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Paul Y. Hoskisson

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Title Response to the Comments

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Abstract Hoskisson responds to and elaborates on the comments about the names *Lehi* and *Sariah* that Chadwick, Pike, and Tvedtnes provided in this onomastic discussion. Where Hoskisson disagrees with their conclusions, he uses examples to defend his position. He acknowledges the contribution this discussion has provided to the study of Book of Mormon proper names. He welcomes further examples on the points suggested by these scholars.

Response to the Comments

PAUL Y. HOSKISSON

As stated at the end of my article, “new suggestions are always welcome” when working with the onomasticon of the Book of Mormon. Therefore, I appreciate very much the helpful suggestions of Jeffrey R. Chadwick, Dana M. Pike, and John A. Tvedtnes. Each has contributed in a significant way to making the study of the names more complete.

I am grateful that John Tvedtnes called my attention to Jeffrey Chadwick’s publication in the *Journal*,¹ in which Sariah is supposedly attested as a feminine personal name in the Elephantine papyri. The attestation is however contained in a restoration, and restorations cannot provide absolute proof but rather at best a suggestion. However, the very suggestion itself indicates that other scholars accept the possible existence of this feminine name in relative temporal proximity to the beginnings of the Book of Mormon.²

Sariah can mean “Jehovah is my prince,” contrary to Chadwick’s explanation, as well as “Jehovah is prince.” In Northwest Semitic languages, when the first person possessive suffix is attached to masculine singular nouns in the nominative, it is indicated by the long vowel *ī*, not by the consonant *yod*. (Feminine nouns and oblique cases are treated variously.) This long vowel is not usually represented in the script until fairly late in the history of the Hebrew language when *matres lectionis* (the representation of long vowels with a consonant) became the norm. In addition, personal names can be very conservative, often reflecting archaic forms. Thus, in personal names such as Sariah, the presence of a *yod* at the beginning of the second element in the word does not exclude the presence of the first person possessive suffix. In short, the *yod* that Chadwick mentions does not have to perform double duty in order for the name to mean “Jehovah is my prince,” even though there is evidence that some letters actually perform double duty.³

Professor Pike calls attention to the so-called Phoenician personal name *šmlhly*, containing a possible analog to Lehi, namely the element *lhy*. In commenting on the text that contains this name, Joseph Naveh states “that we have here a Phoenician cursive script from the Persian period . . . [belong-

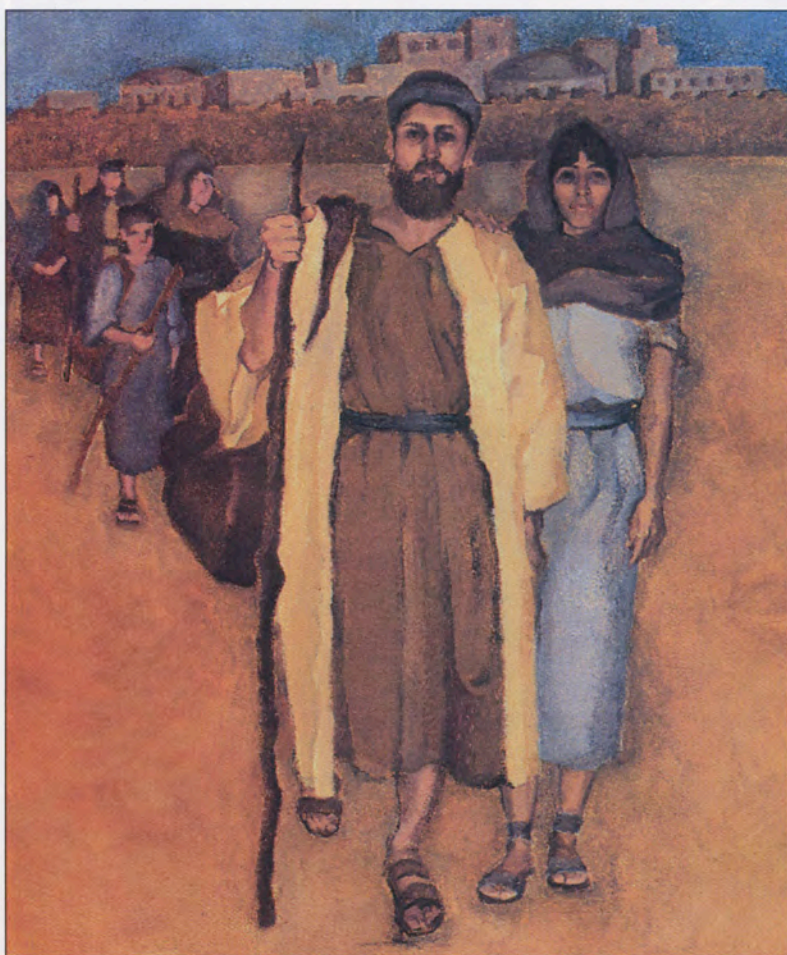
ing] to the late fifth or early fourth century B.C.”⁴ This would of course postdate Lehi but still be relatively close to the beginnings of the Book of Mormon. However, he also states that the element *lhy* is “an unusual component in the Phoenician onomasticon.”⁵ Nevertheless, he argues that since it appears in a list of other obviously Phoenician names and that the ductus is obviously Phoenician, the element, though unusual, is Phoenician. Frank L. Benz, in his classic study of Phoenician names published six years later, concluded that the element *lhy* is of Arabic derivation,⁶ perhaps because he can cite only Arabic parallels. Certainly there is some doubt about whether this name is Phoenician. In addition, from a strictly geographic point of view, Elath, where the text was found, is much more likely to be within the onomastic influence of Arabia than Phoenicia, though as Naveh points out, Phoenicians were certainly present there. What all of this means is that if *šmlhly* is not Phoenician, then there is no unequivocal example of the element *lhy* in the Northwest Semitic onomasticon.

Dr. Chadwick argues that Book of Mormon “Lehi” and the KJV “Lehi” “must necessarily represent the same Hebrew term.” This bothers me a little because it assumes that Joseph Smith was dependent on the KJV for pronunciation. While this may be the case with some recognized biblical names, such as “Sarah,” it cannot be maintained across the board. For example, it is not the case with the Book of Mormon “Isabel,” which certainly is the same name as “Jezebel,” the name of the Phoenician wife of the Israelite king Ahab.

With regard to body parts appearing in personal names, I stand by my original statement: there is only one possible example in biblical Hebrew, and even that example is metaphorical. If, however, denominatives (nouns that have become verbs and therefore lost their nominal character) are counted, as Chadwick has done, but which I must reject, then there are a few examples. The example of לָבַד that he raises needs more comment. While it may have originally meant “beard,” the word became denominationalized (in Hebrew, Arabic, and Akkadian), coming to mean “to grow old.” In its adjectival (i.e., stative) form derived from the verb it came to mean “old” and in the nominalized adjectival form, “elder.” In these secondarily derived meanings, it is also used to describe women (see Zechariah 8:4), which probably rules out the meaning “beard.” Neither is יָמִין , *yamīn*,

a valid example. While “right” can be used *pars pro toto* for “right hand,” the original meaning is directional rather than anatomical. That is why some modern scholars translate “Benjamin” as “Son of the South.” It cannot be assumed that “right” is always used synecdochically for “right hand.” Therefore, I state once again, there are no unequivocal examples in biblical Hebrew of a body part being used in its strictly nominal form in any Hebrew name.

With regard to geographic names becoming personal names, there is not a single example that I am aware of in the Old Testament. (I would be delighted if someone could supply an example.) On the other hand, there are numerous examples of personal names becoming geographic names. Such is the case with all of the examples that Chadwick cites.



Lehi and Family Leaving by Sue Hansen. © Courtesy Sue Hansen.

However, my argument here is basically an argument out of silence: in all instances where a personal name and a geographic name coincide, the personal name always appears in the Hebrew text in a context prior to the context of the geographic name. I would welcome a clear example of a geographic name becoming a personal name.⁷

Professor Pike correctly perceived that my mention of the suitability of certain etymologies does not mean that suitability points to an etymology or even that suitability is an important factor in looking for meaning. When looking for possible meanings, suitability does not equate with etymology. However, the suitability of a name to an individual does come into play when the proposed etymology of the name would seem to be inappropriate. For example, it would be unlikely that “Hater of Jehovah” would be possible for an Israelite of the tenth century B.C. Before accepting such an etymology, no matter how tempting it might be, most scholars would certainly ask many questions and have grave doubts. Nevertheless, some names seem, from their etymology and from the context in which they occur, to be suitable for that individual, even if we would find it hard to believe that someone would legitimately carry that name. For example, Chadwick cites in his critique the example of Nabal, which does mean “fool.” If it were not for the context of the story, which makes it clear that the name is entirely suitable to the person who bears it, we would have to doubt the meaning, because no parent would give such a name to their child, nor would any sane person take such a name upon themselves. We are left to conclude that the name is probably a dysphemism à la Nebuchadnezzar for Nebuchadrezzar. As a dysphemism, the name suits the person. □

- constitute verse 2 and the first half of verse 3.
- 23 William W. Phelps, "An angel came down from the mansions of glory," in Smith, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns*, #16.
 - 24 See, for example, "The Indian Hunter" ("Oh, why does the white man follow my path, / Like the hound on the tiger's track?") by the English poet Eliza Cook (1818–1889), one of three Cook poems anthologized in Hazel Felleman, comp., *The Best Loved Poems of the American People* (New York: Doubleday, 1936), 625; or "Metacom" by John Greenleaf Whittier: "My father loved the white men, when / They were but children, shelterless, . . . / Nor was it given him to know / That children whom he cherished then / Would rise at length, like armed men, / To work his people's overthrow." *The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1894), 489.
 - Eliza R. Snow was also fond of this tradition. One of her first published poems (in 1830, five years before she became a Latter-day Saint) was "The Red Man of the West": "The Great Spirit, 'tis said, to our forefathers gave / All the lands 'twixt the eastern and western big wave," *Ohio Star*, 31 March 1830. Much later she lengthened and "Mormonized" this poem, retitling it "The Lamanite." It was published in the *Deseret News*, 20 September 1865. The expanded version promises that "The scales will fall which now becloud their eyes, / And they, in faultless purity arise."
 - 25 Grant Underwood, "Book of Mormon Usage in Early LDS Theology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17/3 (1984): 59.
 - 26 Parley P. Pratt, "When earth in bondage had long lain," in Young, Pratt, and Taylor, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns . . . in Europe*, (1840), #258.
 - 27 Parley P. Pratt, "The solid rocks were rent in twain," in *ibid.*, #259.
 - 28 Parley P. Pratt, "O who that has search'd in the records of old," in *ibid.*, #260.
 - 29 Author unknown, "Ye wond'ring nations, now give ear," in *ibid.*, #250.
 - 30 When the plight of the Indians was treated in popular poetry, it was common for an Indian persona to speak a first-person lament; all three hymns printed with this article use this device.
 - 31 Felix Bartholdy Mendelssohn, "Consolation," in *Songs without Words* (Boston: O. Ditson, 1906), #9.
 - 32 The tune paired with this text in the *Psalmsody* (#212) is "See, the conqu'ring hero" from George Frideric Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* (New York: Vanguard, 1974)—high expectations indeed from a congregation!
 - 33 Louisa L. Greene Richards, "The Savior at Jerusalem" in *Deseret Sunday School Songs*, #131.
 - 34 J. Marinus Jensen, "A Voice Hath Spoken from the Dust," in *Hymns of the Church* (1950), #291.
 - 35 This hymn is not listed under the Book of Mormon heading in the topical index! The text is aesthetically satisfying because of the inclusive, ecumenical use it makes of the Book of Mormon, but apparently its connection with its source is therefore more abstract.
- 36 Although the Book of Mormon presence in our modern hymnbook is rather modest, other kinds of music make rich use of Book of Mormon materials. The importance of Book of Mormon songs for the Primary organization has already been mentioned; although the Book of Mormon heading in *Children's Songs* lists only twelve songs, many of these are immensely popular, and they play a crucial role in familiarizing young Latter-day Saints with the Book of Mormon. A great deal could be written about the significant role of the Book of Mormon in the works of serious Latter-day Saint composers, including Leroy Robertson's *Oratorio from the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Leroy Robertson, 1953) and Crawford Gates's score for the Hill Cumorah Pageant, *Music from the Hill Cumorah Pageant: America's Witness for Christ*, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, VVOT 4188 (© 1988). Other examples are numerous. K. Newell Dayley has provided a musical setting for 3 Nephi 13–14, "I Come unto My Own," Ralph G. Rodgers Jr. (lyrics), *III Nephi* (Oratorio), Promised Valley Playhouse, LP 14457 (© 1978). In addition, popular vocal music written for the Mormon market has used the Book of Mormon with great success; as fairly free-form works, without the strict requirements of meter and rhyme found in a hymn stanza, these songs often use unparaphrased text. An example familiar to many English-speaking LDS people is "Oh, That I Were an Angel" (Alma 29:1; music by Wanda West Palmer).
 - 37 Alfred Tennyson (lyrics), Crawford Gates (music), "Ring Out, Wild Bells," in *Hymns*, (1985), #215.
 - 38 *Deseret Sunday School Song Book* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1899).
 - 39 Noel B. Reynolds, "The Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon in the Twentieth Century," *BYU Studies* 38/2 (1999): 7.
 - 40 Conversation with the author, 30 November 1999.
- Seeking Agreement on the Meaning of Book of Mormon Names
- 1 Several researchers have worked on onomastic studies over recent decades. Hugh Nibley started the genre with several chapters in *Lehi in the Desert and The World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952). Robert F. Smith privately distributed several papers that are still unpublished. John A. Tvedtnes did the same; in addition see his "A Phonemic Analysis of Nephite and Jaredite Proper Names," *Society for Early Historic Archaeology Newsletter and Proceedings* 141 (December 1977): 1–8. Joann Carlton, a Semiticist in southern California, with John W. Welch produced a 1981 FARMS Paper, "Possible Linguistic Roots of Certain Book of Mormon Names." A particularly useful introduction to the field is Paul Y. Hoskisson's "An Introduction to the Relevance of and a Methodology for the Study of the Proper Names of the Book of Mormon," in *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley*, ed. John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1990), 2:126–35.
- Lehi and Sariah
Paul Y. Hoskisson
- 1 See Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 3rd ed., rev. Walter Baumgartner, Johann Jakob Stamm, and Benedikt Hartmann (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 53. See for example the "Name List" in Appendix 3 of Jeanene D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 334ff.; for this reference I wish to thank my colleague Dana M. Pike of Religious Education at BYU. The biblical personal name Ozni and its gentilic Oznite (see Numbers 26:16) and Azaniah (see Nehemiah 10:9), though related to the word for "ear," are probably denominative verbal forms. See Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon*, 27. For a listing of other possible body parts used in names, see Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names*, Appendix 3, sub זָן, לֵחַי, יָד, יָנ, and פִּתּוּ.
 - 2 *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, L:150. I would like to thank Jonathan Gimmel for finding this rather obscure example.
 - 3 Paul Haupt, a German-American scholar working around the turn of the last century, was one of the first to derive the personal name *lhy* from "cheek" or "jawbone." Hugh Nibley downplayed this interpretation, preferring Nelson Glueck's reading "Lahai," thus suggesting the biblical place name Lahai-roi in Genesis 24:62 and 25:11. See Hugh W. Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1988), 239.
 - 4 Hani Hayajneh, *Die Personennamen in den qatabänischen Inschriften* (New York: Olms, 1998), 226, sub LHʿY, "Er möge leben, (O Gott NN)." Under the same entry, Hayajneh does not exclude the meaning "Beauty (of God)." Note the semantic parallel in Akkadian, *lu-ba-lī-lī*, in I. J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957), 156–57.
 - 5 Translation from the Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1950 edition.
 - 6 See the similar construction in Ran Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography* (Leuven: Peeters, 1988), 61; "Lā'el (W)' Of God/El'; Lury (PE) 'Of Nry (my light')."
- The Names Lehi and Sariah—Language and Meaning
Jeffrey R. Chadwick
- 1 Nahman Avigad and Benjamin Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1997), seals #8, #174, #175, #511, #1072. The name also appears in Lachish Letter #1.
 - 2 *Ibid.*, seal #145 and p. 496.
 - 3 If "Ahazyahu the Elder" were implied, the word זָן (*zaqen*) would need to include an initial ה (*h*) representing the direct object *ha* and would need to appear in a position following the name Ahazyahu, as an adjectival title.
- 4 Paul Y. Hoskisson, "Lehi and Sariah," in this issue.
 - 5 See Genesis 17:17–19 (Isaac); Genesis 30:8 (Naphtali); 1 Samuel 4:21–22 (Ichabod).
 - 6 Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "Sariah in the Elephantine Papyri," *JBMS* 2/2 (1993): 196–200.
 - 7 Arthur E. Cowley, ed. and trans., *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), 67.
 - 8 *Ibid.*, xv; Bezalel Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 320.
 - 9 See 2 Samuel 8:17; 2 Kings 25:18; 23:25; 1 Chronicles 4:13–14; 4:35; 6:14; Ezra 2:2; 7:1; Nehemiah 10:2; 11:11; 12:1, 12; Jeremiah 40:8; 51:59, 61; 52:24.
 - 10 Nahman Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1986), 47.
- Response to Paul Hoskisson's "Lehi and Sariah"
Dana M. Pike
- 1 See, for example, E. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 976, s.v., לֵחַי; *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (New York: Brill, 1994–), 3:1356, s.v., לֵחַי.
 - 2 E.g., Nahman Avigad and Benjamin Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1997), 163, #390.
 - 3 Frank L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972), 180, 338, 418.
 - 4 See Mary Jane Woodger, "How the English Pronunciation of Book of Mormon Names Came About," in this issue.
- Lehi and Sariah Comments
John A. Tvedtnes
- 1 Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "Sariah in the Elephantine Papyri," *JBMS* 2/2 (1993): 196–200; reprinted in John W. Welch and Melvin J. Thorne, eds., *Pressing Forward with the Book of Mormon* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1999), 6–10.
 - 2 See John A. Tvedtnes, John Gee, and Matthew Roper, "Book of Mormon Names Attested in Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions," in this issue.
 - 3 *Ibid.*
- Response to the Comments
Paul Y. Hoskisson
- 1 Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "Sariah in the Elephantine Papyri," *JBMS* 2/2 (1993): 196–200.
 - 2 In the original article I could have added more examples of the masculine name לֵחַי, but it seemed to me unnecessary. A clear-cut example of the name used for a female would be more helpful.
 - 3 רַשָּׁאֵל is interpreted as אֱלֹהֵי רַשָּׁאֵל, "god has

- healed." The aleph that closes the first word also begins the second word. In essence the aleph is doubled, though the orthography would never reveal it.
- 4 "The Scripts of Two Ostraca from Elath," *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 183 (1966): 27.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 27–28.
- 6 Frank L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972), 338.
- 7 Gentilic personal names from geographic names, of course, cannot be used as evidence because such names really mean "of the geographic feature X." A special case may be "Anathoth," which Professor Pike drew to my attention. This toponym is likely used as a personal name in two passages in the Bible after it first appears as a place name. However, this name can only be derived from the divine name Anath, a Canaanite goddess, in which case we have a divine name becoming a place name becoming a personal name. This is not the same as a purely geographic name becoming a personal name.
- Book of Mormon Names Attested in Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions
John A. Tvedtnes, John Gee, Matthew Roper
- 1 Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "Sariah in the Elephantine Papyri," *JBMS* 2/2 (1993): 196–200. The name is known from three seals: Nahman Avigad, "New Names on Hebrew Seals," *Eretz-Israel* 12 (1975): 69, pl. 14:11; Nahman Avigad, "The Seal of Seraiah (Son of) Neriah," *Eretz-Israel* 14 (1978): 86f; Nahman Avigad and Benjamin Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1997), 91; and two bullae: Nahman Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1986), 46–47, 103–4. A variant spelling, *Sryh*, is attested on a seal from the eighth or seventh century B.C., probably found in Syria, M. de Vogüé, "Intailles à légendes sémitiques," *Revue Archéologique* 17 (1868): 447f. Note that all the names attested in this article can also be found in G. I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 2 Hugh W. Nibley, *The Prophetic Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1989), 281–82. The original notice of the discovery was in Yigael Yadin, *Bar Kokhba* (New York: Random House, 1971), 176.
- 3 Paul Y. Hoskisson, "Alma as a Hebrew Name," *JBMS* 7/1 (1998): 72–73. See also the discussion in David K. Geilman, "5/6Hev 44 Bar Kokhba," in *Ancient Scrolls from the Dead Sea*, ed. M. Gerald Bradford (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997), 39.
- 4 Terence L. Szink, "Further Evidence of a Semitic Alma," *JBMS* 8/1 (1999): 70.
- 5 In recent years, the name Alma has drawn fire from critics, who claim that it is from the Hebrew word meaning "young woman." However, this word has a different Hebrew spelling (*almah*) than the man's name as it appears on the Bar Kochba document.
- 6 For a discussion of this term as a political title in ancient Israel, see Hugh W. Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon*, 3rd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1988), 95–97, 106, 113, 128; *Leli in the Desert, The World of the Jaredites, There Were Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1988), 7–9, 98–99; and, more recently, John A. Tvedtnes, *The Most Correct Book: Insights from a Book of Mormon Scholar* (Salt Lake City: Cornerstone, 1999), 59–75.
- 7 See 2 Samuel 8:17; 2 Kings 25:18, 23; 1 Chronicles 4:13–14, 35; 6:14; Ezra 2:2; 7:1; Nehemiah 10:2; 11:11; 12:1, 12.
- 8 For examples, see Nahman Avigad and Benjamin Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1997), 122, 134, 163, 189, 237.
- 9 Robert Deutsch, *Messages from the Past: Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Isaiah through the Destruction of the First Temple* (in Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publications, 1997), 67–68.
- 10 Yohanan Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 80.
- 11 Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah*.
- 12 Deutsch, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Isaiah*, 172.
- 13 See Robert Deutsch and Michael Heltzer, *New Epigraphic Evidence from the Biblical Period* (Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publication, 1995), 89–90.
- 14 Dwight C. Ritchie, *The Mind of Joseph Smith: A Study of the Words of the Founder of Mormonism Revealing 24 Symptoms of Mental Derangement* (n.p.: Dwight C. Ritchie, 1954), 41.
- 15 M. A. Shresny, *Mormonism: As It Is To-Day. Some Striking Revelations* (London: Stockwell, 1911), 24–25.
- 16 Jerald Tanner and Sandra M. Tanner, *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality*, 5th ed. (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1987), 95.
- 17 William F. Albright to Grant S. Heward, Baltimore, Maryland, 25 July 1966.
- 18 Grant S. Heward to I. E. S. Edwards, Midvale, Utah, 14 March 1967. We thank Boyd Peterson, who discovered the correspondence and provided photocopies, for bringing this exchange to our attention.
- 19 Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 66–67.
- 20 See James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969), 2–3, 249.
- 21 See 1 Kings 11:29–30; 12:15; 14:2, 4–6, 18; 15:27, 29, 33; 21:22; 2 Kings 9:9; 1 Chronicles 2:25; 11:36; 26:20; 2 Chronicles 9:29; 10:15; Nehemiah 10:26.
- 22 See Yohanan Aharoni, "Excavations at Ramat-Rahel," *Biblical Archaeologist* 24 (1961): 107; Nahman Avigad, "A Group of Hebrew Seals," *Eretz-Israel* 9 (1969): 5, pl. 2:12 (in Hebrew, with English summary); Nahman Avigad, "New Names on Hebrew Seals," *Eretz-Israel* 12 (1975): 70, pl. 14:16 (in Hebrew); Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah*, 34, 103; S. A. Cook, "Inscribed Hebrew Objects from Ophel," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 56 (1924): 183–86, pl. VI;
- Deutsch, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Isaiah*, 74–75; David Diringer in *Lachish III: The Iron Age*, ed. O. Tufnell (London: Oxford, 1953), 332f.; B. Maisler, "Two Hebrew Ostraca from Tel Qasile," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10 (1951): 265f.; J. T. Milik, "Notes d'Épigraphie et de Topographie Palestiniennes. I: L'Ostracon de l'Ophel et la Topographie de Jérusalem," *Revue Biblique* 66 (1959), 550–53; Yigael Shiloh, "A Group of Hebrew Bullae from the City of David," *Israel Exploration Journal* 36 (1986): 28f.; Y. Shoham, "A Group of Hebrew Bullae from Yigael Shiloh's Excavation in the City of David," in *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, ed. H. Geva (Jerusalem, 1994); H. Torczyner et al., *Lachish I: The Lachish Letters* (London: Oxford, 1938), 51; Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 69. The feminine form, *bt*, is known from a seal in the Hecht Museum in Haifa, Nahman Avigad, "An Early Aramaic Seal," *Israel Exploration Journal* 8 (1958): 228–30; Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 283.
- 23 Deutsch and Heltzer, *New Epigraphic Evidence*, 21–23; Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 375.
- 24 G. A. Reisner, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908–1910* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1924), 237, 242.
- 25 V. Fritz and A. Kempinski, *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf der Hirbet el-Mšāš (Masās) 1972–1975* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 134–35, pl. 79.
- 26 Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, 80, 93, 97.
- 27 I. Ben-Dor, "Two Hebrew Seals," *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 13 (1948): 66–67, pl. XXVII:3.
- 28 M. Kochavi, "Khirbet Rabūd = Debir," *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974): 18; Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 200.
- 29 Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 179.
- 30 Yigael Shiloh, "A Hoard of Hebrew Bullae from the City of David" (in Hebrew), *Eretz-Israel* 18 (1985): 80; Shiloh, "Bullae from the City of David," 28f.; Shoham, "A Group of Hebrew Bullae from Yigael Shiloh's Excavation."
- 31 Nahman Avigad in *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 40 (1988): 14; Nahman Avigad, "Two Seals of Women and Other Hebrew Seals" (in Hebrew), *Eretz-Israel* 20 (1989a): 90.
- 32 Hugh Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon*, 283, 288–89; Nibley, *Teachings of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1993), 1:88; 2:263.
- 33 Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 373–74, 380–82.
- 34 Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 380.
- 35 Wesley P. Walters, "The Use of the Old Testament in the Book of Mormon," (master's thesis, Covenant Theological Seminary, 1981), 18.
- 36 C. Clermont-Ganneau, "Sceaux et cachets israélites, phéniciens et syriens," *Journal Asiatique* 8 (1883): 144f.; Walter E. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Mellen, 1989), 34–35.
- 37 Walter Franklin Prince, "Psychological Tests for the Authorship of the Book of Mormon," *American Journal of Psychology* 30 (1919): 382.
- 38 W. E. Staples, "An Inscribed Scaraboid from Megiddo," in *New Light from Armageddon: Second Provisional Report (1927–29) on the Excavations at Megiddo in Palestine*, ed. P. L. O. Guy (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931), 49–68, figs. 33–34; Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 99.
- 39 Nahman Avigad, "Some Unpublished Ancient Seals" (in Hebrew), *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society* 25 (1961): 242, pl. 54.
- 40 Nahman Avigad, "The Seal of Jezebel," *Israel Exploration Journal* 14 (1964): 274–76; Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 275.
- 41 The name Jeremiah is attested in Lachish Letter 1, H. Torczyner et al., *Lachish I: The Lachish Letters* (London: Oxford, 1938), 23; Diringer, *Lachish III*, 331; on two Arad ostraca, Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, 46f., 100; on a jar stamp, E. Grant and G. Ernest Wright, *Ain Shems Excavations (Palestine)*, vol. 5 (Haveford: Haveford College, 1939), 80, pl. III:4; on six seals, including one found in Egypt and another in Iraq, Avigad, "A Group of Hebrew Seals," 6, pl. 2:14; Avigad "Two Seals of Women," 94; Bordreuil and Lemaire, "Nouveau sceaux," 47f., pl. IV:6; Nahman Avigad, *Festschrift Reuben R. Hecht* (Jerusalem: Koren, 1979), 73f.; C. Clermont-Ganneau, "Sur quelques cachets israélites archaïques," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* 4 (1901): 56f.; L. A. Wolfe and F. Sternberg, *Objects with Semitic Inscriptions*, 1100 B.C.–A.D. 700. *Jewish, Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities* (Jerusalem: Auction Catalogue, 1989), 13; and on five bullae, Yohanan Aharoni, "Trial Excavations in the 'Solar Shrine' at Lachish. Preliminary Report," *Israel Exploration Journal* 18 (1968), 167, pl. XI:6–7; Yohanan Aharoni, *Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and the Residency* (Tel Aviv: University of Tel Aviv, 1975), 5:19–22, pl. 20–21; Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah*, 64; Deutsch, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Isaiah*, 81, 101–2. The vocalization of *Yarom* (Jarom) for the hypocoristic form of *Yirmiyahū* (Jeremiah) follows the pattern found in other names acknowledged by Bible scholars to be hypocoristic: *Bārūk* (KJV Baruch) for *Berekiyāhū* (KJV Berechiah), *Nahum* for *Nehemiah* (both in KJV), *Shallūm* (KJV Shallum) for *Shelemyāhū* (KJV Shelemiah), and *Zakkār* (KJV Zaccur) for *Zekariyāhū* (KJV Zechariah).
- 42 M. Lidzbarski, "Altsemite Inschriften auf Siegel und Gewichten des Ashmolean Museum zu Oxford" (Giessen: Richer'sche, 1900–02), 11; A. R. Millard in *Catalogue of Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum. III. The Iron Age Stamp Seals*, ed. B. Buchanan and P. R. S. Moorey (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 45.
- 43 For this view, see Deutsch and Heltzer, *New Epigraphic Evidence*, 56.
- 44 Torczyner, *Lachish I*, 37, 51, 117; Diringer, *Lachish III*, 332–34.
- 45 See Elephantine 12:8; 13:13; 15:22; 89; 39:4; 40:5 in A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.E.* (Oxford: OUP, 1923). E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn*