1-31-2000

From Distance to Proximity: A Poetic Function of Enallage in the Hebrew Bible and the Book of Mormon

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Abstract   This essay analyzes examples of poetry in the Hebrew Bible and the Book of Mormon that do not conform to the standards to which prose is typically confined. Each of these poems contains a syntactic device that scholars have come to identify by the term *enallage* (Greek for "interchange"). Rather than being a case of textual corruption or blatant error, the grammatical variance attested in these passages provides a poetic articulation of a progression from distance to proximity.

From Distance to Proximity:

A Poetic Function of Enallage in the Hebrew Bible and the Book of Mormon

DAVID BOKOVOY

One of the greatest advancements in biblical studies since the time of Joseph Smith has been the recognition and analysis of poetic conventions in the Hebrew Bible. In recent years, scholars have begun to perceive what should have always been apparent: Biblical poetry operates according to specific literary premises that transcend the norms of ordinary tradition. One such provision includes the precedent for grammatical variance. This essay analyzes examples of poetry in the Hebrew Bible and the Book of Mormon that do not conform to the same standards to which prose is typically confined. Each of these poems contains a syntactic device that scholars have come to identify by the term *enallage* (Greek for "interchange"). Rather than a case of textual corruption or blatant error, the grammatical variance attested in these passages provides a poetic articulation of a progression from distance to proximity.

Nephi Rebukes His Brothers by Gary Kapp. © Courtesy Intellectual Reserve, Inc. Used by permission.

The word *enallage* refers to a grammatical convention that allows an author to switch personage in order to secure a deliberate literary effect.[1] This important example of semantic variance appears throughout the Hebrew Bible. "So *Jeshurun* grew fat and kicked," sang Moses to the congregation of Israel, "*you* grew fat and gross and coarse" (Deuteronomy 32:15).[2] As witnessed in this Deuteronomic passage, enallage often signifies a movement from distance to proximity.[3] In other words, after speaking of an individual in the third person (e.g., he, she, them) a poet will at times switch to second-person references (you singular, or you plural) in order to portray a special emotional attachment to the subject of his address. While a sudden shift in personage would seem highly inappropriate in prose, grammatical variations such as this actually typify poetry of the West-Semitic sphere.[4] In any case, this deliberate syntactic device seems to contain a highly poetic objective.

Poetic use of enallage expressing a movement from distance to proximity appears in the Song of Songs 1:2: "Let *him* kiss me with the kisses of *his* mouth," declares the female vocalist of the "Choicest Song," as she appeals to her lover in third-person address.[5] Then, in an emotional shift that poetically draws the lover into the woman's presence, she declares, "for *your* love is better than wine." Many attempts at correcting this apparent difficulty have been suggested over the years. Proposals have ranged from amending the text to envisioning the woman calling out to an assembly similar to the Greek chorus. Yet in addressing this issue, one scholar has insightfully observed, "the assumption of more than two speakers is fanciful; it seems best to leave the text unaltered since enallage (shift in person) is common in poetry."[6] And what is the poetic function of enallage in this passage? Having initially addressed her lover in terms of a distant relationship, the woman is then free to express her closer or more intense attachment with a more direct form of speech.

A similar example of this poetic technique occurs in Jeremiah 22:24–26, "As I live, declares the Lord, if *Coniah*, son of Jehoiakim king of Judah, were a signet on my right hand, I would tear *you* off even from there; I will deliver *you* into the hands of those who seek your life. . . . I will hurl *you* and the mother who bore *you* into another land, where *you* were not born; there *you* shall both die."[7] In this passage, the divine condemnation conforms to the same literary convention attested in the Song of Songs (though in an obviously negative sense) by first speaking of Coniah in terms of third person and subsequently moving to a more intimate address.

"Truly, *they* shall be shamed of oaks," declares the Lord of Hosts concerning the rebels and sinners who forsake the covenant, "because of *their* desire; *you* shall be confounded because of the gardens *you* chose" (Isaiah 1:29).[8] This statement parallels the format of Job's highly poetic lament: "*He* has truly worn me out; *you* have destroyed my whole community" (Job 16:7). The same pattern also appears in the poetic passage of Micah that praises the redemptive nature of the Lord God: "*He* will take us back in love; *He* will cover up our iniquities, *You* will hurl all our sins into the depths of the sea" (Micah 7:19). The progression accomplished in this poem (like those cited above) is meant to be striking: God at a distance; God at a distance; God in proximity.

Perhaps even more significant for the field of Book of Mormon studies is the fact that this well-attested poetic convention occurs in the individual praise recorded in Psalm 23. In this popular Davidic ovation, the poet begins his praise by referring to God in the third person:

> *The Lord* is my shepherd;
>   I lack nothing.
> *He* makes me lie down in green pastures;
> *He* leads me to still waters.
> *He* renews my life;
> *He* guides me in right paths
>   as befits *his* name. (Psalm 23:1–3)

At this juncture in the psalm, the same dramatic shift from third person to second person occurs:

> Though I walk through a valley of deepest
>   darkness,
>   I fear no harm, for *you* are with me;
> *Your* rod and *your* staff—they comfort me.
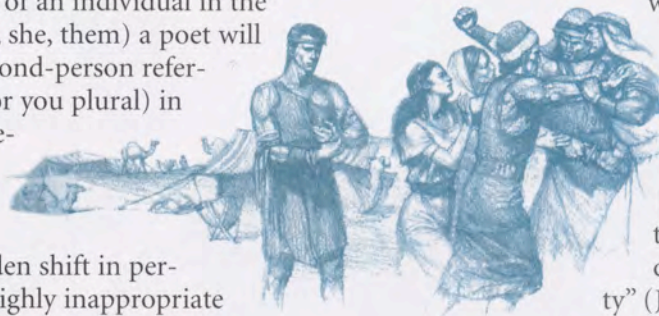
You spread a table for me in full view of my
    enemies;
      my drink is abundant. (Psalm 23:4–5)

The significant point pertaining to these examples of enallage is that distance prefigures proximity. In each case, it seems that by beginning a poetic presentation with third-person address, the author is then free to express his feelings for his subject as if that individual suddenly stood in the poet's presence. This dramatic shift produces an intentional literary effect that allows the subject, when spoken of in terms of third person, to share a direct emotional attachment with the individual offering the oration.[9]

Interestingly, a similar phenomenon occurs in the Book of Mormon. In *Our Book of Mormon*, Sidney B. Sperry forever christened 2 Nephi 4:16–35 as "The Psalm of Nephi." According to Sperry, "this is a true psalm in both form and idea; its rhythm is comparable to the noble cadence of David's poems; it not only praises God, but lays bare to us the very depths of Nephi's soul; a study of this psalm reveals how the scriptures delighted Nephi."[10] In support of Sperry's astute observation we might also add the occurrence of the poetic use of enallage. In a manner comparable to the examples cited above, Nephi begins his dictation by referring to his subject in the third person:

My God hath been my support;
He hath led me through mine afflictions
    in the wilderness
He hath preserved me upon the waters
    of the great deep.
He hath filled me with *his* love,
    even unto the consuming of my flesh
He hath confounded mine enemies, unto the
    causing of them to quake before me.
Behold, *he* hath heard my cry by day,
    and given me knowledge by visions in the
    night-time. (2 Nephi 4:20–23)

Like the psalmist in Psalm 23 who commences his praise of deity in the form of third-person address and then proceeds to commend God with second-person references, so Nephi achieves a dramatic shift in verse 30 by changing his praise "about" God to a praise directed "to" God:

Rejoice, O my heart, and cry unto the Lord,

and say:
O Lord, I will praise *thee* forever;
Yea, my soul will rejoice in *thee,*
    my God, and the rock of my salvation
O Lord, wilt *thou* redeem my soul?
    Wilt *thou* deliver me
    out of the hands of my enemies. . . .
O Lord, wilt *thou* encircle me around
    in the robe of *thy* righteousness!
O Lord, wilt *thou* make a way for mine escape
    before my enemies. . . .
O Lord, I have trusted in *thee,*
    and I will trust in *thee* forever.
    (2 Nephi 4:30–34)

At the conclusion of his praise, Nephi returns to the original poetic formula by referring to his subject in the third person:

Yea, I know that *God* will give liberally to him
    that asketh.
Yea, *my God* will give me, if I ask not amiss.
    (2 Nephi 4:35)

After communicating to God in a more removed sense, Nephi finishes his psalm by again speaking directly to God with second-person acclamation:

Therefore I will lift up my voice unto *thee;*
Yea, I will cry unto *thee,* my God,
    The rock of my righteousness.
Behold, my voice shall forever ascend up unto
    thee,
    my rock and mine everlasting God. Amen.
    (2 Nephi 4:35)

Nephi's psalm follows the same literary trend of grammatical variance attested in a survey of biblical poetry. Based on an analogy with the above forms, the switch from third to second person witnessed in Nephi's psalm can in no way be described as a blunder in syntax. Just as the Davidic psalm progresses poetically from distance to proximity, so the psalm of Nephi provides a dramatic portrayal of the poet's intimacy with God by following the same continuance. This connection suggests a possible key for unlocking one of the meanings of enallage in Hebrew poetry as a syntactic device that allows a character to progress from a location of distance to proximity in relationship to the Semitic poet. □

Museum Aramaic Papyri (New Haven: Yale, 1953), adds 9:25 to the list.

46 Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah*, 42–43, 59; Deutsch and Heltzer, *New Epigraphic Evidence*, 56–57; Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 184, 202–3.

47 Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 760.

48 Walter Franklin Prince, "Psychological Tests for the Authorship of the Book of Mormon," 380.

49 Nibley, *The Prophetic Book of Mormon*, 388.

50 Robert Deutsch and Michael Heltzer, *Forty New Ancient West Semitic Inscriptions* (Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publications, 1994), 23.

51 Ruth Amiran and A. Eiten, *Qedem* 3 (1970): 65; Avigad, "Two Seals of Women," 92f.; P. Bordreuil, *Catalogue des Sceaux Ouest-Sémitiques Inscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale du Musée du Louvre et du Musée biblique de Bible et Terre Sainte* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1986), 54; P. Bordreuil and A. Lemaire, "Nouveau sceaux hébreux, araméens et ammonites," *Semitica* 26 (1976), 49, pl. IV:9, 11; A. Lemaire, "Nouveaux sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques," *Semitica* 33 (1983): 17f., pl. I.1; Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 83, 92, 126–27, 130, 138, 142, 148, 187, 196, 216–17.

52 Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah*, 38, 81–82; Deutsch, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Isaiah*, 107–8; Deutsch and Heltzer, *New Epigraphic Evidence*, 52–53; K. G. O'Connell, "An Israelite Bulla from Tell el-Hesi," *Israel Exploration Journal* 27 (1977): 197–99, pl. 26G.

53 Fritz and Kempinski, *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, 134, pl. 78C.

54 Avigad, *Festschrift Reuben R. Hecht*, 122f.; Nahman Avigad, "Titles and Symbols on Hebrew Seals" (in Hebrew), *Eretz-Israel* 15 (1981), 303, pl. 57. Nahman Avigad, "Another Group of West Semitic Seals from the Hecht Collection," *Michmanim* 4 (1989b): 10; Bordreuil and Lemaire, "Nouveau sceaux hébreux," 51, pl. IV:16; P. Bordreuil and A. Lemaire, "Nouveau groupe de sceaux hébreux, araméens et moabites," *Semitica* 29 (1979): 72f., pl. III:2; P. Bordreuil and A. Lemaire, "Nouveaux sceaux hébreux et araméens," *Semitica* 32 (1982): 22f., pl. V:2; Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 59, 69, 121, 125–26, 162, 193, 205, 215–16, 223.

55 Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah*, 53, 62, 79–81, 90; Deutsch, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Isaiah*, 66.

56 See Mosiah 25:2; Alma 51:26; 52:2, 16–17, 19–20, 22, 26, 28, 34; 53:2, 6; Helaman 5:15; 6:10; 8:21.

57 See Alma 8:3–4, 6; 31:6; 35:13; 45:18.

58 See the discussion in Robert F. Smith, "New Information about Mulek, Son of the King," in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1992), 142–44. This identification has been challenged on the grounds that the vocalization of Mulek would not allow it to be hypocoristic for Hebrew *Malkiyāh(û)*. See David Rolph Seely in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 5 (1993): 311–15.

But similar vowel changes are acknowledged by scholars for other hypocoristic names in the Bible (Baruch for Berechiah, Nahum for Nehemiah, Shallum for Shelmiah, and Zaccur for Zechariah). See John A. Tvedtnes, "What's in a Name? A Look at the Book of Mormon Onomasticon," *FARMS Review of Books* 8/2 (1996): 39 n. 7.

59 Shiloh, "Bullae from the City of David," 28f.; Shoham, "A Group of Hebrew Bullae from Yigal Shiloh's Excavation."

60 Israel Museum No 68.35.199; חותמות מימי בת ראשון (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1979), 108; Ruth Hestrin and Michal Dayagi-Mendels, *Inscribed Seals* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1979), 111; Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 69.

61 For a discussion of the hypocoristic nature of names ending in aleph, with an extensive listing of examples, see Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 471.

How the Guide to English Pronunciation of Book of Mormon Names Came About
Mary Jane Woodger

The illustration at the beginning of this feature is *Joseph Smith Translating* by Dale Kilbourn. © *Courtesy Intellectual Reserve, Inc. Used by permission.*

1 Joseph Smith, in a letter to John Wentworth, Editor of the *Chicago Democrat*, 1 March 1842, *History of the Church*, 4:537.

2 Royal Skousen, "How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript," *JBMS* 7/1 (1998): 24.

3 Hugh Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert, The World of the Jaredites, There Were Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1988), 31.

4 Ibid.

5 Truman G. Madsen, "B. H. Roberts and the Book of Mormon," in *Book of Mormon Authorship: New Light on Ancient Origins*, ed. Noel B. Reynolds (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 13.

6 B. H. Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1907), 1:277–78.

7 Skousen, "How Joseph Smith Translated," 27.

8 John L. Sorenson, "The Mulekites," *BYU Studies* 30/3 (1990): 8, citing *Book of Mormon Critical Text: A Tool for Scholarly Reference* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1986), 2:483.

9 Donald W. Parry, "How Was the Book of Mormon Pronouncing Guide Developed, and What Is Its Chief Purpose?" *Ensign*, July 1996, 60.

10 See JS—H 1:33; John Taylor in *Journal of Discourses* 17:374; 21:94, 161; Parry, "How Was the Book of Mormon Pronouncing Guide Developed?" 60.

11 *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother, Lucy Mack Smith*, ed. Preston Nibley (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979), 83.

12 Robert G. Patch, "Does the 'Pronouncing Vocabulary' in the Book of Mormon Represent the Way the Nephites and Lamanites Actually Pronounced Their Names? Was the 'Pronouncing Vocabulary' Part of the Original Book of

Mormon?" *Ensign*, February 1980, 68.

13 John Gee, "A Note on the Name Nephi," *JBMS* 1 (1992): 191 n. 15. Note: "the spelling of 'Lehi' as 'Lehigh' in M. J. Hubble's interview of David Whitmer, 13 November 1886, in Lyndon W. Cook, ed., *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness* (Provo, Utah: Grandin, 1992), 210. Hubble was a non-Mormon and apparently had never seen the name spelled and thus spelled what he heard. As David Whitmer had 'cut loose from [Joseph Smith and the Church] in 1837' (Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 6) likely his pronunciation of the names had not altered from the initial period and thus the present American pronunciations of the names Nephi and Lehi were set within the first decade of the Church" (Gee, "A Note," 191 n. 15).

14 "Book of Mormon Students Meet," *Deseret Evening News*, 25 May 1903, 3–4.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Sidney B. Sperry, *Problems of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), 190.

19 George Reynolds, *A Dictionary of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Philip C. Reynolds, 1954), 338.

20 Ibid.

21 "New Issue of the Book of Mormon," *Relief Society Magazine*, February 1921, 97.

22 Anthony W. Ivins, *General Conference Reports* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1921), 20.

23 Lavina Fielding Anderson, "Church Publishes First LDS Edition of the Bible," *Ensign*, October 1979, 9.

24 Daniel H. Ludlow, conversation with the author, October 1999.

25 Edward J. Brandt, "Using the New LDS Editions of Scripture—As One Book," *Ensign*, October 1982, 43.

26 Bruce T. Harper, "The Church Publishes a New Triple Combination," *Ensign*, October 1981, 10.

27 George Horton, conversation with the author, November 1999.

28 Harper, "The Church Publishes a New Triple Combination," 10; Parry, "How Was the Book of Mormon Pronouncing Guide Developed?" 61. There is no evidence that any research on pronunciation by church members was undertaken.

29 Soren Cox, conversation with the author, November 1999.

30 Harper, "The Church Publishes a New Triple Combination," 15.

31 Ibid.

32 Parry, "How Was the Book of Mormon Pronouncing Guide Developed?" 60–61.

33 Harper, "The Church Publishes a New Triple Combination," 18.

34 Parry, "How Was the Book of Mormon Pronouncing Guide Developed?"

35 Hugh Nibley, *The Prophetic Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book), 96.

36 Brian D. Stubbs, "Looking Over vs. Overlooking Native American Languages: Let's Void the Void," *JBMS* 5/1 (Spring 1996): 1.

37 Daniel H. Ludlow, conversation with the author, November 1999.

38 Daniel H. Ludlow, "List of Suggestions to Help with Your Personal Study of the Book of Mormon," *Deseret News Church News*, 2 January 1988, 12.

The Deseret Alphabet as an Aid in Pronouncing Book of Mormon Names
Frederick M. Huchel

1 Albert L. Zobell Jr., "Deseret Alphabet Manuscript Found," *Improvement Era* 70, July 1967, 11. See also Glen N. Rowe, "Can You Read Deseret?" *Ensign*, March 1978, 60–61.

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1 Kevin L. Barney has published two important articles dealing with apparent examples of enallage in the Book of Mormon (though approaching this convention from a different perspective): "Enallage in the Book of Mormon," *JBMS* 3/1 (1994): 113–47, and "Divine Discourse Directed at a Prophet's Posterity in the Plural: Further Light on Enallage," *JBMS* 6/2 (1997): 229–34.

2 Biblical passages cited in this essay are the author's own translation of the Hebrew text in Rudolf Kittel, ed., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Wurttemburgische Bibelanstalt, 1990).

3 Not every instance of enallage in the Hebrew Bible conforms to this specific model (e.g., third person to second person). Examples of the shift from second to third person include Genesis 49:4; Isaiah 22:16; 31:6; 42:20; 47:8; 48:1; 52:14; 54:1, 11; 61:6; Jeremiah 22:18; Malachi 2:15; Psalm 22:9. For shifts from first to third person see Lamentations 3:1 and Isaiah 22:19. For an interpretation of the intentional switch from second to third person, see Barney, "Divine Discourse."

4 This literary tool is witnessed in several forms, including the shift from completed to noncompleted aspects that preserves the original notion of either a past or future tense. See, for example, Moshe Held, "The YQTL-QLT (QTL-YQTL) Sequence of Identical Verbs in Biblical Hebrew and in Ugaritic," in *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman Meir*, ed. Meir Ben-Horin, Bernard D. Weinryb, and Solomon Zeitlin (Leiden: Brill, 1962), 281–90.

5 It is hardly surprising to find the poetic use of enallage opening the Song of Songs since this book has long been recognized as the most highly poetic work in the Hebrew Bible. The term *Song of Songs* (Song of Solomon in the KJV) is an example of the superlative in biblical Hebrew. The title means "the choicest or best" song; see E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley, eds., *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1910), 431.

6 Marvin H. Pope, *Song of Songs* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 297.

7 The last two examples of *you* in Jeremiah 22:24–26 are second-person masculine plural forms. In this passage, the progres-

sion is from third person to second person, to second-person plural.

8 This verse presents many difficulties. The above translation reflects the suggestions discussed in *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, 462. Though one may question the validity of this reading, enallage is still attested in the movement from third to second person.

9 As noted above, the pattern seems to be too sweeping to be labeled as either *coincidence* or *textual corruption*.

10 Sidney B. Sperry, *Our Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Steven & Wallis, 1948), 110.

Paul Henning: The First Mormon Archaeologist
Robert W. Fullmer

1 M. Harvey Taylor, "Paul Henning, Early Latter-day Saint Archaeologist," in *Papers of the Fifteenth Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures*, ed. Ross T. Christensen (Provo, Utah: Society for Early Historic Archaeology, 1964), 90–93; W. Ernest Young, "A Curriculum of Readings in the Field of Religious Education from Spanish American Sources Designed for Seminary Students." (master's thesis, Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1935), 122–25.

2 Letter to B. Cluff Jr., 20 June 1902, University Presidential File, Cluff Collection, Box 8, Folder 3, Letter #8–3–122, Brigham Young University Archives.

3 Among Henning's most important publications are *Apuntes sobre la Historia del Chalchihuitl en America* (México: Secretaria de Fomento, 1911); (with others) *Tamoanchan, Estudio Arqueológico é Histórico* (México: Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología, 1912); *Estudios Mayas*, 2 vols. (México: Müller, 1919).

Out of the Dust

1 See "Prophecy among the Maya," in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, ed. John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1992), 263–65.

2 Stephen Houston and David Stuart, "Of Gods, Glyphs and Kings: Divinity and Rulership among the Classic Maya," *Antiquity* 70 (1996): 289–312.

3 See Berthold Riese, "La inscripción del Monumento 6 de Tortuguero," *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 11 (1978): 187–98.

4 Linda Schele and Peter Mathews, *The Code of Kings: The Language of Seven Sacred Maya Temples and Tombs* (New York: Scribner, 1998), 341 n. 8.

5 Marc K. Stengel, "The Diffusionists Have Landed," *Atlantic Monthly* (January 2000): 35–39, 42–44, 46–48.

6 Romeo Hristov and Santiago Genovés T., "Mesoamerican Evidence of Pre-Columbian Transoceanic Contacts," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 10 (1999): 207–13.

7 David Mattingly, "Making the Desert Bloom: The Garamantian Capital and Its Underground Water System," *Archaeology Odyssey* 3/2 (March–April 2000): 31–37.

New Light

1 Jim Borg, "The History Within," *Hawaii Magazine*, February 1997, 36–41.

2 J. Koji Lum, Olga Rickards, Clara Ching, and Rebecca L. Cann, "Polynesian Mitochondrial DNAs Reveal Three Deep Maternal Lineage Clusters," *Human Biology* 66 (1994): 567–90; Bryan Sykes, Andrew Leiboff, Jacob Low-Beer, Susannah Tetzner, and Martin Richards, "The Origins of the Polynesians: An Interpretation from Mitochondrial Lineage Analysis," *American Journal of Human Genetics* 57 (1995): 1463–75.

3 Bernice Wuethrich, "Proto-Polynesians Quickly Settled Pacific," *Science* 286 (10 December 1999): 2055.

4 Michel Graulich, "The Metaphor of the Day in Ancient Mexican Myth and Ritual," *Current Anthropology* 22 (1981): 45–60; "Myths of Paradise Lost in Pre-Hispanic Central Mexico," *Current Anthropology* 24 (1983): 575–88; "Afterlife in Ancient Mexican Thought," in Bruno Illius and Matthias Laubscher, eds., *Circumpacifica: Festschrift für Thomas S. Barthel* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1990), 165–88.

5 Leslie A. White, *The Science of Culture: A Study of Man and Civilization* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1949), 278.

6 See John L. Sorenson, "The Book of Mormon as a Mesoamerican Record," in Noel B. Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997), 429–33.

7 Hanns J. Prem, "Only a Bag of Sawdust? Historical Personalities among 'Historyless' Peoples?" in Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, Carmen Arellano Hoffmann, Eva König, and Heiko Prümers, eds., *50 Years Americanist Studies at the University of Bonn: New Contributions to the Archaeology, Ethnohistory, Ethnolinguistics and Ethnography of the Americas* (Markt Schwaben, Germany: Sauerwein, 1998), 345–58.

8 Robert N. Zeitlin, "Two Perspectives on the Rise of Civilization in Mesoamerica's Oaxaca Valley," *Latin American Antiquity* 11/1 (2000): 87–89.

9 Richard E. Blanton, et al., *Ancient Oaxaca: The Monte Albán State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

10 Joyce Marcus and Kent Flannery, *Zapotec Civilization: How Urban Society Evolved in Mexico's Oaxaca Valley* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996).

11 According to an unpublished paper by Jon P. Kirby, "The Non-Conversion of the Anufo of Northern Ghana," a copy of which was given to John Sorenson by Kirby when he lectured at BYU in January 1986; he had served as a Christian missionary among the Anufo before training as an anthropologist.