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Lehi in the Desert, Part I - The Problem

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LEHI

IN THE DESERT

THE first of an enlightening series of articles on the Book of Mormon.

PART I

THE PROBLEM

THE FIRST eighteen chapters (approximately forty pages) of the Book of Mormon tell the story of how one Lehi led a company of Israelites from Jerusalem across Arabia to the sea at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. Since the publication of this account, other ancient travel stories have been unearthed in the Near East and been accepted as genuine or pronounced fictitious as they fulfilled or failed to fulfil certain conditions. Thus Professor Albright declares the story of the Egyptian Sinuhe to be "a substantially true account of life in its milieu" on the grounds (1) that its "local color [is] extremely plausible," (2) it describes a "state of social organization" which "agrees exactly with our present archaeological and documentary evidence . . .," (3) "The Amorite personal names contained in the story are satisfactory for that period and region," and (4) "Finally, there is nothing unreasonable in the story itself. . . ."

The story of Wenamon the same authority accepts as true in its political history and geography, noting that "it correctly reflects the cultural horizon and the religious

VIRTUALLY all that is known of the world in which Lehi is purported to have lived has been discovered within the last hundred years—mostly within the last thirty.

ideas and practices of its time."² Certain Egyptian episodes in the *Odyssey* Lieblein considered authentic because they posit "a rather good knowledge of Egyptian conditions and institutions" in whoever composed them.³ On the other hand, such tales as the Shipwrecked Sailor may be regarded as fanciful

²Numbers refer to bibliography at end of article.



because "they lack specific historical or geographic background, and by their *mise-en-scène*, which is either mythical or extravagantly improbable."⁴

With such examples before us, we may proceed to test the story of Lehi: does it correctly reflect "the cultural horizon and religious and social ideas and practices of the time?" Does it have authentic

historical and geographical background? Is its *mise-en-scène* mythical, highly imaginative, or extravagantly improbable? Is its local color correct, and are its proper names convincing? Until recent years men were asking the same questions of the Book of Exodus, and scholars were stolidly turning thumbs down until evidence accumulating in its favor began to

turn the scales. As one student described it, the problem "is rather to prove, by innumerable small coincidences, that which Ebers has so well called the "Egypticity" of the Pentateuch, than to establish any particular historical point by external and monumental evidence."⁵ Just so the problem of I Nephi is to establish both its "Egypticity" and its "Arabicity" by like innumerable coincidences. The fact that the Book of Mormon is a modern text, and yet not modern enough to have exploited the fruits of archaeology, gives it a double handicap at the outset, and yet in view of the claims made by Joseph Smith, it can plead no immunity from the same exacting tests that have revealed the true nature of documents of known antiquity. If the book can pass those tests, there is no point to arguing about its age and authorship.

Virtually all that is known of the world in which Lehi is purported to have lived has been discovered within the last hundred years—

mostly within the last thirty.⁶ How does this information check with that in the book of I Nephi? Before we can place the two side by side for comparison, we must describe briefly the nature of the modern evidence. It falls, for us, into four classes:

1. First and most to be prized are documents found in the country of Lehi and dating from his very time. A number of these have come to light in recent years—seals, jar handles, inscriptions, and, most notably, the Lachish letters discovered in 1935. These are the remains of the correspondence of a military officer stationed in the city of Lachish, about thirty-five miles southwest of Jerusalem, at the time of the destruction of both cities, and so give us an eyewitness account of the actual world of Lehi, a tiny peephole, indeed, but an unobstructed one; in these letters "we find ourselves brought into close contact with the inner religious, political, and military life of Judah at this period."⁷ Since I Nephi pretends to bring us into even closer contact with the same society, we have here an important "control."

2. The new finds have called for extensive review and reevaluation by the ablest scholars of the situation in Jerusalem at the time of its fall; these learned summaries will save us the trouble and risk of making our own.

3. Book of Mormon descriptions of life in the desert must be checked against eyewitness accounts of life in the same deserts, for the same period of time, if possible. Since the country and people concerned are among the most unchanging on earth, there are many things that are as true today as they were in 600 B.C., providing data of a well-nigh timeless but highly-specialized nature which has been made available in:

a) numerous scientific journals and surveys of the country, with the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* taking the lead

b) a growing treasury of great classics on life among the Arabs, beginning with Burckhardt in 1829 but mostly confined to our own age: Doughty, Philby, Lawrence, Hogarth, Thomas, etc.

c) the conversation of modern Arabs. The author has consulted extensively with modern Arabs,

Syrians, Iraqians, Lebanese, Egyptians, etc., and after fifteen years of searching is ready to declare Mr. Mose Kader of Provo, Utah, a true Bedouin. The same adventurous spirit that brought this remarkable man to settle on a solitary farm near the mouth of Rock Canyon drove him from his father's farm near Jerusalem in his youth, to spend many years with the Bedouins of the desert; and the same tenacious conservatism that has enabled him to rear a family as strict Moslems a thousand miles from any other Moslems has kept fresh his memory of days in the desert in the olden times before World War I. On fine points he is a marvelous informant.⁸

d) As a check on the above reports we have the words of the ancient poets of the Arabs. The prose story of the *Beni Hilal* is also very useful both as a "standard work" on desert migration and as telling a story that parallels that of Nephi very closely on some points.

Taken together these sources allow a far closer scrutiny of the



book of I Nephi than would have been possible a generation ago. Though what follows is little more than a general survey, we believe it pursues the lines that a correct examination of the story of Lehi should take, and that enough evidence is offered to justify the remarks with which we shall conclude the study.

THE SITUATION IN JERUSALEM

WHEN we speak of Jerusalem, it is important to notice Nephi's preference for a non-Biblical expression, "the land of Jerusalem," in designating his homeland. While he and his brothers always regard "the land of Jerusalem" as their home, it is perfectly clear from a number of passages that "the land of our father's inheritance" cannot

possibly be within, or even very near, the city, even though Lehi "had dwelt at Jerusalem in all his days." (I Nephi 1:4.)⁹ The terms seem confused, but they correctly reflect actual conditions, for in the Amarna letters we read of "the land of Jerusalem" as an area larger than the city itself, and even learn in one instance that "a city of the land of Jerusalem, Bet-Ninib, has been captured."¹⁰ It was the rule in Palestine and Syria, as the same letters show, for a large area around a city and all the inhabitants of that area to bear the name of the city. This was a holdover from the times when the city and the land were a single political unit, comprising a city-state; when this was absorbed into a larger empire, the original identity was preserved, though it had lost its original significance.¹¹ The same conservatism made it possible for Socrates to be an Athenian, and nothing else, even though he came from the village of Alopeke, at some distance from the city.¹² This arrangement deserves mention because many have pointed to the statement of Alma 7:10 that the Savior would be born "at Jerusalem which is the land of our forefathers," as sure proof of fraud. It is rather the opposite, faithfully preserving the ancient terminology to describe a system which has only been recently rediscovered.

We know very little about the city government of the Jews, save that the "elders" played the principal role. By "elders" has been understood "the heads of the most influential families of a city."¹³ This would make them identical with those princes, notables, and officials who are designated as *sarim* in the Lachish letters; the word *sarim* applies, according to J. W. Jack, to "members of the official class, i.e., officers acting under the king as his counselors and rulers."¹⁴ In the Lachish letters "we find the *sarim* denouncing Jeremiah to the king and demanding that he be executed because of his bad influence on the morale of the people."¹⁵ In accusing the prophet of defeatism, the influential men of Jerusalem were supported both by the majority of the people and by a host of prophets by whose false oracles "Judahite chauvinism was whipped to a frenzy," making it, to say the least,

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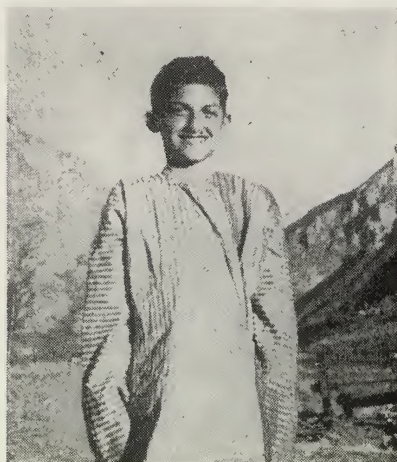
a risky business to hold an opposite opinion.¹⁰ For the government, with the weak and ineffectual Zedekiah at the head, had set its heart on a suicidal policy of military alliance with Egypt and "business as usual."¹¹

The country had just come through a great economic boom, thanks mostly to commercial dealings with Egypt, which had produced an unparalleled efflorescence of great private fortunes.¹² "Phoenician galleys filled the Nile mouths, and Semitic merchants . . . thronged the Delta,"¹³ the bulk of sea trade passing through Sidon, which from first to last dominated the commercial scene.¹⁴ Lists of goods imported into Egypt from Palestine show that the great men of the East took the gold of Egypt in return for their wine, oil, grain, and honey, the first three far outclassing all other commodities in importance.¹⁵ Among inland cities like Jerusalem the caravans of the merchant princes passed as in the days of the Amarna letters, for there were no real roads until the time of the Romans.

At the turn of the century the international situation was casting a dark shadow over the picture. Babylon, suddenly freed from other concerns, moved quickly towards a showdown with Egypt, the "broken reed" with which the leaders of Judah had unwisely cast their lot.¹⁶ Yet the clouds of impending war were not so dark as the shadow of religious laxness and moral decay which, according to Jeremiah, followed upon excessive prosperity and an overfondness for things Egyptian.¹⁷ It is no wonder that the *sarim*, facing problems enough in maintaining a program of "business as usual," denounced the melancholy prophet as a traitor, defeatist, and collaborator with Babylon. The country was divided into two factions, "the two parties, pro-Egyptian and pro-Babylonian, existed side by side in the land—King Zedekiah, his rulers and princes, and probably most of the people, favored Egypt . . . while the prophet Jeremiah and his followers advised submission to Babylon."¹⁸ It was a time of "dissension and heart burning, when divided counsels rent the unhappy city of Jerusalem,"¹⁹ and as things became worse in an atmos-

phere "charged with unmixed gloom . . . , Zedekiah . . . stubbornly followed the path to ruin by conspiring with Pharaoh."²⁰ The alarm was justified, for when the blow finally fell it was far more catastrophic than scholars have hitherto been willing to believe, with "all, or virtually all, of the fortified towns in Judah razed to the ground."²¹

The fatal infatuation for Egypt, which was largely responsible for the calamity, is a striking feature of the story. Why did the government of Judah stick so loyally to an Egypt that had long since lost the power to compel obedience? For one thing, we now know that cultural and economic ties were far stronger between the two nations than anyone had hitherto supposed. J. W. Jack noted in 1938 that "excavations have shown a closer



—Photograph by the Author

Proudly wearing his father's "qumbaz" is Yusuf Kader, a ten-year-old Arab whose parents, though living on a farm near Provo, have reared their children in the ways of their forefathers. From such people, living in our midst and speaking the language and retaining the customs of the East, one can often learn more than one would by visiting their homeland, where generations of being spied upon has rendered the Palestine Arab somewhat cautious and uncommunicative.

connection with the land of the Pharaohs than was suspected . . . the authorities at Lachish were probably using, or at least were accustomed to the Egyptian calendar and the Egyptian system of numeration in their local records." Though this goes for an earlier time, "all indications point to this connection with Egypt continuing unbroken right down to the end of the Jewish monarchy."²² One anthropologist went so far as to claim that Lachish was actually an Egyptian colony,²³ but investigation shows that the same "Egypt-

tian" physical type and the same predominance of Egyptian culture prevails elsewhere in Palestine.²⁴ Recently found ivories, seals, inscriptions, and the preliminary study of mounds throughout the land all tell the same story: overwhelming and unexpected preponderance of Egyptian influence, to the equally surprising exclusion of influences from Babylonia and Assyria.²⁵ At Jerusalem itself, where excavation is necessarily limited, sealings on jar handles attest the same long reign of Egyptian culture.²⁶ At the same time, the Elephantine papyri tell us another thing that scholars never dreamed of and which they were at first most reluctant to believe, namely, that colonies of Jewish soldiers and merchants were entirely at home in upper Egypt, where they enjoyed free practice of their religion.²⁷ The ties between Palestine and Egypt were, moreover, of very long standing, centuries of "a common Hebrew-Egyptian environment" being necessary to produce the "permeation of Egyptian modes of thought and expression into Hebrew," and to load the Egyptian vocabulary with words out of Palestine and Syria.²⁸ The newly identified *Aechtungstexte* shows that as early as 2000 B.C. "Palestine was tributary in large part, at least, to Egypt,"²⁹ while the excavation of Byblos, a veritable "little Egypt," proved the presence of Egyptian empire in later centuries.³⁰

To say that Egyptian culture is predominant in an area is not necessarily to argue the presence of Egyptian dominion. According to Hogarth, Egypt exercised three degrees of empire: the first degree was rule by direct force, the second by "fear of reconquest which a few garrisons and agents and the prestige of the conqueror could keep alive in the minds of indirect administrators and native subjects," and the third degree "meant little more than a sphere of exclusive influence, from which tribute was expected but, not being secured by garrisons or representatives . . . tended to be intermittent."³¹ Thus we see that the position of Egypt as "most favored nation" in Judah may represent any degree of decayed dominion—even to an "empire" of fourth degree.³² It was the

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SUSIE AND THE SUBCONSCIOUS

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was running into that were making him so wild about Susie.

"This is me, Ananias," I babbled, "Did you, by any chance, want Sue?"

"Oddly enough, yes," he answered, with heavy sarcasm. "Doesn't she live there any more?"

"She certainly does," I answered, knowing now she wouldn't be hard to find. "Sus-ie, Telephone!"

"You'll thank Old Sub for this some day," I said, when Susie had accepted Paul in a quiet and dignified way that must have been something new in H.R.H. (His Royal Highness) 's love life. I was just trying to show a little sympathy without saying anything embarrassing, but Susie only gave me a twisted smile and went up to her room.

Well, Sue was what Grandma would call the belle of the ball, as was only to be expected for Paul Stronge's girl and date. Boys danced with her who hadn't known she was on earth, although they had probably been in the same classes. Even the senior girls were respectfully jealous and treated her like she was One Of Them. Mr. Silver broke away from his girl friend long enough to dance with her. Though when I say dance, I am using the term loosely, for Sue admitted to me, some time later, that his dancing is definitely dated, and I think that went a long way toward helping her to forgive Old Sub for failing her in a crisis.

"Do you know," she said, late that night after Paul had finally gone and Mr. Silver was saying a lingering good-night to his girl on

the front porch (she certainly was an ordinary-looking Jane, not even in Sue's class). "Do you know, Johnny, it's the funniest thing," (she and I were in the kitchen eating peanut-butter sandwiches, before going to bed) "but yesterday, in chapter thirty-six of the psychology book it said, 'Occasionally the Subconscious, rather than assisting, seems at the time to be frustrating one; but in that case, one is apt to learn later that it was for his best good the plan in question did fail.' The Subconscious, with the infinite wisdom of Time and Space to draw upon, had acted for the best."

"That's right," I said, heartily, glad for once to be on the side of the Subconscious, "If we have to lose faith in anyone, let it be Mr. Silver, by all means. Let's never go back on dear old Sub!"

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Egyptian cultural heritage that was all-powerful, Egyptian influence being strongest in Palestine after Egypt had passed her peak as a world power.³⁶

In the great days of Egypt the renowned Ipuwer had said, "the foreigners have become Egyptians everywhere,"³⁷ and a near contemporary of Lehi can boast, "behold, are not the Ethiopian, the Syrian, and all foreigners alike instructed in the language of Egypt?"³⁸ For centuries it was the custom of the princes of Syria to send their sons to Egypt to be educated.³⁹ No matter how sorry the plight of Egypt, the boastful inscriptions of her rulers—sometimes very feeble ones—proclaim the absolute and unquestioned superiority of Egyptian civilization to all others: with Egyptians that is an article of faith. Like the English in our own day, the Egyptians demonstrated time and again the ability to maintain a power and influence in the world out of all proportion to their physical resources; with no other means than a perfect and tenacious confidence in the divine superiority of Egypt and Ammon, Wenamon almost succeeded in overawing the great prince of Tyre.⁴⁰ Is it any wonder then, that

in a time when Egypt was enjoying the short but almost miraculous revival of splendor that marked the XXVI Dynasty, with its astonishing climax of world trade, the credit of that country should stand high in the land of Jerusalem?

Palestine, always a melting pot, was more so than ever in this period of internationalism and trade. It was a time of great mixing of cultures and nationalities throughout the ancient world, both through the operations of commerce and of war. Lists of skilled workmen living in Babylon immediately after the fall of Jerusalem show an almost unbelievable mixture of types.⁴¹ As for the internationalism of business, the princes of the Delta were merchants,⁴² the princes of the Syrian and Palestinian cities were also, as the Amarna tablets show, merchants; the story of Wenamon is enough to show that the princes of Phoenicia and Philistia were merchants; the Arab princes of the desert were merchants, and the merchants of Egypt and Babylonia would meet in their tents to transact business;⁴³ the two wisest of the Greeks, Lehi's great contemporaries, Solon and Thales, both traveled extensively in the East—on business. In short, Lehi's world was a world of merchants.

But it is now time to turn to the Book of I Nephi. How perfectly the author depicts the very situation we have just described! He explained that he did not intend to write a political history, and so we must often look between the lines; yet the amount of information he imparted in the most casual and unlabored manner imaginable is simply astonishing. Consider first the picture of Lehi.

Lehi was a very rich Jew; he was proud of his Egyptian education, spoke and wrote Egyptian, and insisted on his sons learning the language. He possessed exceeding great wealth in the form of "gold, silver, and all manner of precious things," not manufactured at Jerusalem; he had close ties with Sidon (one of the most popular names in the Book of Mormon, where it appears both in its Semitic and its Egyptian form of Giddonah); yet he lived on an estate in the country, "the land of his inheritance," and was something of an expert in vine, olive, fig, and honey culture; so there can be little doubt of the nature of his business with Egypt.⁴⁴

Now this man, coming from one of the oldest families and having a most unobjectionable background and education, suddenly found himself in bad with the "people that

count." First, there was mockery, then, anger, and finally, plots against his life (1 Nephi 1:19-20) which, since they were serious, must have been supported in high places, for in openly siding with Jeremiah (*Ibid.*, 7:14) he had made himself a traitor to his class and his tradition: members of his own family turned against him and, taking the side of "the Jews who were at Jerusalem," as Nephi explains, accused their father of criminal defeatism in thinking and preaching "that Jerusalem, that great city, must be destroyed," (*Ibid.*, 1:4) exactly as the *Sarim* accused Jeremiah of treasonable talk. So vehement was their support of the government party's point of view, that Lehi's two eldest sons shared with the Jews the great crime of plotting against their father's life. (*Ibid.*, 17:44.) Nowhere is the "dissension and heart-burning that rent the unhappy city of Jerusalem" more clearly shown forth than in those impassioned scenes within Lehi's own household. The elder sons, reared to a life of Egyptian elegance and heirs to a fortune that owed much to Egypt, were staunch defenders of the *status quo*, while the younger sons, less spoiled by all accounts, had been made aware of the real nature of the crisis in Jerusalem, which was not really an economic or a political but basically a moral one. (*Ibid.*, 1:19.) The older men could not see this at all: "the people who were in the land of Jerusalem," they protested, "were a righteous people; for they kept the statutes . . . according to the law of Moses; wherefore, we know that they are a righteous people. . . ." Such was the holy chauvinism of the false prophets with their gospel of business as usual. The atmosphere of hysteria and gloom that prevails in Nephi's story of Jerusalem is, as we have seen, strictly authentic, and the danger of utter annihilation of Jerusalem that runs like an ominous fate motif through the whole book was, as the event proved, perfectly justified.

The world has always cast a superior and mocking eye on the inordinate concern of the Book of Mormon for things Egyptian. With surprise and incredulity it is now learning that Egyptian culture counted for far more in Palestine in

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600 B.C. than anyone had ever supposed. It is significant that the Book of Mormon concern with Egypt is strictly cultural—it never mentions Pharaoh or speaks of Egyptian government, but only of Egyptian culture and especially language. It makes it perfectly clear, however, that Egyptian was for Lehi a *second* language, "for he having *been taught* in the language of the Egyptians, therefore

he could read these engravings, and teach them to his children." (Mos. 1:4.) We have seen that Egyptian was taught to "Ethiopians, Syrians, and all other foreigners" in Lehi's day. Mormon tells us (Mor. 9:32-34) that the language of Lehi's descendants was not Hebrew or Egyptian but a mixture of both, both being corrupted in the process, so that "none other people knoweth our language," which would certainly not have been the case had

they spoken only Hebrew. Ancient Hittite was just such a dual language. The reason "none other people knoweth *our* language" today is that English is the result of imposing cultivated French on native Saxon, just as cultivated Egyptian was imposed on native Hebrew in Lehi's Palestine. On a ceremonial dagger which with its handle of white gold reminds us of Laban's sword, we read the name *Ja'qoh-her*, "Jahveh is satisfied," a name which neatly combines Egyptian and Hebrew in a process of fusion for which a great deal of evidence now exists, and which had been in progress long before Lehi's day.⁴⁶

It was common in ancient as in modern languages to use one and the same word (e.g. Eng. "speech" Egypt. "ra") both for "utterance" and "language."^{45a} When Nephi says, "after this manner was the language of my father in praising of his God," (I Ne. 1:15) he is not telling us what language his father spoke, but giving notice that he is quoting or paraphrasing an actual speech of his father. Likewise when he says, "I make a record in the language of my father," (*Ibid.*, 1:2) he says that he is going to quote or paraphrase a record actually written by his father. (*Ibid.*, 1:16.) He explains that his father wrote the record in Egyptian though it dealt with Jewish matters, but he never affirms that Egyptian was his father's native tongue.⁴⁶

But it is not only a *dual* culture that is thus reflected in the Book of Mormon. The same mixture of types that turns up among the captives in Babylon is vividly depicted in the proper names of Lehi's descendants. The temptation to list a few of these here is too great to resist, and such a list furnishes a really helpful commentary on Lehi's own background. Hebrew and Egyptian names together make up the overwhelming majority and occur in about equal strength, which is exactly what one would expect from Mormon's claim that both languages were used among them, but Hittite, Arabic, and Ionian elements are not missing.

Some *Egyptian* names: *Aha* ("Warrior"), *Giddonah* (Eg. Djidewnah, i.e., Sidon), *Korihor* (Eg. Herihor, Khurhor, etc.), *Paanchi*



with
WINTER GRADE
GASOLINE
and
MOTOR OIL



UTAH OIL
REFINING
COMPANY

(Eg. Paankhi), *Pacumeni* (Eg. Pakamen, "Blind man," a proper name), *Laish* (Eg. Leshi, "Joy"), *Aminadab* (Eg. & Canaan. Aminathab-i), *Himni* (Eg. *Hmn*, a name of the hawk-god), *Zeniff* (Eg. Znb, Snb—very common, also Senep-ta), *Zemna-ri-hah* (Eg. Zmn-ha-re, the same elements in different order, a common Eg. practice), *Zenoch* (Eg. Zenekh, once a serpent-god), *Zeez-om* and *Seezor-am* (Eg. Zozer, Zeser, etc.), *Ammon* (Eg. Amon, the commonest name in the Eg. Empire and also the Book of Mormon), *Pachus* (Eg. Pa-ks, Pach-qs), *Pahoran* (Eg. Pa-her-an, in its Canaan. form Pahura; in Eg. as Pa-her-y it fittingly means "the Syrian"), *Gimgim-no* (Eg. Kenkeme, cf. Kipkip in Nubia and Bibl. No-Amon "City of Amon"), *Morianton* (Eg. Maru-Aton), *Sinim* (Eg. Sanam, i.e. Napata), *Ziff* (Eg. Sepa in its Semit. form), *Sam* (Eg. Sam), *Ezias* (Eg. Azesha, Azizie), *Kish* (Eg. Kush, Kesh, etc.), *Hem* (Eg. Hem, "Servant"). The great frequency of the element *Mor-* in Book of Mormon proper names suits with the fact that in the Egyptian lists of Lieblein and Ranke the element *Mr* is, next to *Nfr* alone, also the commonest. The Book of Mormon names *Gidgiddoni* and *Gidgiddonah* have interesting resemblance to an Egyptian compound meaning, according to its ending, "Thoth hath said, He shall live," and "Thoth hath said, She shall live"; the Book of Mormon forms suggest "Thoth hath said I," and "we, shall live" respectively.⁴⁶ *Nephi*, of course, has a wealth of Egyptian possibilities.⁴⁶

Since the Old Testament was available to Joseph Smith, there is no point in listing Hebrew names, but their Book of Mormon forms are significant. The strong tendency in Book of Mormon names to end in *-iah* is very striking, since the vast majority of Hebrew names found at Lachish end the same way, indicating that *-iah* names were very fashionable in Lehi's day.⁴⁶ Non-Biblical Shallum and Mattaniah from Lachish suggests Book of Mormon Shelem and Mathonihah, while Hebrew names turned up on ancient jar handles from other places have a familiar Book of Mormon ring: Hezron, Mamshath, Ziph, Jether, Ephraim, Jalon, Ezer, Menahem, Lecah, Amnon, Zoheth,

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etc.,⁴⁶ would never be suspected if inserted into a list of Book of Mormon names. The Book of Mormon does give the right *type* of Hebrew name.

What comes as a surprise is that a number of Book of Mormon names are possibly Hittite and some of them are undoubtedly so. Thus while *Manti* suggests Eg. Monti, Manti, Menedi, etc., it also recalls the Egyptian name of a Hittite city, Manda, and a characteristic element of Hurrian names *-anti*, *-andi*, likewise fairly common in the Book of Mormon.⁴⁷ So likewise *Kumani*,

Kumen-onhi, *Kish-kumen* (Eg. -Hitt. Kumani, an important city), *Seantum* (Eg.-Hitt. Sandon, Sandas), *Akish* (Eg.-Hitt. Akish, a name of Cyprus), *Gadiandi* (Eg. for Hitt. city: Cadyanda).⁴⁸ Their Egyptian form shows that these names reached the people of Lehi not directly but through normal routes, though it has recently been noted that some of Lehi's important contemporaries in Israel were Hittites, and that Hittite settlements and names still survived in the hill country of Judah at that time.⁴⁸

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LEHI IN THE DESERT

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The occurrence of the names *Timothy* and *Lachoneus* in the Book of Mormon is strictly in order. Since the fourteenth century B.C., at latest. Syria and Palestine had been in constant contact with the Aegean world,⁵⁴ and since the middle of the seventh century Greek mercenaries and merchants, closely bound to Egyptian interests (the best Egyptian mercenaries were Greeks), swarmed throughout the

Near East.⁵⁵ Lehi's people, even apart from their mercantile activities, could not have avoided considerable contact with these people in Egypt and especially in Sidon, which Greek poets even in that day were celebrating as the great world center of trade. It is interesting to note in passing that Timothy is an Ionian name, since the Greeks in Palestine were Ionians (hence the Hebrew name for Greeks: "Sons of Javanim"), and—since "Lachon-

eus" means "a Laconian"—that the oldest Greek traders were Laconians, who left colonies in Cyprus (Book of Mormon Akish) and of course traded with Palestine.⁵⁶

(To be continued)

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(Common abbreviations used are *PEFQ*, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*, *BASOR*, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, and *JEA*, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*)

⁵⁴Wm. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1942), p. 62

⁵⁵*Id.*, p. 63

⁵⁶J. Lieblein, *Handel und Schiffahrt auf dem Rothen Meere in Alten Zeiten* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 8

⁵⁷Albright, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁸H. G. Tomkins, in *PEFQ*, 1884, p. 54

"Though archaeological research goes back over a century in Palestine and Syria, it is only since 1920 that our material has become sufficiently extensive and clearly enough interpreted to be of really decisive value." Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 37. We shall treat the chronological problem in our last article.

⁵⁹J. W. Jack, "The Lachish Letters, their Date and Import," *PEFQ* 1938, p. 165

⁶⁰In 1932 Mr. Kader returned to Palestine to get himself a wife. Though she has not, like her husband, traveled in the desert, Mrs. Kader's knowledge of the customs of Palestine is encyclopedic, and she has the uncanny memory of one who has never been handicapped with a knowledge of reading and writing.

⁶¹After they had failed in Jerusalem, Nephi's advice to his brethren was "therefore let us go down to the land of our father's inheritance. . . ." (1 Ne. 3:16; 3:21.) "And it came to pass that we went down to the land of our inheritance." "To go down" in the Book of Mormon means to travel away from Jerusalem (*Ibid.*, 4:33-35), while to go up to the land" is to return to Jerusalem. (*Ibid.*, 3:9; 7:15.) Down and up have the same sense in Egyptian, *ha* meaning basically "to go down," but when applied to travel specifically "to go to Egypt," (A. Erman & H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, 1928, II, 472-4); so in the Old Testament one "goes down into Egypt," (Gen. 12:10), and "up to Jerusalem. . . up out of the land of Egypt," (1 Kings 12:28). So the Lachish letters: "Down went the commander . . . to Egypt . . ." H. Torczyner, *The Lachish Letters* (Oxford, by the Trustees of Sir Henry Wellcome, 1938) p. 51 (No. 3). The elevation of Jerusalem was well appreciated by the Jews, as was the lowness of Egypt, and this fact lies behind the use of these expressions, always correct in the Book of Mormon. On the other hand in the Book of Mormon one simply goes "unto" a house within the city (1 Ne. 3:4, 11), so that when the brothers "went down to the land of our inheritance. . . and after . . . went up again unto the house of Laban" (1 Ne. 3:22f), it is perfectly clear that their property included land as well as a house and necessarily lay outside the city, as the terms "down" and "up" attest.

⁶²J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1915) I, 864-7, 872-5; for Bet-Ninib, *Id.* II, 876-7

⁶³A. Alt, "Die syrische Staatenwelt vor

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dem Einbruch der Assyrer," in *Zt-schr. der dt. Morgenl. Ges.* N.F. 13(88) 1934, pp. 247-9, cf. Wilh. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebraischen Archaeologie* (Freiburg, 1894), p. 194

¹⁷The parallel development of an original Athens embracing many small communities is described by G. Busolt, *Die Griechischen Staats-, Kriegs-, u. Privataltertümer* (Noerdlingen, 1887), 106ff.

¹⁸Nowack, *op. cit.* p. 300f

¹⁹In *PEFQ* 1938, pp. 175f

²⁰*Loc. cit.*, cf. W. Albright, "A Brief History of Judah from the Days of Josiah to Alexander the Great," *The Biblical Archaeologist* IX (Feb. 1946), p. 4

²¹Jack, *loc. cit.*; for a recent summary of the international situation cir. 600 B.C., beside the studies of Albright and Jack, see John Bright, "A New Letter in Aramaic written to a Pharaoh of Egypt," *The Biblical Archaeologist* XII (1949) pp. 49ff.

²²"... the artists no longer work only for the court and the temples; they had now to fill orders for a wealthy bourgeoisie. . . ." A. Moret, *Histoire de L'Orient* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1941) II, 727f; cf. J. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (N. Y. Scribner's, 1909), p. 548. From 663 to 539 B.C. Egypt enjoyed unbroken peace.

²³Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 577

²⁴Albright, *Archaeol. & the Religion of Israel*, p. 69; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (1928) II.1.98

²⁵E. Meyer, *op. cit.*, I:2, 260; II:1, 98, 135. The "prince kings" of Tyre and Sidon "accumulated great wealth and could afford the benefits of Egyptian culture," in their business of transporting the goods of the princes of Syria and Palestine, whose "figs, wine, honey, oil, fruit trees, corn and cattle," was the source of their wealth, Georg Steindorff, *Egypt*, N.Y., J. J. Augustin, 1943) p. 64. The economy of these great Palestinian estates is described by Ph. J. Baldensperger, "The Immovable East," *PEFQ* 1908, 290-6, and 1918, 121f

²⁶The rapidly deteriorating situation is described by Albright, in *The Biblical Archaeologist* IX (1946), 2-4, see n. 15-16 above

²⁷Jerem, 43:10-13; 44:1-30; 46:11-26

²⁸J. W. Jack, in *PEFQ* 1938, 177-9

²⁹Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 4

³⁰*Id.*, p. 6. It was not until 1925 that it became certain "that Tyre actually fell," according to Albright, "The Seal of Eliakim, etc." *Jnl. of Biblical Literature* 51(1932), pp. 94f

³¹Jack, *op. cit.*, p. 178

³²Such was the theory of D. L. Risdon, discussed by Sir Arthur Keith, "The Men of Lachish," *PEFQ* 1940, 7f

³³J. L. Starkey, "Lachish as Illustrating Bible History," *PEFQ* 1937, 177-8, notes from the findings "the confidence that the masses (at Lachish) had in the household gods of Egypt," and "the preponderance of Egyptian thought" in general. For evidence of strong Egyptian influence, A. Rowe, "Excavations at Beisan . . ." *PEFQ* 1928, 73ff; R. D. Barnett, "Phoenician and Syrian Ivory Carving," *PEFQ* 1939, 4-6, noting, 7f, competition with Hittite and Mycenaean influences; J. W. Crowfoot & G. M. Crowfoot, "The Ivories from Samaria," *PEFQ* 1933, 7ff: these ivories, found in the "palaces of the kings of Israel" (p. 22), and carved between 885 and 705 B. C. (p. 18), all show a marked "debt to Egypt," as does the earlier art of Solomon's type, which seems out and out Egyptian. C. Torrey, "A Hebrew Seal from the Reign of Ahaz," *BASOR* 79, 27f. Military dependence on Egypt as indicated in the Lachish Letters is confirmed by a new find, J. Bright, "A New Letter in

Aramaic written to a Pharaoh of Egypt," *The Biblical Archaeologist* XII (1949) 46-48, and H. L. Ginsberg, "An Aramaic Contemporary of the Lachish Letters," *BASOR* 111 (1948) 24-27. On absence of Babylonian influence, see A. S. Yahuda, *The Accuracy of the Bible* (London, Heinemann, 1934) p. XXIX; S. L. Caiger, *Bible and Spade* (Oxford Univ., 1936) pp. 83f, 91f

³⁴A. H. Sayce, "The Jerusalem Sealings on Jar Handles," *PEFQ* 1927, 216f; J. G. Duncan, "Excavation of Eastern Hill of Jerusalem," *PEFQ* 1925, 19f

³⁵A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.* (Oxford, 1923), p. 120: "Already in the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers had built that temple in Yeb . . ." etc. These papyri "have shed undreamed-of light on some of the darkest areas of Jewish history." Says Albright, *Archaeol. & the Relig. of Is.*, p. 41.

³⁶"The language of the Pentateuch . . . cannot be explained except as a new creation of a common Hebrew-Egyptian environment, when the Hebrews lived for a long period in constant and most intimate contact with the Egyptians," thus A. S. Yahuda, *The Accuracy of the Bible*, xxv. See especially by the same author, "The Language of the Pentateuch in its Relation to Egyptian I" (Oxford, 1933) pp. XXXII-XXXV, and *passim*.

³⁷W. F. Albright, "The Egyptian Empire in Asia in the Twenty-first Century B.C." *Jnl. of the Pal. Or. Soc.* VIII (1928), 226, 223ff, cf. Albright, "Palestine in the Earliest Historical Period," *J. Pal. Or. Soc.* II, 110-138

³⁸"It is often maintained that there was no Egyptian Empire in Asia during the twelfth century . . . this entirely erroneous conception . . . is due exclusively to lack (Continued on following page)

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LEHI IN THE DESERT

(Continued from preceding page)
of adequate excavation in Palestine and Syria." Albright, *Jnl. Pal. Or. Soc.* VIII, 227

³⁴D. G. Hogarth, "Egyptian Empire in Asia," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1 (1914), p. 9. Egypt's dominion in Asia fluctuated between second and third degree empire and nothing at all, *id.*, pp. 12-13

³⁵The exact nature and degree of Egyptian control in Palestine in the later period is still disputed, the subject is discussed in Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 516, 518f, 526, 529 ("Solomon was evidently an Egyptian vassal . . ."), 580, and by A. S. Cook in the *Cambridge Ancient History* III, 250, 256, 257f, 261, 295-9

³⁶Hogarth, *op. cit.* I, 13-14: Egyptian cultural influence was "most active from the tenth to the seventh centuries B. C." "Egyptian civilization was one to be aped and admired," says Cook, *CAH* III, 257. Even "the Davidic state owed its administrative organization largely to Egyptian models . . ." Albright, *Archaeol. & Relig. of Is.* p. 108; the same writer discussed the weakness of Egypt in the later period in "Egypt and the Early History of the Negeb," *Jnl. Pal. Or. Soc.* IV (1924) 144ff

³⁷Though the statement seems to apply to Syrians within Egypt, it illustrates the cultural contact and the cultural ascendancy of Egypt, H. Frankfort, "Egypt and Syria in the First Intermediate Period," *Jnl. Egypt Archaeol.* XII (1926), 96

³⁸A. Moret, *Hist. de l'Orient* II, 787, citing his *Frags. des Maximes d'Ani*

³⁹Meyer, *op. cit.*, II:1, 132; this was under Amenemhet III "the initiation of an attempt to assimilate the Syrians to the Egyptians through the education of the princely youth of the former on the Nile," Hogarth, *Jnl. Eg. Arch.* I, 12

⁴⁰We shall deal with Wenamon below
⁴¹W. Albright, "King Joiachim in Exile," *Biblical Archaeologist* V (Dec. 1942), p. 51
⁴²*CAH* III, 256

⁴³Meyer, *op. cit.*, I:2, 156

⁴⁴See note 20 above. The only other source of great wealth in Israel would be money-changing or banking, but to engage in that Lehi would have to have lived in the city itself, which he did not (above, n. 9).

⁴⁵Meyer, *op. cit.*, I:2, 297. The contact of the two languages produced the phenomena which are the subject of W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, Am. Or. Soc., 1934)

⁴⁶Yahuda, *Language of the Pentateuch*, etc., p. 51. This double usage of the word "language" does not occur in Hebrew, and its frequent occurrence in the Book of Mormon is plain indication that Egyptian and not Hebrew is the language of the plates.

⁴⁷The clause in I Ne. 1:2 which begins "which consist of . . ." does not refer back to "language" or "father," of course, but to "record." The other two are syntactically possible but don't make sense: a language does not consist of a language, but a record does. The sentence is awkward English, but like hundreds in the Book of Mormon is a perfect parallel to the familiar Semitic *hal* construction. The ordinary construction in almost any ancient classical language would be "I make an in-the-language-of-my-father record, which consists, etc."

⁴⁸Hermann Ranke, *Die aegyptischen Personennamen* (Hamburg, 1934) 412, Nos. 8 and 9

⁴⁹Not heretofore noted is Nfy, borne by an Egyptian captain, S.K.R. Glanville,

"The Letters of Ahmose of Peniate," *Jnl. Eg. Arch.* XIV, 304, line 10. To the names cited by me in THE IMPROVEMENT ERA, 51 (Apr. 1948) p. 203, may be added the *Pa-nepi* of the Greek inscriptions, which represents an original *Nihpi*, with a movable "h" according to W. Spiegelberg, "The God Panepi," *Jnl. Eg. Arch.* XII (1926) p. 35. The other names in the list may be found in Ranke, *op. cit.*, J. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de Noms Hieroglyphiques* (Christiania, 1871), and scattered throughout the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

⁴⁹H. Torczyner, *The Lachish Letters*, p. 198. We are following the spelling used by Torczyner in his text rather than in his list

⁵⁰R. A. S. Macalister, "The Craftsmen's Guild of the Tribe of Judah," *PEFQ* 1905, 328ff.

⁵¹E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian*, in *Annual of Am. Schools of Or. Research* XX (1940), index. But J. D. C. Lieblein, *Schiffahrt am Rothen Meere*, p. 143 finds the *Anti* name in the far south, and in *Videnskabs-Selskabet Forhandl.* Aar 1910, No. 1 (Christiania, 1911) shows that it means "incense." Other Egypto-Hittite names may be found in *Jnl. Eg. Arch.* X, 108ff, 113; XI, 20 (Cadyanda), 31; XVII, 27-29, 43 (Sandon); 35, 38, 40 (Akish).

⁵²The Hittite names are all treated in articles in *JEA*: Manda and Kumani in S. Smith, *Kizzuwadna* X (1924). 133 and 108ff, resp.; Sandon and Akish in G. A. Wainwright, *Keftiu XVIII 27-29*, 43, 35, 38, 40; Cadyanda is mentioned by La Mayer and J. Garstang, XI, 24

⁵³E. O. Forrer, "The Hittites in Palestine," *PEFQ* 1937, 100f, 114f

⁵⁴R. H. Pfeiffer, "Hebrews and Greeks before Alexander," *Jnl. Bibl. Lit.* LVI (1937), 91-94, 101; W. F. Albright, "A colony of Cretan Mercenaries on the Coast of the Negeb," *Jnl. Pal. Or. Soc.* I (1921) 187-194; J. G. Milne, "Trade between Greece and Egypt before Alexander the Great," *Jnl. Eg. Arch.* XXV (1939) 178f. F. B. Welch, "The Influence of Aegean Civilization on South Palestine," *PEFQ* 1900, 342ff.

⁵⁵At Tel-el-Hesy, just west of Lachish, "the Greek influence begins at 700, and continues to the top of the town . . ." W. M. F. Petrie, in *PEFQ* 1900, 235; D. G. Hogarth, "Alexander in Egypt and some Consequences," *Jnl. Eg. Arch.* II (1915) Milne, *op. cit.*, p. 180f; Nelson Gluek, *BASOR* 80 (1940) p. 3; *BASOR* 83 (1941) 25-29

⁵⁶Meyer, G.d.A. II:1, 553

THE MISSIONARIES

(Continued from page 26)

hunger, and homesickness for the things that make life for the rest of us stable and comfortable and secure. They cannot possibly know before starting forth just what temptations, difficulties, and hardships they will meet. Talking with returned missionaries can but give faint indication of what may be ahead; for one thing, conditions vary in different parts of the country and the world, and no two missions are alike. Circumstances vary with each missionary who sets forth; for another thing, certain conditions of living, certain rebuffs and frustrations are infinitely more trying and exhausting for some than for others. If a new missionary kneels in prayer at the sacrament meeting on Sunday with strain showing in his face and voice and drops of perspiration on his forehead, you may be sure there is an inner cry for strength going up that is desperate and real. If these sensitive boys can be made strong in the Lord their God, as they can be, they in turn will be especially cognizant of the needs of others. Growth comes to these missionaries in hard and proving ways. Some may suffer from the rudeness, the bitterness, the lack of comprehension on the part of those they meet concerning the reasons why they are

either Latter-day Saints or on a mission, but I am convinced that greater pain comes from more insidious foes.

Most missionaries seem to come from families that have an unusually closely knit relationship. Separation from such a home, where sheltering love has encompassed them from birth, is not easy. Neither is the absence of the expression of close human affection to which they have been accustomed. It is all part of the security and happiness, along with music and books and dates and sports, that they have left behind them. At times the tug of everything represented by the word "home" is not easy to withstand. Then, too, there is a new discipline and a new arduousness to life. There is constant study, all along one line.

They learn, finally, what we all must learn—that there are many things that cannot be evaluated in definite terms, and that this is especially true in the matter of Christian influence; that where one sows another reaps is just as much a fact today as in the days of Paul. With some people God seems to work slowly—with others it is as if an instant miracle came to pass. With some, only a light veil seems to come between them and the truth of God. With others, it is as if