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### NEWSLETTER AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE



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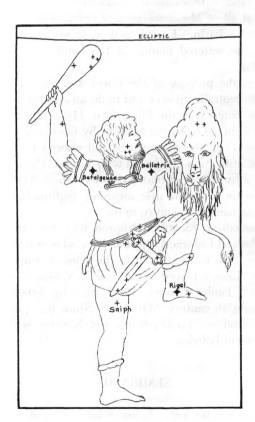
155.0 IN SEARCH OF THE HISTORIC NIMROD. By Bruce W. Warren, adjunct professor of anthropology at Brigham Young University, and John A. Tvedtnes, instructor at the BYU—Salt Lake Center of Continuing Education and doctoral candidate in Egyptian and Semitic languages at Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

ONE OF THE MOST ENIGMATIC personages in the book of Genesis is Nimrod, son of Cush and grandson of Ham, the "mighty hunter before the Lord" (Gen. 10:8–9). He is said to have built the towns of Babel, Erech, and Accad in the land of Shinar (=Sumer) in southern Mesopotamia, and also the northern Mesopotamian cities of Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Calah, and Resen (Gen. 10:10–11).

#### PLAIN OF SHINAR

The plain of Shinar is also the site of the building of the tower of Babel (Gen. 11:2–4). Jewish tradition makes Nimrod the first king of Babel (=Babylon)<sup>4</sup> and credits him with the building of the great tower for the purpose of avenging himself on God.<sup>5</sup> In this connection, we note that the Nimrod of Greek mythology built a tower for the use of the Titans in their attack on the gods atop Mount Olympus.<sup>6</sup>

Late traditions make Nimrod not only the first king and founder of Babylon, but also associate him with gaining power by magical means and of teaching men to kill and eat the flesh of animals. The same stories consider him to be a giant.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the Syriac of Genesis 10:8–9 calls Nimrod a "warlike giant," while the LXX renders the Hebrew gibbōr (KJV "mighty") of Gen. 10:8 as gigas, "giant."



The constellation Orion. A deification of the biblical Nimrod? Redrawn from Joseph A. Seiss, *The Gospel in the Stars* (Kregel Publications: Grand Rapids), p. 104.

Nimrod's prowess as a hunter is a subject of discussion in Jewish traditions. It is said that he possessed a magic power that derived from the garments of Adam and Eve. These, Ham had stolen out of the ark and passed down to his son Cush and to Nimrod. Animals would voluntarily lie down before the great hunter when he was arrayed in these garments. His irresistible power also brought men to accept him as king."

Numerous attempts have been made to identify Nimrod with historical or legendary figures from Mesopotamia. Boscawen tied the biblical account to a Babylonian story of a wicked king who gathered his people atop a mound (the tower) and caused them to sin before the gods. Other scholars, noting that Nimrod's father was Cush, speculated that Nimrod was the Bible's way of representing the Kassite (= Cushite) invaders of the Late Bronze era, who took Babylon and ruled for a period of four centuries.

Still others have sought to identify Nimrod with one of the early rulers of Mesopotamia, such as the great Sargon of Akkad. Indeed, Akkad (Agade, the Accad of KJV) is one of the cities whose building is credited to Nimrod (Gen. 10:10). Sargon is known from later Mesopotamian history as the monarch who unified all of Mesopotamia and sedentarized the region of Subartu. For his actions in settling the nomads, he suffered famine at the hands of the god Marduk.

That the purpose of the tower and city of Babel was to centralize power and to do away with nomadism is hinted at in the Bible (Gen. 11:4). The punishment inflicted upon the builders by God is also mentioned. Thus, there are superficial reasons to accept the identification of Nimrod with Sargon. This is reinforced by the fact that Sargon's name (Akkadian Sharru-kin) is a mere title, meaning "legitimate king." His real name is unknown to us.

Apollodorus identified Nimrod with the Ninus of the classical historians.<sup>13</sup> Just as Nimrod is said in Jewish tradition to have lived in the time of Abraham,<sup>14</sup> so too Ninus is placed in the time of Abraham by Eusebius,<sup>15</sup> Paulus Orosius,<sup>16</sup> and later by Syncellus.<sup>17</sup> Orosius (5th century AD) makes Ninus the grandson of Nimrod and credits Ninus, not Nimrod, with the building of Babylon.

#### **SEMIRAMIS**

Ninus was the son of Belus (= Baal), king of Assyria. Like Nimrod, he is said to have founded various cities—notably Nineveh (Assyrian *Ninua*, thus resembling Greek *Ninus*)—and with the earliest conquest of all the people of the East. His wife (sometimes called

his mother, evidently confusing Ninus with his son Ninyas) was Semiramis, who reigned as queen after his death. Continuing Ninus' military conquests, she is said to have built or restored the city of Babylon, with its hanging gardens (elsewhere attributed to Nebuchadrezzar II), and to have constructed, in its center, a great temple to Belus. This would have been a temple-tower or ziggurat, hence similar to the tower of Babel.<sup>18</sup>

Semiramis, however, appears to be Sammuramat, the Babylonian consort of the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad V. After her husband's death, she was regent for her son, the boy-king Adad-nirari III. He reigned c.810–783 BC, late enough in the historical development of Israel to preclude identifying him with the Nimrod of great antiquity. It is possible, however, that Adad-nirari was denominated *Ninus* by the Greeks because of his capital, Nineveh (Ninua).

Some scholars, while continuing to identify Semiramis with Sammuramat, have looked to the Assyrian king, Tukulti-Ninurta I (c.1244–1208 BC) as the source of the Ninus legend. Speiser was the first to do so.<sup>19</sup> It seems more likely, however, that it was this king's namesake, the god Ninurta (under the form Nimurda), who was the prototype for Nimrod.<sup>20</sup> Ninurta was the Babylonian and Assyrian war god credited with teaching the people arts, crafts, and sciences, just as Nimrod is said by Epiphanius to have established the sciences of magic and astronomy.<sup>21</sup>

In the Ashur text of the famous battle with the enemy demon Zu, it is Ninurta who prevails. The hero, however, goes under other names in different versions. The Susa text has Ningirsu. In a hymn of Ashurbanipal of Assyria, it is Marduk (chief god at Babylon), while in the Sumerian version, it is Lugal-Banda who defeats Zu (ANET 113). The latter two names represent individuals who could be readily identified with Nimrod.

The Akkadian name Marduk derives from the Sumerian MAR.UTU, a hunter-god. He is said to have led a revolt of the gods against his parents, after which he was enthroned as king of the gods. In Babylonian tradition, it was he who founded Babylon (Babilu, "gate of the gods"). His temple at Babylon bore the name E.SAGILA, "house that lifts up the head"; and the tower associated with it was called, in Sumerian Etemenanki, "house of the foundation of heaven and earth." The similarity to the tower of Babel is evident.

#### REBELLIOUS HUNTER-GOD

The theme of the rebellious hunter who wanted to ascend to the top of heaven fits the Nimrod story

quite well. Moreover, it would have been very natural for the Jews to call Marduk (who was also the Babylonian god of war) by the name Nimrod. Both would probably have been perceived as containing the Hebrew root MRD, meaning "to rebel."<sup>22</sup>

Other ancient Near Eastern traditions would seem to connect Nimrod with the rebellious hunter-god. For example, we have the Hittite Kumarbi, who had a stone giant named Ullikummi, from whose head he intended to launch an attack on the seventy gods of heaven, much like the Greek Nimrod.23 In Jewish tradition, the angel Shemhazai, one of the leaders in the rebellion against God, repented of his misdeed and hung himself upside-down in the sky as the constellation called Orion by the Greeks.24 Orion, it will be recalled, being both a giant and hunter, thus fits the description of Nimrod. Indeed, the 7th century AD Chronicon Paschale indicates that Nimrod, after his death, was deified in the constellation called Orion by the Greeks but Nimrod by the Persians.<sup>25</sup> (See illustration, p. 1, above.)

The Babylonian war/hunter god Marduk also went under the name Bel, which recalls the Greek tradition that Ninus was the son of Belus. Marduk, was, in effect, the real king of Babylon, and all properties were, in early times, subject to control by his priests. Even foreign conquerors such as the Assyrian and Persian kings had to be recognized by Marduk as his earthly representatives by "grasping the horns of Bel."

#### ISAIAH PASSAGE

It is in this light that we must read the words of Isaiah, chapter 14, addressed to the "king of Babylon" (vs. 4), who "ruled the nations" (vs. 6). Fallen from heaven, he is identified with the planet Venus (vs. 12). His goal had been to ascend to heaven, to exalt his throne above the stars, to sit on the holy mountain (the tower?) and to be like God (vss. 13–14). During the course of his reign, he had brought fear and destruction to the nations (vss. 16–17). The picture painted by Isaiah fits both the story of Marduk and the Nimrod traditions.

As noted above, both Marduk and Ninurta have been depicted as the god-hero who defeated the demon Zu. Another hero-king credited with the defeat of Zu is "the god Lugal-Banda, a shepherd," who "ruled 1200 years" in the city of Uruk, according to the Sumerian king list (ANET 266). Uruk is the Erech of the Bible, one of the cities built by Nimrod. Its most famous king was the son of Lugal-Banda, one Gilgamesh, who considered his father to be divine (see ANET 49, 80, 85, 504). Lugal-Banda's reign of c.2800

BC would place him in the right time period for identification with Nimrod.

Lugal-Banda is the first king on the Sumerian king list to have the element LU.GAL in his name. The meaning "great man" recalls Nimrod's title of GIB-BOR, "great/mighty one." Deimel and Poplicka identified Nimrod with Lugal-Banda.<sup>26</sup>

Of interest is the fact that Poplicka also renders the name Lugal-Banda as Lugal-Marda,<sup>27</sup> with which Carlton found agreement.<sup>28</sup> The element LU.GAL ("great man, king") often alternates in Sumerian titles with EN ("lord, governor"). Consequently, Lugal-Marda is likely to be the same as En-Marda, the god of Marda (ANET 611). The name Nimrod could derive from En-Marad or even from its alternate reading, Nin-Marad, with assimilation of the second N, as would occur in Hebrew before a consonant. In any event, none of these appear to be personal names but rather are titles of royalty or divinity.

Before expanding his political power, Lugal-Banda bore the title of En-Aratta, "Lord of Aratta," a city-state in the north, under the name of Ensukushsiranna.<sup>29</sup> Aratta is evidently the same as Urartu, the land called Ararat in the Bible. Indeed, Kramer renders the name Lugal-Banda as Lugal-Aratta.<sup>30</sup> Taking this one step further, Deimel and Poplicka identify Lugal-Banda with the god Nin Ninurta.<sup>31</sup> The divine name, as Jakeman points out, probably derives from Nin-Urartu (=En-Aratta).<sup>32</sup>

It is interesting that the element KUSH should appear in the earlier name borne by Lugal-Banda (i.e., Ensukushsiranna), since Cush is the name of Nimrod's father in the Bible. The name evidently ties in with the city Kish, just as the city Marad appears to tie to the name Nimrod. In the Nabonidus Chronicle, the gods of the cities of Marad and Kish are listed together (ANET 306). In the Sumerian literature, we read that the city of Kish was built by a king named E.TANA (ANET 517).

#### SINGLE INDIVIDUAL

In view of the fact that the names Ninurta (= Nimurda), Marduk and Lugal-Banda (= En.Marad) alternate in the story of the battle with Zu, these names may possibly denote a single individual. The existence of the element MRD in all three names adds to the identification and to the tie with Nimrod. One wonders if he may not have borne different throne names in the various cities under his suzerainty. Chart I, which follows, illustrates this possibility and presents Nimrod/Lugal-Banda in his deified forms in Sumer, as well as in the stories found in the Bible and in the Greek accounts. The Mesopotamian kings involved in

#### Chart I, NIMROD

#### Warren & Tvedtnes

	Biblical 2	Мо	rtal Kings of Su	mer	Later Dei	fication 1	Greek
MOTIFS	Nimrod the rebel	En-Martu "Lord of the West"	Lugal-banda "Great man - Colonel"		Ninurta at Nippur (= Ningirsu)	Ningirsu at Girsu (= Ninurta)	Ninus the conqueror
Journey to east	x	x					
Build city and tower	x	X (Uru Kug, "city holy")					X
Ascended to heaven	X also 3						
Imdugud, Lion <sub>4</sub> headed eagle			x				
Kingdom begins (Babel)	x	X (Uru Kug)					x
First King (after flood)	x						x
Erech/Uruk	x		x				
Accad	x						
Kish/Kush	×						
Stabilizer of the lands (or conqueror)	×						X
Day star, Son of Morning	x <sup>3</sup>				x <sup>5</sup>	x <sup>6</sup>	
Mount in North	x <sup>3</sup>		Mt. Hurun in <sup>7</sup> Lake Van area				
Brought down to hell and pit	x <sup>3</sup>						
Stopped building city	<b>x</b>				X (Uru Kug & Nina)		
Scattering of people	x also 3	x			x		
Land of Nimrod <sup>8</sup>	At entrance to <sup>9</sup> land of Assyria		Lake Van area (Upper Zab)				Assyria
Lived till time of Abraham	x						x
Termed "mighty"	x		x				

#### NOTES TO ABOVE CHART:

- 1. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization (Chicago, 1964), p. 269.
- 2. Story of Nimrod and peoples at Babel is found in Gen. 10:8-10; 11:1-9.
- 3. Nimrod as Marduk, king of Babylon, Isa. 14:12-16.
- 4. Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Waters of Ur", <u>Iraq</u>, Vol. XXII (1960), pp. 355-357. This bird shape was in the process of humanization during Early Dynastic II.
- Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Relative Roles of Technology and Literacy in the Development of Old World Civilizations", in <u>Human Origins: An Introductory General Course in Anthropology</u>. Selected Readings: Series II (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Book Store, 1946), p. 146.
- 6. Samuel Noah Kramer, The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1963), pp. 138, 205.
- 7. Ibid., p. 287.
- 8. Emin, N, Izslyedovania i Statyi (Moscow, 1896), pp. 301-303. Emin found legends of Nimrod and of the mad hunter plus place names for Nimrod.
- 9. Micah 5:6

Chart II, MESOPOTAMIAN KING LISTS

ISH			Chart	114 HOOD OF ALLER.	KING LISTS					
								BIBLE		
Jabum Cn-dara-Anna Jangish-lishma Kullassina-ib	29 a 29	64	"Golden Ag	e of Primitive	Democracy"			Cainan II	2960	
lashkaktu	30	05						Arphaxad	3095	
Mesopotamian (	& Bibl	ical Flood:	Levels at	Kish. Shuruppa	k. Uruk. an	d Lagash	(Parrot 1955:		3097	
Shuruppak										
Ubar-Tutu (Zio Arad-gin Sippar	usudra	3195 3272	Jemdet Na					Shem	3205	
En-menduranki Larak			Protolite C-D	race						
En-sipazianna		ebuluga3568								
Badtibira/Pati En-menluanna Dumuzi, the Sh (An-Enlilda)	(En-me hepher	d 3706	Late Uruk Protolite B	, rate				Noah	3697	
Larsa En-mengalanna			Middle Ur							
Kidunnushakink		anna 3962	Protolite A	rate	Jabal J Adah	ubal Tub	al-cain Naamah Zillah	Lamech Methuselah Enoch	3879 4066 4131	
Eridu/Ku'ara Nlalgar (U'and Alulim (Uanna-	duga)	4159	Early Uru	k		Lamech Methusa		Jared Mahalaleel	4293	
(or Oannes)	-Адара	) 4343				Irad* Enoch Cain	Abol	Cainan I Enos	4428 4518	
							Abe1	Seth Adam	4623 4753	
						*Eridu,	Biblical Arch	aeology 197	3:3.	
KISH		URUK		LAGASII	UR		EBLA	BIBLE		
					2284 Ka-kug	2319			2304	
2340 Mannia	2347	2321 Lugalzagesi			Ka-kug	2319				
shme-Shamash		Argandea Lugal-ure		2354	Urukagina	2354	Ar-Ennum			
shtar-Muti	2369	-,		Urukagina			Irkab-Damu Igrish-Halam			
Siwater	2376	Pn_Chabt	nna 2200	Pannatum TT	Lugal-king		Gumalum? AKSHAK			
Simudarra Jr-Zababa	2406 2446	En-Shakusha Lugal-Kitun Melam-Anna	2435 2435 2441	Eannatum II Entemena	ineshdudu	- 2400	2469	Reu	2436	
Puzur-Sin Ku-Bau	2471 2473	Mes-gande En-nundara-	2477	Enannatum I			Shu-Sin	2476		
Inbi-Ishtar Lugalmu	2479 2487	Labahshum	2494							
ennunna uge album	2490 2497 2500	Utul-kalamm	9 2500	Eannatum	Balulu	2505	Ishu-Il	2500		
Kalbum Magalgalla Dadasig	2508 2531						Puzur-Nirah Ur-Ur/Zu-Zu	2520 2526		
Su-suda Aka	2534 2546	Ur-lugal	2539	Akurgal	Elulu	2530	Undalulu	2538		
Enmebaragesi Ilta-sadum Ilku	2563 2587 2604			Ur- Nanshe	Meskiagnun na A-anne-dad		Unzi	2568 Peleg	2566	
rizkar Samuq	2610 2612			ur- nansne	A-anne-dad	a 2606				
Bar-salnunna Melam-Kish	2635 2653			(Gunidu) (Gurmu)	Mesannepad	a 2646				
Enmenunna Balih	2665 2673	Gilgamesh	2665	Enhegal Lugal-sha-engu	r					
Etana Arwium Ataba	2703 2717 2733							Eber	2700	
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the above reconstruction are listed and dated in Chart  $\scriptstyle\rm II$ 

In conclusion, we believe it safe to conclude that there is sufficient evidence to place the biblical Nimrod in ancient Sumer, where he was noted for his kingship, his conquests, and his building enterprises.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

ANET James B. Pritchard, ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament,

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
KIV King James Version of the Bible.

LXX Septuagint, third century BC, Greek translation of the

#### **NOTES**

- The KJV Bible also lists Calneh, which was shown by Albright to mean "all of them" and hence not to be a proper name. See William Foxwell Albright, "The End of Calneh in Shinar," JNES III (1944), p. 254.
- 2. Birs Nimrud, southwest of Babylon, was once thought to be the ruins of Babel because of the tower found there. The site of ancient Calah, in Assyria (northern Mesopotamia), has long been known by the name of Nimrud, evidently from the biblical hunter. Micah 5:6 (7th century BC) refers to "the land of Nimrod" at the entrance to Assyria, while Ether 2:1 in the Book of Mormon says that a valley named Nimrod lay to the north of the area where the great tower was built.
- A preferred rendition of the Hebrew in this verse (assuming loss of the directional HEH) is, "From that land he went forth to Ashur (Assyria) and built." Hence, Nimrod is also credited with building other cities in northern Mesopotamia.
- 4. Jasher 12:45; 27:2.
- Jasher 9:26, 35. Perhaps the earliest reference is in Flavius Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, I, iv, 2-3; vi, 3.
- J. E. Zimmerman, Dictionary of Classical Mythology (New York City: Bantam Matrix, 1966), p. 175.
- 7. Clemens Romanus, Homilia ix, 3-5; Chronicon Paschale xxxiv.
- Jasher 7:23–32; 27:1–22. See also Lewis Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, Vol. I, p. 177.
- For lengthy discussions concerning Nimrod, see the following: Hugh Nibley, Lehi in the Desert and The World of the Jaredites (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), pp. 154–164, with footnotes; Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis (New York City: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 125–129; and E. A. Speiser, "In Search of Nimrod," Eretz-Israel V (Mazar vol., 1958), pp. 32°–36°.
- Boscawen, "The Legend of the Tower of Babel," Bibl. Archaeological Society Transactions V (1876), 303ff.
- Cf. William Smith, Smith's Bible Dictionary (New York City: Pyramid Edition, 1967), p. 451. Haupt identified Nimrod the son of Cush with the Kassite king Nazimarattas (Graves and Patai, supra, p. 127, fn. 2).
- 12. For the story of Sargon, see ANET 119, 266-268. Though Sargon began his career at Kish, in which some see the biblical Cush, nevertheless, there are reasons to doubt his identification with Nimrod. For example, it was Sargon who removed dirt from the site of Babylon and built another Baby-

- lon beside his capital, Akkad (ANET 266). He is, therefore, more a destroyer of the original Babylon than its builder.
- Fragment 68 in Mülleri Fragmenta (Paris, 1846–1851), Vol. i, p. 440.
- Jasher 27:2, etc. Nibley deals at length with the subject in his *Abraham in Egypt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1981), pp. 61–65.
- 15. Eusebius, Chronicle I.
- 16. Paulus Orosius, The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans VIII, 2. In I, 4, he says that Nimrod lived 1300 years before the founding of Rome. In II, 3, he notes that Semiramis founded Babylon nearly 1164 years before it was despoiled by the Medes (which occurred in 539 BC).
- 17. Syncellus (Paris ed., 1652), p. 170, also p. 96.
- Regarding the Ninus legend, see Ovid, Metamorphoses IV; Justin, Historia Rom. Script. II (Trogus Pompeius); Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca II; St. Augustine, City of God 21.14; Paulus Orosius, The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans I, 4; II, 2–3; VII, 2.
- 19. See E. A. Speiser, supra, fn. 9.
- Nimrod was identified with Ninurta by Albert T. Clay, H. V. Hilprecht, Peter Jensen, and A. Ungnad. See S. A. Pallis, Chronology of the Shub-ad Culture (Copenhagen: Povl Bramer, Nooregade, 1941), p. xiii ff.
- 21. Epiphanius, Adv. Haereses, I, i.
- 22. In later Jewish lore, Nimrod's son is called Mardon, deriving from the same root (Jasher 7:47-48; 11:7). Similar in form is the name of the Kassite god Murudash, who was identified with Ninurta. (See Graves and Patai, supra, p. 127, fn. 2.)
- 23. Graves and Patai, supra, p. 128, fn. 4.
- Yalqut Shimoni Gen. 44; Bereshit Rabbati 29–30, cited in ibid., pp. 100–101.
- Chronicon Paschale (Bonn ed., 1832), Vol. 1, p. 64. See also Layard, Nineveh and Its Remains (London, 1849), Vol. II, pp. 439–440, citing Birch.
- See Joseph Poplicka, "The Biblical Nimrod and the Kingdom of Eanna," JAOS, XLIX (1929), pp. 303, 311.
- 27. Ibid., p. 312.
- P. Carlton, Buried Empires: The Earliest Civilizations of the Middle East (New York City: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1939), pp. 237, 287.
- Samuel Noah Kramer, Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (Philadelphia: University Museum, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1952), pp. 1, 33.
- Samuel Noah Kramer, "Man's Golden Age: A Sumerian Parallel to Gen. 11:1," JAOS, LXIII (1943), p. 193.
- 31. Poplicka, op. cit.
- 32. We are indebted to M. Wells Jakeman, who first pointed out this correspondence in a private communication to Bruce W. Warren at Brigham Young University.

Editor's Note. At the SEHA Annual Fall Round Table held in Salt Lake City on November 20, 1953, cash awards were given to winners of the Society's Prize Papers Contest. The first-place prize went to Bruce W. Warren for his paper, "Nimrod and His Times."

The above paper, "In Search of the Historic Nimrod," incorporates most of Dr. Warren's 1953 paper and also reports additional research he has carried out over the ensuing 30 years. To this, John A. Tvedtnes has added his findings of recent years, largely in classical and in biblical and non-canonical Jewish sources.

Dr. Warren's 1953 paper, "Nimrod and His Times," is summarized in *Progress in Archaeology*, pp. 16-17. Nimrod is also mentioned in ibid., p. 15.

155.1 THE LEGENDARY NIMROD AND THE HISTORICAL AMENHOTEP III. By Benjamin Urrutia. "The supermonarch often goes by the name of Nimrod in the stories," says Hugh Nibley, "but in the oldest versions he is plainly identified with Pharaoh" (Abraham in Egypt, p. 61). Dr. Nibley quotes B. Chapira: "Nimrod has become the equivalent of Pharaoh" ("Legendes Bibliques atribues a Ka'b el-Ahbar," Revue des Etudes Juives, Vol. 69 [1919], p. 101). Other similarities between Nimrod and Pharaoh in the Abraham accounts are found in Abraham In Egypt, pp. 61–65, 203, 207–209, 211, and 238.

In the same book strong similarities between the Egyptian ruler Nebma'are Amenhotep III, commonly dated to c.1389–1350, and the pharaoh of the Book of Abraham are also noted. Both are found depicted as "Hathor behind the throne," the figure of this goddess appearing with the name of the pharaoh (p. 140), and both have sons depicted as the goddess Maat (pp. 140–141; compare Facsimile 3 of the Book of Abraham). Both allowed commoners of proven ability to sit on their own thrones wearing the regalia (p. 148). Other connections between Amenhotep III and Abraham are discussed on pp. 71–72.

Thus it is interesting that Amenhotep's throne name, Nebma'are, appears on correspondence from his Canaanite vassals known as the Amarna Letters, as *Nimmuria*, which is similar to *Nimrod*. Given all these connections, the possibility exists that some elements of the Nimrod legends may have derived from the history of Nebma'are Amenhotep, an Egyptian ruler from a much later period.

155.2 ANCIENT HEBREW RELIGION FEATURED AT ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM. Raphael Patai, distinguished Hebraist, anthropologist, and folklorist, delivered the Guest Address entitled THE HEBREW GODDESS at the Society's Thirty-second Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures and Allied Fields, held at Brigham Young University on October 21 and 22, 1983.

Dr. Patai is a professor emeritus of anthropology at Fairleigh Dickinson University, Rutherford and Teaneck, New Jersey. He has also been a faculty member at Hebrew University, Jerusalem; at Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, Philadelphia; and at New York University, New York City; and later became president of the American Friends of Tel Aviv University and director of research of the Herzl Foundation. His writings were an important source for a review by Bruce W. Warren which appeared in a 1963 publication of the SEHA, *Progress in Archaeology*, pp. 88–95.

A strong Old Testament emphasis prevailed through most of the Symposium, with Book of Mormon overtones in several papers. A keen interest on the part of the audience was noted in the discussion periods between papers and evidently continued throughout the long proceedings. A lady at the publication-sales tables outside the entrance exclaimed, "These symposiums get better every year. This is the finest symposium I've ever attended!"

Clark S. Knowlton, professor of sociology at the University of Utah, was organizer and general chairman. The committee assisting him included Esther Phelps Parks, SEHA vice-president (publicity); John A. Tvedtnes, doctoral candidate in Semitic and Egyptian languages at Hebrew University; Benjamin Urrutia, Hebraist and anthropologist; and Bruce W. Warren, adjunct professor of anthropology at BYU (local arrangements).

In addition to announcements of the Symposium in the *Newsletter and Proceedings* as early as March, 1983, advance copies of the printed program were mailed first-class to Society members on October 12. Members and their friends, also the general public, were admitted free of charge. The Symposium met in Room 205 of the J. Reuben Clark Law Building. (*Newsl. and Proc.*, 152.3, 153.1, 154.2.)

The Friday evening (October 21) session consisted of a panel discussion entitled "The Documentary Hypothesis," a term that refers to the multiple authorship of the five books of Moses and other portions of the Old Testament claimed by many scholars. Organized and moderated by Mr. Tvedtnes, it included six papers: THE DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS: AN INTRODUCTION, by William James Adams, graduate research fellow in Middle East studies at the University of Utah; THE CRITICS OF THE DOCU-MENTARY HYPOTHESIS, by Mr. Tvedtnes; THE DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS AS A TOOL OF HIGHER CRITICISM, by Stephen D. Ricks, assistant professor of Hebrew and Semitic languages, BYU; THE MONOTHEISTIC POLEMIC IN ISAIAH 43-46, by Mr. Urrutia; IMPLICATIONS OF THE DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS FOR LATTER-DAY SAINTS (BOOK OF MORMON), by John L. Sorenson, chairman of the BYU Department of Anthropology; and COMPUTERS AND THE DOCUMEN-TARY HYPOTHESIS, by L. LaMar Adams, assistant professor of statistics, BYU.

Chaired by Dr. Knowlton, the Saturday morning (October 22) session featured the Guest Address of the Symposium, THE HEBREW GODDESS. Dr. Patai was introduced by Eldin Ricks, professor emeritus of ancient scripture at BYU, who had studied under him at Dropsie. Responses to the Guest Address were

made by Mr. Urrutia; by J. Eugene Seaich, musicologist, businessman, and researcher in ancient history; and by Mr. Tvedtnes.

Other papers presented at the Saturday morning session were HOMAGE TO THOMAS STUART FERGUSON, by Fred W. Nelson, BYU-trained archaeologist (MA, 1970), former research associate of the BYU—New World Archaeological Foundation, and radiation safety officer at BYU; and THE HID-DEN NAME IN ANTIQUITY, by Bruce H. Porter, graduate student in Near Eastern studies, BYU.

The Saturday afternoon session was chaired by Mr. Urrutia. Six papers were presented: THE "SECRET SOCIETY" AND THE DESCTRUCTION OF JE-RUSALEM, by Mr. Tvedtnes; THE NEW EDITIONS OF THE LDS STANDARD WORKS, by Robert J. Matthews, professor of ancient scripture, dean of religious education, and director of the Religious Studies Center, BYU; THE TREATY-COVENANT PAT-TERN IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE BOOK OF MOSIAH, by Stephen D. Ricks; SIM-ILARITIES BETWEEN THE GODS OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN TEXTS AND THE MESOAMERI-CAN PLANETARY DEITIES, by Dr. Warren; THE LIHYANITES OF ARABIA, by Lynn M. and Hope A. Hilton (paper read by Mrs. Hilton); and OLD WORLD METALWORKERS, by Samuel E. Shepley, atomic energy expert and former student of archaeology at BYU.

ABRAHAM'S SOJOURN IN EGYPT AND THE OSIRIS CULT, by Allen J. Christenson, former student of archaeology and linguistics at BYU, was scheduled to be read at the Symposium, but the author was unavoidably detained and the paper had not yet arrived.

An extensive photographic exhibit on the life and archaeological achievements of Thomas Stuart Ferguson was displayed throughout the Symposium, on the stage and outside the entrance to the hall. The exhibit had been assembled and installed by Thomas A. Lee, Field Director of the BYU—New World Archaeological Foundation.

Papers selected from among those read at the Symposium will appear in forthcoming numbers of the *Newsletter and Proceedings*; it is editorial policy to publish one or more such papers in most issues.

155.3 SEHA VOTERS ADD NEW TRUSTEE, RE-LEASE THREE, AT ANNUAL MEETING. A new member—Macoy A. McMurray—was added to the SEHA Board of Trustees, while the names of three—Ellis T. Rasmussen, A. Delbert Palmer, and Victor L. Ludlow—were withheld from nomination, at the Annual Business Meeting of the Society, held on October 22, 1983.

Also, 10 incumbent trustees were re-elected at the October 22 meeting: Ross T. Christensen, Ruth R. Christensen, M. Wells Jakeman, Clark S. Knowlton, V. Garth Norman, Esther Phelps Parks, Virgil V. Peterson, Welby W. Ricks, John A. Tvedtnes, and Bruce W. Warren.

By these actions the membership of the Board was reduced from 13 to 11. The Meeting was held between sessions of the Thirty-second Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures and in the same room (see 155.2, above).

The new trustee is Macoy A. McMurray, a Salt Lake City attorney. A separate article about him appears below (Article 155.4).

Ellis T. Rasmussen was released at his own request from his second period of service as a trustee, because of the pressure of other duties he has accepted following his recent retirement from the faculty of Brigham Young University.

Dr. Rasmussen first joined the SEHA in 1949, soon after it was founded and while the membership fee was only \$2 a year. He was elected an Advisor to the Board of Trustees in 1972 and after a few months was elected to the Board itself. In 1975–76 he also served as Society vice-president. In 1978 he was released as a trustee because of heavy duties incident to his appointment as dean of religious instruction at BYU. His second period of service as trustee began with his re-election in 1981. (Newsl. and Proc., 131.3, 132.2, 138.4, 147.4.)

In 1972, and again in 1973, Dr. Rasmussen organized the Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures as general chairman. In 1977 he delivered a memorial address at the Symposium in honor of Sidney B. Sperry, one of the founders of the BYU Department of Archaeology and for many years a leader in the SEHA. In 1978, he was named Honorary Chairman of the Symposium. (Newsl. and Proc., 132.1, 135.1, 143.0, 143.2.)

In 1963, Dr. Rasmussen, together with Lynn M. Hilton (who has since been named an Advisor to the SEHA Board of Trustees), visited the ruins of ancient Thebes in Egypt. No. 33 among the "private tombs" at the Necropolis of Thebes had been proposed as the "catacomb" where Antonio Lebolo, early in the nineteenth century, found the munmies that eventually resulted in the LDS scripture known as the Book of Abraham. The two professors, leaders of a BYU Travel Study tour, examined the tomb and returned with evidence suggesting that it was indeed the place where Lebolo had made his discovery. (UAS Newsl., 87.0; Newsl. and Proc., 150.5.)

A. Delbert Palmer was also released from the office of trustee at his own request. A former resident of Canada, he has found attendance at board meetings difficult because of frequent travel to Alberta to attend to his business interests. He has also been sent by the LDS church to South America on various missionary assignments. (*Newsl. and Proc.*, 145.7, 147.5.)

Mr. Palmer was elected to the SEHA Board of Trustees in 1975. He also served as vice-president, 1976 to 1978. (*Newsl. and Proc.*, 138.4, 139.2.)

In 1974, Mr. Palmer was chairman of the Twenty-fourth Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures, the best attended symposium the Society has ever sponsored: some 650 persons were present. In 1977, he served as acting symposium chairman and in 1979, as co-chairman with Clark S. Knowlton. (Newsl. and Proc., 136.0, 141.3, 144.2.)

Mr. Palmer holds the master's degree in Latin American Studies from BYU. He has long served in a volunteer capacity as an official of the BYU International Students Office. His son, David A., read papers before the Annual Symposium in 1966 and 1974, led and cosponsored the 1977 SEHA photographic expedition to Mexico and Guatemala, and authored the volume *In Search of Cumorah* in 1981. (Newsl. and Proc., 144.2, 149.0, 149.1.)

Victor L. Ludlow was released from the office of Society trustee following his call as president of the Germany–Frankfurt Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. His three-year term of service as mission president began last June (Newsl. and Proc., 154.3).

Dr. Ludlow has been a Life Member of the Society since 1964 and was elected a trustee in 1976. He served as chairman of the Twenty-sixth Annual Symposium in 1977. (Newsl. and Proc., 139.3, 141.3.)

As an associate professor of ancient scripture at BYU, Dr. Ludlow has had a special interest in Jewish history. He is the son of Daniel H. Ludlow, former dean of religious instruction at BYU and in 1968 director of the first BYU Semester Abroad in Jerusalem. Victor has also been director of the Jerusalem Semester Abroad and has otherwise traveled to Israel a number of times. (Newsl. and Proc., 139.3.)

The Board of Trustees is the policy-making body and final authority in all affairs of the Society. SEHA members are encouraged to participate in the decision-making process of the organization by expressing their views to any of the trustees.

Under the Articles of Incorporation adopted in 1970, voting at the Annual Business Meeting is the special privilege of the Society's Research Patrons. A member may become a Research Patron by contributing \$30 or more per year, in addition to his membership fee, to the Society's Research Fund, which is used for research and publication in the archaeology of the LDS scriptures.

By arrangement with Brigham Young University, Society members may now contribute to the SEHA Research Fund with tax relief to themselves. Simply make the check payable to BYU in the desired amount and send it to the BYU Development Office, A-285 Smoot Building, Provo, Utah 84602, with the request that it be restricted to the use of the Society for Early Historic Archaeology (SEHA). AT THE SAME TIME, notify the SEHA, asking that the gift be placed in the Society's Research Fund.

(The Development Office credits all such gifts to the SEHA account but does not forward instructions to the Society as to the specific purpose the donor has in mind. Thus the need for the member to contact the Society personally. See *Newsletter and Proceedings*, 152.9, March, 1983, for further details.)

Trustees are always nominated at the Annual Business Meeting to a one-year term of office and serve, if elected, until the next such meeting. They may serve, if re-elected, any number of terms in sequence.

155.4 SALT LAKE ATTORNEY BECOMES NEW-EST SOCIETY TRUSTEE. By Ruth R. Christensen. A prominent Salt Lake City attorney and long-time Book of Mormon student, teacher, and archaeology enthusiast, Macoy A. McMurray, was elected to the SEHA Board of Trustees at the Society's Annual Business Meeting, held on October 22, 1983 (see above, 155.3).

Mr. McMurray, born in Bear Lake Valley at Wardboro, Idaho, studied chemical engineering, served in the United States Navy during World War II as a radio technician, and in 1952 was graduated from the University of Utah Law School. He holds the Juris



Macoy A. McMurray

Doctor degree and is the senior partner in the law firm McMurray and McIntosh. His practice includes business and corporate law, litigation, accident-personal injury/property damage, and real estate and estate planning.

Active in the LDS church, Mr. McMurray has served as a missionary in the Southern States, a high councilman, the bishop of a University of Utah ward, and for over 20 years in his present calling as a host on Temple Square in Salt Lake City. He is also serving for the second time as counselor in the presidency of the Utah, Salt Lake City North Mission and with his wife, the former Marjorie Driggs, as a host in the Public Communications Department of the Church. He taught Book of Mormon in an early-morning seminary for some 16 years and for more than 10 years has been teaching an evening class on the same subject at the BYU—Salt Lake Center for Continuing Education.

Macoy and Marjorie are the parents of seven children, "foster" parents of a young man from France, and foster parents of two American Indian children. They have sponsored two refugee families from Cambodia and have assisted in sponsoring many other families from Southeast Asia. Because of her experience in aiding refugee families, Marjorie now works at the Salt Lake City office of the Tolstoi Foundation, a national sponsoring agency engaged in the resettlement of Indo-Chinese refugees in Utah. Visitors to the McMurray home during the past two years have come from more than 30 foreign countries.

The newest trustee first joined the Society in 1959 and since then has followed its activities with keen interest.

155.5 **BOARD APPOINTS NEW SECRETARY- TREASURER.** Ruth R. Christensen of Orem, Utah, was appointed secretary and treasurer of the SEHA at a meeting of the Society's Board of Trustees held on November 19.

Mrs. Christensen was graduated in 1940 from a secretarial and court-reporting school in Los Angeles and thereafter worked in California, Arizona, and Utah in medical, legal, engineering, police, courtroom, aviation, government, and university offices. She became a private pilot and an aircraft controller trainee.

Long interested in ancient studies, Mrs. Christensen came to Brigham Young University in 1946 desiring to learn the language that Jesus spoke. She studied biblical Hebrew under Sidney B. Sperry. Her formal training in archaeology began in 1947 with the introductory course under M. Wells Jakeman.



Mrs. Christensen and daughter Elisabeth examine a sarcophagus (stone coffin) at the Punic (colonial Phoenician) cemetery of Puig des Molins on the island of Ibiza, off the east coast of Spain.

Her interest in archaeology was renewed while she traveled with her husband and daughter through Lebanon, Israel, and the Mediterranean area in 1969 in a sabbatical research project on the archaeology of the ancient Phoenician civilization. After having reared nine children, she received a Bachelor of Arts degree in archaeology at BYU in 1973. Since then, she has continued her interest and graduate training in the same department. She spent the 1976 summer season digging with her husband at the Tel Aviv University excavation of biblical Beersheba. (Newsl. and Proc., 115.2, 118.0, 138.1.)

Her work in the SEHA began in 1974 as a staff member of the *Newsletter and Proceedings*. Later, she became assistant editor. For some years, she has worked occasionally as a membership clerk and office assistant. She has trained intensively for her present position over the past three months.

Mrs. Christensen was elected to the SEHA Board of Trustees in 1975 and named to the Society's Publications Committee in 1979 (Newsl. and Proc., 138.4, 143.4). She has served repeatedly as a committee member for the Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures, including the post of vice-chairman. She has written numerous brief articles and is the co-author of two major papers appearing in the Newsletter and Proceedings (131.0 in 1972 and 135.0 in 1974), the first of which was a paper read at the Annual Symposium in 1971.

The new secretary and treasurer replaces her husband, Ross T. Christensen, who has served the Society

in that post since November, 1952. Dr. Christensen, now fully retired from the BYU faculty following a four-year period of "phased retirement" beginning in 1979 (Newsl. and Proc., 144.0), will concentrate his efforts on the Society's publication program. He is the compiler of the volume Progress in Archaeology and has been the editor of most issues of the Newsletter and Proceedings published since he first accepted his faculty appointment in 1952.

Mrs. Christensen has undertaken her new position with enthusiasm. "It is not the kind of position I would ever volunteer for, but when the Board asked me to serve, I accepted gladly. And I'll do a good job, because I believe in the Society."

155.6 BANKER MAKES GIFT TO THE SOCIETY. By Ruth R. Christensen. V. Mark Peterson, investment banker of Alpine, Utah, donated \$4,519.28 in October to Brigham Young University for the use of the SEHA.

This gift helped pay the expenses of the Thirty-second Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures, including the guest address by Raphael Patai, renowned Hebraist (see 155.2, above).

The printing and mailing of this and other issues of the *Newsletter and Proceedings* are also being assisted by Mr. Peterson's gift. According to Ross T. Christensen, secretary and treasurer at the time the donation was received, "The officers of the Society are encouraged and gratified by this generous gift. The Society was organized to research and disseminate valuable information on the archaeology of the Scriptures to its full capacity. Rising costs present obstacles that can only be surmounted by donations such as this."

V. Mark Peterson was born in El Paso, Texas, and has lived in Denver and Salt Lake City. He has served the LDS church in the North East British Mission. He and his wife, the former Nancy Larkins, were graduated from BYU at the same time. They are the parents of four boys and two girls.

155.7 FORMER EDITOR GIVES SOCIETY COPIES OF PUBLICATIONS. Copies of publications dating to 1960 and 1961 have recently been sent to the Society by Dee F. Green, one of its former leaders. These will be added to the official list, "Publications for Sale" ("blue list"), at its next printing. In the meantime, prices are as follows:

- 1. UAS Newsletter, No. 70, November 25, 1960 (evidence for ancient trans-Pacific migrations; 6 pp.). Dee F. Green, editor, Price \$.30; to SEHA members, \$.25. Sixteen copies available.
- 2. "The San Blas Indians: A Study in Albinism," by Dee F. Green, Science of Man (Joseph Eugene Vincent, editor), Vol. 1, No. 3 (April, 1961), pp. 96–98. Price, \$.20; to SEHA members, \$.15. Fifty-three copies available.

Mr. Green served on the staff of the UAS Newsletter (now Newsletter and Proceedings of the SEHA), 1953–58, and as editor, 1958–61. He was awarded the Master of Arts degree in archaeology at Brigham Young University in 1961. He was elected a general officer (trustee) of the Society in 1962. He has excavated at Utah Lake, at the Nauvoo LDS Temple site, and in southern Mexico, and is now stationed at Albuquerque, New Mexico, as the regional director of archaeology with the US Forest Service.

Mr. Vincent, editor of *Science of Man* beginning with its first issue in 1960, has served the SEHA as an officer of its former Mexico City Chapter and as a general officer (trustee); he is now an advisor to the Board of Trustees.