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The Book of Mormon as a Mirror of the East

Author(s): Hugh W. Nibley

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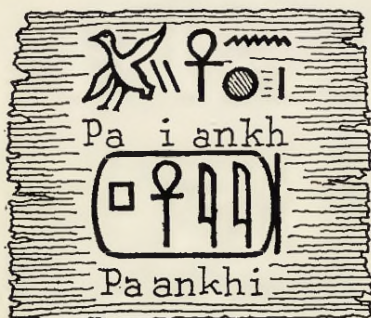
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Abstract: This article argues that Book of Mormon proper names are related to Egyptian etymologies.

"THE AVERAGE MAN," wrote the great A. E. Housman, "believes that the text of ancient authors is generally sound, not because he has acquainted himself with the elements of the problem, but because he would feel uncomfortable if he did not believe it." The Book of Mormon has enjoyed no such popular support. Indeed, the "average man" would like nothing better than to see it thoroughly exposed once and for all; it has made him feel uncomfortable for over a century. What is holding up the show?

For one thing, the Book of Mormon is immune to attack from the West. No matter how much archae-



Paiankh, son of Kherihor and Chief High Priest of Ammon. The name, in the form Paankhi, is borne by two rulers of the South, in the first and fourth kings of Dyn. XXV. It is absolutely identical with the Paanchi of Helaman 1, 3.

ological evidence may pile up one way or the other, the fact remains that the Book of Mormon never claims to be telling the story of all the people who ever lived in the western hemisphere. Even within its own limited compass it is, as Professor Sidney B. Sperry has shown, for the greater part "a minority report" and does not deal with various branches of several groups that came from the Old World. Thus where research in America may conceivably bring forth a wealth of evidence to support the Book of Mormon, no findings can be taken as unequivocal evidence against it.

It is a far different story when our book presumes to invade the soil of the East, giving specific names, places, and dates. Here any impostor of the 1820's would be on dangerous ground indeed. No better handle could be asked for unsparing and rigorous criticism than the outright commitments of the Book of Mormon on matters Egyptian. By harping on the peculiar

The BOOK OF MORMON

as a mirror of the East

By Hugh Nibley, Ph.D.

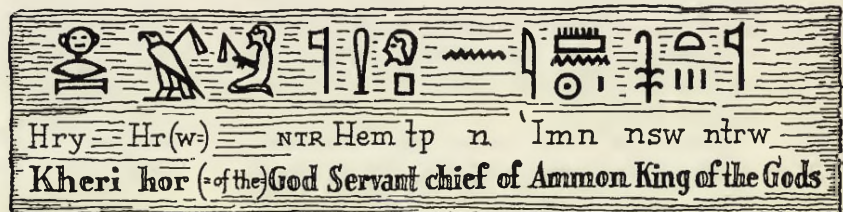
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND RELIGION,
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

neo-Egyptian language of the Nephites, by furnishing a list of their personal and place names, by pretending to describe political conflicts originating in the Old World, the author of the Book of Mormon plays right into the hands of modern critics. For the Near East of 600 B.C. is no longer the twilight zone of gorgeous mysteries it was

World parallels, and after a few general observations let the reader decide for himself just what significance should be attributed to these parallels.

BOOK OF MORMON

Acting on the recommendation of King Mosiah, who was anxious to avoid a throne controversy, the



The full title of Kherihor before he become king in Thebes. In the Book of Mormon (Alma 30) Korihor is sent by Ammon, whose office of High Priest over the people of Ammon has important judicial and political functions, to be tried before "the high priest and chief judge of the land." Just such a combined and general authority was enjoyed by Kherihor in Egypt as Chief Servant (Hem) of Amon. The Ammon in the Book of Mormon has a brother by the name of Hem.

in the days of Joseph Smith. Any fabrication by him or even his most learned contemporary would necessarily appear today as a mass of blunders in which some accidental resemblance to truth might be detected once, but hardly twice.

Does the author or translator of the book display any knowledge concerning that part of the world in which it claims to have had its origin? That is the question. By way of answer—a mere opening wedge as it were—we shall briefly discuss a few short years in Book of Mormon history, that stormy time during which the system of rule by judges passed through some of those severe tests which finally proved its undoing. We shall match the story step by step with a number of Old

people substituted for the kingship a system of rule by priestly judges:

... wise men to be judges, that will judge this people according to the commandments of God.^{1*}

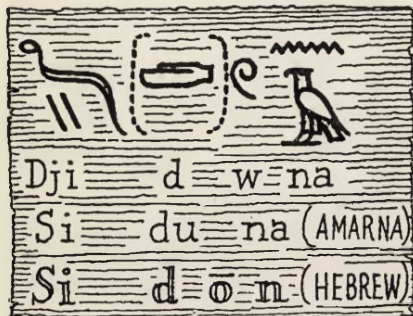
We are not told where Mosiah got the idea, but the eagerness and ease with which the people adopted the system imply that they were familiar with it.² This is definitely indicated by the account of one Korihor, who was able to gain a great following in the land by charging "the high priest, and also the chief judge over the land" with reviving "ordinances and performances which are laid down by ancient priests, to usurp power and authority" over the country.³ That there was a real danger of reviving

*Numbers refer to bibliography at end of article.

an ancient priest-rule is apparent from the fact that the new system had no sooner been established than a certain Nehor, in the first case to be tried by the new chief judge, is charged with being "first to introduce priestcraft among this people." The chief judge on this occasion observes that such priestcraft if allowed by the people "would prove their entire destruction." So we are told that priestcraft had not been practised in the New World, but that a tradition of priestcraft was vividly remembered; its origin must therefore be sought in the Old World, if we would believe the Book of Mormon.

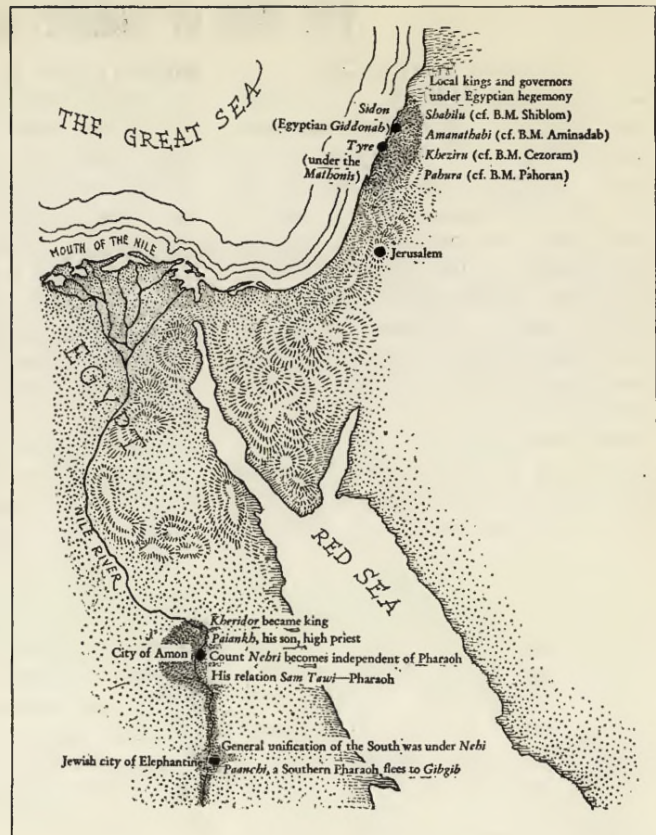
THE OLD WORLD

From the eleventh dynasty on, the history of Egypt is largely concerned with the efforts of the priests of Amon, with the chief priest of Amon at their head, to gain control of the country. About 1085 B. C. the chief priest of Amon actually seized the throne of the south, and from that time on "the high priest of Amon . . . could and constantly did reduce the king to a position of subservience." The name of the great priest who crowned himself in Thebes was Herihor or Kherihor. The cornerstone of the priestly rule was a new system of popular law courts, in which the priests of Amon were the judges, and which at first competed with and then supplanted the regular courts everywhere. The separatist tendency, which remains characteristic of the priestly history, may have been foreshadowed in the uniting of all the south countries as a single administrative unit under Nehi, the great governor of the eighteenth dynasty, as well as in



The Egyptian form of the name Sidon reads approximately Djidonah (the "d" very strong), suggesting the Book of Mormon proper name Giddonah. The Hebrew form is very common in the Book of Mormon. (From Max Burchardt, "Altkananaischen Fremdworte, etc.," after W. F. Albright, "Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography," 67.)

The tendency of Book of Mormon names to turn up in definite limited areas and in close association with each other is a strong indication that the resemblances between the Old and New World titles are not accidental.



the appearance, beginning with Count Nehri, of a separate ruling family at Thebes, under the patronage of Amon. Nehri's successor by taking the name *Sam Tawi*, "uniter of the lands," serves notice of a new dynasty.

Whether or not *Nehi* and *Nehri* are in any way related to the name *Nephi* (there are other Egyptian names that come nearer)¹⁹ remains to be investigated. But no philologist will refuse to acknowledge the possible identity of the Book of Mormon *Korihor* with the Egyptian *Kherihor*, and none may deny, philologist or not, a close resemblance between *Sam* and *Sam* (the brother of *Nephi*).

BOOK OF MORMON

The so-called "people of Ammon," a community noted for its piety, took *Korihor* before their leader, *Ammon*, "who was high priest over that people." Thence he was "carried before the high priest, and also the chief judge of the land." This higher court in turn "sent him to the land of Zarahemla . . . to Alma, the chief judge, who was governor over all the land," as well as head of the church.²⁰

THE OLD WORLD

The chief governor of Egypt was "the high priest of Amon" (or Ammon),²¹ his title being in Egyptian *neter hem tep*—"chief servant (*Hem*) of the God."²² *Hem* is an element in Egyptian proper names²³ and means the same as the extremely common *Abdi* element in western Asiatic names of the time (cf. the modern Arabic *Abdullah*, "servant of God"). It is most interesting that the brother of Ammon in the Book of Mormon actually bears the name of *Hem*.²⁴ As for *Amon* (or *Ammon*), it is the commonest proper name in the Book of Mormon, and also the commonest and most revered name in the Egyptian Empire.²⁵ Here it is time to point out that the Egyptian Empire at all times during the later period (after 930 B. C.) pretends to embrace Palestine and regard Jerusalem as a dependent.²⁶ The reverence shown the name of *Amon* in no way indicates the slightest concession to paganism on the part of the Jews, since *Amon* is no less than the Egyptian version of their own universal, one, creator-God, the Great Spirit, who is never conceived to be in animal form nor represented by any image.²⁷ He first

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appears about 2140 B. C. in southern Egypt, at Thebes, where he seems to have been an importation from western Asia.¹⁹ Can he be the God of Abraham? It is significant that the name first rises to prominence in the years following the time of Abraham's sojourn in Egypt, and at a place where the most famous Jewish colony in Egypt was settled. This colony at Elephantine may have been very ancient, since according to Egyptian records it had been the custom of the people of Palestine and Syria from time immemorial to seek refuge in Egypt and settle in such communities. It is conceded, at any rate, that the colony is a good deal older than the Hebrew records which came from it in the fifth century B. C.; possibly it dates from the middle of the seventh century.²⁰ This would make it old in the time of Lehi and furnish a possible explanation for the strange tendency of Book of Mormon names to concentrate in Upper Egypt.

A reflection of the Egyptian picture may be detected in the coast cities of Palestine, regularly under Egyptian influence, where government was also by priests and judges, who occasionally usurped the office of king. This happened both at Sidon and Tyre; in the latter city two priestly usurpers bore the name of *Maitena* or *Mattena*—a name which has a number of variants and strongly suggests the Book of Mormon *Mathoni*.²¹

BOOK OF MORMON

The experiment with government by priestly judges collapsed, largely due to a rivalry for the chief judgeship among three candidates, all sons of the great chief judge, *Pahoran*. Their names are *Pahoran*, *Paanchi*, and *Pacumeni*.²²

THE OLD WORLD

Such family rivalry for the office of high priest is characteristic of the Egyptian system, in which the office seems to have been hereditary not by law but by usage.²³

The name of *Pahoran* reflects the eastern *Pahura*, which is "reformed" Egyptian, i. e., a true Egyptian title, but altered in such a way as to adapt it to the Hebrew-Canaanite speech.²⁴ *Pahura* (also written

Puhuru) was in Amarna times an Egyptian governor (*rabu*) of Syria.²⁵ The same man, or another man with the same name was placed by Pharaoh as governor of the Ube district, with his headquarters at *Kumed*²⁶ (cf. the element—*Kumen* in the Book of Mormon place names).²⁷

Paanchi is simply the well-known Egyptian *Paiankh* (also rendered *Pianchi*, *Paankh*, etc.).²⁸ The first important man to bear the name was none other than the son of the above-mentioned *Kherihor*. He did not succeed his father on the throne, being content with the all-powerful office of chief high priest of Amon, but his son, *Panezem* did become king.²⁹ In the middle of the eighth century another *Pianhki*, a king of Nubia, conquered virtually all of Egypt, and claimed for himself the office of high priest of Amon at Thebes as well as the title of Pharaoh.³⁰ His successor, when the Assyrians invaded Egypt, in the days

"Boys, I never had a drop of liquor in my whole life, and I don't want to begin now."

—Abraham Lincoln

of Lehi, fled to a fortified city, as yet unlocated, which bore the name of *Kipkip* or *Kibkib*,³¹ a name that strongly suggests the Book of Mormon city-name *Gidgiddoni* (cf. also *Gingim-no*).³²

Pacumeni, the name of the third son, resembles that borne by some of the last priest governors of Egypt, whose names are rendered *Pa-menech*, *Pa-mnkh*, *Pamenches*, etc.³³ The Greeks (who often furnish the key to the correct reading of Egyptian names) put the guttural before the nasal, as in the Book of Mormon form, *Pachomios*.³⁴ The most famous man of the name commanded all the forces of the south, and was also high priest of Horus. At least one other governor-general of Egypt bore the name.³⁵

A striking coincidence is the predominance among both Egyptian and Nephite judge names of the prefix *Pa-*. In late Egyptian this is extremely common, and has simply the force of the definite article. For

the Egyptian chief priests *Panezem*, *Pakebis*, and *Panas*³⁶ we have no Book of Mormon parallel, but from the Nephite list we must not omit the name of *Pachus*, since, though I have not found it in the limited documents at my disposal, it is perfectly good Egyptian (meaning "he—Amon—is praised"), both elements occurring frequently in Egyptian proper names.³⁷ Another Book of Mormon judge, *Cezoram*, has a name that suggests that of an Egyptian governor of a Syrian city: *Chi-zi-ri* (*Knudtzon, Am. Taf.* 41, 2). It should be noted that the above *Panezem* upon becoming king took the name of *Meriamon*, which has a Book of Mormon ring, even if we don't read it *Moriamon*—a perfectly possible variant.

Sidon was the official port through which the Jews traded with Egypt. Since Lehi and his people were in the mercantile business, it is not surprising that Sidon is the only Palestinian city besides Jerusalem whose name figures prominently in Book of Mormon geography. Moreover, since Sidon was the common meeting ground between Hebrew and Egyptian, and since names in both languages occur in the Book of Mormon, one would expect the name of this most popular place to appear in its Egyptian as well as in its Hebrew form. The Egyptian form (Albright's list XXII, B, 4) is *Dji-dw-na*, which is remarkably close to the Book of Mormon personal name *Giddonah*.

For easier comparison we get the following tentative lists by placing the Old World (OW) words with the New World (NW) or Book of Mormon (BM) words:

Amon (*Ammon*), (OW), the commonest name in the later Empire; originally from south Egypt

Ammon, (BM), the commonest name in the Book of Mormon

Amanathabi, (OW), chief of a Canaanite city under Egyptian domination. The name is "reformed" Egyptian.

Aminadab, (BM), Nephite missionary in the time of the judges

Chiziri, (OW), Egyptian governor of a Syrian city

Cezoram, (BM), Nephite chief judge

Dji-dw-na, (OW), Egyptian name for Sidon

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Giddonah, (BM), i. high priest who judged Korihor

ii. father of Amulek

Hem, (OW), "servant," specifically, of Amon

Hem, (BM), brother of Ammon

Hes, Khesi, (OW), "praised," an Egyptian proper name

Pa-chus, (BM), leader of the faction that drove Pahoran from the judgment seat

Kherihor, (also written *Khurhor*, etc.) (OW), great high priest of Amon, who made himself king in South Egypt

Korihor, (BM), a political agitator who charged the judges with priestcraft, and was seized by the people of Ammon

Kipkip, Kibkib, (OW), a city in the extreme south of Egypt

Gingim-no, (BM), a Nephite city

Manti, (OW), Semitic form of an Egyptian proper name, e.g., *Manti-mankhi*, a prince in Upper Egypt about 650 B. C. Derived from Egyptian *Mntw*—*Month* of Hermonthis

Manti, (BM), the name of a Nephite soldier, a land, a city, and a hill

Nehi, (OW), great administrator who "united all the south under his direction"

Nehri, (OW), Count of Thebes who claimed independent dominion in the south of Egypt

Nephi, (BM), founder of the Nephite nation

Pahura, (OW), ambassador of Egypt in Palestine

Pahoran, (BM), i. great chief judge

ii. son of same

Paanchi, (OW), i. son of Keri-hor, the chief high priest

ii. ruler of the south who conquered all of Egypt, he was high priest of Amon at Thebes.

Paanchi, (BM), son of Pahoran, Sr., and pretender to the chief judgeship

Pamenches (*Gk. Pachomios* (O W)), commander of the south and high priest of Horus

Pacumeni, (BM), son of Pahoran, Sr., and rival pretender to the chief judgeship

Maitena, Mattenos, etc., (OW), two judges of Tyre, who at different times made themselves king,

possibly under the Egyptian auspices

Mathoni, (BM), a Nephite disciple

Sam Tawi, (OW), successor to Nehri, who took the name *Sam* (uniter) upon becoming king in the South

Sam, (BM), brother of Nephi

Sidon, (OW), the port through which all Jewish trade with Egypt had to pass

Sidon, (BM), the only city-name of the Holy Land, beside Jerusalem, which is a prominent Book of Mormon name

IT requires no great effort of the imagination to detect a sort of parallelism between the two short listings. But aren't we using unjustified violence when we simply take the names at random and place them side by side? That is just what is most remarkable; we *did* pick names at random, and we had the whole Near East to draw on, with Egyptian names by no means predominating numerically in the lists before us. Yet the *only* Old World names that match those in our Book of Mormon episode all come from Egypt, nay, from one particular section of Egypt, in the far south, where from an indefinite

A PRAYER

By Elaine Ellsworth

DEAR GOD, I do not ask for gold,
Or costly things, or wealth untold;
I have no need for carriage fine,
Or maids-in-waiting while I dine.

But let me have a cottage small
Where roses ramble on the wall.
Where in each room the sunshine, gay,
Makes patterns where the children play.

In that dear home may love abound,
And peace and happiness be found.
Where you may hear the music sweet
In patter of the children's feet.

Oh, may I have a little song
Within my heart the whole day long;
And do each task with loving care,
Till I see beauty everywhere!

Then in the dusk when shadows fall,
Oh, let me hear a welcome call;
As in the twilight, breathless . . . dim . . .
My heart on tiptoe waits for him.

And then I pray that I may see
The one I love come home to me.
And I will know the sweet caress
That crowns my day with happiness!

Dear God, these things my heart holds dear.
Oh, then thy heaven would seem near;
Love, truth, and beauty in each day.
It is for this I humbly pray.

date, but at least as early as the mid-seventh century, a Jewish colony flourished. What is more, all these names belong to the later dynasties, after the decline.

The Book of Mormon tells us that Lehi was a rich merchant, who, though he "dwelt in Jerusalem all his days," enjoyed an Egyptian education and culture, which he endeavored to transmit to his children. The book continually refers to the double culture of the people of Lehi: Hebrew to the core, but proud of their Egyptian heritage. "Egyptian civilization was one to be admired and aped," writes H. R. Hall, speaking of Lehi's own land and time. The only non-Hebraic names to enjoy prominence among the Nephites *should*, by the Book of Mormon's own account, be Egyptian, and such is found to be the case.

It will be noted that the names compared are never *exactly* alike, except in the case of the monosyllables *Sam* and *Hem*. This, strangely enough, is strong confirmation of their common origin, since names are bound to undergo some change with time and distance, whereas if the resemblance were perfect we should be forced to attribute it, however fantastic it might seem, to mere coincidence. There *must* be differences; and what is more, those differences should not be haphazard but display definite tendencies. This brings us to a most impressive aspect of Book of Mormon names.

Let us take for example the case of *Ammon*. Being so very popular a name, one would expect it to occur in compounds as well as alone, and sure enough, it is the commonest element in compound names, in the west as in Egypt. But in compound names *Amon* or *Amun* changes form following a general rule. Gardiner in his *Egyptian Grammar* (page 431) states:

A very important class of personal names is that containing names known as theophorous, i.e., compound names in which one element is the name of a deity. Now in Graeco-Roman transcriptions it is the rule that when such a divine name is stated at the *beginning* of a compound (the italics are Gardiner's) it is less heavily vocalized than when it stands independently or at the end of a compound.

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The author then goes on to show that in such cases *Amon* or *Amun* regularly becomes *Amen*, while in some cases the vowel may disappear entirely. One need only consider the Book of Mormon *Aminidab*, *Aminadi*, *Amnihu*, *Amnor*, etc., to see how neatly the rule applies in the West. In the name *Helaman*, on the other hand, the strong vocalization remains, since the "divine name" is not "stated at the beginning" of the compound. Since the Semitic "l" must always be rendered

as "r" in Egyptian (which has no "l") *Helaman* would in "unreformed" Egyptian necessarily appear as the typically Egyptian *Heramon*.

To return to our question: What did Joseph Smith, translator of the Book of Mormon, know about the Old World? So much seems certain, that he knew:

(1) A number of typically Egyptian names, queer-sounding words in no way resembling Hebrew or any other language known to the world of Joseph Smith's time.

(2) He knew the sort of plot and setting in which those names would figure in the Old World and seems quite at home on the Egyptian scene.

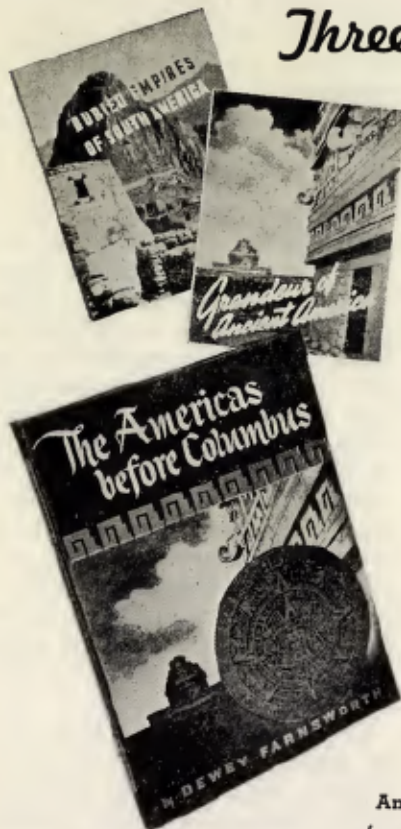
(3) He gives a clear and correct picture of cultural relationships between Egypt and Israel, with due emphasis on its essentially commercial nature, in the remarkably convincing picture of Lehi—a typical merchant prince of the seventh century B. C. The picture of life in the ancient east which the Book of Mormon allows us to reconstruct is the more wonderful in the light of those fantastic conceptions of the gorgeous East which bedizened the heads of even the best scholars at the time the book came forth.

The whole field of Book of Mormon names still awaits the careful study it deserves—the purpose of the present sketch being merely to indicate that such a study will prove anything but a blind alley. As a parting example of the validity of this claim we cite a principle stated by Albright (X, 12): "The loss of the ending *ōn* is quite common in Palestinian place-names." In Egyptian or "reformed" Egyptian such an ending would be preserved, and so we have Book of Mormon place-names *Emron*, *Heshlon*, *Jashon*, *Moron*, *Morianton*, etc.

It is no small feat, as was demonstrated in the article "Original Words of the Book of Mormon,"¹ simply to have picked a lot of strange and original names out of the air. But what shall we say of the man who was able to pick the right ones?

1. Mosiah 29:11.
2. *Ibid.*, 37-41.
3. Alma 30, 21-24; the charge is specifically against Alma.
4. Alma 1, 12.
5. H. R. Hall in *Cambridge Ancient History* III, 268.
6. A. Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1941) II, 591, renders the name *Herihor*, the "h" being hard "kh." The vowels are largely guesswork: thus E. A. W. Budge, *The Mummy* (Cambridge, 1925) p. 103; *Heriher*; *Hurhor* (*Aeg.Ztschr.* XX (1882) Suppl. pl. ii; *Heru* (E. Budge, *The Nile* (1912) p. 50); *Her-Hor*, A. Wiedemann, "Beiträge zur ägyptischen Geschichte," *Aeg. Ztschr.* 23 (1885), 83; Breasted, like H. R. Hall, prefers *Hrihor*. In this study we have chosen to follow Moret, whose recent and thorough study largely supersedes the others.
7. A. Moret, *op. cit.*, II, 569.
8. H. E. Winlock, "The Eleventh Egyptian Dynasty," *Jnl. of Near Eastern Studies*

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(Univ. of Chicago Press) II (1943), 256.
9. Winlock, *id.*, 266.

10. E.g., the early *Neheb* (or *Nehep*), xiii Dyn. Nehsi, and great numbers of names beginning with the element *Neb-* or *Nep-*. It is just possible, since the name is written *Nephi* instead of *Nefi* in the Book of Mormon that the "ph" represents, as in the Greek of the same period, an unstable "h"—"p-h." In that case Book of Mormon *Nehor* would be equivalent to the Hebrew version of Amenophis IV, who in Palestine is called *Naphuria*, and *Lehi* would stand for *Lephi*, an Egyptian equivalent of Hebrew *Levi*. This, however, is pure speculation.

11. Alma 30, 19-21; 29ff.

12. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1927), p. 429.

13. Moret, *op. cit.* p. 518; Hall, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, 268; *Hem-nuter-tepi*.

14. E.g., the famous priest *Hem-isi* of Dynasty xxiii, Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

15. Mosiah 7, 6.

16. Though the name of *Nephi* occurs oftener, *Ammon* in various forms seems to turn up as an element in proper name compounds far oftener than any other in the Book of Mormon. This is entirely in keeping with the behavior of the name of *Amon* in the East. Compare the *Amarna* names *Amandi*, *Amanappa*, *Amanathabi*, etc. with Book of Mormon *Aminadi*, *Aminadab*; also *Ammuni-ra* has the same relationship to Book of Mormon *Ammoni-hah* as the derived *Amarna* name *Khamuni-ra* has to Book of Mormon *Cameni-hah*. For *Amarna* names J. A. Knudtson, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1915) II, 1557. For the various vocalizations of *Amon*, as *Amen-Amun*, etc., Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 431. Compare also Book of Mormon *Helaman* with Egyptian *Heramon* (Egyptian always writes "r" for Semitic "l").

17. Moret, *op. cit.*, II, 658, and *passim*, is very insistent on this point; Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, 280; Egypt (in the seventh century) "never ceased to claim the west lands as an ancient dominion," regarding Hittites and Assyrians as mere interlopers.

18. Moret, *op. cit.*, II, 437-39, 567ff; W. Wolf, "Vorläufer der Reformation Echnatons," *Aeg. Ztschr.* 59 (1924), 109-119; Hans Bonnet, "Zum Verstaendnisdes Synkretismus," *Aeg. Ztschr.* 75 (1939) 45f.

19. Winlock, *JNES* II, 250; Moret, 209, 436.

20. Breasted, *Ancient Records* III, 27; cf. Hall, *op. cit.*, III, 294.

21. Moret, *op. cit.*, II, 610ff; III Nephi 19:4.

22. Helaman 1, 1ff.

23. A striking parallel to the Book of Mormon account is that given by Hall, III, 254; Moret, 590.

24. W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, Am. Or. Soc., 1934) deals with the problem of "reformed" Egyptian. The author suggests, p. 10ff, that a "new orthography was devised in the 'foreign office' of the Egyptian chancellery during the twentieth century" specifically for dealing with Palestine and Syria, since the scribes "found it necessary to devise an orthography which would enable them to read their own records." From this time on the new idiom underwent progressive and constant deterioration until, by the seventh century B. C. among other things "an almost complete shift in the quality of Egyptian vowels" had taken place. *Id.* p. 15.

25. Knudtson, *Amarna-Tafeln* 117, 123, 132, 1566.

26. *Id.* 1222. The name seems to have been both a personal proper name and the

designation of an office (cf. *Hem* above), Knudtson, 1566ff.

27. Thus Kishkumen (III Nephi 9, 10), cf. Kumen, Kumen-onhi; Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 44, 58.

27a. See accompanying cut, which may be found in Budge, *op. cit.*, pp 103, 108 and in W. M. F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt* (London, 1905) III, 202, 290, the latter giving phonetic values "Piankh" and "Pankhy" respectively. Paanchi is settled as the correct reading, however, by the principle stated in Gardiner, E.g. Gram., p. 521: the "i" as here occurring "is always final consonant."

28. Lists of priest-kings in the original form may be found in *Aeg. Ztschr.* XX (1882) Taf. ii, V (7a); Budge, *Mummy*, p. 103.

29. Hall, CAH, III, 273.

30. The Assyrian text (Br. Mus Cyl. no. 12168) is given in L. W. King, *First Steps in Assyrian*, p. 78ff.

31. III Nephi 9:8.

32. The name in its various forms is discussed by W. Spiegelberg, "Der Stratege Pamenches" *Aeg. Ztschr.* LVII (1922) 88-92. An even closer parallel is provided by *Amarna Pa-kha-am-na-ta*, given with variants in Knudtson, *Am. Taf.* II, 1566; he was governor of Amurru under Egypt.

33. *Id.* p. 89, n. 2.

34. Nos. 7 and 9 in Spiegelberg's list, p. 91.

35. Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

36. Winlock, *JNES*, 275, finds Egyptian commoners at Thebes with names Hesem, Hesi.

37. Harold Lundstrom, *The Improvement Era*, February 1948, p. 85.

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