the Spirit. Sometimes you really feel the gift of inspiration, things pop into your mind, you're led to things, you run into things and something tells you "this is important"—even before you've had a chance to look at it. When I first ran across the *Manichaean Cosmology Painting*, I didn't fully understand its importance to the Book of Moses account of Enoch. But then by chance I ran into a second publication about it, and when I realized what we had in front of us now, my eyes fairly popped out of my head. As I studied the painting and the related texts, more and more ideas started flowing into my mind—and they didn't come from me. Who would have believed that somewhere out there we had an image of Enoch with what seems to be a depiction of Zion having ascended to the presence of God just a few inches away from where he was standing? And to think that at last we have what seems to be a portrait of Mahujah/Mahaway himself kneeling on a mountain top! These are characters I've been aching to know more about for many years. I don't attribute those things to advanced search technology, nor to mere chance.

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Notes

1 T. L. Givens and F. Givens, *God Who Weeps*, 24.

2 Carmack, "Book of Moses English."

3 Carmack, "Book of Moses English." Among other findings, Carmack also notes the following: "[The Book of Moses' pattern] is similar to the Book of Mormon's pattern, which is an uncommon, early modern pattern. However, at least one linguistic pattern found in the Book of Moses is quite unlike Book of Mormon usage: the absence of relatively heavy periphrastic *did* usage.".

4 Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, 1–9. Joseph Smith's "translation" did not involve the study of original manuscripts in ancient languages but was the result of his prophetic gifts.

5 J. Smith Jr., *History of the Church*, 1:245.

6 Though the precises dates of dictation for Moses 6:52–7:1 (given sometime between December 1 and December 10, 1830) and Moses 7:2–8:30 (given sometime between ca. December 10, 1830, and March 7, 1831) are uncertain, current evidence suggests that other large sections of the preceding sections of the Book of Moses were each "probably translated and written in one day": Moses 5:43–51 (October 21, 1830); Moses 5:52–6:18 (November 30, 1830); Moses 6:19–52 (December 1, 1830; Faulring et al., *Original Manuscripts*, 57).

7 Muhlestein, *"Doctrine and Covenants and the Book of Moses."*

8 E.g., Townsend, "King James Bible"; Townsend, "Appropriation and Adaptation"; Townsend, "Returning to the Sources"; Wayment and Wilson-Lemmon, "Recovered Resource."

9 See Bradshaw, "Truth and Beauty," where arguments for nineteenth-century sources for Moses 1, 6, and 7 are summarized and evaluated. For a more accessible version of arguments for ancient affinities within Moses 6–7 see Bradshaw, *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion*. For a one-volume verse-by-verse commentary on the Book of Moses taking ancient sources into account, see Bradshaw, *The First Days and the Last Days*. This shorter commentary draws upon and updates the more extensive commentary found in Bradshaw, *God's Image 1* and Bradshaw, et al, *God's Image 2*. See also Draper et al., *Commentary*, an excellent commentary on the entire Pearl of Great Price.

10 See Bradshaw, "Truth and Beauty."

11 See Jackson, "Some Notes"; Bradshaw, "Book of Moses Textual Criticism 3."

12 See Bradshaw, "Truth and Beauty."

13 See Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and Ryan Dahle, "Could Joseph Smith Have Drawn on Ancient Manuscripts?"

14 Ben Tov (pseudonym of Colby Townsend), "Book of Enoch."

15 See Bradshaw, Larsen, and Whitlock, "Twin Sons of Different Mothers."

16 See, e.g., Lindsay and Reynolds, "Strong Like unto Moses," in this proceedings; Calabro, "Early Christian Context."

17 See Stuckenbruck, "Apocalypse of John."

18 Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 276. Cf. Nibley, 267–68. Nibley complained that the *Ensign* editors only gave him two pages to wrap up the series, implying that they were weary of it. Nibley, "Hugh Nibley on the Book of Enoch."

19 Published as Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*.

20 Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*.

21 See Bradshaw, Bowen, and Dahle, "Where Did the Names Mahaway and Mahujah Come From?," 193.

22 Nibley, "Strange Thing," 64.

23 Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*.

27 Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*, 305. Photo by Stephen T. Whitlock taken on February 1, 2021. Photo ID: HBLL-ASR_STW9072-EC. jpg.

24 See Bradshaw, Bowen, and Dahle, "Where Did the Names Mahaway and Mahujah Come From?"

25 See Townsend, "Returning to the Sources," 80–82.

26 See Townsend, "Returning to the Sources," 82.

28 For a description of Matthew Black's encounter with the Book of Moses, see Thomasson, "Matthew Black and Mircea Eliade," 423–27. Professor S. Kent Brown's recollections of Matthew Black's visit, which includes details on the dates and setting of Black's two BYU lectures can be found in Brown, "Enoch, the Book of Moses, and

the *Book of Giants*." Two brief video accounts of this incident are available: Nibley, "Hugh Nibley on the Book of Enoch"; Bradshaw et al., "What Did Enoch Scholar Matthew Black Say."

29 According to Gordon Thomasson, immediately after hearing about the Book of Moses Enoch account, Matthew Black "formulated a hypothesis . . . that a member of one of the esoteric groups he had described previously [i.e., clandestine groups who had maintained, sub rosa, a religious tradition based in the writings of Enoch that predated Genesis] must have survived into the 19th century, and hearing of Joseph Smith, must have brought the group's Enoch texts to New York from Italy for the prophet to translate and publish." Thomasson then comments, "I did not argue the point that the Book of Mormon might not have been available in Europe in time for someone to sail to the United States and get to upstate New York to meet a late 1830 (or even 1832) 'publication deadline'" (Thomasson, "Matthew Black and Mircea Eliade," 426).

30 After meeting Thomasson and at his suggestion, Black made a previously unplanned trip to BYU to meet Hugh Nibley. S. Kent Brown, then the director of Ancient Studies, extended the invitation to Black, sent him pages of the Book of Moses, and managed the logistics of the visit (Brown, "Enoch, the Book of Moses, and the Book of Giants"). Although Nibley recounts that Black declined to take questions about the Book of Moses in his public lectures in Provo, Nibley reported that in private: "He did say a number of times, shaking his head in a bemused fashion, 'Someday we will find out where Joseph Smith got that. . . . Someday a source will turn up.' Which I doubt not for a moment, since we already have an impressive sampling. I am afraid it will not be what Brother Black is hoping for" (quoted in Thomasson, "Matthew Black and Mircea Eliade," 427).

31 McKane, "Matthew Black," 282.

32 Courtesy Elizabeth Thomasson. Email message to author, April 9, 2021.

33 Cirillo, "Joseph Smith," 97. Cf. Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 27.

34 In this and later quotes from Cirillo, the names of works he cites will be spelled out rather than abbreviated as they were originally.

35 See Ludlow, "'Enoch Walked with God.'"

36 For an accessible discussion of relevant scholarship, see Bradshaw, *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion*. For more extensive discussions, see Bradshaw, *The First Days and the Last Days*; Bradshaw et al., *God's Image 2*.

37 Migne, speaking of Enoch and those with him, said: "By fleeing and hiding the people on high have ascended higher than us. We have never known them. All the same, there they are, clothed with glory and splendors. . . . And now they are sheltered from our blows" ("Livre d'Adam," 21, p. 170).

38 David Calabro kindly checked and updated Hugh Nibley's translation of the account below from Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, 4:131–32. Jellinek's account is almost identical to the one found in Noah, *Book of Jasher*, 3:24–38, pp. 7–8. Ginzberg summarizes this account, with an addition recounting that when the people searched for those who had gone with Enoch, "they discovered the bodies" (*Legends*, 1:129–130). Though this idea might be reasonably inferred, it is found explicitly in neither of the two original accounts. Jellinek's version from *Bet ha-Midrasch* is included here because it is more difficult to find in English translation:

> It happened at that time, that as the children of men were sitting with Enoch[,] he was speaking to them, that they lifted up their eyes and saw something like a great horse coming down from heaven, and the horse moving in the air [wind] to the ground[.] And they told Enoch what they had seen. And Enoch said to them, "It is on my account that that horse is descending to the earth; the time and the day have arrived when I must go away from you and no longer appear to you."

> And at that time that horse came down and stood before Enoch, and all the people who were with Enoch saw it. And then Enoch commanded, and there came a voice to him saying, "Who is the man who delights to know the ways of the Lord his God? Let him come this day to Enoch before he is taken from us." And all the people gathered together and came to Enoch on that day. . . .

> And after that he got up and rode on the horse, and he went forth, and all the children of men left and went after him to the number of 800,000 men. And they went with him for a day's journey. Behold, on the second day he said to them, "Return back to your tents; why are you coming?" And some of them returned from him, and the remainder of them went with him six days' journey, while Enoch was saying to them every day, "Return to your tents lest you die." But they did not want to return and they

went with him. And on the sixth day men still remained, and they stuck with him. And they said to him, "We will go with thee to the place where thou goest; as the Lord liveth, only death will separate us from thee!" And it came to pass that they took courage to go with him, and he no longer addressed them. And they went after him and did not turn away.

And as for those kings, when they returned, they made a count of all of them (who returned) to know the number of men who remained, who had gone after Enoch.

And it was on the seventh day, and Enoch went up in a tempest into heaven with horses of fire and chariots of fire. And on the eighth day all the kings who had been with Enoch sent to take the number of the men who had stayed behind with Enoch [when the kings left him] at the place from which he had mounted up into the sky.

And all the kings went to that place and found all the ground covered with snow in that place, and on top of the snow huge blocks of snow. And they said to each other, "Come, let us break into the snow here to see whether the people who were left with Enoch died under the lumps of snow." And they hunted for Enoch and found him not because he had gone up into the sky.

For threads in Jewish tradition of groups of worshippers who figuratively ascended to heaven through ritual, see Larsen, "Enoch and the City of Zion"; Bradshaw, "Ezekiel Mural."

39 See Henning, "Book of the Giants," text G (Sogdian), p. 69. See more on this topic below.

40 See Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," p. 172, in light of the discussion later on in this essay.

41 Photograph from 4Q530 (4QGiantsb ar), fragment 7b, column II. Mislabeling of photograph in online source confirmed by Donald W. Parry (personal communication, March 2, 2020).

42 E.g., Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*, p. 306. Cf. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 105.

43 Parry and Tov, *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader (DSSR),* 4Q530, fragment 7, column ii, end of line 7, p. 951.

44 Morano, "Some New Sogdian Fragments," 197.

45 See Henning, "Book of the Giants."

46 See Sundermann, *Mittelpersische*; Morano, "*Libro dei Giganti*"; Morano, "Some New Sogdian Fragments"; Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition.*" For a comprehensive though somewhat dated study of the manuscript evidence, see Reeves, *Jewish Lore*. The Manichaean *BG* sources are translated into English and discussed at length in Reeves' work. Reeves concludes that the *Book of Giants*, a foundational work of Manichaean cosmogony, is indebted in important respects to traditional Jewish interpretations of Genesis 6:1–4.

47 See Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 2.

48 However, *1 Enoch* and the *Book of Giants* both touch on some related themes. For a summary of the literary relationship between the *Book of the Watchers* in *1 Enoch* and the *Book of Giants*, see Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 24–28.

49 See *Homilies* 25:2–5; *Psalm-Book* 46:21–47:4; Gardner, *Kephalaia*, 5:22–26, p. 11.

50 Lemaire, "Nabonide et Gilgamesh," 125. Lemaire writes (my translation):

> Since we live more than two thousand years after the Qumran manuscripts were copied, we may be tempted as modern readers to recognize . . . [a] direct link with the books of the Bible. Such a conclusion seems obvious from the titles given to certain manuscripts. . . . However, these titles may give the false impression that the Aramaic manuscripts of Qumran were centered on the Bible and dependent on it even though the Bible itself . . . did not yet exist. A bibliocentric vision of this sort appears anachronistic. (p. 125)

51 With specific reference to Enoch texts, Reeves and Reed continue as follows:

> Scholars of the Hebrew Bible and specialists in ancient Judaism and Christianity have increasingly come into conversation around the trajectories of biblical interpretation and the continued lives of authoritative writings within and between religious communities. Alongside traditional source-critical, redaction-critical, and text-critical inquiries into the Torah/ Pentateuch, for instance, new approaches have emerged in the attempt to recover what James Kugel has termed "the Bible as It Was" [Kugel, *Bible as It Was*]—that is, not simply the text of this or that biblical book as it came to be fixed in writing, but also the much broader array of common exegetical motifs and legends

through which premodern peoples encountered the primeval and patriarchal past. What has emerged, in the process, is a new sense of the degree to which premodern Jews, Christians, and Muslims — as well as Samaritans, Manichaeans, "gnostics," and others — participated in preserving and developing a common store of traditions about figures such as Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses.

So too with Enoch. The traditions associated with this figure, however, expose the limitations of modern notions of "the Bible" to capture the scope, dynamism, and complexity of premodern discourses about the biblical past. There has been much attention, for instance, to Jewish and Christian traditions about the fallen angels in relation to the exegesis of Genesis 6. What such studies have shown, however, is the impossibility of accounting for the history of interpretation without a sense of the ample influence of Enochic and other texts now commonly deemed "noncanonical." So too with Genesis 5 and traditions about Enoch, which took form from an ancient matrix of Mesopotamian traditions that continued to be developed in new ways in writings produced alongside and after what we know now as "the Bible."

Traditions surrounding Enoch thus offer especially rich foci for tracing the transmission and transformations of traditions across religious boundaries. In light of new insights into scribal practices and textual fluidity from the biblical and related manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls, it has become clear that the process of the formation of "the Bible" was much longer and more complex than previously imagined. Likewise, the recent growth of concern for the mechanics of written and oral transmission and pedagogy among ancient Jews has redescribed biblical "authorship" in continuum with interpretation, redaction, collection, and transmission — wherein oral/aural and written/visual components, moreover, often remained intertwined in various ways in various settings. Just as these insights lead us to question the assumption of any clear line between scripture and interpretation in relation to the Torah/Pentateuch, so they also open the way for integrating what we know of the formation, transmission, and reception of Enochic literature into a more complete picture of the biblical past as remembered by premodern Jews, Christians, Muslims, and others. (*Enoch from Antiquity*, 1:8–9)

52 Reeves, "Some Parascriptural Dimensions," 840–41. Reeves explains:

> The . . . "Bible" and Qur'an are magnetized nodes within a common "text network" that share a lexicon of ancestral heroes, places, and narrativized events, a lexicon not limited by the constraints of canon or its lemmata governed by the "tyranny of canonical assumptions." Within this lexicon resides a rich reservoir of revered tales, ancestral folklore, and tribal traditions about the pre-Deluge era that antedate their varying literary presentations in works such as the many redacted forms of Genesis, the Enochic *Book of Watchers*, renditions of the Second Temple book of *Jubilees*, and so-called rewritten components of the biblical primeval history (Genesis 1–11). Therein also resides the cultural memory—and perhaps even physical exemplars—of the written sources and editorial moves that preceded the later formal crystallization of discrete textual entities such as proto-Masoretic "Genesis" or "Jubilees." (pp. 840–41)

53 Silverstein, "Axes of Evals"; Bauman, "Commentary." Thanks to David Calabro for pointing me to these articles.

54 Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 88.

55 Dawood, *Koran*, 2:102, 19. For a collection of related traditions in Islam, see al-Tha'labi, "*Lives*," 86–91.

56 Regarding the popularity of the *Book of Giants* at Qumran, Ken M. Penner writes:

> If the identification of Qumran fragments belonging to Giants is correct, the work was very popular at Qumran: about ten copies were found, in four caves. The significance of these numbers becomes apparent when compared to those of the Aramaic book of [*1 Enoch*] itself: only seven copies found, all in a single cave. The only books more popular at Qumran are Psalms (36 copies), the books of the Pentateuch (23–24, 16, 12–13, 9, 35 copies respectively), Isaiah (21), Jubilees (17), and the Community Rule (13); the Damascus Document and Rule of the Congregation each have ten. (*Midrash of Shemihazai and Azael*, 44–45)

57 Stuckenbruck dates the *Book of Giants* to "sometime between the late 3rd century and 164 BCE" (*Book of Giants*, 31). For a more recent summary of the literature concerning dating and geographical origins of the book, see Angel, "Reading the *Book of Giants*," 315n5. Angel generally agrees with Stuckenbruck's dating. For a summary of evidence relating to Mesopotamian and Hellenistic influences in the *Book of Giants*, see Angel, 315n5.

Notwithstanding the unrivaled prominence and antiquity of the *Book of Giants* at Qumran, the first reflex of some scholars is to attribute any resemblances to *1 Enoch* to "borrowing" from the latter source. However, caution should be exercised in concluding a straightforward dependence of the *Book of Giants* on *1 Enoch*. For example, comparing Ezekiel 1, Daniel 7, *1 Enoch* 14, and the *Book of Giants*, Bledsoe argues that *1 Enoch* 14's adoption of the Danielic idea of the deity shows only that this idea was "accepted even at a late period, and does not automatically make [*1 Enoch* 14] older even if the tradition may be observed in generally more ancient writings" ("Throne Theophanies," 85). More generally, Bledsoe concludes Daniel, *1 Enoch*, and the *Book of Giants* "drew from a common tradition(s) regarding the heavenly throne and then adapted it to fit within their individual context" (p. 90).

Regarding Angel's thesis that the *Book of Giants*, as we have it, reflects "the realities of life under Hellenistic imperial occupation," the author himself hints at more ancient and complex roots for the story:

> There are hints in the *Book of Giants* that signal a more nuanced and developed plot. The giants argue with one another and there are perhaps different factions among them. Thus, if I am correct that the *Book of Giants* models the humbling of Hellenistic figures of power, it seems that the composition now before us preserves only the remains of a complex allegory, whose original referents cannot be recovered. ("Humbling," 80)

58 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 11.

59 Stuckenbruck, "Giant Mythology," 319. Stuckenbruck describes three factors that make the *Book of Giants* distinctive from contemporary Jewish works (319–321):

> 1. Whereas the other Enochic compositions are "pseudepigrapha" in the technical sense, the *Book of Giants* seems not to have been a first-person account attributed to Enoch himself (contra Milik . . .). . . . In the *Book of Giants* Enoch is never clearly portrayed as a first person narrator and, furthermore, none of the *Book of Giants* materials unambiguously cast Enoch in the role of being the recipient of visions or dreams. . . .

> 2. Secondly, the *Book of Giants* distinguishes itself in the role assigned to Enoch. As just mentioned, he is not the recipient of dreams; instead he functions in the narrative as a dream

interpreter *par excellence* as he clarifies the meaning of the ominous visions given to the giants. . . .

3. Thirdly, and most significant . . . , the author(s) of the *Book of Giants* cast the spotlight on the gigantic offspring of the watchers more than any other extant Jewish document written or copied during the Second Temple period. . . . It is only in the *Book of Giants* that any of the giants are actually given proper names.

Notwithstanding the unique nature of the narrative and the unrivaled prominence and antiquity of the *Book of Giants* at Qumran, the first reflex of some scholars is to attribute any resemblances to *1 Enoch* to "borrowing" from the latter source. As part of a larger effort to counter such reflexive tendencies, Reeves has demonstrated with a well-argued example that the tale of Hārūt and Mārūt, though sharing some affinities with *1 Enoch*, is actually more dependent in its conceptual foundations on the book of *Jubilees*. He has concluded that the relative neglect of *Jubilees* in scholarly circles, "a work . . . that does not necessarily 'rewrite' any of the 'canonical' versions" ("Some Parascriptural Dimensions," 833), can be attributed, at least in part, to misconceptions about *Jubilees* itself that relegate it (like the *Book of Giants*) to a secondary, derivative status:

Speaking in both conceptual and archaeological (i.e., physical) terms, it seems to be more responsible to view *Jubilees* as simply one pre-canonical manifestation of the rich pool of sub-textual ancestral traditions that also surface in related but distinctive forms of the biblical books of Genesis–Exodus as well as in other places outside those books that utilize many of the same characters, stories, and themes. (833n50)

60 Lemaire, "Nabonide et Gilgamesh," 144.

61 Bledsoe, "Throne Theophanies," 90.

62 Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 118.

63 Angel, "Humbling," 80.

64 Caquot, "Les prodromes," 50.

65 Frölich, "Giants and Demons," 100.

66 See Sanders, *From Adapa to Enoch*.

67 See George, *Gilgamesh*, pp. xvi–xxx.

68 Goff, "Gilgamesh the Giant," 253.

69 Machiela, "Situating the Aramaic Texts," 90.

70 Machiela, 91–92.

71 Machiela, 105.

72 See, for example, this sense of *gibborim* in Moses 8:21 (the children of the self-proclaimed "sons of God"), Genesis 10:8–9 (Nimrod), Genesis 10:25 (Peleg), and Genesis 11:4 (the builders of the Tower of Babel who wanted to make themselves a name).

73 Namely, Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 7:3, p. 182. See Nickelsburg's views on the implications of this verse on p. 186.

74 The current convention of using terms that correspond to "giants" to refer to the *gibborim* is due largely to the later influences of the Greek Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Bible (see, for example, Wright, *Evil Spirits*, 83–84) and of widespread transmission of various translations of the *Book of Giants* within the works of Mani. Though the title of Mani's *Book of Giants* appears "in several Manichaean and anti-Manichaean documents scattered throughout Europe and through Africa as far as Asia Minor and Chinese Turkistan, almost nothing was known of the contents of this document before the appearance of the remarkable article by W. B. Henning" in 1943 (Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*, 298; see Henning, "Book of the Giants").

Wright gives two possibilities for the somewhat unexpected use of *gigantes*, the Greek word for "giants," in the Septuagint:

> It may be suggested that the Greek translators of the Hebrew Bible had difficulty in understanding some of the Hebrew terminology (e.g., *nephilim* and *gibborim*) in the text and therefore translated the terms imprecisely, thus enhancing the ambiguity of the passage. Another possibility is that modern scholars have misunderstood what the Greek translators meant by their use of the term [*gigantes*]. It appears that more work needs to be done in order to discover the use of this term in the Greek literature prior to the translation of the [Septuagint]. (*Evil Spirits*, 92)

For more on the impact of the Septuagint on later traditions and on interactions among related Jewish and Greek conceptions of the "giants," see Tuval, *Giants in Jewish Literature*; and Newington, "Greek Titans." For Mesopotamian influences in descriptions of the "giants" in *1 Enoch*, see Drawnel, "Mesopotamian Background."

75 Frölich, "Giants and Demons," 106–7.

76 Reeves gives the following summary of the complex and somewhat controversial meanings that have been attributed to these terms, as well as to the semidivine "Watchers":

> The term *gbryn* is the Aramaic form of Hebrew *gibborim* (singular *gibbor*), a word whose customary connotation in the latter language is "mighty hero, warrior," but which in some contexts later came to be interpreted in the sense of "giants." [The term is translated seventeen times with the Greek word for "giants" in the Septuagint.] . . . Similarly *nplyn* is the Aramaic form of the Hebrew *np(y)lym* (i.e., *nephilim*), an obscure designation used only three times in the Hebrew Bible. Genesis 6:4 refers to the *nephilim* who were on the earth as a result of the conjugal union of the ["sons of God" and the "daughters of Adam"] and further qualifies their character by terming them *gibborim*. [More plausibly, Wright (*Evil Spirits*, 81–82) and Grossman ("Who Are the Sons of God?," 5–8) argue for Genesis 6:1–4 as being a description that proceeds in strict chronological order, concluding that the *nephilim* were on the earth *before* this conjugal union between the "sons of God" and the "daughters of Adam."] Both terms are translated in [Septuagint] Genesis 6:4 by ["giants"] and in *Targum Onkelos* by *gbry'*. Numbers 13:33 reports that gigantic *nephilim* were encountered by the Israelite spies in the land of Canaan; here the *nephilim* are associated with a (different?) tradition concerning a race of giants surviving among the indigenous ethnic groups that inhabited Canaan. A further possible reference to both the *nephilim* and *gibborim* of Genesis 6:4 occurs in Ezekiel 32:27. The surrounding pericope presents a description of slain heroes who lie in Sheol, among whom are a group termed the *gibborim nophelim* [*sic*] *me'arelim*. The final word, *me'arelim*, "from the uncircumcised," should probably be corrected on the basis of the *Septuagint* . . . to *me'olam*, and the whole phrase translated "those mighty ones who lie there from of old." . . .
>
> The conjunction of *gbryn wnpylyn* in QG1 1:2 may be viewed as an appositional construction similar to the expression *'yr wqdys*—"Watcher and Holy One." . . . However, the phrase might also be related to certain passages that suggest there were three distinct classes (or even generations) of Giants, names for who of which are represented in this line. . . . Compare Jubilees 7:22: "And they bore children, the *Naphidim* [*sic*] . . . and the Giants killed the *Naphil*, and the *Naphil* killed the *'Elyo*, and the *'Elyo*

[killed] human beings, and humanity (killed) one another." (*Jewish Lore*, 69–70; see also Wright, *Evil Spirits*, 79–95)

Reeves further proposes that "the sons of God are in fact [identical with] the giants mentioned in [Genesis 6:4], whereas the 'heroes' [i.e., *gibborim*] described at the end of the story are the results of these giants' [i.e., the *nephilim*] coupling with the daughters of man" (*Jewish Lore*, 18). While it may well be that the *gibborim* were the descendants of these mixed marriages, and while the Book of Moses agrees with Grossman's conclusion that the *nephilim* (also known as the "sons of God") were not divine nor even "especially close to God" ("Who Are the Sons of God?," 10), the rationale for the latter conclusion differs, as I discuss in Bradshaw, *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion*.

77 Moses 7:14–15.

78 See Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q531, fragment 1, lines 1–3, p. 953.

79 See Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, 203.

80 See Bradshaw and Larsen, 203, 225–27.

81 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stele_of_lion_hunt,_from_Uruk,_Iraq,_3000-2900_BCE._Iraq_Museum.jpg (accessed June 3, 2021).

82 See Hendel, "Nephilim," 28–29. Note that in his writings, Hendel typically conflates the *gibborim* and the *nephilim*. See also Bradshaw, *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion*.

83 Hendel, "Genesis 1–11 and Its Mesopotamian Problem," 34.

84 For discussions of Genesis 6:1–4 in the context of additional ancient cultures, see Hendel, "Nephilim"; and Hendel, "Demigods." As early as 1915, George A. Barton argued that the list of names in Genesis 4–5 can be traced to a Sumerian tablet of Nippur (see LaCocque, *Onslaught against Innocence*, 131).

85 For extensive studies of this *gibborim* culture, see Mobley, "Wild Man"; and Mobley, *Empty Men*. For more in-depth discussion of the *gibborim* culture in the context of Moses 6–7, see Bradshaw, *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion*.

86 Mobley, *Empty Men*, 35.

87 Doak, "Giant in a Thousand Years," 24.

88   See Genesis 10:8. For more on the Hebrew term *gibbor* and its use in the accounts of Enoch and Noah, see Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, 41, 203.

89   Note that JST Genesis 10:9 modifies the King James Version description of Nimrod as "a mighty hunter before the Lord" (Genesis 10:9) to read "a mighty hunter in the land," thus eliminating any intimation of divine sanction for Nimrod's activities. Cf. Ether 2:1: "the mighty hunter."

90   For sources and a brief summary of literary analyses of the tower story that highlight it as a brilliant example of Hebrew storytelling, full of irony and satire, see Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, 387–88. With specific reference to Nimrod, Kawashima writes:

> It should be noted that postbiblical lore [invested] Nimrod with giant status and associated him with the building of the Tower of Babel in Genesis 11:1–5 (probably due to Nimrod's association with Shinar). Furthermore, the Greek translation of *gibbor* as "Giant" in Genesis 10:8–9 attests to what may have been a popular, and not altogether illogical, interpretation that Nimrod's stock as a giant somehow was passed through Noah, thus manifesting the hubris with which giants are often associated in his act of founding several cities and inciting the Tower of Babel project. ("Sources and Redaction," 59n33)

91   The phrase "from the east" in Genesis 11:2 can be just as easily read as "to the east" or "eastward" (e.g., Hendel, "Genesis," p. 19, note *b*). LaCocque writes:

> In Genesis 11:2 humanity is going eastward, prolonging the initial migration since the exit from Eden. To them, Shinar and hence Babylon is in the east, that is, farther removed from the original Garden. Their settlement in the east is already in and of itself a token of their rebellion against God. (*Captivity of Innocence*, 44)

92   See Genesis 11:4. For more on the motif of making a name, see Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, 386, 388–90, 393–97, 414–15.

93   See Moses 6:31; 8:27.

94   Grossman, "Who Are the Sons of God?," 16.

95   Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 19.

96 "Marriage Superstitions," 549; Burne, *Shropshire Folk*-Lore, 646. Though the first known published sources of the phrase are Victorian, the tradition may be older. The longer version of the proverb adds: "and a [silver] sixpence in your shoe." Compare the French wedding proverb, "Mariage plus vieux, mariage heureux," signaling that a marriage undertaken at maturity is likelier to result in happiness than one that is contracted in the first blush of youth. Whether inadvertently or deliberately, the original phrase is often misunderstood as "Mariage pluvieux, mariage heureux," signaling that marriage on a rainy day is a sign of good luck.

97 Bradshaw, Bowen, and Dahle, "Where Did the Names Mahaway and Mahujah Come From?"

98 This is how the name is rendered in the neo-Assyrian version of the epic, as opposed to Ḫuwawa in the Old Babylonian version (see Stuckenbruck, 20n56).

99 See Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*, p. 427, s.v. "Ahya"; Nickelsburg, "Bible Rewritten," 96; Stuckenbruck, "Giant Mythology," 322. Cf. Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 41.

100 See Russell, "Hārūt and Mārūt." ʾOhyah reappears in later sources as Og of Bashan or Ogias (Henning, "Book of the Giants," 54).

101 Going beyond the example of the two brothers with their two dreams, Stuckenbruck sees "the repeated use of the number two" as a broad indicator of a "way in which the Qumran *Book of Giants* was structured" (Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 20).

102 Russell, "Hārūt and Mārūt." Nibley cites Laman and Lemuel with ʾOhyah and Hahyah (= Hārūt and Mārūt) as examples of what some scholars have called "pendant names":

> The most striking thing about the names of Laman and Lemuel is the way they go together; as we saw above it has been suggested that the former is but a corruption of the latter. Whether that is so or not, the musical pair certainly belong together and are a beautiful illustration of the old desert custom of naming the first two sons in a family with rhyming twin names, "a pair of pendant names," as Spiegel puts it, "like Eldad and Medad, Hillek and Billek, or Jannes and Jambres. The Arabs particularly seem to enjoy putting together such assonant names *Yagug* and *Magug* for Gog and Magog, *Harun* and *Karun* for Aaron and Korah, *Habil* and *Kabil* for Abel and Cain, *Hillit* and *Millit* for the first dwellers in hell." Speigel is here discussing the names

Heyya and Abeyya, and might well have included in his parallels the recently discovered romance of Sul and Shummul. Harut and Marut were the first two angels to fall from grace, like Laman and Lemuel, according to Arab tradition of great antiquity. These names never go in threes or fours but only in pairs, designating just the first two sons of a family with no reference to the rest. This "Dioscuric" practice has a ritual significance which has been discussed by Rendel Harris, but of the actual practice itself, especially among the desert people, there can be no doubt, for we read in an ancient inscription: "N. built this tomb for his sons Hatibat and Hamilat." One could not ask for a better illustration of this little-known and, until recently, unsuspected practice than we find in the Book of Mormon where Lehi names his first two sons Laman and Lemuel. (*Approach*, 291–92)

103 See Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q530, fragment 2, lines 1–3, p. 949. For an interpretation of this passage that stresses ʾOhyah's deceit, see Goff, "Gilgamesh the Giant," 249–52.

104 See, e.g., Sogdian Text C of the *Book of Giants*, where ʾOhyah attempts to pick a fatal fight with Mahaway (Henning, "Book of the Giants," 66).

105 See, e.g., Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 84–102.

106 See, e.g., Reeves, 93.

107 See Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 6Q8, fragment 1, lines 2–6, p. 973. For interpretations of this passage, see Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 107–9; Goff, "Gilgamesh the Giant," 249–52.

108 Mozgovine, *De Abdallah*, 70.

109 Copie de la fresque de la grotte 25 : l'arbre de vie. Iacovlev Alexandre (1887–1938), Iakovleff (aka). Paris, musée Guimet (musée national des Arts asiatiques), 00-000530/MG24341. Photo copyright RMN-Grand Palais (MNAAG, Paris)/Thiérry Ollivier. https://www.photo.rmn.fr/CS.aspx?VP3=SearchResult&VBID=2CMFCI865E DV&SMLS=1&RW=1560&RH=1630 (accessed January 27, 2020)

110 This scholarly consensus (see, e.g., Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art*, 31–32), based on a faulty attribution of citations of Severus of Antioch to the *Book of Giants* in his critique of Manichaeism, was refuted in Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 165–74—notwithstanding the fact that the painting was depicted on the cover of Reeves' book (credited to the Musée Guimet). Later, Kósa advanced several new ideas about the interpretation of the mural, including a

convincing argument that the three trunks in the painting were meant to evoke the Manichaean concept of the "three constancies" rather than Noah and his sons ("Peacocks"). Despite this new interpretation, no scholar disputes the strong connection between the Manichaean *Book of Giants* (well known to Manichaeans in the East) and the Qumran *Book of Giants*—only the idea that Severus was quoting the *Book of Giants* rather than another Manichaean source.

111   See Reeves, "Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael."

112   E.g., Qur'an 2:102.

113   See Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 43.

114   Langlois, "Shemihazah et compagnie(s)," 174. Alternatively, Russell suggests:

> The name sounds, as Shaked has suggested, as though it might be simply Hebrew *ha-šēm ha-zeh*, literally "this name," maybe a cautious circumlocution. Pious Jews refer to God discreetly as *Hashem*, "The Name." ("Hārūt and Mārūt," n13).

> However, David Calabro strongly disagrees: "This suggestion seems extremely unlikely to me. The "h" in Shemiḥazah is the *ḥeth*, while that in *ha-shem ha-zeh* is just *heh*" (email message to author, May 18, 2020).

115   Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 179.

116   See Nickelsburg, p. 179.

117   Nickelsburg, p. 180. See Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 6Q8, fragment 1, line 4, 973.

> In the Doctrine and Covenants, the name of Enoch (Doctrine and Covenants 78, 82, 92, 96, 104) or Baraq'el was sometimes used as a code name for Joseph Smith ("Baurak Ale"; see Doctrine and Covenants 103, 105). Note that Joseph Smith's approach is simply to follow the lead of his Hebrew teacher, James Seixas, who seems to have transliterated both the Hebrew letters *kaph* and *qoph* with a *k*, so it is difficult to trace what original name he is transliterating (Whittaker, "Substituted Names," 107). Nibley observes:

> > That Baraq'el is interesting. . . because[, in the *Book of Giants*,] Baraq'el is supposed to have been the father of [Mahujah]. . . . A professor in Hebrew at the University of Utah said, "Well, Joseph Smith didn't understand the word *barak*, meaning 'to bless.'"

> William W. Phelps had previously suggested that "Baurak Ale" meant "God bless you." [See Whittaker, "Substituted Names," 107.] But "Baraq'el" means the "lightning of God" [see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 180]. The Doctrine and Covenants is right on target in that. (*Teachings of the Pearl of Great Price*, 268)

118 See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 8:3, p. 188.

119 Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q203, fragment 8, line 5, p. 945.

120 See Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 52, 92; Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q530, fragment 14, line 2, p. 947.

121 "Since Baraq'el is composed from the name of 'lightning' followed by the theophoric suffix, [Mahujah/Mahaway, his son,] was given the Iranian equivalent Virogdad, 'created by lightning'" (Caquot, "Les prodromes," 50). Cf. Henning, who first recognized Virogdad as having affinities to Baraq'el (Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*, 300, 311) in the Manichaean fragments of the *Book of Giants* (Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 147n202; 138n98). According to *Jubilees* 4:15, Baraq'el is also the father of Dinah, the wife of Enoch's grandfather Mahalaleel (Wintermute, "Jubilees," 4:15, p. 61; see also pp. 61–62, note *g*). If one assumed the descriptions in the relevant accounts were consistent (of course, a very far-fetched assumption), this would make the prophet Enoch a first cousin once removed to Mahujah.

On the other hand, in Moses 5:43 the name of Mahuja-el's father is given as Irad, a prominent member of the secret combination who was killed later by his great-grandson Lamech when Irad revealed their secrets in violation of deadly oaths he had taken (see Moses 5:49–50).

122 Public Domain. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:The_Sons_of_God_Saw_the_Daughters_of_Men_That_They_Were_Fair,_by_Daniel_Chester_French,_modeled_by_1918,_carved_1923_-_Corcoran_Gallery_of_Art_-_DSC01065.JPG. (accessed June 3, 2021). Other famous statues by Chester include the Abraham Lincoln statue in the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC and "The Minute Man" in Concord, Massachusetts.

123 See Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 93. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 6:7, p. 174; 8:3, p. 188; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 69:2, p. 297.

Cf. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 60:13–15, p. 224. See also Mopsik, *Hénoch*, 14:4, p. 109; 17:1, 3, pp. 110, 111.

124 See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 6:7, p. 174; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 69:3, p. 297.

125 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 6:5, p. 174.

126 Nickelsburg, 6:1, p. 174.

127 See Nickelsburg, 8:3, p. 188.

128 See Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 60:13–15, p. 224; Mopsik, *Hénoch*, 14:4, p. 109; 17:1–3, pp. 110–11.

129 George, *Gilgamesh*, p. xxxi. For Nibley's discussion of the Jaredites in the context of *Gilgamesh*, see Nibley, "Babylonian Background," 358–65. For arguments that "ancient pseudo-histories may contain kernels of geographic truth," see Graham, "Mythogeography," 1.

130 George, *Gilgamesh*, p. xxxv.

131 See Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 49.

132 Mold of a seal, Indus Valley civilization (2500–1500 BCE), Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (formerly Prince of Wales Museum). Mumbay, India. Public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Yogi._Mold_of_Seal,_Indus_valley_civilization.jpg (accessed January 29, 2021).

133 AO 6778, Department of Near Eastern Antiquities of the Louvre, room 227, display case 6, Atlas database entry 24801. Photo courtesy of Rama. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Head_of_Humbaba-AO_6778-IMG_0661-black.jpg (accessed January 29, 2021).

134 Stuckenbruck, 45; see also pp. 44–48; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 124–26.

135 Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q531, fragment 22, lines 3–9, p. 959.

136 See Moses 7:13–15.

137 See Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q531, fragment 2, column II, line 1, p. 949.

138 See Parry and Tov, 4Q530, fragment 22, line 12, p. 959.

139 See Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, p. 45.

140 See Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q203, fragment 3, line 3, p. 943. See also Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 44–45.

141 See Goff, "Gilgamesh the Giant," 253.

142 Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 46.

143 Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 54. The author is citing Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 126.

144 Goff, "Gilgamesh the Giant," 253.

145 See Bradshaw, Bowen, and Dahle, "Where Did the Names Mahaway and Mahujah Come From?"

146 Calabro, "Early Christian Context."

147 Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*, 1:334.

148 See 2 Chronicles 7:9.

149 Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 173.

150 Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 173.

151 Matthew L. Bowen, quoted in Bradshaw, *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion*.

152 See Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 27.

153 E.g., VanderKam, *Enoch*, 6–8; Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 23–39. VanderKam comments:

> What is of special note here is that Shamash and Adad brought Enmeduranki into their council or assembly. Hence, he had with them a closer association than humans could normally enjoy. (*Enoch*, 8)

154 Orlov, "Learned Savant," 165. For an extensive discussion of the similar roles of Enoch and Enmeduranki, see Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 23–85.

155 https://pages.uncc.edu/john-reeves/course-materials/rels-40005000-jewish-apocrypha-pseudepigrapha/course-syllabus/ (accessed April 16, 2021).

156 See Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 1Q24, fragment 27, line 2, p. 941; Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 27; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 93.

157 E.g., Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*, p. 434, s.v. "Mahawai."

158 E.g., Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q530, fragments 2 column II + 6 + 7 column I + 8–11 + 12(?), line 21, p. 951.

159 See David Calabro, email message to auhor, May 18, 2020, with permission; Nibley, Hugh Nibley on the Book of Enoch.

160 Photograph of *Book of Giants*, 4QEnGiantsa ar (4Q203), fragment 7b, column ii, from plate 31, Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*. Used with permission. Cf. 4QEnGiantsa ar (4Q203), fragment 7b, column ii.

Milik translates lines 5–7 as follows: "[. . .] 5to you, Mah[awai . . .] 6the two tablets [. . .] 7and the second has not been read up till now [. . .]." (Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*, 314; brackets in original translation).

Though only a small part of the *H* can be seen in the photograph of the manuscript reproduced here, Martínez, like Milik, reads the end of line 5 as "MH" ("MartínezBook of Giants (4Q203)," fragment 7, column II, lines 5–7, p. 260). By way of contrast, Stuckenbruck and Reeves see only "M" and not "MH" in this particular fragment (*Book of Giants*, 84; *Jewish Lore*, 110). Attesting to the complexity of interpreting these fragments is a later transcription by Stuckenbruck in which he interprets the last nearly complete letter of line 7 as a Hebrew *B* rather than an *M* (see Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, p. 945). Despite the ambiguities in this particular photograph, scholars agree that Mahaway's full name appears in other, more complete and readable fragments from the *Book of Giants*.

161 See Moses 6:40.

162 See Moses 7:2.

163 Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 277–79.

164 The use of two variations of the same name in one statement is not uncommon in the Hebrew Bible. In this case, the Masoretic text of Genesis 4:18 includes both spellings of the name (Mehuja-el and Mehija-el) one right after the other, and in a context that leaves no doubt that the two occurrences refer to the same individual (see, e.g., Bandstra, *Genesis 1–11*, 268). Hendel attributes this phenomenon either to a graphic confusion of "Y" and "W" (*Text*, 47–48; cf. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 278; Nibley, "Churches in the Wilderness" [1989] 290) or to linguistic modernization of what seems to be the older form (Mehuja-el). Note that instead of featuring two different forms of the name in succession as in the Masoretic text, some other texts render the names consistently. For example, the Cairo Geniza manuscript gives Mehuja-el twice, while the Samaritan version has Mahi-el (cf. Mehijael) twice (see

Shoulson, *Torah*, Genesis 4:18, p. 11; Tsedaka and Sullivan, *Israelite Samaritan*, Genesis 4:18, p. 12).

165   Stuckenbruck, "Giant Mythology," 322. Cf. Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 41. In "Giant Mythology," 324, Stuckenbruck briefly repeats his previous suggestion for MHWY in connection with possible explanations for the names ʾOhyah and Hahyah. I will discuss the two latter names in a later section of the present article.

166   See Stuckenbruck, "Giant Mythology," 324.

167   Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 41.

168   Richard Hess, in Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, s.v. "Mehujael," 4:681.

169   Hess, in Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 4:681.

170   See Hendel, *Text*, 47–48.

171   See Sarna, *Genesis*, 36.

172   See Hess, *Studies*, 41.

173   See Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, 232.

174   Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, 232. For more about their role and function, see Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 221. Cf. Heimpel, *Letters to the King*, s.v. "ecstatic," p. 578. Matthew Bowen further comments on Cassuto's analysis and other possible Mesopotamian etymologies for these names as follows:

> Methusael may or may not constitute a Hebraization of the widely accepted, but still (as yet) theoretical and unattested Akkadian form, *mutu ša ili* ("man of god"). Nevertheless, Mesopotamia seems to be a good place to look in terms of obtaining more precise etymologies for the names in the Genesis genealogies.

> Since Umberto Cassuto opens the door to considering Akkadian *maḫḫû* ("ecstatic, prophet" [Black, George, and Postgate, *Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, 190]) as the source of the first element in Mehujael, we can also consider the word *maḫḫû* ("great") as a possible source. The latter term derives from Sumerian MAḪ (adj. "high, exalted, supreme, great, lofty, foremost, sublime" [Halloran, *Sumerian Lexicon*, 168]). If Cassuto is right that Lamech can be connected to Akkadian *lumakku*, we would do well to note that *lumakku* or *lumaḫḫû* (which can also mean "chief, ruler" [Black, George, and Postgate, *Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, 185]) also appears to derive

from Sumerian MAḤ (LÚ.MAḤ = "great man"). This may have some further bearing on the etymology of the Book of Moses name "Mahan" (Moses 5:31, 49 [spelled "Mahon" in OT1 of the Joseph Smith Translation (Faulring, Jackson, and Matthews, *Original Manuscripts*, p. 10 of OT1, p. 94)]).

I think the point that *lmk* does not occur in West Semitic is more important than it may seem at a glance. (Bowen, email message to author, March 18, 2020)

175 Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, 233.

176 See Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, 233. Cf. Hess, *Studies*, 46.

177 See Hess, *Studies*, 46.

178 Stuckenbruck, "*Book of Giants* among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 134–35.

179 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 106:7, p. 536.

180 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 33:2, p. 329.

181 Enoch's "similarity to, and perhaps derivation from, the [Mesopotamian] figure of Enmeduranki is widely accepted" (Wyatt, *Space*, 101; see also Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 23–29; VanderKam, *Enoch*, 6–14; Annus, "On the Origin of Watchers"; Drawnel, "Mesopotamian Background"; Day, "Enochs of Genesis 4 and 5"). For an excerpt with commentary of a Mesopotamian account of the ascent of Enmeduranki, see Wyatt, *Space*, 195–96.

182 Jens Wilkens observes that "only Enoch's voice is mentioned" ("Remarks," 224, 225). In explaining this state of affairs, Wilkens mentions a Uyghur fragment of the *Book of Giants* in which a speaker (likely Mahaway referring to Enoch) says, "But I did not see him in person" (cited in Wilkens, 224).

183 Wilkens, "Remarks," 225–26.

184 I.e., a Sogdian fragment M8005 (expedition code: T iii 282; see Henning, "Book of the Giants," text E, p. 66, which states that some of the wicked "are glad at seeing the apostle," "who is obviously Enoch" (according to Wilkens, "Remarks," 225), while others are afraid of him. Also, the Middle Persian fragment M101, frg. l (Henning, "Book of the Giants," 61), addressed, according to Wilkens, "to the Watchers and their children, the [*gibborim*]," states: "[The judgment on you is] that you shall be bound for the

sins you have committed. You shall see the destruction of your children."

185 See, e.g., Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 91, 199, 200. For more on the role of Mahaway as a messenger, see Wilkens, "Remarks"; Morano, "Some New Sogdian Fragments," 190, 194.

186 See Bradshaw, Bowen, and Dahle, "Where Did the Names Mahaway and Mahujah Come From?"

187 Calabro, "Early Christian Context."

188 Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 39.

189 Elsewhere, Stuckenbruck writes: "As no other extant early Jewish writing, *BG* focuses most exclusively and elaborately on the giants. The interest at the outset in cataloguing *their* misdeeds (instead of those of, e.g., the Watchers) corresponds to the detail devoted to them . . . throughout the story" (Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 144).

190 Writing generally about the ancient use of the term *apocrypha*, Nibley explained:

> The Apocrypha originally got their name of "hidden" writings from the fact that they were considered too sacred to be divulged to the general public. The name does not designate, as it later came to, books of dubious authenticity, but rather scripture of very special importance and holiness. (*Approach*, 483n1)

For example, a controversial letter purportedly written by Clement and discovered by Morton Smith mentions certain "secret" doings and writings that were part of the "hierophantic teaching of the Lord [that would] lead the hearers into the innermost sanctuary of that truth" but that were "most carefully guarded, being read only to those who are being initiated into the great mysteries" (purported letter of Clement to Theodore, published in M. Smith, *Secret Gospel*, 14). Though some scholars dispute the nature of the "Secret Gospel of Mark" cited in the latter and some of Smith's interpretations, most accept that the letter is an excellent match to the style of Clement. Hugh Nibley cites the work without qualification in *Message*, 515. For a summary of the debate on the nature and authenticity of this document, see, e.g., Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 67–89; M. Smith, *Secret Gospel*, xi, 139–50. Further associating the Gospel of Mark with ritual is the research of Whitney Shiner, who "has suggested that the Gospel

of Mark was designed to be recited at the water's edge after an all-night vigil as part of a baptismal service, so that the reading of the resurrection scene would dramatically coincide with the break of dawn" (Calabro, "Early Christian Context." See Shiner, *Proclaiming the Gospel*, 51–52.

With respect to esoteric teachings at Qumran, Michael E. Stone mentions the fact that "Josephus stresses transmission of written documents, when he says explicitly that the Essene initiates swear not to reveal 'books belonging to their sect' (BJ 2:142)" (*Secret Groups*, 38). On the other hand, and perhaps of relevance to the seemingly widespread transmission of the Manichaean *Book of Giants* fragments, an "abundance of insider documentation is an outcome of the Manichaean attitudes to their teachings, which they disseminated vigorously. This situation is the reverse of what [is] observed in the Hellenistic–Roman mystery cults" (Stone, 51).

Consistent with the idea that different levels of initiation in groups such as the Qumran covenanters corresponded to differential access to written (and most likely oral) teachings is Stone's conclusion that "not only were . . . writings [containing special knowledge (e.g., Nickelsburg, "Nature and Function")] revealed in stages, but also steps were taken to ensure that those not yet admitted into the appropriate rank could not read them" (Stone, *Secret Groups*, 71). Those at the highest levels of initiation were thought to have knowledge reserved for the angels (e.g., "*1 Enoch* says, in praise of its hero, that Enoch heard and understood all the words of the Watchers, the highest class of angels (1:2)" [Stone, 102]). Here and elsewhere in *Watchers* and *Similitudes of Enoch*, "it becomes clear that the subjects taught by the Watchers are negative aspects of subjects apprehended by Enoch is his angelified state. Thus, the status of the revealer determines what can be revealed" (Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Angels," 342).

The need for graded secrecy seems to have led naturally to the need for different works or different versions of the same work for different settings. As Stone observed, "Some, but not all, of [the secret subjects listed or alluded to in the most sacred teachings of the apocalypses] were not actually revealed in narratives of the apocalypses [themselves,] but are repeated in different works" (Stone, *Secret Groups*, 100). In some cases, sacred things were not

to be written. Compare analogous statements made with reference to Latter-day Saint temple rituals (e.g., Flake, "Oral Canon").

191 See Bradshaw, *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion*; Bradshaw, *The First Days and the Last Days*; Bradshaw et al., *God's Image 2*.

192 Zinner, "Underemphasized Parallels."

193 See Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 10:4 (shorter recension), p. 119; Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," 2:2, p. 357; 3:2, p. 257; 4:1, p. 258; 4:10, p. 259; and Mopsik, *Hénoch*, 48D 1, p. 156 (97). For the *Ginza*, see Migne, "Livre d'Adam," chap. 21, p. 167; Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, *Ginza Right* 11, lines 20–27, p. 264. A mention of "Enoch the Younger (who is Idris)" in a late Islamic source is no doubt derived from the same tradition (al-Kisa'i, *Tales*, 75).

194 See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 1:2, p. 137. Cf. Doctrine and Covenants 110:1: "The eyes of our understanding were opened."

195 See Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 25:1 [J], p. 144; 64:5 [J], p. 190.

196 See Migne, "Livre d'Adam," 21, p. 169, English translation by author. Compare the English translation of Migne given by Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 210. Migne's original reads:

> La Vie [souveraine] lui répondit : Lève-toi, prends ta course vers la source de l'eau, détournes-en le cours, et que cette eau vive et subtile, tombant dans l'eau profonde, en adoucisse l'amertume en s'y mêlant, et que les hommes qui la boivent deviennent semblables à la Vie souveraine.

> A ce commandement Tavril détourna en effet le cours de l'eau subtile, et la dirigeant dans l'eau amère, il en adoucit l'amertume, en sorte que les hommes se réjouissaient en la buvant.

> Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, *Ginza Right* 11, pp. 266–67:

> Da sprach das große Leben zu Mandä dHaije: „Mache du dich auf, geh an der Spitze des Wassers hin und ziehe einen dünnen Zug lebenden Wassers hin. Es soll hingehen, in das trübe Wasser fallen, und das Wasser werde schmackhaft, auf daß die Menschenkinder es trinken und dem großen Leben gleich werden."

> Da sprach er zu Taurel-Uthra, dieser machte sich ans Werk, er zog einen dünnen Zug Wassers hin, es fiel in die Tibil, in das Wasser, das nicht schmackhaft war, und das Wasser der Tibil wurde

schmackhaft, daß die Menschenkinder es trinken und es ihnen schmecke.

The account of Enoch in the Book of Moses does not give a clear purpose for the turning of the waters from their course. Perhaps there is a longer version of the story in which this detail is explained. However, the Mandaean angel's promise to deliver Enosh/Enoch from the "flood that will rise up on [his] head" provides a tantalizing hint of one possibility. In the *Ginza*, the incident is incorporated into the Mandaean mythology relating to baptism. Specifically, the turning of the water's course is made necessary by the requirement for "living water" to become available for Mandaean baptism, which includes immersion, drinking of the water, and a series of sacred handshakes. The first phase of the rite is described by Jorunn Jacobsen Buckley as follows:

> The priest submerges the person three times and uses his wet finger to draw a line three times across the person's forehead, from the right to the left ear. Again thrice, the person in the water receives a palm full of water to drink. The sacred handshake, the *kushta*, takes place between the two. (*Mandaeans*, 82)

Erik Langkjer further elaborates:

> Tauriel is the old god "El, the bull," *tr il*, acc. to the Ugarit texts having his throne by the double offspring of the water-brooks in the mountain Lel. In the Mandaean baptismal ritual any river used for baptism is called Jordan (Jardna) and baptism can only be done in running water (not in "cut off water" in a font or basin). Lidzbarski thinks that this reflects an old belief in the Jordan as the paradise-river from Hermon, the mountain of the sons of God in the North ("as no other river in Asia it runs in a straight direction north-south" [Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, *Einleitung*, p. v, 13–15]). Lidzbarski does not mention Psalm 133:3: The unction on the head of the high priest is "like the dew of Hermon falling on the mountains of Zion. There the Lord sends down blessing, Life eternal," in Temple Theology the dew in the morning and the unction is identified with the "Water of Life" from the mountain of the sons of God. ("From 1 Enoch")

197 It is important to note that, of the Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* found at Qumran, none of those identified preserve any of the *Parables*. But even so, according to the consensus of scholarship, this segment is pre-Christian.

198 See Brown and Bradshaw, "Man and Son of Man."

199 It seems at Qumran that knowledge classed as eschatological—including, among other things, "the secrets that relate to 'him,' that is the Righteous One (or the Lord of Spirits)" (Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, p. 102, commenting on *1 Enoch* 38:3)—was reserved for the righteous at Judgment Day and, it seems in some cases, also for initiates at Qumran in the form of unwritten teachings (see, e.g., Stone, *Secret Groups*, 79–80). See, more generally, Stone, 78–87, 132–34.

200 Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 102. Cf. H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, part 2, p. 30, note 11:1: "According to v. 5 of the preceding chapter the angel(s) called the Prince of Wisdom and Prince of Understanding are the instructors of Enoch-Metatron. Here it is the Holy One who reveals secrets to him. An important parallel to this is found in *2 Enoch* 23:24. In chapter 23 the angel *Vretil* tells Enoch of 'all the works of heaven and earth, etc. etc.,' in chapter 24 again it is God Himself who reveals to Enoch 'the secrets of Creation.' The reason of the change is there to be seen in the explicit statement that these latter secrets are not even revealed to the angels and could therefore be handed over to Enoch only by God Himself." Cf. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," pp. 141ff.; Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," pp. 264ff.

201 Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 22:8 [J], p. 138. See also Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, 104. For additional parallels to this theme in the ancient Enoch literature, see Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 228–32. Relevant biblical references include Exodus 34:29; 2 Chronicles 6:41; Psalm 93:1; 104:1; 132:9; Isaiah 61:10; Luke 9:26; 21:36; 1 Corinthians 15:19; 2 Corinthians 5:2–4, taking "house" to refer to "celestial glory"; Revelation 1:7; 3:5, 18; 4:4; 7:9; and Doctrine and Covenants 28:3.

202 See Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," 16:2–3, p. 268.

203 Moses 7:59. Cf. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," 10:1, p. 263: "The Holy One, blessed be He, made me a throne like the throne of glory."

204 Is it possible that the absence of detailed descriptions corresponding to Enoch's grand vision in Moses 7 in *BG* might help explain the pointed efforts in so much of the rest of the primary Enoch literature (*1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, 3 Enoch*) to remedy this significant omission through the invention of substitute narratives, no doubt

drawing in some instances on traditions of genuine apocalyptic visions that are known to have circulated in the ancient world? Such efforts recall the sort of gap filling Nibley described in his account of how the later Christian Gnostics pined after the true gnosis of the early Christians—a lost gnosis about which they could only speculate and fabricate while falsely claiming to possess the real article. In Nibley's inimitable style, he provides the following analogy:

> It is as if various parties called upon to describe the nature of a bucket were to submit careful chemical analyses of all substances carried in buckets: there would be a milk school, a water school, a bran school, etc., each defining *buckets* in terms of a particular content. The important thing about the Gnostics is not that they adopted doctrines and practices from Iran or from Alexandria, but that they showed a desperate eagerness to latch on to anything that looked promising no matter where it came from. (*World and the Prophets*, 67)

In a similar way, we might, in a speculative mood, conjecture that the anxious efforts of later mystics to supply detailed accounts of what Enoch saw on his heavenly journey witnesses more than anything else their conviction that there somewhere existed a *true* account of that journey that could no longer be had. Commendably, the authors of *BG*, in contrast to later compilers of Enoch traditions, did not attempt to replicate by their own invention the heavenly visions of Enoch. Instead, for the purposes of their parody, they seem to have thought it sufficient to substitute the fictional dreams and comical antics of the twin brothers for the authentic visions of Enoch.

205 For an analogue to Enoch's experience in the life of Moses, see, e.g., Smoot, "'I Am a Son of God,'" in this proceedings; Bradshaw, Larsen, and Whitlock, "Twin Sons of Different Mothers

206 E.g., Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 20; Stuckenbruck, "*Book of Giants* among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 133.

207 See Bradshaw, Larsen, and Whitlock, "Twin Sons of Different Mothers."

208 See Stuckenbruck, "Apocalypse of John." I have also drawn inspiration from George W. E. Nickelsburg's ongoing project comparing passages that might indicate influence of *1 Enoch* on the Petrine corpus. His 2001 study concluded by saying, "The

cumulative evidence, unless coincidental, indicates that Enochic traditions were known in Petrine circles" (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 104). Nickelsburg notes the presence of fifteen significant parallels between 1 Peter and chapter 108 of *1 Enoch* alone (p. 560). See also Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter." Kelley Coblentz Bautch, who further clarified what is meant by "Enochic" and "Petrine" traditions, extended Nickelsburg's research in a study to include the *Apocalypse of Peter* (see "Peter and the Patriarchs").

209 Stuckenbruck, "Apocalypse of John," 324.

210 Stuckenbruck, "Apocalypse of John," 325.

211 My analysis differs from Stuckenbruck's in one major respect. Since his corpus was based on parallels proposed by other authors in the literature rather than his own selections, he performed a prior analysis as to whether the parallels had been "shown to participate alongside other writings in developments of apocalyptic tradition that can be observed in other early Jewish writings" (Stuckenbruck, 322). In other words, were the parallels relatively specific to the two texts being considered, or were they themes common to many Jewish texts? Here, however, the selection of passages has already been confined to those considered useful for comparison. Though, admittedly, some of the parallel features occur in other Jewish texts (including, more often than not, other Enoch texts), the fact that the Book of Moses resembles to an astonishing degree any one of these texts is remarkable. And that there are many specific resemblances in particular to *BG*, in content and sequence of events, is striking.

212 Of course, the opposite course could have been taken—comparing Moses 6–7 against the narrative structure of *BG*. However, I concur with Jared Ludlow that extracanonical traditions should be measured against canonical versions of the standard works, not vice versa. "This comparison may appear to be a circular argument," attempting to "prove" modern scripture by analyzing ancient traditions against it, "but the truthfulness of [modern scripture] will certainly not be proved by . . . any . . . intellectual endeavor," though such analysis "may help eliminate some possible explanations (like Joseph Smith's having made up these stories ex nihilo). If one has a testimony of [works of modern scripture], however, one can then use [them] as standards against which other traditions can be measured (Ludlow, "Vision," 73n60).

213 Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 11–24.

214 Stuckenbruck, "*Book of Giants* among the Dead Sea Scrolls."

215 Stuckenbruck, "*Book of Giants* among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 133.

216 See Wilkens, "Remarks," 219–20, 221–22.

217 Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 18–19.

218 Wilkens, "Remarks," 221.

219 For example, Kósa observed that although the idea of repenting "demons" that is found in *BG* would have been "complete nonsense" within the "extreme ontological dualism of Manichaeism," the motif somehow survived in a Manichaean depiction of the story "due to the influence of the *BG* tradition" ("*Book of Giants* Tradition," 175). The implication is that, in this instance and perhaps in others, the perception of the importance of the motif in the "original" *BG* story seems to have precluded any attempt to modify what would have ordinarily been seen as a doctrinally impossible episode in order to provide a better fit to Manichaean theology.

220 E.g., Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 20; Stuckenbruck, "*Book of Giants* among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 133.

221 Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures*, 437, 439.

222 Gulácsi, 485–89; Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition."

223 Copyright Japanese private collection. Details of the *Cosmology Painting* are reproduced and discussed in Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures*, 436–89.

224 Welburn, *Mani*, 205.

225 Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures*, 470.

226 See Gulácsi, 470; cf. Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," plate 2, p. 182. See the description of the eight layers of the universe in Manichaeism represented in this and another image in Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures*, 468–69, 472–77.

227 See Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," 173–74.

228 See Kósa, 162–63, 168–69.

229 See Kósa, 169. For visual details, see fig. 2a, p. 183.

230 See Kósa, fig. 2a, p. 183. See also pp. 155–57.

231   See Kósa, fig. 3, p. 186. See also pp. 164–67, 169–71, 178.

232   As Nickelsburg describes it, the Genesis 6:4 description of events is made "without comment and with no explicit connection to what follows" (*1 Enoch 1*, p. 167).

233   For example, the well-known Genesis scholar Ronald Hendel translates Genesis 6:4 in a way that equates the *nephilim* to the *gibborim*:

> The Nephilim were on the earth in those days — and also afterward — when the sons of God went in to the daughters of humans, who bore children to them. These were the heroes that were of old, warriors of renown. (Attridge et al., *HarperCollins Study Bible*, Genesis 6:4, p. 15)

> By way of contrast, Nickelsburg understands such descriptions as depicting two distinct groups (*1 Enoch 1*, p. 185).

234   Ephrem the Syrian, "Paradise," 1:11, pp. 81–82. See also Malan, *Adam and Eve*, 3:4, p. 147; Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 178–93. See also Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 68–69.

235   See Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, 203, 225–30.

236   Nibley, "Gifts," 93–94. See also Nibley, "Deny Not," 128; "What Kind of Work?," 256, 276; and "Law of Consecration," 436–37.

237   Nibley, "Intellectual Autobiography," 45.

238   Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q203, frg. 3, l. 4, p. 943.

239   Nibley, "Intellectual Autobiography," 40. As Nibley points out, this question is not unrelated to John Dewey's golden question: "What is there in it for me?" (Nibley, "Educating the Saints," 338).

240   Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 50.

241   Henning, "Book of the Giants," frg. i, 103–10, p. 62.

242   While Wise and Cook translate the key term as "secrets," Martínez translates the term as "mysteries" (Martínez, "Book of Giants (1Q23)," 9 + 14 + 15:2, p. 291). Cf. Beyer's reconstruction as "mysteries" that is reported in Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 74. Stuckenbruck (who provided the translation of Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 939) is more cautious: "Not enough is visible on 1Q23 14 to verify this reading" (Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 58).

243 Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1Q23, 9 + 14 + 15:2–4, p. 291.

244 Henning "Book of the Giants," text A, frg. j, p. 60. The phrases in brackets are my suggestions.

245 Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1QapGen, 1:2, p. 91. Cf. Martínez, "Genesis Apocryphon," 1:2, p. 230; Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 1:2, p. 67: "mystery of evil." See also 2 Thessalonians 2:7 (Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, p. 120, note 1:2). For an extended discussion, see Thomas, "*Mysteries*," 180–82.

246 See Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, 727nE-105.

247 al-Tha'labi, "*Lives*," 88; cf. Chanoch Albeck, *Midrash*, p. 587; see English translation in Reeves, "Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael."

248 Nibley, "Return to the Temple," 63; cf. Genesis 6:4–6; Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, 398n5:53-a.

249 See Bradshaw, *God's Image 2*, 96nM6–19. Because of differences in Hebrew spelling, some have questioned whether a connection can be made between Mahijah/Mahujah (in the Book of Moses), Mahaway (in the Qumran *Book of Giants*), and Mehuja-el (in Genesis 4:18). For a detailed response on this issue, see Bradshaw, Bowen, and Dahle, "Where Did the Names Mahaway and Mahujah Come From?"

250 See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 6:5, p. 174.

251 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 69:13–14, p. 304.

252 Moses 5:29. For more on the uses of such oaths within and outside of scripture, see Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, Moses 5:29-b, c, d, pp. 377–78; Bradshaw and Head, "Investiture Panel," 33–34.

253 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 6:5, p. 174.

254 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 6:1, p. 174.

255 Moses 5:44. See Bradshaw, God's Image 1, p. 392, note 5:44-a: "The wording 'took unto himself' is paralleled in the description of the illicit relationships of the wicked husbands in the days of Noah (Moses 8:14, 21)." Wright observes that "there is no indication . . . that a marriage actually took place, but rather [the phrase] could be translated and understood as 'Lamech took to himself two women'" (*Evil Spirits*, 135–36).

256　See Moses 5:47–55. See also Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 395–99, notes 5:47a–54c.

257　Moses 5:53: "Lamech had spoken the secret unto his wives, and they rebelled against him, and declared these things abroad, and had not compassion."

258　Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 8:3, p. 188. For an extensive discussion of this topic, see Lesses, "They Revealed Secrets."

259　Courtesy of hadrian6. https://hadrian6.tumblr.com/post/96633448657/samson-smiting-a-philistine-with-the-jawbone-of-an (accessed April 16, 2021).

260　See Genesis 16:12.

261　Jeremiah 2:24.

262　Sarna, *Genesis*, 121n12: "a wild ass of a man."

263　George, *Gilgamesh*, tablet 8, line 51, p. 65.

264　Mitchell, *Gilgamesh*, book 8, p. 153.

265　See Bradshaw, *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion*.

266　Moses 8:14; emphasis added.

267　See Moses 8:20.

268　See Moses 8:13–14.

269　Moses 8:21; emphasis added.

270　Moses 8:21; emphasis added.

271　Moses 8:13; emphasis added. For more on this episode, see Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, 84, 203, 225; Bradshaw, *Temple Themes*, 53–65. Cf. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 180.

272　Alma 31:5. Note that the word "virtue" is a term whose older meaning connotes strength, especially strength in battle. It comes from the Latin nominative *virtus* (= valor, merit, moral perfection), which derives from the root *vir* (= man).

273　Mobley, *Empty Men*, 2.

274　Alter, *Hebrew Bible*, Hosea 10:13, 2:1230–31.

275　Alter, 2 Kings 23:25, 2:606.

276　Alter, Proverbs 24:5, 3:426.

277 Mobley uses the phrase "more the *geber*" (*Empty Men*, 3).

278 Mobley, *Empty Men*, 4.

279 See Angel, "Humbling," 67–68.

280 Edward Cook, "4Q531 (4QEnGiants(c) ar)," 22:3–8, in Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 3:495.

281 Angel, "Humbling," 68. Angel continues:

> The portrayal of Gilgamesh roaming like a wild man after the death of Enkidu is a well-known image from the Mesopotamian epic. And, as Matthias Henze has pointed out, Daniel's portrait of Nebuchadnezzar as [having *become*] a wild man is best understood as a polemical reversal of Enkidu's metamorphosis portrayed in *Gilgamesh*.

282 See Angel, "Humbling," 68.

283 Stuckenbruck, "*Book of Giants* among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 133.

284 Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, 232. For more about their role and function, see Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 221. Cf. Heimpel, *Letters to the King*, 578, s.v. "ecstatic."

285 See Heimpel, *Letters to the King*, 26 220, p. 262; 26 221, p. 263.

286 Wilkens, "Remarks," 227.

287 Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 278. Noting the possibility of wordplay, Nibley conjectures that "what the Ma- [in Mahijah] most strongly suggests is certainly the all-but-universal ancient interrogative, *Ma* ("who?" or "what?"), so that the names Mahujah and Mahijah both sound to the student of Semitics like questions" ("Churches in the Wilderness," [1989], 290).

288 See, e.g., Henning, "Book of the Giants," text E, p. 66; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 117. On the identification of Enoch with the title "apostle," see Wilkens, "Remarks," 225.

289 Bauer, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 122.

290 See Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 74–76.

291 E.g., they prostrated and wept bef[ore (Parry et al., *DSSR*, 4Q203 4, p. 943; cf. Martínez, "Book of Giants (4Q203)," 4, 6, p. 260: "they bowed down and wept in front of [Enoch]"; "[when] they saw the apostle [i.e., Enoch], . . . before the apostle . . . those demons [i.e., the *gibborim*, in this context] that were [timid], were very, very

glad at seeing the apostle [i.e., Enoch]. All of them assembled before him" (Henning, "Book of the Giants," text E, p. 66).

292 Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q530, 2 II + 6 + 7 I + 8–11 + 12(?), 22–23, p. 951. In providing consistency with Manichaean *BG* fragments describing Enoch's preaching mission, the Book of Moses also sheds light on the scholarly controversy as to whether the visit of Mahaway to Enoch in heaven later on is his first or second encounter with Enoch (see, e.g., Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 126–27; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 94, 105; Wilkens, "Remarks," 219–20, 221–22). The most common answer to this question is that it was his second encounter with Enoch. The fact that it was Mahaway's second encounter with Enoch is implied by the reference in the *BG* passages shown in the table above that refers to a "second time" (Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q530, fragment 7, column II, lines 6–7, p. 951) and a "first [time]" (Parry et al., *DSSR*, 4Q530, 2 II + 6 + 7 I + 8–11 + 12(?), 22–23, p. 951; cf. Vermes, *Complete*, 550: "Previously you listened to his [Enoch's] voice"). Because of the frequent doubling of various motifs in *BG*, the idea of Mahaway being involved in two journeys rather than one seems probable— and the Book of Moses idea of Mahijah's earthly encounter with Enoch (Moses 6:40), followed by a heavenly encounter with him (Moses 7:2), fits the expected narrative structure perfectly.

293 Wilkens, "Remarks," 226–27.

294 For a survey of the examples of the concept of the "ends of the earth" in the ancient Near East, see Wyatt, *Space*, 113–120.

295 Wilkens, "Remarks," 225.

296 See Bradshaw, Larsen, and Whitlock, "Moses 1 and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," (journal), 194.

297 See, e.g., Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 93.

298 Nibley, *Teachings of the Pearl of Great Price*, 268. In Nibley's interpretation, the relevant discussion among the *gibborim* referring to the selection of Mahaway leads directly to the question raised by Mahijah in the Book of Moses during his first visit: "Tell us plainly who thou art, and from whence thou comest?" (Moses 6:40). However, I take the discussion that leads to the selection of Mahaway as the envoy as occurring prior to his *second* visit to Enoch.

299 This is in line with Stuckenbruck's conclusion that the addressees of the message in this passage are the "'demons' (= giants)," (*Book of Giants*, 86, 200), i.e., the *gibborim*.

300 Moses 6:46. Cf. Moses 6:5.

301 In Jewish tradition, several types of "heavenly books" are distinguished (Baynes, *Heavenly Book*, 7–8):

> The *Book of Life*, in which the names of the righteous are written. In some accounts, there is a corresponding *Book of Death* in which the names of the wicked are recorded. This book is "by far the most common" type of heavenly book mentioned, and references to it are found both in the Old and New Testaments.

> The *Book of Fate* "records what will happen in advance, either to an individual or to a larger community." It appears "only rarely in the Hebrew scriptures but much more frequently in the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Second Temple literature, and especially in *Jubilees*."

> The *Book of Deeds*, a "heavenly accounting of people's works, good or evil," which "regulates entrance into eternal happiness." Like the *Book of Fate*, this type of heavenly book predominates in Isaiah, Daniel, and in the pseudepigrapha.

302 For example, the *Zohar* teaches that Enoch had a copy of the "book of the generations of Adam" from the same heavenly source that revealed it to Adam (*Zohar* 1:37b [ed. Vilna Gaon—aka Elijah ben Solomon Zalman], as cited in Reeves and Reed, *Sources from Judaism*, 87): "They brought down to Adam the protoplast (from heaven) an actual book. . . . Enoch also had a book and that book was from the (same) place as the 'book of the generations of Adam' (Genesis 5:1)." Cf. Matt, *Zohar*, Bereshit 1:37b, pp. 237–38. The *Testament of Abraham* identifies Enoch as the heavenly scribe who records the righteousness or wickedness of the souls of the dead (Sanders, "Testament of Abraham," recension B, 11:3–10, p. 900; Ludlow, *Abraham Meets Death*, 136–37).

> The book of remembrance mentioned in the Book of Moses appears to have been passed down to the righteous descendants of Adam. For example, Moses 6:3–5 prefaces its description of the keeping of "a book of remembrance . . . in the language of Adam" with a mention of the births of Seth and Enos, who called "upon the name of the Lord," and "it was given unto as many as called

upon God to write by the spirit of inspiration." This passage recalls a fragmentary text from Qumran that has been given the title "The Secret of the Way Things Are" (4Q415–18, 1Q26, 4Q423). It likewise preserves a tradition that a "book of remembrance" was successively bequeathed to Seth and Enos "with a spiritual people" (Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 4Q417, fragment 1, column I, lines 13–17, p. 484). Though Jewish pseudepigrapha, Josephus, and Christian gnostic writings all mention Seth in connection with this tradition, it is rarer to find it associated with both Seth and Enosh. Thanks to David Snell for pointing out this reference (see "New Find").

303 Baynes, *Heavenly Book*, 8. This type of heavenly book predominates in Isaiah, Daniel, and in the pseudepigrapha.

304 Sundermann, *"Ein weiteres Fragment,"* M 7800/II, fragment L, I recto 1–9, pp. 495–96, translated in Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 109. For additional discussion of the mention of two tablets, see Reeves, 64, 78–79, 110n6, 111, 153nn291–92, 154n306. Cf. 4Q203, frg. 7b, col. ii, l. 1–3, frg. 8, l. 1–12, in Parry and Tov et al., *DSSR*, p. 945. Milik and Black cite a fragment of the Middle Persian Kawân (M 101, frg. j, p. 60) and a small fragment from Qumran (2Q26) for more detail about the tablets (*Books of Enoch*, 334–335). The first tablet, made of wood, is washed by the wicked in order to efface its writing. It "symbolizes the generation of the Flood" who will be "submerged by the waters of the Flood. . . . The tablet of line 3 seems to be a second or third one, since it is the 'board' of salvation, the ark of Noah and his three sons."

305 Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 214. See Martínez, "Book of Giants (4Q203)," 8:1–11, p. 260–61.

306 See Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 90–91; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 154n304.

307 Museum of History, Sanok, Poland. Public domain. https://en.m.wiki pedia.org/wiki/File:MHS_Eliasz_i_Enoch_XVII_w_p.jpg (accessed May 1, 2021). For more on this painting, see Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, fig. M6–2, p. 34.

308 Wilkens, "Remarks," 225.

309 See Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 74–76.

310 Reeves acknowledges that 4Q203 "of very fragmentary pieces whose precise position in the narrative sequence of *BG* is impossible to determine" (Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 124).

311 Martínez, "Book of Giants (4Q203)," 4, 6, p. 260, emphasis mine.

312 Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*, 312.

313 Wilkens, "Remarks," 225.

314 Henning, "Book of the Giants," Sogdian text E, 66.

315 Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 216: "a *Hypomnemata*, or memorial."

316 Nickelsburg says:

> Abel-Main is the Aramaic form of Abel-Maim . . . (cf. 1 Kings 15:20 and its parallel in 2 Chronicles 16:4). It is modern Tel Abil, situated approximately seven kilometers west-northwest of "the waters of Dan," at the mouth of the valley between the Lebanon range to the west and Mount Hermon, here called Senir, one of its biblical names (Deuteronomy 3:8–9; cf. Song of Solomon 4:8; Ezekiel 27:5). (*1 Enoch 1*, p. 250, notes 9–10)

> For more on the history of the sacred geography of this region, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 238–47.

317 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 13:3–5, 8–9, pp. 234, 237. See Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 214.

318 Nibley, "Churches in the Wilderness" (1978), 159.

319 In Stuckenbruck's view, the group to whom the possibility of repentance was held out were the *gibborim*, to whom the first tablet of Enoch was read—see *Book of the Giants*, 86–87, 200. This proposal accords generally with the suggestion of Goff that while the Watchers were beyond repentance, the *gibborim*, the "sons of the Watchers," were capable of reform (Sons of the Watchers," 124–127. See also Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," 173–75.

> According to Kósa, within the Manichaean adaptation of the *BG* account, "the Watchers . . . were not angelic beings anymore, but were [instead] conceived as [rebellious] demons [who had figured in the Manichaean system in the first major battle prior to the establishment of the universe (see 147ff.)]. Given the Manichaean notion of two independent and ontologically radically opposing principles, [this transformation of identity from Watchers to demons] was an inevitable step, since the Watchers' misdeeds did

not allow them to be part of the Realm of Light" (Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," 148 and 148–49n24).

Kósa explains why the survival of this feature of the *BG* account in the Manichaean text is surprising:

> This act of repentance, which was definitely an integral part of the *BG* tradition, and which is perhaps depicted in [*MCP*], is a strange phenomenon if see in the context of Manichaeism. Given the extreme ontological dualism of Manichaeism, the motif of repenting demons, be they Watchers or giants [*gibborim*], is complete nonsense. It contradicts the essence of Manichaeism. Neither can the Light principle, or any representatives thereof, turn into the Dark principle, nor can the representatives of the Kingdom of Darkness repent and correct their way. In the Manichaean world, there is no chance for any representative of the dark principle to change its essential nature. Thus, seen in this perspective, the motif of kneeling and apparently repenting demons in the [*MCP*] shows the influence of the *BG* tradition, since it is only the latter one where repenting demons might, and emphatically do, occur (175).

With respect to the term "demon," Drawnel observed that "early Christian tradition (2nd century CE) unequivocally identified the children of the Watchers [i.e., the *gibborim*] as demons" (Drawnel, "Mesopotamian Background," 19n16. See Justin Martyr, "Second Apology," 5, p. 190). Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 163, wrote that Justin invoked "the Greco-Roman concept of the *daimon* as an intermediary figure who is neither as divine as the gods nor as lowly as humans," but use of the Greek term in Justin (which is consistent with New Testament usage), is different from "the mening in Greek culture and religion (god, one's daemon or genius, or in Hesiod the souls of men of the golden age, forming the link between gods and men). The English term "demon" properly connotes the evil and violent character of the spiritual beings under consideration. For general readings on demons and demonology in the ancient world, see Petersen, "Notion of Demon"; Reed, *Demons*. Blair, *De-Demonising* provides a much-needed critique of previous studies that have sometimes applied evidence from the ancient Near East in questionable ways, sometimes erroneously concluding that "biblical authors had demythologized the Hebrew texts in order to 'cover up' the presence of some 'demons'" (Blair, *De-Demonising*, 216).

320 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 12:5, p. 234. Cf. the conclusion by Stuckenbruck that the Watchers are beyond repentances (Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, p. 93).

321 Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 947. Martínez reads the sense of this phrase as "Now, then, unfasten your chains [of sin] . . . and pray" (Martínez, "Book of Giants (4Q203)," frg. 8, l. 14–15, p. 261). Cf. Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 315, 316, note L. 12: "And now, loosen your bonds which tie [you] up [. . .] and begin to pray," in a less-likely interpretation written prior to the discovery of the *MCP* depiction, Milik and Black explain the text as being addressed solely to the Watchers who are seen as wearing physical rather that spiritual chains: "The Watchers seem to be already chained up by the angels; in order to be able to pray, to lift their arms in the gesture of suppliants, they have to have their bonds loosened" (p. 316, note L. 14). See also Wise and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 4Q203, 8:14–15: "But now, loosen the bonds [. . .] and pray."

Because Stuckenbruck argues that this passage from this second tablet of Enoch occurs in the context of a reading made exclusively to the Watchers, who are beyond repentance (vs. the reading of the first tablet, which he takes as having been directed toward the *gibborim*, who are capable of repentance), he cannot interpret the "summons to pray" as meaning that "the possibility of forgiveness is being left open [to the addressees of the second tablet]. . . . Rather, as in the *Book of Watchers*, their praying is a sign of defeat signaling a contrast with the ultimate lot of the earth's victims . . . [whose] cries have been heeded" (Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 93). Goff differs with Stuckenbruck's interpretation that the command to pray was an "ironic request," merely highlighting the impossibility for God to save them ("Sons of the Watchers," 124). He highlights the 4Q203, frg. 9 (Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 947) as "remnants of what appears to be a prayer … in which a speaker tells God that 'nothing has defeated you.' This could be uttered by a giant [*gibbor*] who follows Enoch's recommendation and acknowledges in prayer the power and superiority of God (l. 4; cf. 4Q203 7b i 5)" ("Sons of the Watchers," 124). Though it is true that the second tablet is explicitly addressed to the Watchers (Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q203, frg. 8, l. 5, p. 947), it also explicitly describes the activities of the *gibborim* in association with the wickedness of the Watchers (Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q203, frg. 8, l. 8, p. 947), making it clear that the message of the tablet is relevant for both groups.

322 Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 947.

323 Wilkens, "Remarks," 225.

324 Henning, "Book of the Giants," Sogdian text E, p. 66.

325 Wilkens, "Remarks," 225.

326 See Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q530, fragment 7, column ii, line 3: "how long the giants [i.e., *gibborim*] have to live." Translated more literally by Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 103, as "span of the giants" and by Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 126, as "life-span of the giants." Alternatively, this phrase is translated by Martínez as "the evidence of the Giants" ("Book of Giants (4Q530)," p. 261).

327 Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 103. Reeves appeals to Etheridge, *Onkelos*, Genesis 6:3, p. 47, which uses the same noun translated as "span" in the context of a probationary period for the *gibborim*: "A span of 120 years I will grant them (to see) if they repent."

328 Widengren, *Ascension*, 38n2.

329 Widengren, *Ascension*, 38n2. The idea continues today in what has come to be called the *Yamim Noraim* ("Days of Awe") or *Aseret Yemei Teshuvah* ("Ten Days of Repentance/Return"). The tradition draws on Isaiah 55:6, which says, "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon his name while he is near." Maimonides formulated the most cited passages associated with this period. He wrote:

> Even though repentance and crying out to God are always timely, during the ten days from Rosh Hashanah to Yom Kippur it is exceedingly appropriate, and accepted immediately [on high]. (Touger, *Rambam's Mishneh Torah*, Laws of Teshuvah, 2:6)

According to Rich:

> One of the ongoing themes of the Days of Awe is the concept that God has "books" that he writes our names in, writing down who will live and who will die, who will have a good life and who will have a bad life, for the next year. These books are written in on Rosh Hashana, but our actions during the Days of Awe can alter G[o]d's decree. The actions that change the decree are "*teshuvah*, *tefilah*, and *tzedakah*," repentance, prayer, good deeds (usually, charity). These "books" are sealed on Yom Kippur. This concept of writing in books is the source of the common greeting during this time: "May you be inscribed and sealed for a good year." ("Days of Awe")

330 Draper, Brown, and Rhodes, *Commentary*, 103.

331 Nibley, "Churches in the Wilderness" (1978), 160.

332 Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 4Q203, frg. 8 ll. 6–9, p. 90. Cf. Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*, 315: "Let it be known to you that [you] n[ot . . .] and your works and those of your wives [. . .] themselves [and their] children and the wives of [their children . . .] by your prostitution on the earth"; Martínez, "Book of Giants (4Q203)," frg. 8 ll. 6–9, p. 260: "Know that [. . .] not your deeds and those of your wives [. . .] they and their sons and the wives of [their sons . . .] for your prostitution in the land." Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 10:9, p. 215.

333 See Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q403, 8:6–9, p. 945. Cf. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 114n9. Compare Kee, "Testaments," Dan 5:6, p. 809: "I read in the Book of Enoch the Righteous . . . that all the spirits of sexual promiscuity . . . cause [the sons of Levi] to commit sin before the Lord"; Kee, Simeon 5:4, p. 786: "For I have seen in a copy of the book of Enoch that your sons will be ruined by promiscuity"; Kee, Naphtali 4:1, p. 812: "I have read in the writing of holy Enoch that you will stray from the Lord, living in accord with every wickedness of the gentiles and committing every lawlessness of Sodom"; Kee, Benjamin 9:1, p. 827: "From the words of Enoch the Righteous I tell you that you will be sexually promiscuous like the promiscuity of the Sodomites."

   In al-Kisa'i's version of the Islamic tales of the prophets, we are given further detail on the people's wickedness:

   > When [Enoch] was forty years old, God made him a messenger to the sons of Cain, who were giants on the earth and so preoccupied with frivolity, singing and playing musical instruments that none of them was on guard. They would gather about a woman and fornicate with her, and the devils would make their action seem good to them. They fornicated with others, daughters, and sisters, and mingled together. (*Tales*, 88; cf. Reeves and Reed, *Sources from Judaism*, 137–38)

334 Wood engraving from a Bible illustration of Revelation 14:6–7, ca. 1885. Image licensed from Alamy, ID: AJ8AKO or D965XN.

335 Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q530, fragment 7, column II, lines 3–5, p. 951.

336 Wilkens, "Remarks," 216: "The fire is rising *before* the door [that lets the sun pass through] has opened. That being so, then whence does the fire emerge as we are told in the very first sentence? If we assume that the cosmology underlying the Manichaean *Book of Giants* is essentially Enochic [see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 72:2–3, 7, p. 416], then we may assume that the flames come forth from one of the window openings located to the left and to the right of each gate."

337 Wilkens, "Remarks" 215, 216: "The text probably wants to stress that the sun is revolving without any other cosmic force interfering. . . . Contrarily, in the Ethiopic *Book of Enoch* there is mention that the chariots of the sun and the moon are both driven by the wind. It is possible that in Mani's work the force of the wind was deliberately minimized with regard to the 'palace of the sun' because of the high status the luminary is accorded in Manichaean doctrine. It is the residence of several divinities" but also a divinity in itself.

338 See Wilkens, "Remarks," 219.

339 See Wilkens, "Remarks," 217–20.

340 The sense is perhaps "too much like some of them"—i.e., in resembling their wickedness. Wilkens says: "Does the phrase 'like some of them' allude to a distinction between the [*gibborim*]? We have evidence from other fragments that this seemingly was the case. Stuckenbruck has detected evidence for factions among the [*gibborim*] in two fragments from Qumran [*Book of Giants*, 107]" (Wilken, "Remarks," 224).

341 Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q530, fragment 7, column II, lines 3–5, p. 951. The Paradise in the eastward location is designated in some conceptions as the "Paradise of Justice," containing the Tree of Knowledge, presumably by way of contrast to the "Mountain of God" to the north, which contains the Tree of Life.

342 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 290. See Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, endnote M6–20, p. 97.

343 For an overview and examples of the Egyptian concept of the horizon, see Wyatt, *Space*, 184–85, 187–92.

344 *Second Enoch* locates paradise "between the corruptible [earth] and the incorruptible [heaven]" (Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 8:5, pp. 116 and 116nl).

345 Wyatt discusses the "two seemingly opposed ideas . . . of the end of the world, often represented by the notion of a 'cosmic ocean,' and . . . the center of the world" in the ancient Near East (*Space*, 183–84). See Wyatt, 77–78, 83–84, 184–207 for examples from the ancient Near East of traversals of cosmic boundaries in heavenly ascent and of symbolic boundaries as part of ritual ascent in the temple.

Specifically with respect to Manichaean thought, Severus of Antioch (fl. 512–18), similar to other anti-Manichaean sources, reported:

> And they [i.e., the Manichaeans] say: That which is Good, also named Light and the Tree of Life, possess those regions which lie to the east, west, and north; for those (regions) which lie to the south and to the meridian belong to the Tree of Death, which they call Hyle [i.e., Matter], being very wicked and uncreated. (As cited in Bennett, *Iuxta unum*, 69)

However, Bennett clarifies that the interpretation of the cardinal direction might best be understood in light of an eastern rather than a western frame of reference:

> There are . . . some remarkable parallels for this teaching [about the primordial state] in both the Mandaean and Zoroastrian cosmogonies, suggesting that this teaching may have been formulated for an eastern audience who had the background beliefs necessary to comprehend and value it. The interpretation of the four cardinal directions as lines inscribed on a vertical plane (so that north and south are identified with above and below respectively) is found in the Mandaean cosmogony. Several other features can be paralleled in Middle Persian accounts of the Zoroastrian cosmogony. (76–77)

346 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 33:2, p. 329.

347 Nickelsburg notes:

> Whatever the origin of the author's knowledge of these animals, they are envisioned primarily in mythic terms. Evidence for such a mythic tradition appears at a number of points in the cartology of the ancient world. In the Babylonian *Mappa Mundi* of the fifth century BCE, the sixth island that lies east of the Bitter River is said to be the place where "a horned bull dwells and attacks the newcomer." Much later maps from the Common Era depict sea monsters and other beasts lurking in the farthest recesses of land

and sea. Doubtless these reflect a tradition much older than the charts on which they are found. (*1 Enoch 1*, 329–30n1)

348   See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 33:1, p. 329.

349   Machiela, *Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, 2:23, p. 37: "And [Methusaleh] went through the length of the land of Parvain, and there he found the end of [the] ea[rth."

350   Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 106:7, p. 536.

351   Goff, "Where's Enoch?," 488. Cf. Oh, "Circular World Maps," 31, 32: "Mt. Yupa . . . is located in the East Sea, a great distance away or farthest from the center. . . . Given that pine trees are one of the ten traditional symbols of longevity, the trees in the [north, east, and west] of the [circular world maps] can be regarded as deeply related to [the] 'Taoist idea of immortality.'"

In medieval times, European biblical drama sometimes contained portrayals of Elijah and Enoch that had them situated in the Garden of Eden:

As Christ leads the redeemed souls out of Hell . . . a few plays include the scene of their arrival in Earthly Paradise (usually escorted by Michael) where they meet Elijah and Enoch, who have not yet died and will return to earth to fight against Antichrist. (Muir, *Biblical Drama*, 139)

352   Scholars do not agree as to whether it is Mahaway's first or second journey (See Wilkens, "Remarks," 219–22, 224–25).

353   Wilkens, "Remarks," 222.

354   For a survey of the examples of the concept of the "ends of the earth" in the ancient Near East, see Wyatt, *Space*, 113–20.

355   Wilkens, "Remarks," 225.

356   Goff, "Where's Enoch?," 488: "Or as it says in *1 Enoch* 17:6, 'where no human *walks*'" (emphasis Goff's). Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 17:7, p. 276: "where no flesh walks." See also Nickelsburg, 19:3, p. 276: "I, Enoch, alone saw the visions, the extremities of all things. And no one among humans has seen as I saw."

357   https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Flammarion.jpg (accessed May 25, 2020). Public domain. Published in Camille Flammarion, *L'Atmosphère: Météorologie Populaire* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1888), 163, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k408619m/f168. image.

358 Goff, "Where's Enoch?," 486–88.

359 Goff, "Where's Enoch?," 488.

360 Cirillo, "Joseph Smith," 105. Looking for additional ideas besides the *Book of Giants* for what he takes to be a necessary manuscript source for ancient parallels to Joseph Smith's Enoch, Cirillo argues: "This journey . . . is not unique to the [*Book of Giants*], it is also found (and likely based on) the journey of Methuselah in *1 Enoch* [see *The Birth of Noah*, in Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 106:1–107:3, pp. 536–37]. . . . This format, for one person journeying to Enoch to question him, is evident once more in *1 Enoch* [see *The Apocalypse of Noah*, in Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 65:1–68:1, pp. 273–74]" (105–6). However, a careful reading of the *1 Enoch* accounts will show that evidence for a resemblance to the Book of Moses is strained. Especially significant is the fact that, unlike the *Book of Giants*, there is no mention in *1 Enoch* of Mahijah or Mahujah.

361 Detail of Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures*, 470. This demon is depicted apart from the others, on a high mountain cliff, perhaps recalling the second journey of Mahaway to meet Enoch. The only comment I have found on this scene is from Gulácsi, 489:

> A third demon inhabits a mountaintop. This demon is shown kneeling atop the gold highland of a mountain, the sides of which are defined similarly to the sides of Mount Sumeru.

362 See Faulring, Jackson, and Matthews, *Original Manuscripts*, p. 15 of OT1, p. 103.

363 Non–Latter-day Saint scholar Salvatore Cirillo agrees with this reading (see "Joseph Smith," 103).

One problem with the OT1 with this reading is that afterward, Enoch went up to meet God alone ("I turned and went up on the mount; . . . I stood upon the mount" [Moses 7:3]). The only way to reconcile the absence of Mahujah in subsequent events would be if he did not follow Enoch to the mount as he had been commanded to do in Moses 7:2 (taking the "Turn ye" to be plural).

On the other hand, in a different reading, David Calabro points out that the phrase in Moses 7:2 "As I was journeying . . . and I cried" "could be an example of the use of 'and' to introduce a main clause after a circumstantial clause, which is a Hebraism that is frequently found in the earliest Book of Mormon text" (email

message to author, January 24, 2018). In this case, the "ye" in "Turn ye" would have to be interpreted as singular rather than plural.

364 Brown, *Testimony of Luke*, 1020. See Hebrews 9:12–15.

365 Draper, Brown, and Rhodes, *Commentary*, 113n4, citing Brueggemann, "Costly Loss of Lament," 106–7. See also Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, p. 128, note 7:2-e.

366 See Moses 7:45, 48, 50, 54, 58. Cf. the cry of Adam in Moses 6:64.

367 E.g., Exodus 22:22–27.

368 E.g., Psalm 107:4–22; Alma 33:4–11.

369 See, e.g., Zechariah 1:3; and Malachi 3:7. For additional discussion, see Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, 5:4-b, p. 357.

370 See Faulring, Jackson, and Matthews, *Original Manuscripts*, p. 15 of Old Testament Manuscript 1, Plate 5. Cf. the transcription on p. 103.

371 For an analysis of the likelihood of error in transcriptions of "Mahijah" and "Mahujah" in the earliest manuscripts of Moses 6–7, see Bradshaw, Bowen, and Dahle, "Textual Criticism," 122–31.

372 See Genesis 17:5, 15; 32:28. On the tests and changes of name for Abram/Abraham and Sarai/Sarah, see, e.g., Clark, *Blessings*, 166–67. On the test and change of name for Jacob/Israel, see Hayward, *Israel*.

373 Wilkens, "Remarks," 227.

374 Wilkens, "Remarks," 226.

375 Wilkens, "Remarks," Mainz 317 fragment, p. 228.

376 "'Some of them' in the fragment from *BG* obviously refers to the [*gibborim*]. . . . Does the phrase 'like some of them' allude to a distinction between the [*gibborim*]? We have evidence from other fragments that this seemingly was the case. Stuckenbruck has detected evidence for factions among the [*gibborim*] in two fragments from Qumran" (Wilkens, 224; see Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 107–8).

377 See Matthew 19:16–30; Mark 10:17–31; Luke 18:18–30.

378 The bracketed phrase substitutes for Reeves' version the translation of Wilkens, "Remarks," 227. Wilkens reads the entire phrase as "the great angel has slain that messenger whom they had,"

differing with Reeves and Sundermann by reading "great angel" as the agent of the death of Mahaway rather than as a description of Mahaway.

379 Translation in Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, p. 123 of Sundermann, *Mittelpersische*, M5900, lines 1574–77, p. 78:

> Erschlagen, erschlagen hat
>
> der große Engel (?) jenen
>
> Boten, den (sie) hatten (?).
>
> Getötet wurden die Fleischverschlingenden.

380 See Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Manuscript Revelation Books*, facsimile ed., 48v, February 27, 1833, 508–9. For more on this revelation, see Williams, *Life*, 234–44; and Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, "The Song of Enoch," 449–57.

381 If the name Mahujah relates to the idea of questioning (as proposed in Nibley, "Churches in the Wilderness" [1978], 157), it would provide a neat counterpart to the name of the mount Simeon (Hebrew *Shim'on* = "he has heard"), where Enoch was commanded to go in order to receive his answers. Note al-Tha'labi's account of Adam and Eve being rejoined after their separation when "they recognized each other by questioning on a day of questioning. So the place was named *'Arafat* (= questions) and the day, *'Irfah*" (*Lives*, 291).

382 See also, e.g., Deuteronomy 6:4.

383 Moses 6:37; cf. Moses 6:38; 7:17.

384 Nibley, *Teachings of the Pearl of Great Price*, 22, p. 281.

385 Photograph DSC05265, 25 September 2012. © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw.

386 The event occurred during his near-fatal illness in Iowa. His journal records the following:

> My spirit seems to have left the world and introduced into that of Kolob. I heard a voice calling me by name, saying: "He is worthy, he is worthy, take away his filthy garments." My clothes were then taken off piece by piece and a voice said: "Let him be clothed, let him be clothed." Immediately, I found a celestial body gradually growing upon me until at length I found myself crowned with all its glory and power. The ecstasy of joy I now experienced no man can tell, pen cannot describe it. (Beecher, "Iowa," 269; spelling and punctuation modernized)

387 See Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Manuscript Revelation Books*, facsimile ed., 48v, February 27, 1833, 508–9, as modernized in Williams, *Life*, table 1, p. 238, with my own slight alterations in punctuation.

388 Williams, *Life*, 243. See also Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, p. 128, note 7:2-e.

389 Illustration from the 1728 *Figures de la Bible*; illustrated by Gerard Hoet (1648–1733) and others, and published by P. de Hondt in The Hague; image courtesy Bizzell Bible Collection, University of Oklahoma Libraries. Public Domain. https://commons. wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Figures_God_took_Enoch.jpg (accessed June 7, 2021). The version used in this chapter is licensed by Getty Images, https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/illustration/ god-took-enoch-genesis-5-royalty-free-illustration/483654474 (accessed June 7, 2021).

390 Enoch's "similarity to, and perhaps derivation from, the [Mesopotamian] figure of Enmeduranki is widely accepted" (Wyatt, *Space*, 101; see also Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 23–29; VanderKam, *Enoch*, 6–14; Annus, "On the Origin of Watchers"; Drawnel, "Mesopotamian Background"; Day, "Enochs of Genesis 4 and 5"). For an excerpt with commentary of a Mesopotamian account of the ascent of Enmeduranki, see Wyatt, *Space*, 195–96.

391 Wilkens, "Remarks," 224, 225.

392 Mainz 317 fragment, cited in Wilkens, "Remarks," 224.

393 Wilkens, "Remarks," 222.

394 Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q531, fragment 14, line 4, p. 957.

395 Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 4Q531, p. 155.

396 See Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 166–67.

397 "It is unclear whether the initial word *gbr* is to be understood as a verbal ('he strengthened, prevailed') or nominative ('man,' ['*gibbor*'] form)" (Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 118).

398 Cf. Morano, "Some New Sogdian Fragments," 188, where the meaning of two lines in a new Sogdian fragment is conjectured ("red . . . great ocean" [So10701a [T I D] + So20193b, /R/5/ and /R/6/], p. 189): "The ocean appears to be red, possibly because of blood."

399 On the number of two hundred demons, see Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," 167.

400 The bracketed phrase substitutes for Reeves' version the translation of Wilkens, "Remarks," 227. Wilkens reads the entire phrase as "the great angel has slain that messenger whom they had," differing with Reeves and Sundermann by reading "great angel" as the agent of the death of Mahaway rather than seeing it as a description of Mahaway.

401 Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 118; emphasis in the original. Cf. Alma 30:17, where Korihor teaches that "every man conquered according to his strength; and whatsoever a man did was no crime."

402 Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q531, fragment 7, lines 5–6, p. 955.

403 "Whereas none of the Qumran materials contain anything which actually narrates a battle . . . against heavenly angelic forces . . . , some of the Manichaean fragments preserve this motif. . . . The absence of such material among the Qumran fragments does not necessarily mean that it did not exist, but it is possible that the relative abundance of it among the Manichaean sources reflects a later interest which took expression in expansions of the tradition" (Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 19n82).

404 Henning, "Book of the Giants," text G, p. 69.

405 Henning, 54; Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," 155–57. See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 10:1–15, pp. 215–28: "Sariel, Raphael, Gabriel, and Michael."

406 Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," 163.

407 From Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," fig. 2a, p. 183.

408 Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," 162–63, 168–69.

409 Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," 169. Kósa bases his speculation about the possibility that the divine figure behind the four archangels is Enoch on Henning 1943, text A, frg. i, p. 61 [and 62n4], which reads: "And the angels veiled (or covered, or: protected, or: moved out of sight) Enoch" (see Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," 169n98).

410 Henning, "Book of the Giants," text G, p. 69; text A, fragment I, p. 61.

411 Henning, text Q, p. 72.

412 Henning, text A, fragment I, p. 61. Compare this text from the Mandaean *Ginza* (Migne, "Livre d'Adam," 21, p. 170), speaking of Enoch and those with him: "By fleeing and hiding the people on high have ascended higher than us. We have never known them. All the same, there they are, clothed with glory and splendors. . . . And now they are sheltered from our blows."

413 Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 4Q531, 17:8, p. 164.

414 Martínez, "Book of Giants (4Q531)," 22:8, p. 262; emphasis added.

415 Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*, 308; emphasis added.

416 Moses 7:13; emphasis added.

417 After describing how the category of "wildness" applied equally well to the "wild man" and "wild animal" in the mind of the ancient military man or hunter, Doak writes: "I conflate these potentially distinct categories of the 'elite adversary' and the 'elite animal' in order to highlight the correspondence between elite military victory against a prestige animal (lion) and the defeat of an Egyptian giant in 1 Chronicles 11:22–23" ("Giant in a Thousand Years," 24). On p. 25, he goes on to argue from another example by comparing 2 Samuel 23:20–23; 1 Chronicles 11:22–23; and 2 Chronicles 20:6.

> Julian Reade similarly writes:

> The close relationship of the two royal activities — killing animals which were dangerous like lions or merely wild, and killing people who were dangerous enemies or merely foreign — is implicit in several inscriptions of Assyrian kings, between the eleventh and ninth centuries. ("Assyrian Royal Hunt," 56)

> Reade provides several examples of these activities being closely associated in art and inscriptions. One inscription from Tiglath-Pileser I (1115–1076 BCE),

> after giving extensive details of forty-two lands and rulers that the king has conquered, immediately proceeds to describe four extraordinarily strong, wild, virile bulls he has shot in the desert . . . in just the same way as he has brought enemy booty home; there were also ten elephants killed and four captured, and 120 lions killed on foot and 800 lions killed from his chariot. (Reade, "Assyrian Royal Hunt," 56)

418 Daniel 6:22; "mouth" = Aramaic *pum*. Cf. Henze, "Additions to Daniel," 31–40, pp. 138–39; Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich, *Dead Sea*

Scrolls Bible, 494; Pietersma and Wright, *Septuagint*, 1011 (Greek *stoma* [OG, Theodotion]). Note the parallel in Daniel 6:17, when the king shut and sealed "the *mouth* [Aramaic *pum*] of the den" with a stone and his signet (emphasis added).

John Collins (see *Daniel*, 267, 271) finds metaphorical parallels in Psalms 57:5 ("I lie in the midst of lions"); 22:14–29; 91:13; 1QH 5:5–7, and in a Babylonian poem: "It was Marduk who put a muzzle on the mouth of the lion that was devouring me" (Hallo and Younger, *Context*, *Poem of the Righteous Sufferer* (1.153), 1:491. Cf. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom*, 56). According to Lambert, "The first attestation the [Babylonian] poem receives is in the library of Ashurbanipal" (26).

Louis Hartman and Alexander Di Lella caution as follows regarding the historical setting of this story:

> Whereas the keeping of lions in ancient Mesopotamia is well attested in the inscriptions and stone reliefs of the Assyrian kings, who used to let the lions out of their cage to hunt them down, there is no ancient evidence for the keeping of lions in underground pits, apart from the present story and perhaps its variant [Bel and the Dragon]. Perhaps one might compare, for a later period, the hypogeum of the Roman Colosseum, where animals were kept before being brought up to the arena. (*Book of Daniel*, 199)

A temporary holding area for lions is also attested in an 1800 BCE letter from a senior official to a king of Mari in Old Babylon (Reade, "Assyrian Royal Hunt," 54–55).

419 For the "power of language," see Moses 7:13. For the "opening of the mouth," see Bradshaw, *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion*.

420 Goff, "Sons of the Watchers," 226.

421 Wilkens, "Remarks," 225.

422 Wilkens, 225. See Henning, "Book of the Giants," Text E, p. 66 for the full citation.

423 Modified from the original illustration to show the Tree of Life at the very top of the mountain of the Lord. On the rationale for this modification, see Bradshaw, "Tree of Knowledge." Original drawings published in Parry, "Garden," 134–35. Used here courtesy of the Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship. A similar visual concept was published earlier in Holzapfel and

Seely, *My Father's House*, 17–19. The concept and visualization was reused without attribution in Price, *Rose Guide to the Temple*, 7–9.

424 Nibley, "Hierocentric," 104. See Burrows, "Some Cosmological Patterns," 46. Burrows further distinguishes "three cosmological patterns corresponding to three ways of imagining the relation between heaven and earth. The first pattern is formed when the interest is at the center, on earth; the second when it is at the periphery, in heaven; the third may be considered a synthesis. . . . One might almost formulate a law that in the ancient East contemporary cosmological doctrine is registered in the structure and theory of the temples" (Burrows, "Some Cosmological Patterns," 45).

425 For an impressive collection of maps with detailed explanations from antiquity through the Renaissance, see http://www.myoldmaps.com (accessed May 27, 2021). For an excellent overview of later, medieval visual representations of the cosmos, see E. Edson et al., *Cosmos*.

426 Nibley, "Hierocentric," 110. For a survey of beliefs in the ancient Near East regarding the cosmic mountain at the center of the world, see Wyatt, *Space*, 147–157.

427 See, e.g., Bradshaw, "Tree of Knowledge," 50–52; Parry, "Garden"; Lundquist, "Reality"; Parry et al., "Temple in Heaven"; Stordalen, *Echoes*, 112-116, 308-309; Alexander, F*rom Eden*, 20-23; Beale, *Temple*, 66–80; Wenham, "Sanctuary Symbolism"; Holzapfel and Seely, *Father's House*, 17–19; Morrow, "Creation"; Seely et al., "Crown of Creation."

428 See, e.g., Parry, "Garden," 134–35; Holzapfel and Seely, *My Father's House*, 17–19; Price, *Rose Guide to the Temple*, 7–9.

429 For more on the correspondence between the symbolism of the Tree of Knowledge and the temple veil, see Bradshaw, "Tree of Knowledge."

430 In most depictions of Jewish temple architecture, the menorah is shown as being *outside* the veil—in contrast to the Tree of Life, which is at the holiest place in the Garden of Eden. However, Margaret Barker cites evidence that, in the first temple, a Tree of Life was symbolized *within* the Holy of Holies (e.g., Barker, *Hidden*, 6–7; Barker, *Christmas*, 85–86, 140; Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, 366–367). Barker concludes that the Menorah (or perhaps a second,

different, representation in arboreal form?) was both removed from the temple and diminished in stature in later Jewish literature as the result of a "very ancient feud" concerning its significance (Barker, *Older*, 221; see 221–232). Mandaean scripture describes a Tree of Life within the *heavenly* sanctuary as follows: "They . . . lifted the great veil of safety upward before him, introduced him, and showed him that Vine," meaning the Tree of Life (Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, GL 1:1, p. 429:3–20; cf. Drower, *Prayerbook*, 49, pp. 45–46).

431 See Parry, "Garden," 135.

432 Parry, "Garden," 135.

433 Bartholomew of Bologna, the author of the work, was a Dominican missionary to Armenia who was made bishop in Maragha and Nachidiewan (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bartholomew_of_Bologna_(missionary)).

434 Église Notre-Dame de K'rni (Nakhidjewan), vers 1670-1680. Papier occidental, 89 f., 26 × 18,5 cm Acquis en 1847. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscrits orientaux, arménien 149, f. 5 r°-5. See A. Vernay-Nouri, *Livres*, 44, https://books.openedition.org/editionsbnf/docannexe/image/1153/img-5.jpg [accessed May 26, 2021]).

435 About the symbolic geography of the sacred mountain and of the mountain where the Watchers made their oath, and the various place names associated with them, see Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne*, 252. For wordplay on the name of Mount Hermon in *1 Enoch* 6:6, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 177–178, 238–247.

436 See, e.g., Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, 143.

437 Eastmond, *Narratives*, 22.

438 Nes, *Uncreated Light*, 90.

439 Eastmond, *Narratives*, 22.

440 Anderson et al., *Synopsis*, 30(5):3, p. 34E; cf. Barker, *Christmas*, 119; Nes, *Uncreated Light*, 90.

441 For a Jewish account of Seth's cave, containing a "vault of gold" that held a book of knowledge and "precious spices," see Savedow, *Rezial*, 4. For a corresponding Christian account, see Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne*, 178–179.

442 See, e.g., Barker, *Christmas*, 120, 138–139; Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne*, 252.

443 Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne*, 179.

444 Moses 5:41.

445 Sebastian Brock in Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, p. 189 n. 1:11.

446 Cf. Moses 7:17.

447 Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, 1:11, pp. 81–82. See Malan, A*dam and Eve*, 3:4, p, 147; Nibley, *Enoch*, 178–193; *Bradshaw, God's Image 1*, 5:41b, 388; Bradshaw and Larsen, *God's Image 2*, 203; Ri, C*ommentaire de la Caverne*, 225–26. Ri observes: "The fall of humanity at the time of Jared is a very ancient tradition that is found in the books of Enoch and Jubilees" (Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne*., 255, my translation). See, e.g., Wintermute, "Jubilees," 4:15, p. 62; Kugel, "Jubilees," 4:15, p. 302; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1,* 6:6, p. 174; 106:13, p. 536; Machiela, *Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, 3:3–4, pp. 37–38; Parry et al., *DSSR* (2013), 1QapGen, 3:3–4, p. 517.

448 Image copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. From a 12th-century illuminated version of the Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos from Byzantium (Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 35v.). Published in Eastmond, *Narratives*, plate 14. http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1162 (accessed January 31, 2017). No known copyright restrictions. This work may be in the public domain in the United States.

For a comparison of this painting to rabbinic conceptions of the paradisiacal state of the Israelites as well as to similar Christian iconography comparing disciples of Jesus to the new Israel, see Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne*, 254–55; Bradshaw and Bowen, "By the Blood Ye Are Sanctified," 105–7.

449 For an account of Jared's descent, see, e.g., Budge, *Cave*, 84–86.

450 Hess, *Studies*, 69–70. On the possible connection of Jared to the place names of Arad, Eridu, etc. and related etymological and interpretive issues, see Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 4:18, p. 328; 5:15–17, p. 357; Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 111–112; Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, 229–232;

451 Genesis 6:4; Numbers 13:33, possibly to be equated with the "giants" in Moses 7:15; 8:18. In contrast to some others (van Wolde,

"Sons of God," 65–67), Hamilton, *Genesis 1–17*, 269–270 sees this group "as being distinct from the *mighty men*" (i.e., *gibborim*).

452 Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "'Inversed Cosmographs' in Late East Asian Cartography and the Atlas Production," 159.

453 Dorofeeva-Lichtmann writes that the Korean circular maps "have obvious typological similarity with such classical examples of *mappaemundi* as the Babylonia Disc (ca. 7th century BC) … and the medieval T–O *mappaemundi* centered on Jerusalem and oriented to the East, the location of Paradise. These maps, however, had long been out of circulation when the circular world maps became so popular in Korea" (Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Inverted Cosmographs," 159).

454 https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/cheonhado-world-map (accessed April 14, 2020). British Library, Shelfmark: Maps C.27.f.14. Public Domain. The description on the website reads:

> This world map is from an atlas produced in Korea in around 1800. It is one of a group of maps known as "Cheonhado,", meaning "Map of all under heaven." The map shows a large inner continent surrounded by sea. This represents China and its surrounding lands. Beijing, the Yellow River and Great Wall of China are visible, with the sacred Mount Mēru at its center. The rest of the world appears as outer islands, with the Trees of Sun and Moon beyond.
>
> The concentric circle structure of the map and many of the mythological names come from the Chinese *Shan Hai Jing* (The Classic of Mountain and Seas), a text that was probably compiled from older texts in the first or second century BCE. For detailed background on these and similar maps, see Oh, "Circular World Maps." Among other things, Oh establishes the fact that even though such maps are round, they do not depart from the traditional "square earth-round heaven" principle. The circular form of the map represents the round shape of heaven.
>
> For a general introduction to cartography and the cosmic ocean in the ancient Near East, see Wyatt, *Space*, 80–88, 113.

455 Among these mythical locations are the mountains and trees typically shown as sacred trees and mountains at the location of the rising and setting of the sun and moon (east and west) and at the north (Oh, "Circular World Maps," 31, 32):

> To the east, where the sun and moon rise, Mt. Yupa and Busang tree are depicted. Mt. Bang and the Bangyeoksong pine tree are also depicted to the west, where the sun and moon met. . . . It is presumed that Mt. Yupa was chosen [from among the many mountains where the sun and moon were supposed to rise] because it is located in the East Sea, a great distance away or farthest from the center. . . .

> It would be . . . appropriate to believe that the maps tried to show where the sky and the earth meet. Circular world maps are still based on the traditional view that the heaven is round and the earth is square. As this differs from the theory of the round Earth, circular world maps have east and west poles, and the locations of sunrise and sunset, and moonrise and moonset visibly represent the poles.

No tree in the south is shown on the map in this figure, and we do not currently have access to an interpretation of what is shown there. However, from another time and culture we have the report of Severus of Antioch (fl. 512–518) that avers, similar to other anti-Manichaean sources that "those (regions) which lie to the south and to the meridian belong to the Tree of Death, which they call Hyle [i.e., Matter], being very wicked and uncreated" (as cited in B. Bennett, *Iuxta unum*, 69). In Mandaean and Zoroastrian cosmogonies the north and south are associated with "above" and "below" (i.e., the underworld).

456 Oh, Circular World Map, 32–33.

457 Lewis, *Construction*, 285.

458 For cogent summaries of the mythology of the mountain paradise of K'un-lun, see Birrell, *Mythology*, 183–185; Loewe, *Ways*, 110–112. For traditions surrounding the primeval couple, Fu Xi and Nü Gua, whose stories are intertwined with K'un-lun, the Creation, and other temple themes, see Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, 654–657.

> With respect to the placement of K'un-lun on the map, Major, *Heaven*, 155 explains how physical and mythological geography became inextricably intertwined in Chinese thought:

> K'un-lun has two closely related aspects: First, it is the world-mountain or *axis mundi*, pillar that at once separates and connects heaven and earth. As such it is the highest of mountains, the terrestrial plane's closest approach, and stepping-stone, to the celestial vault. . . . Second, K'un-lun is a paradise, a magical

and beautiful land that is the home and kingdom of Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West.

One problem that immediately arises in dealing with these two aspects of K'un-lun is that the K'un-lun Mountains are, and from early times have been known to be, an entirely real and terrestrial mountain range on China's northwestern frontier ["on the borderland of Xinjiang province and Tibet" (Allan, *Turtle*, 99)]. . . . In fact it is not unusual for real but distant places to take on paradisiacal qualities; think of Serendip, or Shambala.

Thus in early China the name K'un-lun attached to a geographical mountain and a mythical one, and the two were soon hopelessly conflated.

459 Moses 3:10.

460 In support of the possibility of such influence, Major, *Heaven*, 154–55 writes:

> It is not clear how one was intended to visualize the nine-fold walls of K'un-lun, but the most obvious image is as a peak of tremendous height, rising in nine steps like a ziggurat. Such a nine-tiered heaven … makes little sense in terms of the overall *gaitian* cosmology of *Huainanzi* [an ancient Chinese work of cosmological geography]: might there be here a hint of weak and distant Indian influence to go along with the possible Indian origin of the Jupiter Cycle names in *Huainanzi* 3. XXXIII? Certainly tiered-roof pagodas in later Chinese Buddhism reflect the Indian nine-tiered cosmos; earlier influence of the same sort is unattested but hardly impossible. The Nine-fold Shade mountain … associated with the Torch Dragon, is suggestive of a multitiered parasol of state of the sort found ubiquitously in Indic civilizations; it too may hint at an Indian-style nine-fold heaven weakly impinging on early Chinese cosmology.

Major, *Heaven*, 337n17 goes on to explicitly imply a common symbology in Mount K'un-lun and Mount Mēru:

> In the Indian tradition the link between architecture and cosmology is explicit. In Balinese Hinduism, for example, multitiered (often nine-tiered) temple towers are called *mēru*, imitative in name as well as in structure of the classical Indian nine-tiered *axis mundi* or cosmic mountain.

461 On the symbolism of eastward movement as distancing oneself from God and westward movement as approaching God, see

Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, 3:8-b, pp. 160–61. The symbolism of east–west orientation and the symbolism of the sacred center are conjoined in the symbolic layout of the Israelite temple and the Garden of Eden (Bradshaw, *Temple Themes*, 57–58, 77, 88–89). The east-west, right-left layout also recalls the vertical bisecting of almost all Egyptian hypocephali and corresponding visions of the cosmos given to Jewish seers. Hugh Nibley describes this bisecting view of the cosmos in terms of "a graphic representation of 'the whole world [and] its circle,' (Box, *Apocalypse*, 12:8, p. 51) in which the human race, God's people and the others (see Kulik, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 22:5, p. 1471) confront each other beneath or within the circle of the starry heavens, on opposite halves of the picture" (Nibley, *Abraham*, 45). In terms that echo the vertical and horizontal divisions of the hypocephalus in Facsimile 2 of the Book of Abraham, Rubinkiewicz explains this feature in the cosmic vision of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a Jewish pseudepigraphon that has close affinities with Moses 1 (see Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 171. For more on affinities between the *Apocalypse of Abraham, the Book of Abraham,* and Moses 1, see Bradshaw, Larsen, and Whitlock, "Twin Sons of Different Mothers."

462 Moses 6:42.

463 Moses 6:41.

464 Moses 6:42.

465 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 13:7–8, 237.

466 *1 Enoch* arguably identifies the "waters of Dan" as the sea of Galilee and the nearby sacred mountain of Hermon (see Bradshaw and Larsen, *God's Image 2*, Endnote M6-21, p. 97). See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 250 n. 9–10 on "Abel-Main" and, more generally, on the sacred geography of this region on pp. 238–47. While Latter-day Saint scripture teaches that Enoch's ministry took place in the New World (Doctrine and Covenants 107:53–57), the general story line in ancient Enoch accounts is not inconsistent with the *symbolic* geography of the Book of Moses.

467 Milik and Black, *Enoch*, 39.

468 Milik and Black, *Enoch*, 39.

469 The map is adapted from Milik's reconstruction (see Milik and Black, *Enoch*, 35–41), and published in *Nibley et al., One Eternal Round*, 364, Figure 43 and caption. See also pp. 363–365, 465–468.

470 Milik and Black, *Enoch*, 36.

471 See Milik and Black, *Enoch*, 39–40.

472 http://www.myoldmaps.com/maps-from-antiquity-6200-bc/004 -book-i-ancient-intro.pdf, pp. xlix–l (accessed May 27, 2021).

473 Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures*, 470.

474 Moses 7:16, 19.

475 Henning, "Book of the Giants," Text A, frg. i, p. 61 [and 62n4].

476 Henning, "Book of the Giants," Text G (Sogdian), 69.

477 Some texts report thirty-six towns— see, e.g., comments in Henning, "Book of the Giants," 55–56 comparing text S to Text G. Cf. Gardner, *Kephalaia*, chap. 45 (codex 117, lines 5-8), p. 123 which also speaks of thirty-six towns. See also Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 160n386; Wilkens, "Remarks," 220–221.

478 Gardner has summarized the view of *Kephalaia* that all those described in this passage were wicked (Gardner, *Kephalaia*, p. 122. Cf. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures*, 273):

> The point of this chapter is the foreknowledge of the powers of light that has enabled them to prepare places to hold and contain various evil forces that arise during cosmic history. . . . a prison for the Watchers; cities for the giants of old."

479 Cf. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 160n385:

> According to Indian tradition, Mount Mēru or Sumēru ("Good Mēru") was the great mountain which stood at the center of the earth. See *Mahābhārata* 1(5) 15.5ff.: . . . "The great mountain rises aloft to cover with its heights the vault of heaven."

480 Goff, "Sons of the Watchers," 125.

481 Henning, "Book of the Giants," Text G (Sogdian), 69.

482 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 10:11–13, p. 215. See also Job 22:11, 15–16; 2 Peter 2:4; and Jude 1:6. See Newington, "Greek Titans" for a comparison of the biblical giants to the Greek Titans.

483 Tate Gallery Picture Library, with the assistance of Cressida Kocienski.

484 Alighieri, *Commedia*, Inferno canto 31, 247–258.

485 Nibley, "Churches in the Wilderness" (1978), 161.

486 Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 4Q203, fragment 7b, column i, line 5, p. 945. Compare Milik and Black, *Books of Enoch*, 313: "He has imprisoned us and you he has subdued"; Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 4Q203, 7b 1. 5, p. 83: "He has imprisoned us and defeated yo[u"; and Martínez, "Book of Giants (4Q203)," 7b l. 5, p. 260: "He has seized us and has captured you." See also the parallel references to the fate of the Watchers in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 0:8, p. 65): "And now, look, we are prisoners" (cf. Wise and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1QapGen, 0:8, p. 91: "We are bound" and Martínez, "Genesis Apocryphon," fragment 1, column i, line 4, p. 230: "I have oppressed the prisoners," following Milik—see Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, p. 118, note 0:8). See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 14:5, p. 251: "It has been decreed to bind you in bonds in the earth for all the days of eternity"; Nickelsburg, 10:11–13, p. 215: "Go, Michael, bind Shemihazah and the others with him, . . . bind them . . . in the valleys of the earth, until the day of their judgment. . . . Then they will be led away to the fiery abyss [cf. Nickelsburg, 221–22nn4–6, 225nn11–13], and to the torture, and to the prison where they will be confined forever."

Compare the Manichaean *Kephalaia*: "Again, before the watchers rebelled and came down from heaven, a prison was fashioned and constructed for them in the depths of the earth, below the mountains" (Gardner, *Kephalaia*, chap. 45 [codex 117], lines 5–8, p. 123).

For discussions of the theme of the imprisonment of the wicked at the time of Noah as it appears in the Bible, see Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, caption to fig. E24–1, p. 588; Davids, *II Peter*, 9–11, 69–70; Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude*, 202; Davids, *Letters*, 48–51, 225–26; Rowland and Morray-Jones, *Mystery of God*, 58–59; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 560; VanderKam, *Enoch*, p. 172; Reed, *Fallen*, 104–7; and Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 239–74.

487 Kósa, "*Book of Giants* Tradition," fig. 3, p. 186.

488 Kósa writes that the possibility of repentance for one faction of the demons "is especially important, since it is conceivable only in the context of the *BG* traditions" ("*Book of Giants* Tradition,"

179). One anonymous reviewer asks this relevant and intriguing question:

> What are the chances that there is some mixing or cross borrowing between the stories of people who lived on earth in Enoch's time and what may have been taught about the war in heaven in the pre-mortal existence? This might account for the differences in the eternal fate of the wicked in that those who lost their first estate have lost it forever but those who opposed Enoch in their second estate still have the potential to receive the gospel and inherit a kingdom of glory.

489 Moses 7:44.

490 Moses 7:37–38.

491 Moses 7:57. Compare 1 Peter 3:20.

492 Laurence, *Book of Enoch*, 45:3–5, pp. 49–50; 56:3, p. 64.

493 Laurence, *Book of Enoch*, 49:2, pp. 55–56. In 49:3–4, p. 54 he does, however, speak of "mercy" that will be shown to "others" who repent, but he is speaking of the living who choose to repent in the last day, not of the unrepentant who have already sealed their doom in death in the days of Enoch and Noah.

494 Woodworth, "Enoch," 191–92, as cited in Bradshaw and Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower*, 114.

495 See Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 86, 200, referring to Sundermann, "*Ein weiteres Fragment*," fragment L, 1r, II.1–10, pp. 495–96; translated in Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 109, 117. See also my discussion of Henning, "Book of the Giants," text E, p. 66 in the section "H. Call to repentance."

496 Martínez, "Book of Giants (4Q203)," 8:14–15, p. 261.

497 Emphasis added.

498 Goff, "Sons of the Watchers," 126–27.

499 See Sanders, "Major Positions," 312–16 for a discussion of postmortem evangelization, including a discussion of Latter-day Saint beliefs on p. 315. Esplin, "Wondering" and Paulsen, "Redemption" give excellent summaries of Latter-day Saint doctrine and teachings relating to salvation for the unevangelized.

500 See, e.g., Paulsen, Cook, and Christensen, "Harrowing of Hell."

501 See, e.g., Gabriel Fackre in Sanders, *Never Heard*, 81–85.

502 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 86. Bautch further explores this connection:

> There are many reasons for suspecting that 1 Peter is familiar with Enochic traditions. . . . Also of interest is the reference in 1 Peter to Christ making a proclamation to spirits in prison (1 Peter 3:18–20). Many understand the imprisoned spirits to be the angels who are familiar from the *Book of the Watchers*; these mated with mortals, shared forbidden knowledge [see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, chapters 6–8, pp. 174–201], and were imprisoned in an abyss or pit prior to the final conflagration [see Nickelsburg, chapters 9–18, 21, pp. 202–89, 297–99]. Comparable to the setting in the Enochic narrative in the *Book of the Watchers* [see Nickelsburg, 10:1–3, p. 215], the Petrine author links the captive spirits at the time of the flood (1 Peter 3:20). Jesus' encounter with the imprisoned beings in 1 Peter 3:19–20 is likened to Enoch's viewing of places of punishment and intercession for the rebellious watchers. (Bautch, "Peter and the Patriarchs," 20–21)

Bautch also describes connections in other apocryphal texts attributed to Peter:

> Brief allusion is made to Jesus' preaching to the dead in the *Gospel of Peter* [Elliott, *Apocryphal*, 39–42, pp. 156–157], but visits to the realm of the dead, a paradise, and places of post-mortem punishment are arguably the focus of the *Apocalypse of Peter* [Elliott, pp. 593–612]. . . . Similarly many of the early Enochic texts, especially chapters 17–36 of the *Book of the Watchers*, concern the patriarch's visit to the realm of the dead and places associated with post-mortem punishment or eschatological blessing. (23)

503 See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 10:20, pp. 216, 227–28:

> Cleanse the earth from all impurity and from all wrong
> And from all lawlessness and from all sin;
> And godlessness and all impurities that have come upon the earth, remove.

Other allusions to *1 Enoch* might also be cited—e.g., Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 108:6, p. 551:

> And he said to me, "The place that you see — here are thrown the spirits of the sinners and blasphemers and those who do evil and those who alter everything that the Lord has said by the mouth of the prophets [about] the things that will be done.

Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 16:1, p. 267:

The day of the consummation of the great judgment [i.e., the day when the spirits of the wicked giants will have no more power over humankind].

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 21:10, p. 297 (see also 21:6):

And he said, This place is a prison for the angels. Here they will be confined forever.

Additional allusions are found in the pseudepigraphic *Odes of Solomon*, probably a Jewish-Christian text from about AD 100. For example, Charlesworth, "Odes," 17:9, p. 750:

And from there he gave me the way of his paths,
And I opened the doors which were closed.

Charlesworth, "Odes," 34:5, p. 757:

And the chasms were opened and closed;
And they were seeking the Lord as those who are about to give birth.

Charlesworth, "Odes," 42:10–20, p. 771:

11. Sheol saw me and was shattered,
And Death ejected me and many with me. . . .
14. And I made a congregation of living among his dead;
And I spoke with them by living lips;
I order that my word may not fail.
15. And those who had died ran toward me;
And they cried out and said, "Son of God, have pity on us.
16. And deal with us according to your kindness,
And bring us out from the chains of darkness.
17. And open for us the door
By which we may go forth to you,
For we perceive that our death does not approach you.
18. May we also be saved with you,
Because you are our Savior."
19. Then I heard their voice,
And placed their faith in my heart.
20. And I placed my name upon their head,
Because they are free and they are mine.

504 Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 192. The Prophet Joseph Smith gave a magnificent sermon on this topic, which I quote only in part here ("Baptism for the Dead," *Times and Seasons*, April 15, 1842, 759–60; cf. J. Smith Jr., *Teachings*, 219–20):

While one portion of the human race are judging and condemning the other without mercy, the great parent of the universe looks

upon the whole of the human family with a fatherly care, and paternal regard; he views them as his offspring; and without any of those contracted feelings that influence the children of men, causes "his sun to rise on the evil and the good; and sends his rain on the just and unjust" [see Matthew 5:45]. He holds the reins of judgment in his hands [see Psalm 11:7; Doctrine and Covenants 39:16, 18]; he is a wise lawgiver [see Isaiah 33:22; James 4:12; Doctrine and Covenants 38:22; 64:13], and will judge all men [Doctrine and Covenants 137:9], [not according to the narrow contracted notions of men, but] "according to the deeds done in the body whether they be good or evil" [see 2 Corinthians 5:10; Alma 5:15]; or whether these deeds were done in England, America, Spain, Turkey, India: he will judge them "not according to what they have not, but according to what they have;" those who have lived without law, will be judged without law [see Romans 2:12; 2 Nephi 9:25–27; Alma 29:5; Doctrine and Covenants 29:49–50], and those who have a law, will be judged by that law [Alma 42:21–23]; we need not doubt the wisdom and intelligence of the great Jehovah [see Moroni 10:34; Doctrine and Covenants 128:9], he will award judgment [see 2 Nephi 2:10] or mercy [see Zechariah 7:9; Matthew 23:23; Alma 41:14; Doctrine and Covenants 43:25; 88:40; Moses 6:61] to all nations according to their several deserts, their means of obtaining intelligence, the laws by which they are governed; the facilities afforded them of obtaining correct information; and his inscrutable designs [see Doctrine and Covenants 3:1] in relation to the human family: and when the designs of God shall be made manifest, and the curtain of futurity be withdrawn, we shall all of us eventually have to confess, that the Judge of all the earth has done right [see Genesis 18:25; Psalm 94:2].

The situation of the Christian nations after death is a subject that has called forth all the wisdom, and talent of the philosopher, and the divine; and it is an opinion which is generally received, that the destiny of man is irretrievably fixed at his death; and that he is made either eternally happy, or eternally miserable' [*sic*; see Alma 41:3–6] that if a man dies without a knowledge of God [see Hosea 4:1; 1 Corinthians 15:34; Words of Mormon 1:8; Doctrine and Covenants 137:7], he must be eternally damned [see Mark 3:29; Doctrine and Covenants 19:7; 29:44]; without any mitigation of his punishment, alleviation of his pain or the most latent hope of a deliverance while endless ages shall roll along. However orthodox this principle may be, we shall find that it is at variance with the testimony of holy writ; for our Saviour says that all manner of sin, and blasphemy shall be forgiven men

wherewith they shall blaspheme; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven [see Mark 3:28–29], neither in this world, nor in the world to come [see Matthew 12:31–32]; evidently showing that there are sins which may be forgiven in the world to come; although the sin of blasphemy cannot be forgiven.

Peter also in speaking concerning our Saviour says, that "he went and preached unto spirits in prison, which sometimes were disobedient, when once the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah." 1 Pet. iii, 19, 20. Here then we have an account of our Saviour preaching in prison [see Doctrine and Covenants 138:18]; to spirits that had been imprisoned from the days of Noah [see Alma 10:22; Doctrine and Covenants 138:9, 28; Joseph Smith—Matthew 1:41]; and what did he preach to them? that they were to stay there? certainly not; let his own declaration testify; "he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised"—Luke iv, 18, Isaiah has it;—"To bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness from the prison house." Is. xlii, 7. It is very evident from this that he not only went to preach to them, but to deliver, or bring them out of the prison house. Isaiah in testifying concerning the calamities that will overtake the inhabitants of the earth says, "The earth shall reel to and fro like a drunkard, and shall be removed like a cottage; and the transgressions thereof shall be heavy upon it; and it shall fall and not rise again. And it shall come to pass in that day; that the Lord shall punish the hosts of the high ones that are on high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth. And they shall be gathered together as prisoners are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up in prison, and after many days shall they be visited" [see Isaiah 24:20–22; Doctrine and Covenants 88:87]. Thus we find that God will deal with all the human family equally; and that as the antediluvians had their day of visitation [see Isaiah 10:3; 1 Peter 2:12; Mormon 9:2; Doctrine and Covenants 56:1, 16; 124:8, 10]; so will those characters referred to by Isaiah, have their time of visitation, and deliverance, after having been many days in prison.

505 Moses 6:50ff.

506 Used with permission from Dant, "Polish," 91. This sculpture is from former Latter-day Saint mission president Walter Whipple's large collection of Polish folk art.

507 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 67:2, p. 273.

508   It also turns up in later texts—e.g., Mika"el, "Mysteries," 29: "Even the earth complained and uttered lamentations."

509   Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 7:4–6, p. 182; 8:4, p. 188; emphasis added.

510   Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 9:2, 10, p. 202; emphasis added.

511   Or, more literally, "cries the voice of their cries" (Skinner, "Vindicated," 375).

512   Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 87:1, p. 364; emphasis added.

513   Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, p. 945.

514   Or "licentiousness" in the translation of Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 4Q203, fragment 8, line 9, p. 294. Aramaic *znwtkwn*.

515   Skinner argues that "filthiness, immorality, and idolatry are closely associated with each other in Semitic-based biblical culture. See, for example, Ezra 6:21; 9:11; Ezekiel 16:36; 24:13; Revelation 17:4" ("Vindicated," 377).

516   Skinner, "Vindicated," 377.

517   Nickelsburg relates this accusation to Genesis 4:10–11 and cites "an Aramaic technical term for bringing suit in court" (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 187n6), recalling the context of Isaiah 1 discussed in Bradshaw, *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion*.

518   Moses 7:48.

519   Skinner, "Vindicated," 377–78.

520   Cf., e.g., Job 21:17, 30; Proverbs 10:29; Joseph Smith—Matthew 1:4.

521   Gulácsi*, Mani's Pictures,* 470.

522   Kósa, "Book of Giants Tradition," 171.

523   Kósa, "Book of Giants Tradition," 172.

524   Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 25:2–4, p. 312.

525   Kósa, "Book of Giants Tradition," 171–172; emphasis added. Kósa also has difficulty entertaining the thought that the repentant demons might be the inhabitants of the palaces because "they are evidently too small . . . to accommodate the relatively big demons kneeling on the right side of the foliage" (172).

526   Moses 7:69.

527 Church History Library, MS 2567. Original drawing prepared at the direction of Joseph Smith, Jr. in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1833 by Frederick G. William and mailed to Edward Partridge and others in Independence, Missouri, in June 1833. MS_2567_f0001-Plat_of_city_of_Zion__1833-ORIGINAL.pdf. https://catalog. churchofjesuschrist.org/record?id=c5d54bd0-bede-47cb-b636-3281f30b0d0a (accessed May 19, 2021). Elder Alvin R. Dyer observed that the dimensions of the drawing of the Prophet's proposed temple structures for Zion were 61'0" x 87'0', thus matching the dimensions of the Latter-day Saints Visitors Center, finished in 1981 and located on part of the Independence Temple Lot owned by the Church (Alvin R. Dyer, "Report of Meeting with President David O. McKay," diary, March 10, 1967, accn. 1334, box 46, f 6, cited in R. J. Addams, Past and Future of the Temple Lot (TMZ 2020), 65).

528 See, e.g., Doctrine and Covenants 45:11–14.

529 Doctrine and Covenants 84:2; emphasis added.

530 Doctrine and Covenants 57:3.

531 E.g., Young, "Discourse," 23 June 1874, 242.

532 Moses 7:69.

533 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 11.

534 Caquot, "Les prodromes," 50.

535 Compare Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 1:3, pp. 106–7; 41:1, pp. 166–67; and Cameron and Dewey, *Cologne Mani Codex*, 58, p. 45 to Moses 7:49. See Reeves, *Heralds*, 185–90; and Philonenko, "Une citation manichéenne" for extensive discussions of the *Codex Mani Codex* passage and possible sources. For more on the general theme of the weeping of God, the heavens, and Enoch, see Bradshaw, Rennaker, and Larsen, "Revisiting"; Bradshaw, *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion*"; Bradshaw, Bowen, and Dahle, "Textual Criticism," 104–22.

536 Compare Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 102:1–3, pp. 503–4 to Moses 7:13.

537 Compare Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 13:7–8, p. 237 to Moses 6:42.

538 Compare Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," 10:1, p. 263 to Moses 7:59.

539 Compare Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 67:2, p. 273 to Moses 7:43.

540   See Martínez, "Dead Sea Scrolls Translated," 260–62. Note that com-pilations of the Dead Sea Scrolls in English translation include only the fragments found at Qumran, lacking the Henning fragments (the twenty-two translated fragments without notes comprise about eight single-spaced pages in publication) and the three short Sundermann fragments noted in the table of detailed comparisons.

Of course, different translations differ in page size and comprehensiveness. The selected passages of *BG* occupy two pages in the translation of Geza Vermes (see *Complete*, 549–50) and six pages in the more complete translation of Michael Wise, Martin Abegg Jr., and Edward Cook that includes an introduction and commentary (see *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 290‒95). The most complete publication of *BG*, including translations of many tiny fragments, some containing only a word or two, with both the Aramaic original and the English translation, runs thirty-six pages (see Parry and Tov, *DSSR*, 938‒74). However, even comparing Parry and Tov's most extensive English version to Nickelsburg and VanderKam's English translation of *1 Enoch* reveals that *BG* is only about 12 percent the size of *1 Enoch* (see *1 Enoch*, 19‒170), whereas the briefer translations contained in the Martínez and Vermes editions are about 2 percent of the size of the corresponding *1 Enoch* edition. No commentary is included in this *1 Enoch* translation, though the pages are in a smaller format than that of Parry and Tov.

541   In practical terms, if we take 2 percent as a low approximation (Martínez and Vermes editions) and 12 percent as a high approximation (Parry and Tov edition) of relative page count, this means that one would expect significant resemblances to Moses 6‒7 in *1 Enoch* to be roughly eight to fifty times more numerous than in *BG*.

542   Though my search has not been exhaustive, the only unique and significant resemblances between *1 Enoch* and Moses 6–7 that I have been able to locate so far are the mention that a vision took place near a body of water Enoch passed on his journey (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 13:7–8, p. 237; cf. Moses 6:42); a prophecy in *1 Enoch* that "the earth will be shaken and will tremble" (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 102:1–3, pp. 503–4) that loosely corresponds to a mention that "the earth trembled, and the mountains fled" during the battle of the wicked against Enoch (Moses 7:13); and the motif of Enoch's

visions of the great flood that occurs in multiple places in *1 Enoch* (e.g., Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, chap. 83, p. 345; cf. Moses 7:43). In addition, perhaps the most striking unique parallel with *1 Enoch* is when God says, "I will put my hand upon [the ark] and protect it" (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 67:2, p. 273), which can be compared to Moses 7:43: "Enoch saw that Noah built an ark; and that the Lord smiled upon it, and held it in his own hand."

Apart from these few unique resemblances with the Book of Moses (and, in addition, the ones in the *Book of Similitudes* relating to the "Son of Man" theme), every other *1 Enoch* resemblance is paralleled in *BG*, arguably the older of the two texts. And, as results indicate, *BG* contains additional close and unique likenesses in vocabulary, names, and themes besides.

As a final note on this topic, Bruno, "Congruence and Concatenation," 2 lists additional parallels of the Book of Moses with *1 Enoch*, some of which are so loose as to be almost nonsensical. For example, in *1 Enoch* 10:4–5 an account of Asael's binding (which Bruno describes as an instance of "foreknowledge and prophetic warning of the destruction of the world") is compared with Moses 7:41–67. In another instance, an account of the Flood and Final Judgment in *1 Enoch* 60 (which Bruno describes as "a revolutionary social order") is compared with Moses 7:18–19.

543 See Brown and Bradshaw, "Man and Son of Man."

544 Stuckenbruck, "Apocalypse of John," 322.

545 Stuckenbruck, "Apocalypse of John," 322.

546 Stuckenbruck, "Apocalypse of John," 323.

547 Stuckenbruck, "Apocalypse of John," 325.

548 Stuckenbruck, "Apocalypse of John," 324.

549 See 2 Nephi 31:3; Doctrine and Covenants 1:24.

550 Calabro, "Early Christian Context."

551 Bradshaw, "Book of Moses as a Temple Text," in this proceedings.

552 Nibley, "Expanding Gospel."

553 See 1 Corinthians 13:12.

554 Nibley, "Expanding Gospel," 204.

555   E.g., Kimball, *Teachings*, 587–89; Bednar, "To Sweep"; Nelson, *Teachings*, 220; Taylor, "Elder Uchtdorf's Devotional on Technology."

556   Gary P. Gillum, "Hugh Winder Nibley: The Man, the Scholar, the Legacy," in Bradshaw, Ricks, and Whitlock, *Hugh Nibley Observed*, 735, citing Nibley, "New Look," *Improvement Era*, May 1970, 91.

557   Draper, Brown, and Rhodes, *Commentary*.

558   https://interpreterfoundation.org/ book-of-moses-essays-bibliography /(alphabetically sorted by author); https://interpreterfoundation.org /book-of-moses-essays-topical-bibliography/ (organized by topic).

559   Russell M. Nelson, cited in Jones, "Especially Noble Calling."

560   Hafen and Hafen, "Adam, Eve, the Book of Moses," in this proceedings.

561   Lewis wrote:

> It is a good rule, after reading a new book, never to allow yourself another new one till you have read an old one in between. If that is too much for you, you should at least read one old one to three new ones.
>
> Every age has its own outlook. It is specially good at seeing certain truths and specially liable to make certain mistakes. We all, therefore, need the books that will correct the characteristic mistakes of our own period ("On the Reading," 202).
>
> We need intimate knowledge of the past. Not that the past has any magic about it, but because we cannot study the future, and yet need something to set against the present, to remind us that periods and that much which seems certain to the uneducated is merely temporary fashion.
>
> A man who has lived in many places is not likely to be deceived by the local errors of his native village: the scholar has lived in many times and is therefore in some degree immune from the great cataract of nonsense that pours from the press and the microphone of his own age ("Learning," 58–59).

Mine House is a House of Zion and not a House of Babylon!

Loren Spendlove

Abstract: *In Doctrine and Covenants 132:8 we read: "Behold, mine house is a house of order, saith the Lord God, and not a house of confusion." I propose that the words "order" and "confusion" in this passage are literary allusions to the ideals, constructs, and outcomes that embody Zion and Babylon, respectively. In other words, God's house is a house of Zion and not a house of Babylon.*

Section 132 of the Doctrine and Covenants was dictated by Joseph Smith on 12 July 1843 in Nauvoo, Illinois, but not published until 1852. The Joseph Smith Papers website includes the following concerning the historical background of this revelation:

> According to JS [Joseph Smith], biblical and divine teachings provided the impetus for the revelation. In June 1844 JS stated that he received the revelation "on enquiry" about Matthew 22:30 in the New Testament, which reads, "For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven." The revelation featured here begins by acknowledging questions JS had about the Old Testament practice of polygamy. In addition to citing biblical precedent, the featured revelation foregrounds several theological explanations for the practice, including the ultimate authority of God's law; the blessings and eternal rewards for those entering into the practice; and the consequences of not following God's law for those who had it "revealed unto them" but did not obey it.[1]

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1. Historical Introduction to Revelation, 12 July 1843 [D&C 132], *The Joseph Smith Papers*, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/

A key passage in this revelation reads:

> And verily I say unto you, that the conditions of this law are these: All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations, that are not made and entered into and sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that too most holy, by revelation and commandment through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power (and I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time on whom this power and the keys of this priesthood are conferred), are of no efficacy, virtue, or force in and after the resurrection from the dead; for all contracts that are not made unto this end have an end when men are dead. (D&C 132:7)

In this verse we are given a fairly comprehensive list of agreements and pledges, including "covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations." We are told that all these must be authorized and administered in the Lord's way and that "contracts that are not made unto this end have an end when men are dead." In short, the Lord has established an orderly system in which covenants, contracts, etc., may be "entered into." This verse is immediately followed by: "Behold, *mine house is a house of order*, saith the Lord God, and *not a house of confusion*" (v. 8). I propose that the Lord's use of the words *order* and *confusion* in this verse can be understood as allusive references to *Zion* and *Babylon*, respectively.

A House of Order

It is apparent from the scriptures that *order* is important to God. Reflective of Paul's teaching to the Saints in Corinth to "let all things *be done decently and in order*" (1 Corinthians 14:40), the Lord repeatedly instructed the Saints that all church matters were to "*be done in order*" (see D&C 20:68, 28:13, 58:55). Twice in the Doctrine and Covenants we find the following counsel:

> *Organize yourselves*; prepare every needful thing; and establish a house, even a house of prayer, a house of fasting,

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revelation-12-july-1843-dc-132/1#historical-intro.

> a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, *a house
> of order*, a house of God. (D&C 88:119 and 109:8)

Paralleling this message, the Lord also instructed the church to "*set
in order* the churches*" (D&C 90:15) and to "*set in order* all the affairs of
this church and kingdom" (D&C 90:16). If the message was not yet clear,
the Lord also stated that "mine house is a *house of order*" (D&C 132:18).

We also encounter this message of *order* within the church in the
Book of Mormon. We are told that Alma₂ ordained priests and elders
in the church in Zarahemla "according to *the order of God*, to preside
and watch over the church" (Alma 6:1). While this "order" could be
a reference to the "priesthood of the holy order of God" (Alma 13:6),
based on its context it may refer to a general sense of orderliness within
the church itself.[2] In verse 4, we read, "And thus *they began to establish
the order of the church* in the city of Zarahemla" (Alma 6:4).[3] In this
passage, the phrase "the order of the church" likely applies to orderliness
within the organization and operation of the church. We know that soon
after Alma₁'s arrival in the land of Zarahemla, "king Mosiah granted
unto Alma that he might establish churches throughout all the land of
Zarahemla; and gave him power to ordain priests and teachers over every
church" (Mosiah 25:19). Since priesthood authority was fundamental to
the proper operation of the church in Zarahemla, we cannot infer that "the
order" that Alma₂ "began to establish" represented the implementation

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2. With respect to "the order of God," John Taylor taught, "The principle
of 'heirship,' which President Young preached about today, is a principle that is
founded on eternal justice, equity, and truth. It is a principle that emanated from
God. As was said by some of our brethren this morning, there may be circumstances
arise in this world to pervert for a season *the order of God*, to change *the designs of
the Most High*, apparently, for the time being, yet they will ultimately roll back into
their proper place — justice will have its place, and so will mercy, and every man
and woman will yet stand in their true position before God." *Journal of Discourses*,
1:222 (emphasis added).

3. President Joseph F. Smith related the following: "I want to say to this
congregation, and to the world, that never at any time since my presidency in the
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have I authorized any man to perform
plural marriage, and never since my presidency of the Church has any plural
marriage been performed with my sanction or knowledge, or with the consent of
the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; and therefore such unions as have
been formed unlawfully, contrary to *the order of the Church*, are null and void in the
sight of God, and are not marriages. I hope you will put this down in your note-book
of remembrance, and bear it in mind henceforth." Joseph F. Smith, in *Conference
Report*, 21 (emphasis added), https://archive.org/details/conferencereport1918sa/
page/20/mode/2up.

of a new or different "order" of the priesthood within the church. Rather, it appears from context that the "order" that Alma₂ "began to establish" was greater orderliness within the church that most likely resulted from improved organizational structure and doctrinal understanding. Along the same vein, Elder Hyrum G. Smith related the following in a General Conference talk:

> We have in the Church a number of men who have been called and ordained to administer blessings unto the people, blessings of comfort, blessings of prophecy, when they are directed so to do. These men are given an office in the priesthood, and just because they have this office, it does not mean that they can bless everywhere and everybody, but, like the bishops, elders, and other officers in the priesthood, they are given their particular field of labor. So we would have the Latter-day Saints understand that in the Church, which is a part of the kingdom of God, *there is order*, and the officers of the priesthood are the men who should *establish and maintain this order in the Church*, that the work of the Lord may go on with his blessings upon it. There are a number of members of the Church who go about from place to place, from one ward and from one stake to another, seeking their blessings, which may be permissible if done in strict accordance with *the established order of the Church*; otherwise they are *out of order*."[4]

Just as Alma₂ established "the order of the church in the city of Zarahemla," Elder Smith explained that "the officers of the priesthood" have a responsibility to "establish and maintain this order in the Church" today. After preaching and working with the church in Zarahemla, Alma₂ moved on to the land of Gideon. Mormon informs us that while in the land of Gideon, Alma₂ *"established the order of the church, according as he had before done in the land of Zarahemla"* (Alma 8:1). Later, as Elder Smith would no doubt approve, we are told that "Helaman and the high priests did also *maintain order in the church*" (Alma 46:38).

President Boyd K. Packer wrote the following regarding the interrelatedness of the words *ordinance* and *ordain* and how they are associated with the principle of *order*, especially in the house of the Lord:

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4. Elder Hyrum G. Smith, in Conference Report, October 1918, 71–72 (emphasis added), https://archive.org/details/conferencereport1918sa/page/72/mode/2up.

The word *ordinance* means, "a religious or ceremonial observance"; "an established rite." The *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, England, 1970) gives as the first definition of the word *order*, "arrangement in ranks or rows," and as the second definition, "arrangement in sequence or proper relative position." At first glance that may not strike a person as having much religious significance, but indeed it has.

Among the ordinances we perform in the Church are these: baptism, sacrament, naming and blessing of infants, administering to the sick, setting apart to callings in the Church, ordaining to offices. In addition there are higher ordinances, performed in the temples. These include washings, anointings, the endowment, and the sealing ordinance, spoken of generally as temple marriage. The word *ordinance* comes from the word *order*, which means, "a rank, a row, a series." The word *order* appears frequently in the scriptures. Some examples are: "... established the *order* of the Church" (Alma 8:1); "... all things should be restored to their proper *order*" (Alma 41:2); "... all things may be done in *order*" (D&C 20:68); "mine house is a house of *order*" (D&C 132:8). Mormon even defined depravity as being "without *order*" (Moroni 9:18).

The word *ordain*, a close relative to the other two words, has, as its first definition, "to put in order, arrange, make ready, prepare"; also, "to appoint or admit to the ministry of the Christian church... by the laying on of hands or other symbolic action." From all of this dictionary work there comes the impression that an ordinance, to be valid, must be done in proper order.[5]

In addition to the etymological connection, *order* and *ordinances* are also linked in a cause-and-effect relationship: faithful participation in ordinances helps create order in our lives. President Packer added that an ordinance is "the ceremony by which things are put in proper order,"[6] with the accompanying counsel to "make sure, in other words, that valid

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5. Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1980), 155–56 (emphasis in original).
6. Ibid., 156.

ordinances become a part of your life; that everything in this regard, for you, is in proper *order*."[7]

Orson Pratt explained that the New Jerusalem, the latter-day Zion, is to be built differently from other cities on this earth. Rather than decaying and wasting away, the Lord will protect, preserve, and sanctify latter-day Zion to prepare it to join a higher, "perfect order":

> It is intended that it will be taken up to heaven, when the earth passes away. It is intended to be one of those choice and holy places, where the Lord will dwell, when he shall visit from time to time, in the midst of the great latter-day Zion, after it shall be connected with the city of Enoch. That then is the difference.
>
> The Lord our God will command his servants to build that Temple, in the *most perfect order*, differing very much from the Temples that are now being built. You are engaged in building Temples after a *certain order, approximating only to a celestial order*; you are doing this in Salt Lake City. One already has been erected in St. George, after a pattern in part, of a *celestial order*. But by and bye [sic], when we build a Temple that is never to be destroyed, it will be constructed, after the *most perfect order of the celestial worlds*. And when God shall take it up into heaven it will be found to be just as perfect as the cities of more ancient, celestial worlds which have been made pure and holy and immortal. So it will be with other Temples.[8]

Set Thine House in Order

The Lord instructed the members of the church individually to "*set in order your houses*; keep slothfulness and uncleanness far from you" (D&C 90:18). In addition, some leaders of the church were given specific counsel. For example, Fredrick G. Williams was told to "*set in order your own house*, for there are many things that are not right in your house" (D&C 93:43). Likewise, Sidney Rigdon was counseled to "*set in order thy house*" (D&C 93:44), and Newel K. Whitney was instructed to "*set in order his family*" (D&C 93:50). These instructions echo those given to king Hezekiah by the prophet Isaiah:

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7. Ibid., 157.
8. Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses*, 21:153 (emphasis added).

In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death. And the prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz came to him, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, *Set thine house in order* [צו לביתך, *tsav le'beitekha*]; for thou shalt die, and not live. (2 Kings 20:1 KJV, see also Isaiah 38:1)[9]

In this passage, Hezekiah was told to set his house in order — צו לביתך, *tsav le'beitekha* — or perhaps more literally, "order your house." The verb translated as *order* (צו, *tsav*) in this verse is derived from the root צ-ו-ה (*ts-v-h*) which can carry the connotation of *to command*, *to order*, or *to instruct*.[10] The counsel to Hezekiah to set his house in order (or to *order* or *instruct* his house) came by way of command from the Lord. It is interesting to note that the noun מצוה (*mitsvah*, or *commandment*) is also derived from the root צ-ו-ה (*ts-v-h*). So, *setting one's house in order* can be related to the concept of issuing and obeying commands and to the idea of commandments themselves.[11] In the Metzudat David — a work published by Rabbi David Altschuler of Prague in the 18th century — the phrase צו לביתך (*tsav le'beitekha*) in 2 Kings 20:1 is described as meaning היה מצוה על עניני ביתך ("There was a *mitsvah* [commandment] about the affairs of your home").[12]

In 2 Samuel 17 is related the story of Ahithopel, a counselor to king David. During Absolom's revolt against his father, Ahithopel betrayed king David and sided with Absolom. Following the discovery of Ahithopel's treachery, we are told that he "gat him home to his house, to his city, and *put his household in order* [va'yetsav el-beito ויצו אל־ביתו], and hanged himself, and died" (2 Samuel 17:23 KJV).[13] The verb יצו (*yetsav*, rendered *put in order* in the KJV) is the same verb that is used in 2 Kings 20:1 (צו *tsav*, translated as *set in order* in the KJV). Both passages help us connect the verb לצות (*letsavot*) — the infinitive of צו (*tsav*) and יצו (*yetsav*), and typically related to the idea of *commanding*

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9. See Appendix 1 for a more thorough analysis of English Bible translations for this phrase.

10. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 2000, s.v. "צוה."

11. The verbal infinitive associated with the root צ-ו-ה (*ts-v-h*) is לצות (*letsaot*). This infinitive is used in a variety of ways in the Hebrew Bible, including *to appoint* (2 Samuel 6:21 KJV), *to command* (Genesis 49:33 KJV), and *to give instructions* (Genesis 49:33 NIV).

12. "Metzudat David on II Kings 19:35," *Sefaria*, accessed June 28, 2021, https://www.sefaria.org/Metzudat_David_on_II_Kings.20.1.3?lang=bi.

13. See Appendix 1 for a more thorough analysis of English Bible translations for this phrase.

(see Genesis 49:33) — with the concept of setting or putting something in order.[14]

Zion

Although mentioned more than 150 times in the Hebrew Bible, the word *Zion* [ציון, *tsiyon*] does not appear until 2 Samuel 5:7: "Nevertheless, David captured the fortress of Zion — which is the City of David" (NIV). In this verse, as well as in 1 Kings 8:1, Zion is identified as being synonymous with the City of David. Isaiah idealized the concept of Zion, identifying it as the location of the "mountain of the Lord," or "the house of the God of Jacob":

A   And many peoples *will come* [הלכו, *halekhu*] and say,

A'   "*Come* [לכו, *lekhu*], let us go up

B   to *the mountain of the Lord* [הר־יהוה, *har-Yahweh*],

B'   To *the house of the God of Jacob* [בית אלהי יעקב, *beit Elohei Yaaqov*];

C   That He may teach us concerning *His ways* [דרכיו, *derakhav*]

C'   And that we may walk in *His paths* [ארחתיו, *orchotav*]."

D   For *the law* [תורה, *torah*] will go forth from *Zion* [ציון, *tsiyon*]

D'   and *the word of the LORD* [דבר־יהוה, *devar-Yahweh*] from *Jerusalem* (Isaiah 2:3 NASB 1995).

Although Jerusalem and Zion were once historically co-located in the City of David, they are not precisely the same thing. Sol Liptzin explained that while Zion is eternal and incorruptible, Jerusalem — Zion's earthly substitute — is subject to corruption and ruin:

> *Zion is eternal.* God will reign there forever and those who trust in God will be as eternal as Mt. Zion ([Psalm] 125:1; 146:10). Jerusalem, on the other hand, experiences ups-and-downs, a great many changes of fortune. At times, it is victorious, kings bring gifts to it, and it is good to stand within its gates (68:30; 122:2). At other times, strangers come to Jerusalem, defile it, and convert it to a heap of ruins (79:1). When the Psalmist speaks of ruins, he prefers the designation Jerusalem

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14. See Appendix 1.

and avoids the name Zion (79:3). When he mentions the city in which blood is poured out as water, it is again Jerusalem, the political capital, which is associated with such a tragic event, while the more hallowed name of Zion is reserved for happier occasions (79:3). A person who longs for holiness wants to come up to be seen before God in Zion rather than in Jerusalem, since Jerusalem carries a more secular thought-association (84:8).[15]

The prophet Jeremiah spoke of a future day when the children of Israel would seek the Lord in Zion: "They will ask for *the way to Zion*, turning their faces in its direction; they will come that they may join themselves to the Lord in an everlasting covenant that will not be forgotten" (Jeremiah 50:5 NASB 1995). A passage in the Doctrine and Covenants parallels this message from Jeremiah: "And it shall come to pass that the righteous shall be gathered out from among all nations, and shall *come to Zion*, singing with songs of everlasting joy" (D&C 45:71). Both passages likely reference a spiritual Zion — wherever the pure in heart are gathered (see D&C 97:21) — rather than a physical Zion in the City of David.

In addition, in the Doctrine and Covenants, the Lord counsels his people to "go ye forth unto the *land of Zion*, that the *borders* of my people may be *enlarged*, and that her stakes may be strengthened, and that *Zion may go forth* unto the regions round about" (D&C 133:9). As the Lord's people *go forth* to Zion, Zion expands and *goes forth* to the world. Hence, the call for those "who are among the Gentiles" to "flee to Zion" (D&C 133:12). Concerning Zion, Elder D. Todd Christofferson taught:

> Zion is Zion because of the character, attributes, and faithfulness of her citizens. Remember, "the Lord called his people Zion, because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them" (Moses 7:18). If we would establish Zion in our homes, branches, wards, and stakes, we must rise to this standard. It will be necessary (1) to become unified in one heart and one mind; (2) to become, individually and collectively, a holy people; and (3) to care for the poor and needy with such effectiveness that we eliminate poverty among us. We cannot

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15. Sol Liptzin, "Psalms of Zion," *Dor le Dor* 3/4 (1975): 2.

wait until Zion comes for these things to happen — Zion will come only as they happen.[16]

In other words, spiritual Zion can be established only when individuals and communities unify, practice holiness, and care for their poor and needy. King Benjamin taught his people that they were to "impart of [their] substance to the poor, every man according to that which he hath, such as feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the sick and administering to their relief, both spiritually and temporally, according to their wants [i.e., deficiencies[17]]" (Mosiah 4:26). However, he also cautioned that "all these things are done in wisdom and *order*" (Mosiah 4:27). Not only is order required in administering relief to the poor, but greater order is also a likely by-product of these actions.

Hugh Nibley succinctly stated that "Zion is the *eternal order*."[18] Adding to this idea, Philip L. Barlow wrote:

> Expanding on what the Bible only hints at, Smith's revelation says that Enoch's people were called "Zion, because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and

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16. D. Todd Christofferson, in Conference Report, October 2008, 37–38, https://archive.org/details/conferencereport2008sa/page/n39/mode/2up

17. "Deficiency; defect; the absence of that which is necessary or useful; as a *want* of power or knowledge for any purpose; *want* of food and clothing." *Noah Webster's First Edition of an American Dictionary of the English Language*, Vol II, 1980, s.v. "want."

18. Nibley's passage reads more fully, "But a moment's reflection will show that Zion cannot possibly be other than wholly pure. For Zion is the eternal order; it has existed elsewhere from the eternities and will someday be permanently established on this earth. Even the smallest impurity or flaw in anything designed to continue forever would, in the course of an infinite stretching of time, become a thing of infinite mischief. The most perfect structures men have been able to erect have been short-lived because of tiny, all-but-imperceptible flaws. Hence, any flaw, no matter how small, must be removed from a system designed to be timeless; otherwise, there will be no end of trouble. The only kind of life that can be endured forever is one completely devoid of sin, for we are told that the most calamitous thing that could befall man at present would be for him to reach forth his hand and partake of the tree of life and live forever in his sins. Jeremiah describes Zion as a comely and delicate woman who cannot live in the presence of what is vile (Jeremiah 6:2-7). 'When men presume to build up Zion in their sins, they labor in vain, for the daughter of Zion withdraws from the scene entirely.'" Hugh Nibley, "What Is Zion? A Distant View," (lecture, Brigham Young University, Provo UT, Feb. 25, 1973), http://www.eternal.life/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/what_is_zion_hugh_nibley_eternal_life.pdf. See also Hugh Nibley, *Approaching Zion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1989) 27.

there was no poor among them." "Zion," *a divinely organized utopia*, was thus evermore distinguished in Mormon conceptions from the ancient or typological nation "Israel."[19]

Paralleling Orson Pratt's teaching that the temple to be built in the New Jerusalem, the latter-day Zion, would be after a perfect, celestial order, Nibley explained that Zion is "any community in which the celestial order prevails":

> *Zion* is a code word denoting a very real thing. Zion is any community in which the *celestial order* prevails. Zion is "the pure in heart" (D&C 97:21), but Zion is also a real city or any number of real cities. It is a *constant*; it is *unchanging*. There are Zions among all the worlds, and there are Zions that come and go. Zion is a *constant* in time and place — it belongs to the *order of the eternities*.[20]

The author of Hebrews wrote, "You have come to *Mount Zion* and to the city of the living God, the *heavenly Jerusalem*" (Hebrews 12:22 NASB 1995). Regarding this verse, Nibley added:

> It's the "heavenly Jerusalem," the *eternal order*; if we are to go on forever, there has to be a *perfect order*. It can't be defective. Any building, any structure, will be destroyed by time if there is any defect in it at all. Time will work on that. And in our human relationships in the order that exists here, a perfect order is practically impossible. *Human order* is a day-to-day, makeshift sort of thing, not the sort of thing that can go from eternity to eternity.[21]

Eternal, perfect order is only to be found in Zion. Human order is transitory and corruptible; it is defective. But heavenly order, which can only exist in Zion and is synonymous with it, is of the incorruptible sort. Order and harmony are the natural results of obedience to God's laws and commandments (מצות, *mitsvot*), and they also define Zion (ציון,

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19. Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), 53 (emphasis added).

20. Hugh Nibley, *Approaching Zion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1989), 4 (emphasis added).

21. Ibid., 319 (emphasis added).

tsiyon). Disobedience, on the other hand, is the domain of Babylon and leads to chaos and confusion:[22]

> "ORDER is heaven's first law,"[23] says the poet. It is not so. *Order is not heaven's first law but the result of heaven's first law — obedience.* Once in that happy realm of our pre-existence did ugly disobedience raise his discordant head, and for a time banished *chaos* re-entered the heavenly portals, leaving her hideous tracks of ruin and *confusion* where peace and union had reigned as supreme and universal as the light of eternal day. But only for a brief season.[24]

The Order of Zion

In a revelation to the prophet Joseph fewer than two years after the church was organized, the Lord instructed the church to establish a new economic, social, and religious order, the United Order (D&C 78).[25] Soon after, Joseph received additional instructions concerning this Order:

> For *Zion* must increase in beauty, and in holiness; her borders must be enlarged; her stakes must be strengthened; yea, verily I say unto you, *Zion* must arise and put on her beautiful garments. Therefore, I give unto you this commandment, that ye bind yourselves by this covenant, and it shall be done according to the laws of the Lord. Behold, here is wisdom also in me for your good. And you are to be equal, or in other words, you are to have equal claims on the properties, for the benefit of managing the concerns of your stewardships, every man according to his wants and his needs, inasmuch as his wants are just — And all this for the benefit of the church of the living God, that every man may improve upon his talent, that every man may gain other talents, yea, even an hundred

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22. "Observance of law brings harmony, peace, and order. Without observance of law there is found confusion, sorrow, remorse, failure, whether it be the laws of man or the laws of God, whether it be nations, or whether it be individuals." Elray L. Christiansen, in *Conference Report*, October 1956, 29, https://archive.org/details/conferencereport1956sa/page/n29/mode/2up.

23. Alexander Pope, "Epistle IV: Of the Nature and State of Man with respect to Happiness." *An Essay on Man in Four Epistles*, https://www.bartleby.com/203/142.html.

24. N. L. Nelson, "The Freedom of Obedience," *The Contributor* 10/10 (August 1889): 396.

25. This *United Order* was originally called the *United Firm*.

fold, to be cast into the Lord's storehouse, to become the common property of the whole church — *Every man seeking the interest of his neighbor*, and doing all things with an eye single to the glory of God. This *order* I have appointed to be an *everlasting order* unto you, and unto your successors, inasmuch as you sin not. (D&C 82:14–20)

Rather than a worldly order in which "everyone looks out for their own interests" (Philippians 2:21 NIV), this order was to be a heavenly order — the Order of Zion. Following the death of his son, Joseph, Brigham Young wrote the following regarding his son's efforts to establish the United Order among the Saints:

> I have had much comfort and satisfaction in the last days of Joseph's mortal sojourn upon the earth. He had labored with great zeal, diligence, and wisdom in establishing the *United Order* in the midst of the Saints in Sevier Co. by whom he was highly respected as a president and greatly beloved as a brother. His labors in establishing *the order of Zion* amongst the Saints under his watchcare were greatly blessed of the Lord.[26]

Like the Nephites following the resurrection of Christ (see 4 Nephi 1:3), the early Old World Christians also practiced a type of United Order: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common" (Acts 4:32 KJV). Nibley also referred to the United Order, or Order of Zion, as the Order of Enoch or Order of Adam:

> In all of this, the early Christians conscientiously followed the ancient *order of Enoch*. The order was constantly on their lips. And it, in turn, went back to the *order of Adam*. (We find many references to these things now that we didn't even know twenty years ago. The only person who knew was Joseph Smith.) The order was not invented by the apostles; the Dead Sea Scrolls show us that. The sectaries of the desert — the people out in the desert trying to live the old law of

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26. *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons*, ed. Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 156.

Israel — always followed these rules and always identified themselves with the *order of Zion or Enoch* (see Moses 7:18).[27]

The basic idea of the United Order was that "every man [would seek] the interest of his neighbor" rather than "look[ing] out for their own interests." More specifically, members of the church were to follow the example of Christ: "I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me" (John 5:30 KJV). President Wilford Woodruff stated:

> It has been promised that the New Jerusalem will be built up in our day and generation, and it will have to be done by the *United Order of Zion* and according to *celestial law*. And not only so, but we have to keep that law ourselves if we ever inherit that kingdom, for no man will receive a celestial glory unless he abides a celestial law.[28]

Don Sorenson wrote, "The prophets always labor to prepare people to become a people of Zion. Sometimes people embrace Zion; most often they do not."[29] While the early Saints were not successful in firmly establishing the United Order of Zion "according to celestial law," the hope and expectation is that one day the Lord's people will come to reject flawed and corruptible human attempts at creating order and embrace the celestial, perfect, and eternal Order of Zion.

Babylon

Nibley accurately observed, "We can't discuss Zion very long without running into Babylon, because Babylon is, in all things, the counterpart of Zion. It is described just as fully, clearly, and vividly in the scriptures as Zion is and usually in direct relationship to it."[30] Just as Zion, the Way of Light and Life, is synonymous with righteousness and order, Babylon, the Way of Darkness and Death, stands for wickedness and confusion:

> Throughout the scriptures, Zion is brought into the clearest focus by placing it against a dark background; and like Zion, that background world is given a code name: *Babylon*. Babylon, like Zion, is a real society — a type, place, and environment of human existence, described in the scriptures with great clarity and precision. (The word *Babylon* is not just

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27. Nibley, *Approaching Zion*, 316.
28. Wilford Woodruff, in *Journal of Discourses*, 17:250.
29. A. Don Sorenson, "Zion," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1625.
30. Nibley, *Approaching Zion*, 14.

a general term to indicate anything that is not Zion; it is the designation of a very particular and specific type of society.) Though Babylon is vividly described by the prophets, the best way to define her is as *the exact opposite of Zion in all things*. Babylon is just as pure in its way as is Zion; it is pure evil — for even good, when it becomes contaminated and perverted, becomes an evil. The main thing is that *Babylon and Zion cannot mix in any degree*; a Zion that makes concessions is no longer Zion.

One may well ask if it is necessary to choose between such absolute extremes, and wonder if there is not some more moderate approach to the problems. By the very nature of things, *there is no third way* — as the early Jewish and Christian writers remind us repeatedly in their doctrine of the *Two Ways*. According to this oldest and best-established of teachings (though quite unpopular with the conventional Christianity and Judaism of our time), there are Two Ways lying before every person in this life, the *Way of Light* and the *Way of Darkness*, the *Way of Life* and the *Way of Death*; and every mortal every day of his life is required to make a choice between them. Unfortunately for our peace of mind, any compromise between the Two Ways is out of the question, since they lead in opposite directions.[31]

While the scriptures are replete with the Lord's pleading counsel to come to Zion, they also instruct us to escape from Babylon:

> *Go ye out from Babylon.* Be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord. (D&C 133:5)

> Yea, verily I say unto you again, the time has come when the voice of the Lord is unto you: *Go ye out of Babylon; gather ye out from among the nations*, from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. (D&C 133:7)

> *Go ye out from among the nations, even from Babylon, from the midst of wickedness, which is spiritual Babylon.* (D&C 133:14)

> Ho, *Zion! Escape*, you who are living with the *daughter of Babylon* [בת־בבל, *bat-bavel*]. (Zechariah 2:7, NASB 1995)

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31. Ibid., 30 (emphasis added).

Jeremiah prophesied that "the vengeance of the Lord our God" would come out against physical and spiritual Babylon, resulting in her destruction:

> There is a sound of fugitives and refugees from the land of *Babylon*, To declare in *Zion* the vengeance of the Lord our God, Vengeance for *His temple*. Summon many against *Babylon*, all those who bend the bow: Encamp against her on every side, Let there be no escape. Repay her according to her work; According to all that she has done, so do to her; For she has become arrogant against the Lord, Against the Holy One of Israel. (Jeremiah 50:28–29 NASB 1995)

A Hebrew Etymology of Babylon

In the account of the Tower of Babel in the book of Genesis, we are given a Hebrew etymology for the name Babel, or Babylon:

> Therefore its name was called *Babel* [בבל, *bavel*], because there the LORD *confused* [בלל, *balal*] the language of the whole earth; and from there the LORD scattered them abroad over the face of the whole earth. (Genesis 11:9 NASB 1995)

As can be observed from the two Hebrew words above, *Babel* (בבל, *bavel*) is not an exact match for *confused* (בלל, *balal*), but for the author of Genesis the two words were close enough to create a literary connection. Immanuel Casanowicz clarified that the relationship between *Babel* (or *Babylon*) and *confused* is not actually an etymology but a paronomasia, or wordplay:

> בבל [*bavel*] is derived from בלל [*balal*], mix, confuse, as if it were a contraction of בלבל [*balbel*, meaning *confused*]; but it is known from the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions that Bâbilu, the corresponding Assyrian name of the city, is a compound of *bâb*, gate, and *ilu*, god, the gate of god. But in many cases it is quite apparent that it is not an etymology which is intended, but a paronomasia.[32]

This linguistic wordplay in Genesis has led Jewish and Christian scholars and commentators to inextricably connect Babylon with the

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32. Immanuel M. Casanowicz, "Paronomasia in the Old Testament," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 12/2 (1893): 116–17.

idea of confusion and chaos.[33] The Babylonians, of course, did not name their city *Confused*. Rather, as Casanowicz stated, they called it *Babilu* (sometimes the plural *Babilim*), or *Gate of God*. Ron Bigalke wrote that "although the name 'Babylon' is derived from the Akkadian word *babilu* meaning 'gate of god,' it is an evident counterfeit of God's eternal city [Zion]."[34] Hayyim Angel added the very likely possibility that the Hebrew connection of *Babel* (בבל, *bavel*) with *confusion* (בלל, *balal*) was simply a sarcastic midrash on the original Akkadian name:

> We now can understand the Torah's explanation for the city name, Bavel, confusion. The Babylonians called their city Babel, from the Akkadian *bab-ilim*, "the gate of the god." They considered their city to be the religious center of the world. The Hebrew etymology, then, is a "midrash" of the Torah to mock the Babylonians. You think you are the gate of the god, but in fact you are completely confused![35]

The Confusion of Babylon

If Zion represents order, Babylon — as the antithesis of Zion — appropriately stands for confusion and chaos. In the initial chapter of Genesis we read that God created order out of chaos or confusion: "And the earth was *without form* [תהו, *tohu*],[36] and void; and *darkness* was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters" (Gen 1:2 KJV). While the KJV renders the word תהו (*tohu*) as *without form*, it can also be understood as *chaos*[37] or *confusion*.[38] Bigalke added:

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33.   "To give an example, one could mention the play on the toponym Babel in Genesis 11,9. As the proper noun בבל and the verb בלל ('to confuse') differ in only one consonant, the wordplay is constituted by means of sound similarity." Valérie Kabergs, Hans Ausloos, "Paronomasia or Wordplay? A Babel-Like Confusion Towards A Definition of Hebrew Wordplay," *Biblica* 93/1 (2012): 19.

34.   Ron J. Bigalke, Jr. "Babylon as metaphor," in *The Encyclopedia of Christian Civilization*, 1st ed., 183.

35.   Hayyim Angel, "The Tower of Babel: A Case Study in Combining Traditional and Academic Bible Methodologies," *Institute for Jewish Ideas and Ideals*, https://www.jewishideas.org/article/tower-babel-case-study-combining-traditional-and-academic-bible-methodologies.

36.   In Isaiah 24:10 we read: "The city of confusion is broken down (KJV)." The Hebrew word for *confusion* in this verse is תהו (*tohu*).

37.   *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, s.v. "תהו."

38.   *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 1907, s.v. "תהו."

> The city founded by Nimrod [Babylon] was renowned for
> its pride and rebellion; its pagan worship of false gods was
> the beginning of the degeneration from monotheism to
> polytheism (Rom. 1:18–32), and reached a climax when its
> inhabitants sought equality with God (Gen. 11:1–9). God
> turned human ambition and ingenuity against him at Babel
> into *chaos and confusion*.[39]

Speaking of the "condition of the religious world to-day,"
President John Taylor said: "*It is Babylon or confusion; confusion in ideas,
confusion in regard to doctrine, confusion in regard to ordinances*, etc."[40]
President Lorenzo Snow added:

> What did we come here for? *We came to build up Zion, not to
> build up Babylon*. The voice of the Almighty *called us out from
> the midst of confusion, which is Babylon*, to form a union and
> a lovely brotherhood, in which we should love one another
> as we love ourselves. When we depart from this purpose, the
> Spirit of God withdraws from us to the extent of that departure.
> But if we continue in the extent of those covenants which we
> made when we received the gospel, there is a corresponding
> increase of light and intelligence, and there is a powerful
> preparation for that which is to come. And because of our
> faithfulness and our adherence to the covenants we have
> made, the foundation upon which we stand becomes like the
> pillars of heaven-immovable.[41]

Paul taught that "for God is *not a God of confusion* but of peace,
as in all the churches of the saints." (1 Corinthians 14:33, NASB 1995).
While a prisoner in Liberty Jail, Joseph explained that the devil, the
founder of Babylon and the author of confusion, has "filled the world
with confusion," resulting in corruption and iniquity:

> It is an imperative duty that we owe to God, to angels, with
> whom we shall be brought to stand, and also to ourselves, to
> our wives and children, who have been made to bow down
> with grief, sorrow, and care, under the most damning hand
> of murder, tyranny, and oppression, supported and urged

39. Bigalke, "Babylon as Metaphor," 183 (emphasis mine).
40. John Taylor, in *Journal of Discourses*, 23:371.
41. *The Teachings of Lorenzo Snow,* Clyde J. Williams. ed., (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984), 179 (emphasis added), https://educationforeternity.byu.edu/q_ldsp1.htm.

on and upheld by the influence of that spirit which hath so strongly riveted the creeds of the fathers, who have inherited lies, upon the hearts of the children, and *filled the world with confusion*, and has been growing stronger and stronger, and is now the very mainspring of all corruption, and the whole earth groans under the weight of its iniquity (D&C 123:7).

So what is the cause of this confusion, and how to we get out from under it? When we abandon the way of Zion, the way of order, and follow the way of Babylon, confusion and disorder are the natural results. President John Taylor taught that when we follow our own "theories, ideas and opinions," Babylon — confusion and disorder — prevails:

> We have come out of *Babylon*. We have come out of *confusion*. *There is confusion in the world everywhere. … Men teach their own theories, ideas and opinions*, and hence *confusion and disorder prevail in the world*.[42]

President Taylor's teaching echoes the Lord's words in the introduction to the Doctrine and Covenants:

> They *seek not the Lord to establish his righteousness*, but *every man walketh in his own way*, and *after the image of his own god*, whose image is in the likeness of the world, and whose substance is that of an idol, which waxeth old and shall perish in Babylon, *even Babylon the great, which shall fall.* (D&C 1:16)

Satan, as the founder of Babylon, intentionally sows tares among the wheat to create confusion and disorder in an attempt to "choke the wheat and drive the church into the wilderness":

> And after they have fallen asleep the great persecutor of the church, the apostate, the whore, even *Babylon*, that maketh all nations to drink of her cup, in whose hearts the enemy, even Satan, sitteth to reign — behold *he soweth the tares*; wherefore, the tares choke the wheat and drive the church into the wilderness. (D&C 86:3)

It is interesting to note that one of the reasons for the issuance of the Manifesto, which officially ended the practice of plural marriage in the church, was to keep confusion, or Babylon, out of Zion. If the church

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42. John Taylor, in *Journal of Discourses*, 24:200 (emphasis added).

had not stopped the practice, "*confusion would reign throughout Israel*" (Official Declaration 1).

The solution to removing ourselves from Babylon, from confusion, is to live our lives individually and collectively following the *path of Zion*, the *way of order*. The Lord commanded the Saints to gather "unto the land of Zion," but he also cautioned them:

> And now, behold, this is the will of the Lord your God concerning his saints, that *they should assemble themselves together unto the land of Zion, not in haste, lest there should be confusion*, which bringeth pestilence. (D&C 63:24)

Just as king Benjamin counseled his people that providing for the poor and needy must be "done in wisdom and order" (Mosiah 4:27), assembling to spiritual Zion must also be an orderly process. Babylon, or confusion, will find its way into our lives and into the body of the church unless we conduct our affairs according to the celestial, heavenly order which is Zion.

Conclusion

Richard Smyth wrote the lyrics to the favorite hymn "Israel, Israel, God is Calling." The first stanza of that hymn reads:

> Israel, Israel, God is calling, Calling thee from *lands of woe*.
> *Babylon* the great is falling; God shall all her tow'rs o'er-throw.
> *Come to Zion*, come to Zion, Ere his floods of anger flow.
> Come to Zion, come to Zion, Ere his floods of anger flow.[43]

The fall of Babylon is a certainty, as is the establishment of Zion in the last days. What is not certain is whether we, as individuals, will heed the call to flee from Babylon and come to Zion. While Zion represents the celestial, perfect, eternal order of heaven, Babylon typifies the chaos, confusion, and corruption of the world. Like oil and water, Zion and Babylon cannot mix; the oil of Zion must triumphantly rise above the water of "the rivers of Babylon."[44] The Lord will not tolerate the confusion and chaos of Babylon to be mingled with the order and perfection of Zion. Perhaps as a cautionary metaphor against attempts to mix Zion with Babylon, the Lord instructed the Israelites: "You are to keep My statutes. You shall not cross-breed two kinds of your cattle; you shall not

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43. *Hymns*, no. 7.
44. "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion" (Psalm 137:1 NASB).

sow your field with two kinds of seed, nor wear a garment of two kinds of material mixed together" (Leviticus 19:19 NASB 1995). Nibley added:

> This, then, is how things stand: (1) We know what Zion is, (2) we know what Babylon is, (3) we know that the two can never mix,[45] and (4) we know that the Latter-day Saints, against the admonitions of their leaders, have always tried to mix them.[46]

Elder George F. Richards taught that of all of God's handiwork, we are the only disobedient elements of his creation. Through the improper exercise of agency, our disobedience to God's commandments attempts to replace the order and organization of Zion with the confusion and conflict of Babylon:

> *Order, then, follows obedience unto the commands and the laws of God.* The law by which the universe is governed, is the law of God. We may call it the law of nature, but the law of nature is the law of God, and all His creations excepting man are obedient, hence *the beautiful order* which we see in all nature. If they were disobedient, as man is disobedient, there would be *universal confusion, disorder and annihilation.* Man only of all the creatures of God disobeys His command, and disregards the law which He has framed for our guidance and government, that *order and perfection* might be established. This, because of man's agency. This is the point which I desire to call to your attention, that the law which God has given to us for our government is a divine law, and just as perfect as are the laws by which the universe is governed. And if we would be as obedient as are the elements, and His other creations, we would be perfect, and all would be in *harmony and order.*[47]

Finally, President Joseph F. Smith taught that the gospel of Jesus Christ involves "obedience to the truth, submission to the order that God has established in His house, for the house of God is a house of order and not a house of confusion."[48] Or, in other words, God's house is a house of Zion, and not a house of Babylon!

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45. Perhaps Nibley intended a play on words in this passage. The verbal infinitive of בלל (*balal*, or *confused*) — which is put forward as the meaning of the name Babel (or Babylon) in Genesis — is לבלול (*livlol*), meaning to *mix* or *mingle*.

46. Nibley, *Approaching Zion*, 45.

47. George F. Richards, in *Conference Report*, April 1913, 81, 82 (emphasis added), https://archive.org/details/conferencereport1913a/page/80/mode/2up.

48. Joseph F. Smith, in *Conference Report*, April 1916, 5, https://archive.org. details/conferencereport1916a/page/n5/mode/2up.

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Appendix 1

Classic and Contemporary English Bible Translations for 2 Kings 20:1 and 2 Samuel 17:23

#	Year	Bible	2 Kings 20:1	2 Samuel 17:23
		Hebrew Masoretic Text	צו לביתך (tsav lebeitekha)	ויצו אל־ביתו (vayestav el-beito)
1	1560	Geneva	Put thine house in an order	and put his houshold in order
2	1568	Bishops'	Put thine housould in an order	& put his housholde in order
3	1582	Douay-Rheims	Give charge concerning thy house	and putting his house in order
4	1611	King James	Set thine house in order	and put his household in order
5	1844	Brenton Septuagint	Give charge to thy household	and he gave orders to his household
6	1862	Young's Literal Translation	Give a charge to thy house	and giveth charge unto his household
7	1876	Smith's Literal Translation	Command to thy house	and command his house
8	1881	English Revised Version	Set thine house in order	and set his house in order
9	1890	Darby Bible Translation	Set thy house in order	and gave charge to his household
10	1901	American Standard Version	Set thy house in order	and set his house in order
11	1917	Hebrew Names Version	Set your house in order	and set his house in order
12	1917	JPS Tanakh	Set thy house in order	and set his house in order
13	1933	Lamsa Bible	Set your house in order	and he put his household in order
14	1965	Amplified Bible	Set your house in order	Then he put his household in order

#	Year	Bible	2 Kings 20:1	2 Samuel 17:23
15	1976	Good News Translation	you are to put everything in order	After putting his affairs in order
16	1978	New International Version	Put your house in order	he put his house in order
17	1985	The New Jerusalem Bible	Put your affairs in order	Then, having set his house in order
18	1995	God's Word Translation	Give final instructions to your household	He gave instructions to his family
19	1995	New American Standard Bible	Set your house in order	and set his house in order
20	1996	New International Reader's Version	Put everything in order. Make out your will.	He put everything in order. He made out his will.
21	1998	Complete Jewish Bible	Put your house in order	After setting his house in order
22	1998	Third Millennium Bible	Set thine house in order	and put his household in order
23	2000	Jubilee Bible	Set thy house in order	and put his household in order
24	2000	World English Bible	Set your house in order	and set his house in order
25	2001	English Standard Version	Set your house in order	He set his house in order
26	2002	The Message Bible	Put your affairs in order	After making out his will and putting his house in order
27	2002	Orthodox Jewish Bible	Set thine bais [house] in order	and put his bais (household) in order
28	2004	The Jewish Study Bible	Set your affairs in order	He set his affairs in order
29	2004	Holman Christian Standard Bible	Put your affairs in order	He set his affairs in order
30	2005	New English Translation	Give your household instructions	After setting his household in order
31	2009	A Faithful Version	Set your house in order	and put his household in order
32	2011	International Standard Version	Put your household in order	Leaving behind a set of orders for his household
33	2011	Lexham English Bible	Command your house	After he set his house in order
34	2016	Berean Study Bible	Put your house in order	He put his affairs in order
35	2017	Christian Standard Bible	Set your house in order	He set his house in order
36	2018	New Heart English Bible	Set your house in order	and set his house in order

Appendix 2

Additional Hugh Nibley Quotes on the *Eternal Order* and *Zion*

What are the things of the eternities that we should consider even now? They are the things that no one ever tires of doing, things in themselves lovely and desirable. Surprisingly, the things of the eternities are the very things to which the university is supposed to be dedicated. In *the Zion of God*, in *the celestial and eternal order*, where there is no death, there will be no morticians; where there is no sickness, there will be no more doctors; where there is no decay, there will be no dentists; where there is no litigation, there will be no lawyers; where there is no buying and selling, there will be no merchants; where there is no insecurity, there will be no insurance; where there is no money, there will be no banks; where there is no crime, there will be no jails, no police; where there are no excess goods, there will be no advertising, no wars, no armies, and so on and so on.[49]

But it's in the last days that the fulfillment will really get underway with the restoration and the steps approaching the establishment of Zion. In every age, though, as the Doctrine and Covenants tells us, the Saints are "they who are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly place, the holiest of all, … the general assembly and church of Enoch, and of the First-born" (D&C 76:66–67). That is *the eternal order of Zion*, and the Saints have been at work for many years, supposedly preparing to receive it.[50]

Temple ordinances … put you into an *eternal … order* of things, which the world will not understand. And if you try to make them vulgarized down here and treat them as if they belong to *this* universe of discourse, then you spoil them.[51]

The words temple and cosmos appear together in the title of this volume because the "temple is a scale model of the universe" (p. 15). Participation in the instruction and ordinances of the temple enables "one to get one's bearings from the universe." The temple is the link between the seeming chaos and dissolution of this temporal world and

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49. Nibley, Approaching Zion, 79–80 (emphasis added).
50. Ibid., 6 (emphasis added).
51. Gary P. Gillum, *Of All Things! Classic Quotations from Hugh Nibley* (Provo, UT: Maxwell Institute, 1993), 28, https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/mi/56.

the beautiful configuration (cosmos) and permanence of *the eternal order*. "The mystique of the temple lies in its extension to other worlds; it is the reflection on earth of *the heavenly order*, and the power that fills it comes from above."[52]

Verse 2: "And they all cried out with one voice, saying: O have mercy, and apply the atoning blood of Christ [notice, *atonement* is mentioned quite a number of times in this chapter] that we may receive forgiveness of our sins, ... for we believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who created heaven and earth, and all things; who shall come down among the children of men. … And the Spirit of the Lord came upon them, and they were filled with joy [it was a joyful celebration, a great time, you see; they could all hardly stand it, they were so joyful here] … because of the exceeding faith which they had in Jesus Christ who should come." This is a marvelously happy event, you see. He is ready to bring us back into *the great eternal order* of things. But how is he to do it? You see, this is what they are talking about here. Even if we could make up for our sins here, it is that other life that they are thinking of. Now they have had a glimpse of it, they are filled with joy. They are filled with the spirit. These times come because of exceeding faith. We think of the dedication of the Kirtland Temple. That's the sort of thing that happened when the marvelous manifestations were received and everybody had revelation, or the day of Pentecost, those days. Under normal conditions they would be normal, but the earth is a bad place.[53]

This about the resurrection is quoted by Paul, and it's elsewhere. Verse 9: "He is the light and the life of the world [there's much more to it; there's more light where this came from, he is telling us]; yea, a light that is endless, that can never be darkened; yea, and also a life which is endless, that there can be no more death." He comes as the Light into the world-not just in a special role or something like that. This comes from *the eternal order* of things. He is the Light and Life that has always been there and always will be there, "that is endless, that can never be darkened [whether it's on this earth or anywhere else]; yea, and also a life which is endless, that there can be no more death. Even this mortal shall

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52. Hugh Nibley, *Temple and Cosmos* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1992), xv.

53. Hugh Nibley, Teachings of the Book of Mormon, Semester 1: Transcripts of lectures presented to an honors Book of Mormon class at Brigham Young University, 1988–1990 (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2004), Lecture 29, p. 376 (emphasis added), https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/mi/70.

put on immortality, and this corruption shall put on incorruption, and shall be brought to stand before the bar of God, to be judged of him according to their works whether they be good or whether they be evil."[54]

What do the other civilizations leave behind, those I call the stable ones? Those after the manner of the old people. They leave themselves behind. Their next generation takes over and carries on. Time means nothing to them. It's an *eternal order of the law. The law of consecration is an eternal order.* We will just leave ourselves, the culture, behind, without any loss of product. People will have plenty to do and plenty to think of.[55]

The first reply to complaints when the mill reopened was, "If you don't like it, then why don't you just move out?" Again we have Brigham's reply, "This is our home." "This earth is the home he has prepared for us, and we are to prepare ourselves and our habitations for the celestial glory in store for the faithful." "This is the habitation of the Saints; this is the earth that will be given to the Saints." Again we have the support of the ancients. The earth, says Aristotle, was made to be a home for man, permanently, and for that he must achieve a stable balance with nature, harmonious and pleasant to all. Cicero echoes this sentiment when he says that the earth is a fit home for both gods and men, and man has his part to play in taking good care of the garden. This must be a *stable, eternal order* with man at the top of the animal scale, held most responsible if things go wrong.[56]

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54. Hugh Nibley, Teachings of the Book of Mormon, Semester 2: Transcripts of lectures presented to an honors Book of Mormon class at Brigham Young University, 1988–1990 (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2004), Lecture 35, p. 75 (emphasis added), https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/mi/71

55. Hugh Nibley, *Approaching Zion*, 484 (emphasis added).

56. Hugh Nibley, *Brother Brigham Challenges the Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1994), 68 (emphasis added).

Tamid: Zacharias and the Second Temple

Lisle G. Brown

Abstract: *This essay follows Zacharias' biography from entering the priesthood till the day the angel Gabriel appeared to him in Herod's temple. After recounting the procedures to become a priest, Brown focuses on the day when Zacharias prepared to bring one of the two central standing offerings. He points out that likely, a priest would only have a once in a lifetime chance to partake in the core of this ceremony, entering the Holy Room and burning incense on the Inner Altar. Brown paints a very visual picture of this day, immersing us in the ritual of the time, a ritual that became even more significant for Zacharias by seeing an angel in the temple, something that has not happened before nor after in the Second Temple.*

Many Latter-day Saints who read Luke's account of Zacharias's visitation of Gabriel while offering incense at the golden inner altar of the second temple (see Luke 1:5–23) likely view it as a requisite prelude to Gabriel's more momentous annunciation to Mary later in the chapter (see Luke 1:26–37).[1] It probably does not occur to them to ask

how Zacharias came to be in the temple for that important event. They may think that this was just to be expected because it was part of the normal duties of temple priests. Some may feel that it was not uncommon for him to offer incense and that it was just an ordinary day for Zacharias at the temple — until Gabriel appeared to him. After all, he was a priest, so it would not be surprising that he would be found ministering in the temple. But these assumptions are most assuredly not the case. Even if Gabriel had not appeared to Zacharias, it would have remained the most significant day of his lengthy temple labors. Indeed, he would have never forgotten the day when he offered incense in the house of the Lord!

Unfortunately, most Church members have little, if any, idea how the Jewish priesthood functioned during the first Christian century.[2] Few know how Zacharias became a priest or why it was extraordinary for him to be offering incense in the temple at all.

Organization of the Jewish Priesthood in New Testament Times

The Gospels refer to a cadre of men associated with the temple at Jerusalem as the "chief priests" (see Matthew 27:1, 6; Mark 15:1, 10, 11; Luke 22:2, 4; John 19:6, 15).[3] The book of Acts also described these leaders as "the high priest and the captain of the temple and the chief priests" (Acts 5:24). The War Scroll, one of the Dead Sea Scrolls, uses similar words to describe them: "the high priest and his deputy … [and] an order of major priests, twelve in number."[4] These titles enumerate the elite group of men who made up the priestly hierarchy that was attached permanently to the temple. The Mishnah provides the actual titles of the twelve chief priests mentioned in The War Scroll and adds three to their number.[5]

During the first century of the Christian era, there were fifteen chief priests, to which can be added the high priest (*kohen gadol*) and the deputy of the priests (*segan hakohanim*), making a total of seventeen priests in the temple hierarchy.[6] They were among the most powerful and influential men during Zacharias's time, standing at the very pinnacle of Jewish society.[7] The Gospel writers, however, used the most severe terms in describing these men. They were portrayed as corrupt and scheming individuals who ultimately sought and achieved the Savior's death (see Matthew 26:59; Mark 11:18, 14:55; Luke 19:47).

It is clear, however, that Zachariah was nothing like these priestly elites. Luke describes him as a priest who was "righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless"

(Luke 1:6).[8] There was, indeed, a stark division between the priestly hierarchy in Jerusalem and the ordinary priests who lived throughout the rest of the country. Joachim Jeremias noted that "an intense antagonism had grown up in the period just before the destruction of the Temple" between the priestly aristocracy and the other priests, mainly because of "tyranny and nepotism."[9] While Jesus frequently criticized the temple priestly elites, there is nothing in the Gospels where He found fault with the ordinary priests. Many of these men were probably like Zacharias, completely devoted to their priestly duties, and were undoubtedly good and honorable individuals.

According to Luke, Zacharias was a priest of the "course of Abia" (Luke 1:5).[10] A "course" (*mishmar*) was a body of men who descended from Aaron and held the right to the Aaronic Priesthood by birthright.[11] There were 24 such courses (*mishmarot*), each of whom served a weekly tour of duty — from Sabbath to Sabbath — in the temple at Jerusalem; for this reason they were called "weekly courses." Each weekly course had a director (*rosh hamishmar*) who was responsible for its members' conduct while serving in the temple.

Each weekly course was further divided into small clans or family groups of priests known as the daily courses (*batei avot*). Each daily course (*beit av*) served on an appointed day during the week in the temple. Each daily course also had its director (*rosh beit av*). The exact number of daily courses is uncertain; most commentators put the number at seven, because of the eight days that the daily courses served in the temple.[12] These 24 courses involved about 7,200 priests: 300 priests in each weekly course, which were divided into some 150 daily courses, with each daily course having about 50 members.[13]

Because of the weekly and daily aspects of temple service, a priest like Zachariah would have had the opportunity to serve in the temple only once every 24 weeks, or approximately twice a year. Even then, he had a less than a 25% chance of being selected to serve, because less than a fourth of the priests in the daily course were needed for the day's service. (He would have had additional opportunities to serve during the three annual pilgrim festivals — Passover, Feast of Weeks, and Festival of Tabernacles — when priests from all the courses could travel to the temple to help with the throngs of people who flooded the temple mount on those festive occasions.) It is clear that the opportunities for service by the priests of the second temple were limited; obviously Zacharias did not have the opportunity for frequent temple service that many Latter-day Saints enjoy today.

When not conducting their priestly obligations with the fellow priests of their course, they lived and worked throughout Judea and Galilee with the rest of the people.[14] They were aided in their support by certain "gifts" from the people, which was required by the law of Moses.[15] They were honored and revered in their local communities. Zacharias lived with his wife, Elizabeth, in an unidentified village in the "hill country of Judea, from the neighborhood of priestly Hebron."[16]

Zacharias Becomes a Priest

Luke gives very little in his Gospel about the lives of Zacharias and Elizabeth. He recorded nothing about Zacharias's lengthy career as a temple priest, nor any other related incidents of his life. However, using a variety of sources, it is possible to reconstruct much of Zacharias's typical activities as a priest. Only an understanding of such functions provides a glimpse at how extraordinary it was for Zacharias to be burning incense when Gabriel appeared.

Latter-day Saints are well acquainted with the procedure for receiving the priesthood in this dispensation.[17] Age is a crucial requirement. A boy must be twelve years of age before he can receive the Aaronic Priesthood, and a young man must be eighteen to receive the Melchizedek Priesthood. Even when men reach the proper age, they do not request the priesthood — they must be invited. That is, they must wait for a bishop or stake president to approach them about their willingness to receive the priesthood. If willing, they must be living a worthy life. Their worthiness is determined during a private interview with a bishop or a stake president; during the interview the leader typically asks them about their willingness to serve the Lord; their faith in Jesus Christ; their testimony of the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith, and the Church; and whether they are living a life free of serious transgressions or sins. Upon successfully passing the interview, the boy's or man's name is presented before the general membership of the Church in a sacrament meeting or stake conference for a sustaining vote — by uplifted hands — before he receives the priesthood.

After he is approved by sustaining vote, a boy or man has hands laid on his head by someone who holds the priesthood and who confers the priesthood upon him and ordains him to an office in the Church (typically a deacon or elder) and blesses him with encouragement and promises. In order to minister in the temple, Melchizedek Priesthood holders must also observe similar procedures, including interviews and

consecrations (setting apart) before they are allowed to participate in temple rituals.

Under the law of Moses, there were also certain procedures that men had to observe in order to become priests — but the process had few, if any, similarities to the procedures of our day. Nonetheless, Zacharias would have had to pass successfully through all the procedures before receiving authority to officiate in the temple rituals. Let's reconstruct the required procedure and follow Zacharias as he became a priest — one who was authorized to minister in the house of the Lord.

Zacharias and the Qualifications for the Priesthood

The age at which Zacharias received his authority to begin functioning as a priest is unknown. One author wrote, "The age at which the priests were allowed to enter upon their office is not stated in the Scriptures, but it is supposed to have been thirty years. From twenty-five to thirty they learned their duties, and from thirty to fifty they served their office, when they might retire, if they chose."[18] Such information does appear in the scriptures; in Numbers 4, Aaron's descendants were directed to serve in the tabernacle "from thirty years old and upward even until fifty years old" (Numbers 4:3). The Torah specified an age of 25 years when Levites could undertake their duties (see Numbers 8:24); King David later lowered it to 20 years (see 1 Chronicles 23:24–27). David's dictum may have also applied to men who desired to become priests.

It is likely, then, that when Zacharias was in his 20s — certainly no older than 30 — he made his way to Jerusalem for an interview that would determine whether he was qualified to serve as a priest in the temple.[19] Unlike our contemporary practice, he was not called to this interview by the presiding officer in the priesthood, the high priest, but he presented himself when he felt he was ready, making known his personal desire.

This interview took place within the temple precincts in the nonconsecrated portion of the Chamber of Hewn Stones, where the Sanhedrin met.[20] This body of 71 men constituted the ultimate body of Jewish jurisprudence, and one of their most important functions was determining the qualifications of those who presented themselves to officiate in the temple; they usually sat daily for just such potential visits.[21] The interview itself was not held in private with the high priest but before the entire assembled Sanhredin with the high priest normally presiding. It was also unlikely that Zacharias was the only candidate, because typically there would be other young men who also desired to serve in the temple. This was likely Zacharias's first — and perhaps

only — encounter with this august body, and it must have been an intimidating experience. Undoubtedly, he had traveled to the temple with the members of his course. These men of experience would have prepared him — but even though he might have been well prepared, he still must have approached the day with nervous apprehension; he was about to pass through quite an ordeal.

Under the law of Moses, the priesthood was reserved for the literal descendants of Aaron and his four sons (see Exodus 28:1–4), because the Lord conferred it "upon Aaron and his seed throughout all their generations" (D&C 84:18). The essential requirement was a proper lineage — Zacharias had to prove he was a literal descendant of Aaron. Accordingly, the first question raised by the members of the Sanhedrin concerned Zacharias's parentage. If his "father's name was inscribed in the archives of Jeshana at Zipporim," this was sufficient proof and "no further inquiry was necessary."[22] The archives of Jeshana at Zipporim must have been an authoritative list of all men who had served as priests in the temple in the past. The scriptures do not record whether Zacharias's father's name was found in this special archive.[23] Presumably it was, but if not, he would have to bring proof of his priestly lineage. If he brought witnesses, probably priests in his daily course, they could testify that his mother was one "of the daughters of Aaron" (Luke 1:5) whose husband had ministered at the altar; that could also suffice as acceptable proof.[24] If not, then the inquiry into his genealogy would be thorough and perhaps time-consuming. For the candidate whose genealogy proved inadequate, his rejection was humiliating. He dressed and veiled himself in black, a symbol of both humility and mourning.[25] As he left the temple mount, his distress was observed by all, and only the veil he wore prevented his identity from being revealed.

After establishing his rightful lineage, Zacharias next endured an even more grueling examination, one highly personal and potentially embarrassing. It was based on a requirement recorded in Leviticus: "No man that hath a blemish of the seed of Aaron the priest shall come nigh to offer the offerings of the Lord made by fire: he hath a blemish; he shall not come nigh to offer the bread of his God" (Leviticus 21:21). The Lord then listed these blemishes: blindness, lameness, disfigured body, crippled hands or feet, hunchbacked or dwarfed, cataracts or defective eyes, or festering sores (see Leviticus 21:18–20). Some of these bodily defects would have clearly prevented the man from performing the physical requirements of temple service — for example, if he could not handle the temple vessels or utensils, move with ease about the massive

Outer Altar of Burnt Offerings, nor see clearly. Others were physical defects that could detract from the purity and sanctity of the temple — if the animal sacrifices to be offered were to be without blemish, then those who ministered the sacrifices should also be without blemish. Indeed, the Lord said that such a man should not "come nigh unto the altar, because he hath a blemish; that he profane not my sanctuaries: for I the Lord do sanctify them" (Leviticus 21:23).

The amount of scrutiny Zacharias endured of his personal body depended on which Jewish party was in ascendancy in the Sanhredin when he appeared. If the high priest were a Sadducee and his party in the majority on that day, the examination might be cursory, but if the high priest were a Pharisee and his party dominated, it could be embarrassingly thorough. The Sadducees accepted only the Torah or the written law (the five books of Moses) as authoritative and rejected any teachings outside the sacred canon, while the Pharisees accepted both the Torah and the traditional teachings or oral law as binding. The oral law consisted of interpretations of the Torah that were passed from generation to generation among the Pharisaical rabbis and that was accordingly known as the Oral Torah.[26] Over time, these oral teachings became a formidable compilation of expansive rules and regulations that far surpassed in complexity those in the written law. By Zacharias's time, the Pharisaical list of permanent disqualifying blemishes had grown from the dozen or so in the Torah to 140 permanent and 22 temporary situations.[27]

A Sadducean examination would have probably included a look at Zacharias's eyes, nose, hands, feet, and back, and after brief inquiry about his general well-being, he would have passed.[28] If the Pharisees conducted the examination, a myriad of "blemishes" could have disqualified Zacharias. These included such physical "defects" as a pointed skull, a bald head, a humped back, no eyelashes, only one eye, a drooping eye, a squinted eye, eyes of two different colors, crossed eyes, too long or short a nose, a large upper lip, missing teeth, a protruding belly, left-handedness, missing fingers or toes, six fingers or toes, knocked-knees, a club foot, a withered arm or hand, pockmarked skin, and so on.[29] Some "defects" even necessitated an examination of his private parts. Even if the blemish was hidden by clothing, it was still considered serious enough to bar the candidate. These blemishes were sufficient for a permanent disqualification for the priesthood and temple service. There were also temporary situations such as a marriage to a divorced woman or slave,

ownership of an inn, or employment in a dishonest trade. A man could rectify these and appear before the Sanhedrin again for consideration.[30]

If a man's genealogy was acceptable, but he was determined to be "blemished" in some way, he was still a priest by right of birth, and the Sanhedrin could not nullify his inheritance nor support from the temple, but he was afforded a lesser status. He could not don the priestly vestments and enter the temple's sacred precinct, the Priests' Courtyard, to participate in the sacred rituals. He could, however, perform other necessary but menial functions, such as sorting out the wormy wood from that deemed fit for use on the temple's altars. He also had the right to attend the feasts made up of part of certain parts of sacrifices with all the other priests of his course.[31]

If on a given day all the candidates passed this rigorous two-part test, the members of Sanhedrin were especially overjoyed. This suggests that many did not pass and that it was not common for all candidates to qualify on any given day. If all passed, the Sanhedrin would "make [it] a day of celebration" and exclaim in unity, "Blessed is the Omnipresent, blessed is he, that a cause for invalidation has not been found in the seed of Aaron. Blessed is he who chose Aaron and his sons to serve before the Lord in the house of the Holy of Holies."[32]

Zacharias obviously passed all these requirements and was deemed fully qualified for service in the temple as a priest. At this point Latter-day Saints might expect that the high priest or another appointed priest would have placed his hands on Zacharias's head and conferred the Aaronic Priesthood on him. However, this was not the procedure. Aaron's male descendants were viewed as holding the priesthood as their inalienable birthright, but they just had to prove their legitimacy for performing the temple rituals. They received this authorization by an investiture, not an ordination.[33] This investiture consisted of having their names officially recorded and then being escorted immediately into the Temple Courtyard.[34] After the candidates immersed themselves in a pool in a room beneath the Hall of the Flame, they were dressed in the temple vestments and began their training on that very day. Zacharias's first act as a priest would have been to make the initiation offering, which was required by all new priests on the day of their investiture (see Leviticus 6:19–23)."[35] Upon returning home, Zacharias would invite his family and friends to join in a celebration in which he would give thanks to the Lord that he had been found eligible for service in the Lord's house.[36]

Entering the Temple Courtyard

Let's now follow Zacharias on that portentous day when he made his way to the temple with his companions of the Abia course from the hill country of Judea to Jerusalem. He had undoubtedly made this trip many times over the years and he probably felt this time would be similar to the others. According to LDS custom, it was in the winter, and the weather may have been cold, but this did not deter him, even though the priests were lightly dressed and went barefoot on the cold marble floor of the temple courtyard during their service.[37] The priest's principle responsibility during the day was to conduct the sacrifices of two unblemished lambs, which were required to be offered continually under the law of Moses:

> Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar; two lambs of the first year day by day continually. The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning; and the other lamb thou shalt offer at even: And with the one lamb a tenth deal of flour mingled with the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil; and the fourth part of an hin of wine for a drink offering. And the other lamb thou shalt offer at even, and shalt do thereto according to the meat offering of the morning, and according to the drink offering thereof, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the Lord. This shall be a continual burnt offering throughout your generations at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the Lord: where I will meet you, to speak there unto thee. (Exodus 29:38–42)[38]

This sacrifice was called the *tamid*, a Hebrew word that means "standing," "continual," or "daily." Clearly, the first *tamid* commenced the daily ministrations in the temple; the second ended the day's service. The *tamid* played *the* central role in Zacharias's experience in the temple. In fact, his vision of Gabriel could have occurred during any *tamid* that week when his course ministered in the temple — on the Sabbath afternoon when Zacharias arrived, during any days of that week, or on the following Sabbath morning when his course finished its weekly service. Luke did not record during which *tamid* of the possible 14 during the week the event occurred. For the purpose of this paper, we'll assume a morning *tamid* during the week as the most instructive.

On the appointed day, Zacharias with the rest of the priests of his daily course arrived at the temple mount in the late afternoon, probably before the commencement of the evening *tamid*. Zacharias went to the

Chamber of Pinchas the Clothier, where he received his vestments, but he did not put them on at that time.[39] Instead, he made his way to the northwest corner of the Temple Courtyard to the Hall of the Flame. This was a large domed building that served a number of purposes, including the priests' dormitory.[40] Here, after an evening meal, he spent the night sleeping on the floor, or more likely on raised sections reserved for older men, his temple vestments folded neatly in a bundle beside his head.[41]

The Morning *Tamid*

Each morning during the week the temple services began with the *tamid*. Because the number of priests in the daily courses always exceeded the number required for administering the ritual, each *avodah* (assignment or service) was assigned during one of four lotteries. These lotteries were conducted to determine which of the priests would fulfill the various responsibilities required for the two daily sacrifices. The lotteries allowed each priest an equal opportunity to participate in the day's temple services. The Supervisor of Lots conducted the lotteries. This man, whose name may have been Mattiah ben Samuel,[42] was a member of the priestly hierarchy who were permanently attached to the temple. He was a man of considerable influence, sitting on the Sanhedrin, and was a subordinate priest in authority to the deputy. His responsibility was to conduct the four daily lotteries, "for only in this way could the continuity be maintained in the performance of the [temple] cultus by the regular changing weekly courses."[43]

The First Lottery

The first lottery was held well before dawn. Of course, there is no way of knowing if Zacharias participated in this lottery. Being one of the older priests, he may have deferred to the younger priests so that he could have had a little more rest before starting the day's strenuous activities. Let us presume, however, that he chose to participate. He would have arisen with the other priests and made his way to a winding staircase in the northwest corner of the Hall of the Flame, where he descended the stairs into a subterranean room. There he removed his clothing and immersed himself in a pool of fresh, standing water called a *mikveh*, which ritually cleansed him for the day's services.[44] After drying himself by a fire, he put on his temple vestments and went back upstairs to the dormitory, carrying his ordinary clothes in a bundle that he placed on the floor to be picked up and taken back to the Chamber of Pinchas.

Now he waited patiently with the other early risers for the arrival of the Supervisor of Lots.[45] The priests who waited spoke only in subdued tones so as not to disturb the other priests still sleeping in the hall. Since the Supervisor of Lots came at an unspecified time each morning, the priests of the first lottery had to arise early enough to be sure they were prepared for his arrival.[46] Eventually, the supervisor knocked at a small door — not the large doors that opened directly into the courtyard, but a small door built into the larger doors.[47] When one of the priests opened the small door, the supervisor stepped into the room and announced in a loud voice, "Whoever has immersed should come and participate in the lottery."[48] His words commenced the temple services for the day.

This and each of the subsequent three lotteries were carried out in the same fashion. The Supervisor of Lots stood in the center, and the priests stood in a circle around him. The supervisor indicated one priest, who removed his cap. This priest would select a number that far exceeded the number of priests present. Each of the priests would raise his right hand over his head, where it could be easily seen, and extend either one or two fingers. The supervisor counted their fingers, because it was forbidden to count people in the temple precincts. Slowly the supervisor counted the fingers until he reached the man who matched the number selected by the bareheaded priest, because "whoever won, won." There was no appeal.[49] That priest had won the privilege of beginning a process of clearing the outer altar of its ashes for the coming day.[50] If on this particular day Zacharias was in the group of priests for the first lottery, he was not selected.

Zacharias and the other priests filed into the courtyard through the small door, and the supervisor divided them into two groups. Since it was still dark and there were no lights in the Temple Courtyard, each group received a torch. They separated, one group going in one direction and the other going in the opposite. The two groups walked around the Temple Courtyard through its portico,[51] inspecting the temple's exterior by the torch light. Upon meeting on the east side of the massive Outer Altar of Burnt Offering, opposite the Chamber of Bakers, they greeted each other with the question, "Is it well?" They all responded, "It is well,"[52] indicating all was in readiness for the day. The Supervisor of Lots directed a few of the priests to go to the Chamber of the Bakers and to begin to prepare the *chavitin,* or high priest meal offering.[53]

After the selected priest removed a shovel full of ashes from the previous day's sacrifices, some of the other priests rushed to help clear the ashes from the altar; others began to carry preselected logs of wood

from the Wood Room to build the altar's three pyres.[54] As this was being done, the priests who had not taken part in the first lottery began to assemble in the Chamber of Hewn Stones to participate in the second lottery — until all members of the daily course were present.[55]

The Second Lottery

The second lottery, conducted just like the first, determined the order of sacrifice — those who would participate in the sacrifice of the lamb and the specific ritual functions that took place afterward. Thirteen priests were selected in this lottery, but there was only one actually selected by lot, for "whoever won, won."[56] The first priest selected was the one who would catch the blood of the sacrificial lamb in a cup and throw the blood on the Outer Altar.[57] The other twelve priests were those who conducted additional parts of the service.

The first priest to the right of the one who won the lottery would actually yield the knife, sacrificing and butchering the lamb. The next six priests to the right would wash and carry the butchered portions of the lamb on large silver platters partway up the ramp of the Outer Altar, where they would salt the pieces of lamb. The next two priests would remove the ashes from the Inner Altar of incense and attend to the wicks on the menorah in the Holy Room in the temple.[58] The final three priests would carry the following vessels partway up the Outer Altar's ramp: a pot, a plate, and a chalice, containing the fine flour for the meal offering; the high priest's *chavitin* or "pancake" offering; and the wine libation respectively.[59]

Again, Zacharias would have stood in the circle of priests. It is also likely that in the past he had fulfilled many of the assignments of the second lottery during his lengthy service as a priest in the temple. He was likely very experienced in catching and throwing the blood, using the sacrificial knife, carrying the butchered parts of the lamb partway up the ramp, making the various offerings and libation, and attending to either the menorah or Inner Altar that stood in the Holy Room. However, on this day he was not selected for any of them.

Although not selected to fulfill any of these responsibilities, there was still much Zacharias could do while waiting for the next two lotteries. He could have helped to carry logs to the altar and helped prepare the various pyres for use. He could have helped attend to any of the pyres on the Outer Altar. Since only the priests could enter the Temple Courtyard, they were required to keep it clean, and Zacharias could have spent this time sweeping and cleaning the various rooms of the temple or buildings

around the Temple Courtyard. It is also possible that as an experienced priest, he could have been asked to mentor a new priest who might have been selected in the lottery and who was not totally familiar with his responsibility. This was the method by which the priests were trained — they were instructed by an experienced priest until they gained an understanding and knowledge of the specific service. This was critical because if any priest made a critical mistake, it could invalidate his service.

It is unnecessary in this paper to describe in detail the functions of these thirteen priests as they carried out their assigned responsibilities of the second lottery. It is sufficient to note that during this time the lamb was sacrificed and butchered; its blood was splashed on the four corners of the Outer Altar; and the various parts of the butchered lamb were washed, cleaned, and placed on silver platters that were carried by the assigned priests partway up the ramp leading to the Outer Altar. Here the various parts were salted using a large pile of pure salt on the ramp. While this was going on, the two priests who were assigned to clean and prepare the menorah and the Inner Altar of Incense also performed their responsibilities, leaving behind the vessels they used in the Holy Room. The three priests also prepared the two meal offerings and wine libation and brought them in their vessels partway up the ramp of the altar at the appointed time. All of these duties were performed as the sun came up and were only accomplished well into the morning hours.[60]

The Third and Fourth Lotteries

Upon the completion of the responsibilities of the first and second lotteries, the ritual changed from sacrificial to liturgical, as all of the priests of the daily course again gathered in the Hall of Hewn Stones for the recitation of morning prayers.[61] Upon the completion of the prayers, the sacrificial ritual recommenced when the Supervisor of Lots called out, "Newcomers only! Whoever has never once offered the incense, let him come and draw lots."[62] This indicated that only those priests who had not been chosen in any of the previous third lotteries could participate, regardless of age. Apparently, the other priests who had not been selected in the first two lotteries stood aside and observed the proceedings, because there was yet another lottery that followed immediately in which all could participate.

The third lottery was the day's most significant lottery. It was to select the priest who would enter the Holy Room and burn incense on the Inner Altar. The priests viewed this as "the most honourable service

in the daily ministry,"[63] which bestowed upon the priest special blessings. Because of this, all of the priests of the daily course had to have this opportunity before any other priests who had previously served had the opportunity to participate again in the lottery. This meant that this was essentially a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity.[64] It is even possible that a priest could serve his entire life and never be selected.

Since Zacharias was an elderly man at this time, it is likely that he had stood for the third lottery scores of times but had never been selected. Each time he was not selected he would likely have been deeply disappointed. Indeed, all the priests in the third lottery stood there with great expectation that they would be selected, and not being chosen was probably a tremendous letdown.

When Zacharias won the lottery, he turned to the priest to his right and said, "Be privileged with me, with respect to performing the shovel service."[65] This priest would prepare the Inner Altar for burning of the incense. Zacharias also had the pleasure of selecting another priest to assist him in his service.[66] If he followed custom, he would have chosen a relative or a close personal friend from among the priests — perhaps even one who had previously won the third lottery, so he could answer any questions Zacharias may have had, since no one was allowed to observe this service.

The fourth and final lottery of the morning, *tamid*, was designed to select the priest who would toss the butchered lamb on the pyre. He received the butchered portions from the second lottery priests, who completed their service by carrying them partway up the ramp, so that he could throw them onto the Outer Altar's pyre for burnt offerings.[67] The High Priest, if he so desired, could also claim the privilege of the fourth for himself, as well as any of the services of the *tamid*.[68]

After the 18 priests had been chosen by the day's four lotteries, those who had not been chosen returned to the Chamber of Pinchas the Clothier, turned in their vestments, and dressed in their ordinary clothing.[69] These priests probably remained on the Temple Mount to perform other nonceremonial duties during the rest of the day.[70] It appears that there may have been a permanent temple priestly cadre, who performed the public sacrifices after the *tamid*.[71] If during the day priests of the daily course desired to participate in the afternoon's fourth lottery[72] or to participate in a sacrifice or offering by an individual, they returned to the Temple Courtyard, received their vestments, and washed and clothed themselves before conducting the service.[73] Almost six months would pass before they would have the opportunity again to

officiate in the *tamid*, if a pilgrim festival did not intervene during this interlude.

Zacharias Burns Incense on the Inner Altar

Let us now follow Zacharias more closely as he fulfilled the responsibilities of the third lottery. Upon his selection to officiate at the golden Inner Altar, Zacharias "would start to gather and prepare all that [was] necessary to perform the incense service."[74] He first washed his hands and feet at the laver.[75] He performed this sanctification "by placing the right hand on the right foot and the left hand on the left foot and washing them. [He bent] over in this position, [turned] on one of the Laver's faucets, and [sanctified] both hands and feet simultaneously."[76]

Zacharias then made his way to a large silver table near the ramp of the Outer Altar, upon which the 93 vessels for the day's service had been arranged earlier that morning.[77] The vessel holding the incense had been previously prepared in the Hall of Avtinas by members of that family and placed on the table.[78] Zacharias picked up the gold, pot-shaped incense container with a lid. Inside it rested a large golden scoop that held three *kavs* (about 5.74 liters) of the incense, filled to overflowing. The gold container had two handles on opposite sides with which Zacharias carried it, taking care not to spill any of the incense when walking across the courtyard toward the temple.[79]

While Zacharias was retrieving the incense, the priest who had been selected in the third lottery to handle the coals walked up the ramp to the southwest corner of the Outer Altar and, using a silver shovel, pushed aside the ash from the pyre of incense and scooped up four *kavs* of glowing coals. He descended the ramp and, with the help of another priest, transferred the coals into a gold shovel that held only three *kavs*. The coals that spilled on the ground were swept into a small stream of water that ran in a channel through the Temple Courtyard from the Water Gate.[80] The silver shovel was used for two reasons. One was to protect the gold shovel from "being abraded from being used to scoop up the burning coals"; the other was because it was "more respectful to serve God with an overflowing vessel.[81]

Zacharias and the priest with the golden shovel of incense joined the four other priests for the incense offering. These men approached the temple in great solemnity. At the forefront of the procession were the two priests from the second lottery who had cleaned the ashes from the Inner Altar of Incense and attended to the wicks of the menorah. Zacharias and the two companions who would assist him followed behind.[82]

Before they ascended the twelve steps leading to the temple's vestibule — in the relatively narrow space between the temple's steps and the Outer Altar — one of the priests picked up the *magrepha* and threw it to the ground.[83] The exact nature and design of this curious temple utensil is not known. Some commentators feel that it was similar to the rake used to clear the ashes from the Inner Altar, while others feel that it may have been some type of shovel or unique musical device created for this very use.[84] In any case, when it hit the stone floor of the Courtyard, it produced a loud noise that reverberated throughout the Temple Mount.[85] This served as a signal that Zacharias and his companions were about to enter the temple in order to burn the incense, the high point of the morning *tamid*. All the priests came running toward the Temple Courtyard to be present for the occasion, and the Levites began to retrieve their instruments for the musical offering that would take place as part of the anticipated wine libation. The director of the community (*rosh hamaadad*) began to gather the representatives of Israel *(maamad)* to the Court of Israel to observe the proceedings.[86]

Zacharias and his fellow priests ascended the steps to the vestibule. Here they met the Director of the Daily Course, standing by the heavy drapery that filled the doorway into the temple.[87] He was responsible to see that everything proceeded correctly. The two priests in front reentered the Holy Room one at a time. The first to enter was the priest who had earlier cleaned the ashes from Inner Altar. He retrieved the basket holding the ashes, prostrated himself[88] because he had completed his day's service, backed through the heavy draperies because no one ever turned his back to the temple veil, and stood on the temple steps. The second priest was the one who tended to the wicks of the menorah. He entered and, after making sure all seven lamps were burning brightly, picked up the jug of olive oil, prostrated himself, backed through draperies, and stood on the steps of the temple.[89]

All was now in readiness for the actual incense-burning rite, which would be conducted by Zacharias and the other two priests. After the second priest had exited, the priest who carried the coals in the golden shovel entered the Holy Room and "heaped the embers onto the altar, using the edge of the shovel to spread them out; then he prostrated himself and exited, taking his place with the other two priests on the steps."[90] His service prepared the Inner Altar for Zacharias to use. As these events occurred, a sense of great solemnity fell upon the priests in the Temple Courtyard and those in the Court of Israel. Silence reigned

as they watched Zacharias and his friend pass through the draperies into the temple's Holy Room.

Inside the two men approached the Inner Altar with its heap of glowing coals. Zacharias, taking the spoon filled with incense from the pot, handed the pot to his friend, who placed it on the floor. Zacharias next handed the spoon to his friend, who carefully poured the incense from it into Zacharias's cupped hands, making sure that none of it spilled in the process. The friend carefully poured any incense left in the pot on the incense in Zacharias's hands. This procedure was necessary because any priest, including Zacharias, "was by definition new to his job and lacked this training, [so] he needed another person to pour it into his hands … [and] for this reason the friend or relative would enter with the *Kohen* [priest], to assist him by pouring the incense from the spoon into his cupped hands."[91] After this, Zacharias's assistant, keeping the scoop, prostrated himself and exited through the draperies, joining the other priests on the steps.[92]

One can only speculate on Zacharias's state of mind as he stared at the incense in his hands and at the golden altar before him. There likely would have been many emotions crowding his mind. There was probably joy and excitement, knowing that this was the only time he would ever officiate at the Inner Altar. There would undoubtedly have been some natural nervousness, because every priest during this, his first and only time, needed to make sure he performed the ordinance of properly pouring the incense onto the altar. He would have been conscious of the warning of the Director of the Daily Course, who told him as he passed through the draperies, "Take care not to start in front of you or you'll get scorched!"[93] Finally, he would also have been acutely aware of the solemnity of occasion as he stood in the overwhelming silence of the temple's Holy Room.

Then he heard the commanding voice of the Director through the drapery loudly state, "'Do it now!'"[94] Upon hearing these words, all of the priests, even those on the steps, now "moved away," retreating beyond the Outer Altar, because no priest could stand "between the Altar and the Antechamber (or any closer) during the time that the incense was being offered"[95] While Zacharias was in the temple burning the incense, "the whole multitude of the people [in the Priests' Courtyard and Court of Israel] were praying without at the time of incense" (Luke 1:10), have prostrated themselves in the direction of the temple.[96]

In the Holy Room, Zacharias reached across the coals to the far side of the altar and let the incense fall through his hands as he drew

them slowly back toward himself, the coals igniting the incense and its aromatic smoke rising from the smoldering mixture and filling the room. Then suddenly everything changed! Before him, Zacharias saw a personage in the murky smoke, even "an angel of the Lord standing on the right side of the altar of incense" (Luke 1:11). The singularity of offering the incense at the Inner Altar must have instantly vanished from his mind. Luke recorded the rest of the incident in the opening chapter of his gospel (see Luke 1:12–20).

It was not uncommon for the priests to tarry briefly after offering the incense to say a silent, personal prayer of thanksgiving before leaving, although this was not a requirement of the service. But Zacharias's lingering in the Holy Room must have surpassed the typical time, and the priests prostrated on the ground outside "marvelled that he tarried so long in the Temple" (Luke 1:21). They probably more than marveled; they likely became concerned.

It must have been with a great sense of relief to those waiting when Zacharias parted the draperies and stepped clear carrying the empty incense vessel, but something was amiss in his demeanor. Zacharias was gesticulating, "for he beckoned unto them, and remained speechless" (Luke 1:22). Although Luke wrote that, because of Zacharias's muteness, the priests "perceived that he had seen a vision in the Temple" (Luke 1:22), this was probably not their initial reaction, because in the next part of the *tamid* Zacharias was supposed to take a leading role, in which he had to speak!

Some may picture the other priests hurriedly gathering around Zacharias in a state of possible confusion, trying to find out why he was silent and gesturing. However, this was highly unlikely because of the stringent requirement to carry the *tamid* forward without interruption, each priest carefully observing his part of the ritual, less he invalidate his service through a misstep.

It is more likely that upon exiting the Holy Room, Zacharias would have been joined on the porch not only by the Director of the Daily Course, but also by the High Priest, the Deputy, and Director of the Weekly Course. These three priests would have walked up the steps after Zacharias had offered incense, in order to be ready for the next part of the *tamid*.[97] They would have found Zacharias's condition perplexing and challenging.

Zacharias's unexpected condition was not an inconsequential matter, and it likely would have been discussed by these four presiding priests. The question they likely asked was, did Zacharias's muteness

disqualify his service at the Inner Altar, and should he be allowed to continue? Deafness and muteness were considered serious blemishes that prevented a man from even becoming a priest.[98] Any man with a blemish who knowingly officiated in the temple could be severely punished: "If a priest with a blemish [officiated], Rabbi said: He is liable to death; the Sages maintain: He is merely prohibited [from further service]."[99]

Since Zacharias had already offered the incense before he was struck mute, his condition probably would not have invalidated that part of his service at the Inner Altar — but could he continue or was he prohibited? Of course, Luke's account focused on Gabriel's visitation, so it is silent about the rest, and we do not know whether Zacharias was allowed to continue. According to some sources, he was yet to play an additional public role in *tamid*. During the pronouncement of the priestly blessing on the temple steps, "the incensing priest, repeated in audible voice, followed by the others, the 'priestly blessing.'"[100] The "incensing priest" who led the other priests in this blessing would have been Zacharias, but he could not do it.

During the next part of the *tamid*, the second lottery priests took the butchered portions of the lamb from the ramp to the fourth lottery priest, who threw them on the burnt offering pyre. This would have given the High Priest and his small retinue a brief respite to make their decision before the priestly blessing. Of course, we cannot know their decision, but since the Mishnah does not specifically *require* the incensing priest to lead in the priestly blessing, the High Priest could have taken into consideration the special circumstances of Zacharias's predicament. There was no precedent in the history of the second temple of an angel appearing to any priest in the Holy Room.[101] He could have simply chosen another priest instead of Zacharias, who could have participated with the other priests, simply mouthing the words while the others spoke aloud.

If the High Priest prohibited his continued service, Zacharias would have had to leave the Temple Courtyard immediately. Such an unprecedented action would have been viewed as especially disgraceful and humiliating, especially for a priest who had just burnt the incense on the Inner Altar. Hopefully, this did not occur. Regardless of the decision, of course, Zacharias would not be permitted to participate in any temple services until his voice returned at John's naming (Luke 1:64).

The Conclusion of the *Tamid*

For thoroughness in recounting the *tamid,* let us follow it to its conclusion, as if Zacharais had been allowed to finish his service. As noted above, at the conclusion of the burning of the incense, the High Priest, the Deputy, and two Directors of the Abia Course made their way to the temple's vestibule. After their decision, Zacharias took his place on the temple steps with the other priests. These priests waited while the second lottery priests completed carrying the butchered portions of the lamb up the ramp to the fourth lottery priest, who tossed them promiscuously on the Outer Altar's pyre of burnt offerings, after which he rearranged them properly before leaving.[102] He was followed by the two second lottery priests, who had previously carried the grain offering utensils to the ramp. They retrieved them and placed the grain offering — flour mixed with oil and salt — and the High Priest's *chivitin* offering of twelve pancakes, broken into halves, on the same pyre.[103] After this, these priests joined the others on the temple steps.

With all the priests of the lotteries on the steps, the High Priest, accompanied by the Deputy and the two Abia course Directors, entered the Holy Room.[104] Once the High Priest was properly positioned in front of the veil, the three priests exited, leaving the High Priest alone. After prostrating himself,[105] he also exited the Holy Room; the Deputy parted the draperies when he heard the approaching tinkling of the bells dangling from the hem of the High Priest's robe.[106] After the High Priest had exited, it was now the turn of the priests of the course of Abia on the temple steps. The five priests holding the temple vessels and utensils, including Zacharias, reverently placed them on the steps. All of the priests of the course walked up the steps, one by one, and entered the Holy Room, where they prostrated themselves and returned to their places on the steps.[107] This was a sign that they had completed their service.

Once reassembled, the view before the men in the Court of Israel would have been very impressive: the High Priest in his colorful vestments, the Deputy, and the two Directors of the Abia course all standing at the entrance to the temple's vestibule; the five priests with the vessels used in their service at their feet standing below them; and the rest of the priests, many in blood-splattered vestments, standing to their left below them on the steps. The assembled priests were now prepared to chant the priestly blessing, as recorded in Numbers 6:24–26. All the priests raised their hands over their heads in the priestly gesture.[108]

Following the lead of one of the priests, they pronounced the priestly blessing in unison upon the people.[109]

The *tamid* concluded with a joyous, musical celebration. After the priestly blessing, the Deputy made his way to the southwest corner of the Outer Altar, on his way picking up two flags that were among the utensils on the silver table. Two other priests mounted the marble table and stood ready with long, silver trumpets.[110] At least twelve Levite singers stood ready on the platform steps separating the Priests' Court and the Court of Israel with some other of their brotherhood holding musical instruments ready to accompany them.

When the second lottery priest reached the southwest corner and began to pour the wine libation into the receptacle in altar, the Deputy waved his flags. This was a signal for the two priests to give a long, steady blast followed by a series of staccato blasts from their horns. At the same time the director of music, Ben Ezra, crashed a large pair of symbols. This was a signal for the Levite musicians and singers to start chanting the day's psalm. Each day they sang a different psalm divided into three stanzas, with the trumpeters giving three horn blasts between each stanza.[111] At each sounding of the trumpets those assembled on the Temple Mount prostrated themselves toward the temple. As the sound of the trumpets faded away at the final stanza, the morning *tamid* ended. The priests were released from their morning service, and it was probably now that they swarmed around Zacharias and learned of his vision of Gabriel in the Holy Room.

Summary

This paper has briefly described the episodes leading up to Zacharias burning incense on the Inner Altar in the second temple. I have covered the probable events of Zacharias's temple service from his investiture as a priest to his vision of Gabriel when he burned the incense in the Holy Room. I have shown that the act of burning incense by Zacharias was a once-in-a-lifetime event — one that under even normal circumstances Zacharias would have remembered and cherished throughout the rest of his life. But on this extraordinary occasion in Zacharias's life, there came an even more astounding event — the vision of Gabriel and his singular message to the elderly priest and his wife, Elizabeth, about their son, John. It is truly an extraordinary story, yet so briefly recounted by Luke, who simply focused on Gabriel's visitation and important message. It becomes even more memorable when one comes to see the "rest of the story."

Notes

1. See: Thomas S. Monson, "Preparing the Way," *Ensign* (Feb. 2002), 2–5; Merrill J. Bateman, "A Season for Angels," *Ensign* (Dec. 2007), 10–15.

2. Joseph Smith once stated that Zacharias's father was at one time "the officiating high priest at the Temple" (Joseph Smith, *The Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, Joseph Fielding Smith, comp. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963], 261). If Zacharias was in his 50s or 60s when he burned incense, that means he would have been born during the time that John Hyrcanus II was the high priest (63–40 BCE). The lists of high priests from the Hasmonean dynasty (153–136 BCE) and the Herodian/Roman period (36 bce–70 ce) is generally well attested, and identifying any of them as Zacahrias's father is very problematic. Merrill J. Bateman mistakenly wrote that when Zacharias "entered the Holy of Holies in the temple, he saw an angel of the Lord standing on the right side of the altar" (Bateman, "A Season of Angels," 13). Zacharias entered the Holy Room that stood before the Holy of Holies — only the high priest could enter the latter room, which had no altar.

3. These chief priests also included some Levites (see 1 Chronicles 9:34; Nehemiah 12:22–24). For an extended treatment on the "chief priests and Levites," their history and duties, see Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into the Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), 148–181.

4. 1 QM 2:1 in Theodore H. Gaster, ed., *The Dead Sea Scriptures*, Third ed. revised (Garden City: NY: Anchor Books, 1976), 401. The "captain of the temple" and the "deputy" were the same priest.

5. M. Shekalim 5:1, which gives the names and titles of the fifteen men who occupied these offices. They were divided into two groups, reflecting their responsibilities — supervisors (*'ammarklin*) and treasurers (*gizbarim*). Seven of them were supervisors, who oversaw the temple's sacred functions, and the other eight were treasurers, who were responsible for the business functions of the temple. Both priests and Levites made up this group of men. The seven supervisors were Supervisor of Lots, Supervisor of Cisterns, The Herald, Supervisor of Shutting Gates, Supervisor of Knouts, Supervisor of Music, and Director of Levite Singers. The eight treasurers were Treasurer of Seals, Treasurer of Drink Offerings, Treasurer of Bird Offerings,

Temple Physician, Preparer of Show Bread, Manufacturer of Incense, Superintendent of Curtains, and Superintendent of Vestments.

6. The *segan* is referred to in a number of ways: Captain of the Temple, Director of the Priests, Vicar, or Deputy. The importance of the office can be found in the Talmud: "The High Priest would not be elected high priest if he had not first been captain of the temple" (B. Yoma 3:8, as quoted in Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 162). Jeremias noted, "The captain of the temple, who was responsible for the conduct of worship and external arrangements in the temple, was the most important priest immediately below the high priest, and was the head of the chief priests" (Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 180). He further noted that he "had permanent oversight of the cultus [temple services]" (Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 163).

7. In Joachim Jeremias's excellent study of Jerusalem during New Testament times, he wrote of the high priest's position: "when there was no king, [he] was the most eminent member of the nation" (*Jerusalem*, 148). He then observed, "The captain of the temple … was the most important priest immediate below the high priest, and was the head of the chief priests" (Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 180).

8. The book of Acts also records that Barnabas, a convert to Christianity, was a righteous Levite (Acts 4:36).

9. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 180–181. Chief among the priests' complaints against the temple hierarchy was "forcibly appropriated hides of the sacrifices, which were distributed each evening among the priests of the daily course on duty" (Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 180). These hides were a major source of the livelihood and support of the priests.

10. Also spelled Abiah (see 1 Samuel 8:2; 1 Chronicles 2:24, 6:8, 7:8) or Abijah (see 1 Chronicles 24:10; 2 Chronicles 1:22, 12:16; 13:1, 17, 20, 21, 22; Nehemiah 10:7) in the King James Old Testament. Just because Zacharias was a member of the course of Abia, it does not necessarily indicate that he was a descendant of Abijah, because King David simply assigned priests to the 24 courses he created regardless of their lineage.

11. These 24 courses were established by King David (see 1 Chronicles 24:3–19); Abiah was the eighth of the 24 courses (vs. 10). The 24 courses were each assigned to serve with one of the priestly courses (Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 208).

12. Nesanel Kasnet, et al., "Tractate Tamid" in *The Mishnah: A New Translation with a Commentary by Yad Avraham, Anthologized from Talmudic Sources and Classic Commentators*, 44 vols. (Brooklyn,

NY: Mesorah Publications, 1984-2011), Kodashim, 4; Tamid, 119. Hereafter cited as Kasnet, "Tamid." Alfred Edersheim described how the daily courses functioned according to their number in the weekly course: "The service of the week was subdivided among the various families which constituted a 'course'; so that if it consisted of five 'houses of fathers,' three served each one day, and two each two days; if of six families, five served each one day, and one two days; if of eight families, six served each one day, and the other two in conjunction on one day; or, lastly, if of nine families, five served each one day, and the other four took it two in conjunction for two days" (Alfred Edersheim, *The Temple — Its Ministry and Services*, updated ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Pub., 1988), 62).

13. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 199–200. There were 9,600 Levites with 400 per course (Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 204).

14. According to Edersheim, about half of the priests of the weekly courses lived in Jerusalem's densely populated quarter known as Ophel. The rest of the priests resided throughout the land, with about half of them living in or around Jericho (Edersheim, *The Temple*, 56).

15. There were 24 such gifts, mostly food, that helped support the priests: ten were received or eaten within the temple precincts; four were received or eaten within the walls of Jerusalem; and ten were received or eaten outside Jerusalem (see Deuteronomy 18:3–4). See Edersheim, *The Temple*, 73–74, where he lists generally each of the 24 gifts.

16. Edersheim, *The Temple*, 11–120. Edersheim posits that Luke 1:39 may actually refer to the "the city of Jutta" (Joshua 21:16), instead of to "a city of Juda."

17. The general instructions for conferring the Aaronic Priesthood and the Melchizedek Priesthood are outlined in *Handbook 1: Stake Presidents and Bishops, 2010* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2010), 146–147.

18. William Carpenter, *A Popular Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures* (London: Wightman and Crump, 1926), 521.

19. If Zacharias was in his 50s or 60s when he burned incense in the temple, that would mean in all probability that he became a priest during the tumultuous period from 40 to 30 BCE, when the high priest offices were transferred from the Hasmonean rule to those appointed by Herod the Great. (See "High Priest," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, nn.)

20. The Chamber of Hewn Stones was the largest structure on the northern side of the Temple Courtyard and was constructed entirely

of especially dressed square stones, probably limestone. The building was divided between a sacred portion and a non-sacred portion. A doorway into the non-sacred portion opened from the Temple Mount and there was also a doorway that opened into the Temple Courtyard, where the temple stood. Wooden "beams" divided the space in the large hall between the two portions. When the Sanhedrin was in session, the members sat on benches or chairs in the non-sacred portion, since only kings of Davidic descent were allowed to sit while in sacred space, based on the occasion when David "sat before the Lord" in the Tabernacle (see 2 Samuel 7:18) — not even priests were allowed to sit. When Zacharias was examined by the Sanhedrin, he would have also stood before them in the non-sacred portion. (See Yoan Elan, "Tractate Middos," in *The Mishnah: A New Translation with a Commentary Yad Avraham Anthologized from Talmudic Sources and Classic Commentators*, 44 vols. [Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah Publications, 1984–2011], Kodashim, 4; Middos, 166-168). Hereafter cited as Elan, "Middos."

21. Edersheim, *The Temple*, 66. Rabbi Yoav Elan stated that candidates presented themselves every day (Elan, "Middos," 168).

22. Edersheim, *The Temple*, 66

23. Jesus spoke about "Zacharias son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar" (Matthew 23:35). Joseph Smith accepted that Zacharias's father was Barachias, who was "the officiating high priest at the temple that year [and] was slain by Herod's order, between the vestibule and the altar" (Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 261). Most commentators, however, feel that Barachias was not Zacharias's father, but Jesus was making reference to Zechariah, son of Jehoiada, the last recorded martyr in the Old Testament (see 2 Chronicles 24:20–22). The early Codex Sinaiticus does not have Barachias's name (quire 75, folio 6r), suggesting that Barachias is a later gloss. For a brief discussion of this issue, see, James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1961), 567.

24. A. J. Maas, *A Day in the Temple* (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder, 1892), 167–168.

25. M. Tamid 5:4; Elan, "Middos," 169; Maas, *A Day in the Temple*, 174.

26. After the destruction of the temple in 70 CE and the subsequent dispersal of the Jews, the passage of time raised the possibility that the oral traditions, which dated from the earliest Pharisaic times, would be lost. According to Jewish tradition, Rabbi Judah HaNasi undertook the mission of compiling and writing down these oral

teachings into what became known as the Mishnah, which consists of sixty-three tractates into six divisions. This is fortunate because much of the knowledge of the functioning of the second temple comes from a number of these tractates, especially the ten that make up the Mishnah's fifth division, entitled, Kodashim, or Holy Things, which deals with the temple, its physical appearance, and its sacred functions.

27. The list of disqualifications is based on Mishnah Bekhorot, Tractate 6 (Jacob Neusner, *The Mishnah: A New Translation* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988], 787-810). This tractate enumerates the blemishes that disqualify animals for sacrifice on the altar. The feeling of the Pharisees was that, if these blemishes prevented an animal for selection as a sacrifice, then the priests officiating at the altar should not suffer from the same or similar physical defects.

28. Maas, *Day in the the Temple*, 168.

29. M. Bekhorot, 7; Maas, *Day in the Temple*, 168-169; Neusner, *The Mishnah*, 800-803.

30. Maas, *Day in the Temple*, 169-170.

31. Elan, "Middos," 169.

32. M. Middot 5:4. (All quotations from the Mishnah are taken from Neusner, *The Mishnah*). Some commentators feel that the phrase "a day of celebration" refers not to the Sanhedrin, but to the man's family, relatives and friends who were invited for joyous and festive party upon his return home after his first service with his course (Elan, "Middos," 169).

33. During the time of the First Temple the High Priest was washed, clothed in his full temple robes, and then he was anointed with especially prepared olive oil, just as Aaron had received from Moses (Leviticus 8:6-9, 12). However by the time of the Second Temple, the High Priest was no longer anointed, because of the loss of the composition of the holy oil. Instead, a week-long investiture and solemn celebration was instituted. Although, Moses also anointed Aaron's sons, some commentators feel that ordinary priests, even during the First Temple period, were only invested in their robes and were not anointed. (Edersheim, *The Temple*, 67).

34. The Temple Courtyard was made up of two sections, the large Priests' Court where the temple stood, and the Court of Israel, on the east end, where men who were not priests would enter. (M. Middos, 2:5-6).

35. Elan, "Middos," 169. See: kjv Leviticus 6:19-21.

36. Elan, "Middos," 169.

37. LDS tradition holds that "October [was] the probable birth month of John the Baptist" (Richard G. Oman, "Exterior Symbolism of the Salt Lake Temple: Reflecting the Faith That Called the Place Into Being," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 36 [1996-97], 47). The normal nine months of gestation would have placed Zacharias's visit to the temple in January or February, the middle of winter. Kenneth W. Doig calculated that John's conception occurred between 8 and 5 bce. Although, he favored the first week of October 6 bce for Zacaharias' temple service and John's conception, another possible date was during the last week of January 7 bce, which would place John's birth in late October (and Jesus's birth the first week of April). See: Kenneth W. Doig, *New Testament Chronology*, (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), online version: http://www.doig.net/NTC07.htm, accessed 20 July 2012).

38. See also Numbers 28:1-8.

39. The priests did not keep their temple robes at their homes as many Latter-day Saints do. Instead, they were kept at the temple, where members of the family of Phineas were responsible for them. There they could be cleaned and recycled when they wore out or became too soiled to be used. The Chamber of Pinchas the Clothier was on the right hand side of the Gate of Nicanor. It contained 96 receptacles in the wall for the priestly vestments. There was one receptacle for each of the four types of vestments, which was labeled with the article of the vestments that it contained. Each of the 24 courses of priesthood had their own receptacles (M. Middos 1:4; M. Tamid 5:3). See; Elam, "Middos," 28; Kasnet, "Tamid," 124-125.

40. M. Middos 1:6-9 describes the Hall of the Flame. It was one of the larger structures in the Temple Courtyard. It was a domed building that stood partially on consecrated ground and partially not. A series of wooden beams indicated the division of the two parts in the building. The priest's dormitory was on the non-sacred portion, where the priests slept on the floor, with ledges around the room reserved for older priests. There were also doors into chambers in the four corners of the building. Two chambers stood on consecrated ground: in the southwest corner was a chamber where the sacrificial lambs were kept and in the southeast corner was a bakery for making the Showbread. The non-sacred ground rooms were: the Hall of Stored Stones in the northeast corner, containing stones from the old

used during previous times; and in the northwest corner a winding staircase descending into a subterranean room where priests ritually bathed themselves. See also M. Tamid 1:1.

41. There were no beds in the priests dormitory because it was felt that to carry beds into the temple would be unseemly. There is some differences whether the priests slept with the robes under their heads as pillow or beside them. Most favor that their robes were not under their heads (B Tamid 26b).

42. Name is found in a list of temple officials, dated for a few decades before the destruction of the temple in 70 bce. See, M. Shekalim 5:1; and Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 170.

43. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 165.

44. No priest was allowed to perform any of the temple rituals unless he had first ritually cleansed himself by immersing himself in this pool of water. This was particularly important in the first lottery, "for two reasons: (a) so that the winner of the lottery would be prepared to perform the service immediately; (b) for fear a *Kohen* [priest] who was enthusiastic about the *mitzvah* [fulfilling the commandment] might rush onto the Courtyard upon being chosen, without first immersing himself" (Kasnet, "Middos," 19).

45. In the M. Tamid he is called the "appointed one" (1:2). There are several places in M. Tamid where a priest, who takes a prominent role in the supervision of the ritual, is also called by that same appellation. (1:2; 3:1,2; 5:1; 6:3 and 7:1). Some commentators feel that this refers to one individual throughout the ritual — the Supervisor of Lots, who sees that the ritual is properly performed. Others feel that it refers to the Supervisor of Lots on the first occasion and the rest of the times to the Deputy of the Priests, because he is the "appointed one" who substitutes for the High Priest and is responsible for seeing the *tamid* is properly performed. Still others feel that it is the priest who is appointed to supervise that portion of the tamid, and would vary according to the service being performed. (Kasnet, "Tamid," 19-20). The reconstruction presented in this paper follows the final view.

46. The Supervisor of Lots came anytime in the early morning, "sometimes he [came] at cockcrow, or near then, earlier or later" (M. Tamid 1:2). Some commentators felt that this could also refer to a priest known as the crier, who was "in charge of awakening his fellow *Kohanim* (priests) for the daily service" (Kasnet, "Middos," 21). In any case the Supervisor of Lots never came in the middle of the night when the priests were asleep.

47.   The large doors of all the buildings around the Temple Courtyard would not be opened before the time of the morning sacrifice, hence the reason that the priests of the first lottery used a small door, not the main doors of the Hall of the Flame, to enter the Courtyard (M. Middos 1:7; M. Tamid 1:2).

48. M. Tamid 1:2.

49. This lottery was held in the Hall of the Flame, because the doors to the Temple Courtyard were not yet open. All subsequent lotteries would be held in the Chamber of Hewn Stone (Kanset, "Tamid," 22).

50. Initially, this service had not been conducted by a lottery. Earlier every interested priest participated in a foot race up the ramp of the Outer Altar; the first reaching the top won the privilege of clearing the first shovel full of ashes from the pyre of burnt offerings. On one occasion an overly enthusiastic priest pushed another one off the ramp; the fall breaking the priest's leg. This was not an insignificant injury for a priest. Any resulting lameness or limp could have denied him his temple service. After this unfortunate incident, the temple hierarchy decided to make the service a matter of a lottery. See: M. Yoma, 2:1; and Kasnet, "Tamid," 18.

51. There was a colonnade of a series of stone columns enclosing the Temple Courtyard, topped with a roof that ran from the columns to the wall, creating a portico around the entire courtyard (Kasnet, "Middos" 24).

52. M. Tamid 1:3.

53. The Chamber of the Bakers was in the wall separating the Temple Courtyard and the Courtyard of Women. Its doorway stood opposite the great Outer Altar (M. Middos, 1:4). The *chavitin* refers to this meal offering, made of oil and flour and seasoned with frankincense, which was formed into large loaves. They were both baked and fried, resembling pancakes when cooked. Twelve were prepared each day. (Leviticus 6:14-15; Elan, "Middos," 29).

54. There were three pyres on the altar of burnt offering. The largest was the pyre used for the burnt offices, from which the altar received its name. The second was a smaller pyre which provided the hot coals for use on the altar of incense in the temple's Holy Room. The final one was the perpetual fire, an even smaller pyre that was continually attended to day and night, so that its fire never went out. This was necessary so that if the fire of the other two pyres burnt out during the night when the temple was closed, there was still fire available to relight them in the morning.

55. For a description of this service of this lottery, see: M. Tamid, 1:4-2:1-5.

56. There was actually only one winner of the lottery, although 13 services were selected. Nesanel Kasnet explains why, "Although thirteen *Kohanim* [priests] won privileges (the nine who carried sacrificial items to the Altar ramp; plus the ones who slaughtered, threw the blood, cleared the [Inner] Altar, and cleared the Menorah), the Mishnah speaks of a single winner because, in fact, only one lottery was held. The *Kohen* [priest] who won it performed zerikah (receiving the blood [in a cup]) and throwing the blood [on the Outer Altar] and the twelve *Kohanim* [priests] next to him took the other services in turn" ("Tamid," 55-56).

57. Some readers may wonder why throwing the blood was won by lot, while the actual sacrifice of the lamb that necessarily preceded it, was not. Nesal Kasnet writes, "Even though *shechitah* [slaughtering the sacrifice] precedes *zerikah* [throwing the blood] in the day's service, the lottery winner was assigned the latter task since it was greater than the former: *shechitah* may be carried out by a non-Kohen [non-Priest] whereas *zerikah* must always be performed by a *Kohen*" (Kasnet, "Tamid," 56).

58. The Second Temple had two large rooms. These were the Holy of Holies (*kodesh kodashim*) and the Holy Room (*heichal*); a veil separated them. Only the High Priest was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies once a year — on the Day of Atonement (*yom kippur*). The priests who officiated in the *tamid*, only entered the Holy Room. It contained three pieces of furniture: the Menorah on the south side, the Table of Show Bread on the north, and the Inner Altar in the center, facing west towards the veil. The Mishnah Middos contains a detailed description of the Second Temple.

59. M. Tamid, 3:1.

60. For a description of this service, see: M. Tamid, 3:1-9; 4:1-12.

61. They recited the following: A blessing, the Ten Commandments; the Shema (Deuteronomy 6:4-9), Deuteronomy 11:13-21; and Numbers 15:37-41. They then blessed the people with three benedictions of eighteen. On the morning *tamid* of the second Sabbath, the final *tamid* of their weekly service, they added a blessing for the outgoing weekly course.

62. M. Tamid 5:2.

63. Edersheim, *The Temple*, 120.

64. "The Talmud expounds on this and states emphatically that in all the hundreds of years that the holy temple stood, no man ever repeated the incense service. This fact in itself translates into an amazing detail: there were so many priests in each family clan that a lottery gathering never once took place (and this scene was replayed every day over many hundreds of years) wherein everyone present had already performed this service!" (Temple Institute, "New Comers Only," A Day in the Holy Temple [http://www.Templeinstitute.org/day_in_life/newcomers.htm]).

65. This procedure is not recorded in M. Tamid 5:5, but most commentators accept the view of Rabbi Yehudah, who stated, ""the priest who has merited the incense service exclaims to the one who stands to his right at the time of the lottery: You have merited along with me, the service of the shovel!'" (B Yoma 25b). Others offered the view that the priest who won the third lottery could chose whomever he wished, but the typical practice was to select the priest to his right, so as not to upset those not chosen (Elan, "Tamid," 129). Rabbi Yehuda stated another view, "Maimonides, however, maintains that whoever won the privilege of the removing the ashes from the[outer] altar at dawn, also merited this service of the shovel as well (T'midim, 4:5)." (Temple Institute, "Which Priest Merits the Shovel of Coals?" A Day in the Holy Temple, http://www.Templeinstitute.org/day_in_life/merit.htm]).

66. M. Tamid 6:3. This was the only service in the *tamid* that was not selected by a lottery.

67. There is a difference of opinion concerning this lottery. The unnamed rabbi, Tanna Kammas, who traditionally compiled the Mishnah held that six entirely new priests were selected. They carried the sacrificial parts of the lamb up the altar and threw them on the pyre of burnt offerings. Rabbi Eliezer ben Yaakov disagreed, saying only one priest was selected to throw the sacrificial lamb, and six priests of the second lottery finished their service by carrying the lamb up the ramp, where they gave it to the priest of the fourth lottery, who tossed the parts on the pyre. See: Mishnah 5:2. For this paper I have followed Rabbi Yakov's viewpoint.

68. "The *Kohen Gadol* [High Priest] has the right to choose to offer any sacrifice or select for himself any portion thereof without having to win the privilege in the lottery" (Kasnet, "Tamid," 164).

69. The *tamid* required the services of only eighteen priests out of the probably fifty in the daily course.

70. It appears that those who were chosen in the lotteries in the morning *tamid*, except the third lottery, also performed the same ritual duties in the afternoon *tamid*. The Mishnah records that, if the priest who was selected in the second lottery to attend to the Menorah, "found the two easternmost lamps burning, he would clear the ash of the eastern [lamp], and [would] leave the western [lamp] burning, because from it [the *Kohen*] would kindle the [other lamps of the] Menorah in the evening." (Tamid 6:1. Emphasis added). This suggests that he ministered in his assigned duty, both in the morning and "towards dusk," i.e., the afternoon *tamid*. If this priest performed the duties of the second lottery in both *tamid* services, it strongly suggests that all the priests of the morning lottery (except the third) also ministered in the evening *tamid*.

    It also appears that those priests who won the morning lotteries also served throughout the rest of the day in the temple, as individuals brought their animals for the various personal sacrifices and other offerings. All priests who ministered in the Temple Courtyard had to wear their priestly attire. All such sacrifices would have had to be completed before the commencement of the evening *tamid*.

71. Tractate Tamid, 5 in the Jewish Virtual Library (http://www.ewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0019_0_19559.html), printout, p. 67. One commentator observed that "the private offerings brought by Jews during the day were handled by the permanent staff of the Bet Mikdash [temple]: it was only in the Tamid that the 'irregulars' participated — and even that under close supervision as we have seen" (Jewish Virtual Library). The exact number of these permanently assigned temple priests — not the seventeen priestly elites — are not known. There existence can be inferred because of the close supervision of the priests of the various courses, whose knowledge of the temple rituals could have been limited for some of their number, because of their relatively infrequent service during the year. This would especially be the case if a priest won a lot for service he had never done before.

72. If any priest had not been chosen in any of the morning lotteries, he could still choose, and likely did, participate in the afternoon's third lottery for the privilege of burning incense on the Inner Altar, if he had never won that lottery.

73. Kasnet, "Tamid," 123.

74. Kasnet, "Tamid," 126.

75. No priest could perform a service in the Temple Courtyard without first washing his hands and feet, even though he had dipped himself in the pool beneath the Chamber of the Hearth at the beginning of the day (Exodus 30:20-21). He was required to wash his hands and feet at the laver that stood in the Temple Courtyard between the Outer Altar and the temple (Middos, 3:6; M. Shekalim, 6:4; M. Tamid 3:4). In the Second Temple during the Christian era the laver was a large brass vessel that had twelve spigots, which was fashioned by the High Priest Ben Kavin, who had improved on an earlier two-spigot vessel (Kasnet, "Tamid," 28). The Savior alluded to such a practice when he washed the Apostles feet, telling Peter, "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit" (John 13:10).

76. Kasnet, "Tamid," 31.

77. The number 93 comes from the M. Tamid, 3:4. These silver and gold utensils were kept in the Chamber of Vessels, whose exact place among the buildings of the Temple Courtyard is not given in the Mishnah. There were two tables that stood between the Outer Altar and the Temple: "On the one of the marble they laid out the limbs [of the sacrificial lambs], and on the one of silver [was] the utensils of silver" (M. Shekalim 6:4).

78. The recipe for incense is recorded in Exodus 30:33, which mentions four ingredients by name: "stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; these sweet spices with pure frankincense." Oral tradition mentioned seven additional ingredients: myrrh, cassia, spikenard, saffron, costus, cinnamon, and cinnamon bark. When combined together the daily portion of incense weighed about 5 pounds, so that each *tamid* required some 2.5 pounds of incense to be burned on the altar. The exact recipe and amounts of each ingredient was kept secret by the Atvinas family, so that the make up of the incense has been lost. (Ki Tissa: The Recipe for Ketoret [http://www.ravkooktorah.org/KI_TISA58.htm], accessed 4 July 2012).

79. M. Tamid, 5:4.

80. M. Tamid 5:5. The priest "selected large, glowing coals (suitable for burning the incense upon)" the Inner Altar (Kasnet, "Tamid," 129.

81. Kasnet, "Tamid," 130. Kasnet also observed that the Priests' concern for damaging the gold shovel was "because the Torah was concerned for the money of Israel."

82. M. Tamis, 6:1.Kasnet, "Tamid," 141.

83. M. Tamid, nn. For an extensive analysis of this artifact and its construction, see: Joseph Yasser, "The Magrepha of the Herodian

Temple: A Five-Fold Hypothesis," *American Journal of the Musicological Society*, 13 (1960), 24-42.

84. Alan, "Middos," 134-135.

85. The *magrepha's* sound was said to be so loud that "a person could not hear the voice of his fellow in Jerusalem" (M. Tamid 5:6).

86. "*Maamad* refers to the group of men who stood in the Temple as the representatives of the community of Israel while communal offerings were made" (Kasnet, "Tamid," 136). The Director of the Community was also responsible to see that the priests of the Abia course, who had disqualified themselves in some manner to serve in the Temple, gathered at the Nikanor Gate that opened into the Temple Courtyard, "where the people would see them and understand that they were *tamei* [unclean]" (Ibid, 137).

87. In M. Tamid 6:3 this individual priest is not specifically identified, and there may even have been more than one priest present. Commentators typically identified him as one of the elders of the daily course who had previously offered the incense, so I have selected the Director of the Daily Course as a logical person, but he could have even been an experienced, ordinary priest, or the Deputy of the Priests.

88. Kasnet, "Middos," 141: At the end of his service the priest "would prostrate himself (as an act of submission to God), similar to a servant who completes a service to his master and asks him for permission to leave prior to departing." There is a difference between kneeling and prostration; the former means to rest upon the knees, while the latter means to lay full-length upon the floor with the feet and hands extended and the face to the ground.

89. Tamid 6:1. During the morning service the priest who cleaned the inner altar left the basket of ashes on the floor by the altar. The priest who tended to the Menorah left the container of oil on the middle step of a three-step stone that stood before the *Menorah*, which was placed there to allow the priest to easily reach the top of the approximately six-foot-high *Menorah* where the lamps were located (Tamid 3:9).

90. Tamid 6:2.

91. Kasnet, "Timid," 147.

92. Tamid 6:3. This interaction of the two priests during the *tamid* changed when the High Priest burned the incense. Unaided, he accomplished the same "feat by holding onto the vessel either with his fingertips or with his teeth" It was considered as "one of the most

difficult services performed in the temple, and [it] required special training" (Kasnet, "Tamid," 147).

93. Tamid 6:nn. While the Director of the Daily Course oversaw the sacrifice of the lamb, making sure it was properly performed, it was the Deputy who actually oversaw the "conduct of the daily ceremony," and he likely stood at the entrance of the Temple and oversaw the important services carried out in the Holy Room (Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 165).

94. Tamid 6:2-3. Some commentators feel that the Deputy may have accompanied the two priests into the Holy Room to make sure that they performed their service properly, and only left the room after telling the priest to offer the incense. Who ever gave the command, after this he hurried to join his fellow priests beyond the Altar.

95. Kasnet, "Tamid," 151. This follows the instructions found in Leviticus 16:17.

96. Edersheim, *The Temple*, 128. Edersheim recorded the silent prayer offered by the priests and the people during the incense offering. See Edersheim, *The Temple*, 128-129.

97. It is likely that the throwing of the *magrepha* served as the signal for the High Priest, Deputy and the director of the daily course to make their way to the temple, in order to be ready for their part in the services.

98. M. Bechorot 7:6. Robert J. Matthews speculated that Zacharias may have also been struck deaf as well. Luke wrote that when Zacharias's neighbors "made signs" to him, asking how John would name his son, the priest "asked for a writing table and wrote" his name (Luke 1:62-64). In writing about this incident Matthews speculated, "Particularly interesting is the fact that the people found it necessary to 'make signs' to Zacharias to communicate with him. This is a strong suggestion that he was unable to hear them speak." (*A Burning Light: the Life and Ministry of John the Baptist* [Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1972], 19). See also his article: ("John the Baptist: A Burning and a Shining Light," *Ensign* [Sept. 1972], nn). Bruce R. McConkie also held a similar view, "Zacharias was smitten both deaf and dumb until the birth and naming of his son because he questioned the word of Gabriel." ("A Man called John," *Ensign* [May 1984], nn).

99. B. Sanhedrin 83a.

100. Edersheim, *The Temple*, nn. [The blessing ch. 8]. The priestly blessing reads: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Aaron and unto his sons, saying, On this wise ye shall bless the children of

Israel, saying unto them, The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: The Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace. And they shall put my name upon the children of Israel; and I will bless them." M. Tamid states that "in the temple [the priests], would pronounce the name [of yhwh] as it is written" (7:2).

101. Edersheim, *The Temple*, 120. Edersheim discounted as fiction the tradition that for forty years an angel always accompanied the High Priest, Simeon the Just, when he ministered in the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement (Edersheim, *The Temple*, 120). B. Yoma 39b reads "On every Day of Atonement an old man, dressed in white, wrapped in white, would join me, entering [the Holy of Holies] and leaving [it] with me, but today I was joined by an old man, dressed in black, wrapped in black, who entered, but did not leave, with me. After the festival [of *Sukkoth*] he was sick for seven days and [then] died." Even if this account is correct, Zacharias was reportedly the only ordinary priest ever to receive such an angelic visitation in the Temple.

102. It should be pointed out that the High Priest could have decided to perform this part of the *tamid*, which he apparently did quite often, either doing it all himself, or with the assistance of the fourth lottery priests. In such a case, he would have performed the service and then walked back to the Temple.

103. Half of the twelve of the pancakes were placed on the Outer Altar in the morning *tamid*, and the other half were placed during the evening *tamid*.

104. The three priests actually supported the High Priest as he entered, one holding his right arm, another his left arm, and the third behind him, holding by the shoulders (M. Tamid, 7:1).

105. Leviticus 16:2 indicates that a priest could only prostrate himself in the temple upon the completion of his service, so the High Priest's prostration on this occasion was viewed as a service in and of itself, which indicated that only the High Priest could prostrate himself in the temple at any time (Kasnet, "Middos," 154).

106. M. Middos, 7:1.

107. The entire daily course of priests, who had completed their services, were now allowed to enter the Holy Room and prostrate themselves (see: Lev 16:2). Although parts of the *tamid* had yet to be performed, it was viewed as if these had in fact taken place, because the burning of the incense was seen as the completion of the entire *tamid*, whether

the other services were actually accomplished or not (Kasnet, "Middos," 154).

108. The gesture can be seen on many older Jewish tombstones. While chanting the blessing, each priest "joins his uplifted and outspread hands by making the tips of the first fingers touch each other. At the same time, the thumb is separated from the hand, and the first and second fingers of each hand are knit together, and divided from the joint third and fourth fingers" (Maas, Day in the Temple, 128). Actually, fans of the original Star Trek have seen part of the gesture, in Spock's Vulcan hand salute whenever he wishes someone to "live long and prosper." If Spock made the same configuration with his left hand and joined his two hands together, with the thumbs and fore-fingers touching, it would be a reasonable depiction of the priestly gesture. The split fingers and extended thumb represent the letter *shin*, the first letter in *El Shaddai* (God Almighty).

109. Edersheim, *The Temple*, 130. In the synagogues the priest divided the blessing into three parts, the congregation intoning "Amen" between each verse, and he did not pronounce the ineffable name yhwh, but used *adonai* [Lord] instead. At the Temple the priests did not pause between the verses, but spoke it as one blessing, and they also pronounced the ineffable name. (M. Tamid 7:2).

110. This was the same table, where the second lottery priest placed silver platters with the butchered portions of the lamb before carrying them part way up the ramp.

111. The Levite singers and musicians performed a different psalm on each of the eight days of a course's service: the seventh day during the Sabbath evening *tamid*, Psalm 92; the first day, Psalm 24; the second day, Psalm 48; the third day, Psalm 82; the fourth day, Psalm 94; the fifth day, Psalm 81; the sixth day, Psalm 93; the seventh day during the morning *tamid*, Psalm 92 (M. Tamid 7:4). During the week-day *tamid* they performed the same psalm in the morning and the evening services.

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