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Abstract Royal Skousen explains what a critical text is and discusses his own critical text of the Book of Mormon.

CONJECTURAL EMENDATION IN THE BOOK OF MORMON

Royal Skousen

An Overview of Conjectural Emendation in the Critical Text Project

Critical texts have previously been prepared for important religious, historical, and literary works, but until fairly recently, not for the Book of Mormon. A critical text shows all the substantive changes that a written work has undergone, from its original version to its present editions. When referring to a critical text, the term means that notes accompany the text so that the reader can see how the work has changed over time and thus judge between alternative readings.

There are two main goals for the critical text of the Book of Mormon. The first is to determine, to the extent possible, the original English-language text of the book. The second purpose is to establish the history of the text, including both accidental errors and editorial changes that the book has undergone as it has been transmitted down through time in its many editions.

In my work on the critical text of the Book of Mormon, I normally rely on the earliest extant sources in determining the reading of the original text. I also look at usage elsewhere in the text to see if it will support the earliest reading or an alternative one. Sometimes

I wish to thank Don Brugger, David Calabro, Ross Geddes, and Grant Hardy for helpful criticisms of an earlier version of this paper.

the earliest extant reading will contain an unusual word or involve an awkward expression. In such cases, I look for linguistic evidence, both historical and dialectal, in support of such usage. Where appropriate, I consider evidence from biblical language, either from the King James Bible or from the original Hebrew and Greek that underlie the biblical translation. For a brief discussion of these points, along with some examples, see the section entitled “Textual Variants” in the introduction to volume 4 of the critical text, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*.¹

After investigating these linguistic sources, I occasionally find cases where the earliest reading is problematic and sometimes even impossible. In instances of this kind, scribes, typesetters, and editors have typically emended the text by conjecture. Each of these cases must be thoroughly investigated to determine whether the conjectural emendation is most plausibly the correct one. But in some cases, neither the earliest reading nor its subsequent conjectural emendation may be acceptable. Such a situation may lead to the possibility of further conjectural emendation.

As an example of an early attempt to emend an impossible reading, consider the following reading from the original manuscript:

1 Nephi 7:5 (lines 5–6 on page 10 of the original manuscript)

hole
the lord did soften the hart of ishmael and also his ^hole

Here scribe 3 first wrote *hole*, then inserted the same word, *hole*, above the line, so that the corrected text reads “and also his hole hole.” Clearly, this reading is unacceptable. When Oliver Cowdery copied this sentence into the printer’s manuscript, he interpreted “his hole hole” as “his household,” which is one possible conjecture. But usage elsewhere in the Book of Mormon text suggests that the correct emendation should be “his **whole** household.” For example, all other Book of Mormon instances of *household* involve a universal quantifier, either *all* or *whole* or the negative equivalent, *none*. Consider ten cases

1. Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2004), part 1, 3–6.

in positive clauses where we find either *all* or *whole* as the universal quantifier:

“all his household”	1 Nephi 5:14, 2 Nephi 4:10, 2 Nephi 4:12, Alma 23:3, Ether 9:3, Ether 10:1, Ether 13:20, Ether 13:21
“all your household”	Alma 34:21
“his whole household”	Alma 22:23

The example in Alma 22:23 (“his whole household”) suggests that the original text in 1 Nephi 7:5 also read “his whole household.” Such a conjectural emendation would explain why scribe 3 ended up repeating *hole* in the original manuscript: *hole* and *whole* are homophones while *hole* and *-hold* are nearly identical in pronunciation.

It is instructive here to consider what I would do if the original manuscript were not extant for this passage. If this were the case, the earliest textual source would be the printer’s manuscript, with its reading “Ishmael and also his household.” Without the unacceptable reading of the original manuscript (“Ishmael and also his hole hole,” with its repeated occurrence of *hole*), I would not be justified in emending the text of 1 Nephi 7:5 since there is nothing inherently wrong with “Ishmael and also his household.” In fact, the plausibility of the current reading explains why no edition of the Book of Mormon has ever emended Oliver Cowdery’s phraseology here in 1 Nephi 7:5 to read “Ishmael and also his **whole** household” (or “Ishmael and also **all** his household”). If the original manuscript were not extant here, I would simply have to say that, except for this one case, all the Book of Mormon instances of *household* have a universal quantifier. Just because an earliest reading is unique within the text is no excuse for an emendation. Statistically, there will always be unique readings in any text of sufficient length.

The crucial restriction on conjectural emendation is that there must be something actually wrong with the earliest extant reading. The initial motivation for proposing a new conjectural emendation is that none of the readings (either the earliest reading or subsequent emendations) make sense, after taking into account evidence from the

history or dialects of the English language or, when appropriate, evidence from the King James Bible and from Hebrew and Greek, the original languages of the biblical scriptures. And before accepting a proposed conjectural emendation, we must consider whether there is scribal evidence in the manuscripts or from manuscript transmission in general that would explain how the earliest textual reading might have been derived from the proposed conjectural emendation. In other words, the emendation must be supported by evidence from linguistic usage as well as scribal practice elsewhere in the manuscripts.

Throughout my work on the Book of Mormon critical text project, I have tried to credit those who have suggested conjectural emendations. When a suggested change has already appeared in print, I cite the earliest published source that I can find for that suggestion. In many cases, various individuals have communicated their suggestions directly to me. It is amazing how it has helped to have others looking for problematic readings in the text—difficult readings that I have been oblivious to until they were pointed out to me. Of course, some of these suggested emendations have turned out to have insufficient evidence to support their adoption. In other cases, further investigation of a problematic reading has sometimes led me to propose an alternative emendation. In volume 4 of the critical text, I discuss all of these cases of proposed changes and credit those who first suggested them to me. For a list of the proposed conjectural emendations for approximately the first half of the Book of Mormon (up through Alma 21), see the appendix to this article; except for Alma 21, this list derives from the conjectures that have been discussed in parts 1–3 of volume 4, published from 2004 through 2006.

One important aspect of conjectural emendation is that this process is sometimes more frequent than one might expect, although compared with other changes in the text, it is relatively infrequent. For instance, based on work on the critical text project thus far, about 95 percent of the changes proposed to the standard text are based on the earliest textual sources, mostly the two manuscripts. So relatively speaking, the effects of conjectural emendation are limited, accounting for about 5 percent of the changes. Even so, one must recognize

that the text has been subjected to conjectural emendation from the earliest stages of textual transmission, especially by the scribes as they copied from the original manuscript (O) to the printer's manuscript (P) and by the 1830 compositor as he attempted to set the type from his copytext, usually the printer's manuscript P (but from Helaman 13 through Mormon 9, the original manuscript O). The 1830 compositor, John Gilbert, was frequently confronted with difficult readings, usually errors made in copying from O into P. The majority of his conjectural emendations appear to be correct, often because the emendation to the difficult reading was quite obvious, such as his decision to change "fasting and proping" (the reading in P for Omni 1:26) to "fasting and praying" (the 1830 edition).

In the following analysis, I give the statistics for the number of conjectural emendations made at various stages in the history of the Book of Mormon text. (These numbers are based on only those conjectural emendations that have been proposed for the first half of the Book of Mormon, up through Alma 21.) For each source, I specify how many of these emendations have been accepted and how many have been rejected in the critical text project:

	<i>accept</i>	<i>reject</i>
made in O		
Oliver Cowdery	3	11
scribe 3 of O		1
made in P		
Oliver Cowdery	10	16
scribe 2 of P		2
1830 emendations made by John Gilbert		
marked in P	5	3
appearing in the edition only	29	20
1837 emendations made by Joseph Smith		
marked in P	9	12
appearing in the edition only	8	5

	<i>accept</i>	<i>reject</i>
1840 emendations made by Joseph Smith		
appearing in the edition only	1	1
in other printed editions		
LDS textual tradition		
1841 British		2
1849		3
1852	2	1
1879	2	
1902	1	
1906	1	
1911	1	
1920	1	7
1981	5	1
RLDS textual tradition		
1858 Wright		2
1874	1	
1892		1
1908		1
1953	1	1

And as part of this project, I have considered quite a number of additional emendations, some proposed by others (a few in print but most by private communication) and many by me. Overall, I have accepted about one third of these more recently proposed conjectural emendations. Again, these statistics cover the first half of the text (up through Alma 21):

	<i>accept</i>	<i>reject</i>
conjectural emendations		
suggested by 24 individuals	14	37
suggested by me	42	78

The high number of conjectural emendations in this project is largely the result of using the computer to analyze thousands of textual vari-

ants. Textual variants frequently suggest the possibility of alternative readings, based on conjecture. If we consider all these conjectural emendations as a whole, we first observe that the process is **not** rare. Overall, about 40 percent of these proposed emendations have been accepted in the critical text project. Some textual sources for emendation have not fared as well as others. For instance, Oliver Cowdery's conjectural emendations in the original manuscript are generally unacceptable (with an acceptance rate of only 21 percent). Most of the conjectural emendations in the 1920 LDS edition are rejected in the critical text project (7 out of 8), while the rate of acceptance is quite high for the 1830 edition (60 percent), the 1837 edition (50 percent), and the 1981 edition (83 percent).

The Archaic Vocabulary of the Original Text

One finding that has complicated the application of conjectural emendation to the Book of Mormon text is that the vocabulary of the original Book of Mormon appears to derive from the English of the 1500s and 1600s, not from the 1800s. Lexical evidence suggests that the original text contained quite a few words with meanings that were lost from the English language by 1700. On the other hand, I have not been able thus far to find word meanings in the text that are known to have entered the English language after the early 1700s.

In the following sampling, I list some of the clearest examples in the Book of Mormon of this archaic vocabulary from the 1500s and 1600s. (In this discussion, I exclude, of course, archaic words such as *besom* 'broom' that are found in Book of Mormon quotations from the King James Bible.) For each word and its meaning, I provide citations from the original text of the Book of Mormon and corresponding citations from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) and include the range of dates for citations in the OED with this meaning. In some instances, the word can be found with that meaning in the 1611 King James Bible (as in the first two examples listed below). Some of the other words appear to predate 1611 by a few decades. The difficulty of these archaic words has sometimes resulted in accidental

changes during the early transmission of the Book of Mormon text. Other times, editors and typesetters have consciously replaced an archaic word with a more recognizable alternative.

to require ‘to request’

Enos 1:18 (unedited)

and the Lord said unto me
thy fathers have also **required** of me this thing

OED, with citations from 1375 to 1665

William Shakespeare, *Henry VIII* (1613)

In humblest manner I **require** your Highnes,
That it shall please you.

King James Bible

Ezra 8:22

For I was ashamed to **require** of the king
a band of soldiers and horsemen to help us
against the enemy in the way

to cast arrows ‘to shoot arrows’

Alma 49:4 (unedited)

the Lamanites could not **cast** their stones and their arrows at them

Alma 49:19 (unedited)

and thus were the Nephites prepared to destroy all such
as should attempt to climb up to enter the fort by any other way
by **casting** over stones and arrows at them

OED, with citations from about 1300 to 1609

John Wycliffe’s 1382 translation of 2 Kings 13:17

Helise seyde, **kast** an arowe; and he **kest**.

(in the King James Bible: “Then Elisha said, **Shoot**.
And he **shot**.”)

King James Bible

Proverbs 26:18

As a mad *man* who **casteth** firebrands, arrows, and death.

to counsel ‘to counsel with’

Alma 37:37 (edited to *counsel with* in the 1920 LDS edition)
counsel the Lord in all thy doings

Alma 39:10 (edited to *counsel with* in the 1920 LDS edition)
 take it upon you to **counsel** your elder brothers
 in your undertakings

OED, with citations from 1382 to 1547

John Hooper (1547)

Moses . . . **counselled** the Lord
 and thereupon advised his subjects what was to be done.

but if ‘unless’

Mosiah 3:19 (edited to *unless* in the 1920 LDS edition)
 for the natural man is an enemy to God and has been
 from the fall of Adam
 and will be forever and ever **but if** he yieldeth to the enticings
 of the Holy Spirit

OED, with citations from 1200 to 1596

Philip Sidney, *Arcadia* (1580)

He did not like that maides should once stir out of
 their fathers houses
but if it were to milke a cow.

to depart ‘to part, divide, separate’

Helaman 8:11 (changed to *parted* in the 1830 edition)
 God gave power unto one man even Moses
 to smite upon the waters of the Red Sea and they **departed**
 hither and thither

OED, with citations from 1297 through 1677

John Wycliffe’s 1388 translation of Isaiah 59:2

3oure wickednesses han **departid**
 bitwixe 3ou and 3oure God

(in the King James Bible: “But your iniquities have
separated between you and your God”)

John Maundeville (about 1400)

þe 3erde of Moyses, with þe whilk he **departid** þe Reed See
(meaning ‘the rod [yard] of Moses with which he **parted**
the Red Sea’)

William Tyndale’s 1526 translation of Romans 8:39

To **departe** us from Goddes love
(in the King James Bible: “to **separate** us from
the love of God”)

The Book of Common Prayer (1548–49)

Till death vs **departe**
(changed in 1662 to “Till death us **do part**”)

Geneva Bible, 1557 translation of John 19:24

They **departed** my rayment among them
(in the King James Bible: “They **parted** my raiment
among them”)

extinct, referring to an individual’s death

Alma 44:7 (unedited)

and I will command my men that they shall fall upon you
and inflict the wounds of death in your bodies
that ye may become **extinct**

OED, with citations from 1483 through 1675

from a 1675 English translation of Machiavelli’s *The Prince*
The Pope being dead and Valentine **extinct**

to raign, a shortened form of *arraign*

Alma 11:44 (changed to *arraigned* in the 1830 edition)

but all things shall be restored to its perfect frame
as it is now or in the body
and all shall be brought and be **raigned**
before the bar of Christ the Son
and God the Father and the Holy Spirit

OED, with citations from 1444 through 1581

Henry Brinklow (1542)

The day whan ye shal be **reigned** at the judgemente seate
of God.

Conjectural Emendations Based on Archaic Vocabulary

If the original vocabulary of the Book of Mormon text dates from Early Modern English, one might wonder if there are any archaic word meanings that were unrecognizable to Joseph Smith and his scribes, thus leading them to misinterpret and change the language during the early transmission of the text. Two possibilities have arisen thus far. The first one deals with the word *ceremony* in Mosiah 19:24: “and it came to pass that **after they had ended the ceremony** that they returned to the land of Nephi.” The problem with this passage is that the word *ceremony* seems out of place. The larger context implies that their discourse was simply over:

Mosiah 19:22–24

and it came to pass that
they were about to return to the land of Nephi
and they met the men of Gideon
and the men of Gideon told them of all that had happened
to their wives and their children
and that the Lamanites had granted unto them
that they might possess the land by paying a tribute
to the Lamanites of one half of all they possessed
and the people told the men of Gideon
that they had slain the king
and his priests had fled from them farther into the wilderness
and it came to pass that **after they had ended the ceremony**
that they returned to the land of Nephi
rejoicing because their wives and their children
were not slain
and they told Gideon what they had done to the king

The OED lists no meaning for *ceremony* that would work reasonably well for this passage except to assume that the conversation itself is a ceremony or that it involved some kind of ceremonial aspect in, for instance, recounting the execution of king Noah.

I have had a number of my students and research assistants try to find another word that might work better in Mosiah 19:22–24, one that would perhaps sound or look like *ceremony*. The idea behind this approach is that such a word might have been miscopied or misheard as *ceremony*. The most plausible suggestion proposed thus far comes from Renee Bangerter in her 1998 BYU master’s thesis,² where she proposes that the original word in Mosiah 19:24 might have been *sermon*. Although the current meanings for this word will not work in this passage, Bangerter notes that the OED gives the earliest meaning for *sermon* as ‘something that is said; talk, discourse,’ which would exactly fit the context described in Mosiah 19:22–24. This meaning is, however, obsolete; the last citation in the OED with this meaning dates from 1594: “Desiring Don Infeligo with very mild sermon to be friends with Medesimo again.” The last citation with this meaning found on *Literature Online* comes from Giles Fletcher and dates from 1593: “Out of my braine I made his Sermon flow.”³

In part 3 of volume 4 of the critical text, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (published in August 2006), I discuss under Mosiah 19:24 how *sermon* could have accidentally been replaced by *ceremony*. Basically, I propose the following scenario: the scribe for the original manuscript (which is unfortunately not extant here) spelled *sermon* as *cermon*, which was then misread as *ceremony* (and spelled as *cerimony*) when Oliver Cowdery copied the word from the original manuscript into the printer’s manuscript. Such a conjectural emendation is permissible if the vocabulary for the original Book of Mormon text dates from the 1500s and 1600s.

One argument that has been frequently made in support of *ceremony* here in Mosiah 19:24 is that in many cultures conversation is

2. Renee Bangerter, “Since Joseph Smith’s Time: Lexical Semantic Shifts in the Book of Mormon” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1998), 16–18.

3. See lion.chadwyck.com (accessed 13 June 2005).

ceremonial, so the conveying of information between these two parties in Mosiah 19:22–23 could have been a ceremony. But by this standard, every event in the Book of Mormon could be shown to be ceremonial, cultic, or ritualistic in some way—whether launching ships, engraving scriptures, preaching, fighting battles, planting crops, taking journeys, or dying: anything can be explained as a ceremony. Yet it should be noted that the Book of Mormon otherwise lacks words like *ceremony*, *rite*, and *cult*. The word *ceremony* occurs nowhere else in the Book of Mormon text. And although the scribal spelling *rites* has been maintained in a few places in the text, it is virtually certain that in every case the original text read *rights* rather than *rites*, including two places in the current LDS text, Alma 43:45 and Alma 44:5. (These last two cases will be discussed in part 4 of volume 4 of the critical text, to appear in 2007.)

Besides the general proposal that conversation is a ceremony, some scholars have found different ceremonial aspects that could be linked to the conversation described in Mosiah 19:22–23. John Sorensen, for instance, has argued that the reference to a ceremony in verse 24 has something to do with the earlier killing of king Noah, described in verses 19–21: “Mosiah 19:24 speaks of a ‘ceremony’ in connection with the slaying of king Noah by his rebellious subjects, but there is no hint of the nature or purpose of that ceremony.”⁴ John Tvedtnes, on the other hand, has argued that the ceremony referred to in Mosiah 19:24 is “one of purification associated with the onset of the fall festivals of the month of Tishre, at which time citizen-soldiers in the ancient Near East returned home to engage in the fall harvest.”⁵

There is a more general problem with searching for cultural arguments as evidence for strange readings in a text—namely, there is no limit on the use of such arguments. If we hunt long enough, we can always find some culture somewhere with a practice that will support virtually any given reading (although for Book of Mormon work we

4. John L. Sorensen, *Images of Ancient America: Visualizing Book of Mormon Life* (Provo, UT: Research Press, 1998), 189.

5. See John A. Tvedtnes, *The Most Correct Book: Insights from a Book of Mormon Scholar* (Salt Lake City: Cornerstone, 1999), 186.

might prefer that the evidence come from Mesoamerica or the Middle East). As an example, consider the case of Mosiah 17:13, where all the (extant) textual sources read “and **scourged** his skin with fagots.” Although the textual and linguistic evidence is very clear that in Mosiah 17:13 *scourged* is a mishearing for *scorched* (see the discussion for that passage in part 3 of volume 4), yet some have defended the current reading *scourged* by hunting for examples of people being beaten with burning sticks or of people being beaten prior to being burned at the stake.⁶ In my own textual analyses of the Book of Mormon, I avoid using cultural evidence simply because it can always be found. In some cases, specific evidence from the Mosaic law and its practice may be appropriate, as in the discussion regarding whether *striped*, the spelling in the printer’s manuscript for Alma 11:2, should be read as *stripped* or *striped*. But even there that evidence is restricted to practices that are explicitly referred to in the biblical text.

I have also found that the original text of the Book of Mormon always makes linguistic sense, although not necessarily for modern-day speakers of English. There are Hebrew-like constructions that seem strange, even unacceptable, in English, yet these constructions make sense from the point of view of Hebrew. There is vocabulary that is strange today but would have been understandable to English speakers living in the 1500s and 1600s. And the biblically styled language of the text seems to date from this same time period, yet it does not imitate the specific language of the King James Bible. (Of course, the biblical quotes in the Book of Mormon do follow the King James text for the most part.) So when we run up against otherwise inexplicable cases like *ceremony* in Mosiah 19:24, the most probable explanation is that *ceremony* stands for some kind of error providing the error can be explained as textually derivable from an appropriate emendation, one that is consistent with language elsewhere in the Book of Mormon. The proposed *sermon* does fit if we allow the possibility that the original vocabulary of the Book of Mormon derives from the 1500s and 1600s, not the 1800s.

6. For one example, see Brant Gardner’s “Scourging with Faggots,” *Insights* 21/7 (2001): 2–3.

The Pleading Bar of God

A second possible misinterpretation deals with the expression “the pleasing bar of God,” as found in Jacob 6:13 (and similarly in Moroni 10:34 as “the pleasing bar of the great Jehovah”). In part 2 of volume 4 of the critical text (this part was published in August 2005), under Jacob 6:13, I argue that “the pleasing bar” is actually a mistake for “the pleading bar.” An abbreviated description of the evidence for emending the text to “the pleading bar” was initially presented in 2004.⁷ This conjectural emendation was first proposed by Christian Gellinek in 2003. There are no uses of the term “the pleasing bar of God” anywhere on the Internet except in citations from the Book of Mormon, yet there is clear evidence that the legal term *pleading bar* was used in the 1600s. And as might be expected, no instances of *pleading bar* have thus far been found during the 1800s, in either England or the United States. But such a conjectural emendation is consistent with the hypothesis that the vocabulary of the Book of Mormon dates from Early Modern English.

Part of the argument here relies on the evidence from the manuscripts that at least Oliver Cowdery and maybe even Joseph Smith (as he dictated the text) tended to replace unfamiliar vocabulary with words they were familiar with, even if the resulting phraseology did not make much sense. In every case, there is considerable phonetic similarity between the words that were mixed up:

weed (O, P) instead of *reed* (1830 and all subsequent editions)

1 Nephi 17:48

and whoso shall lay their hands upon me shall wither
even as a dried **reed**

bosom (O, P) instead of *besom* (1830 and all subsequent editions)

2 Nephi 24:23 (Isaiah 14:23 in the King James Bible)

and I will sweep it with the **besom** of destruction

7. Royal Skousen, “The Pleading Bar of God,” *Insights* 24/4 (2004): 2–3.

wrecked (P, all early editions, and all RLDS editions) instead of
racked (1879 and all subsequent LDS editions)

Mosiah 27:29

my soul was **racked** with eternal torment

arrest (O, P, 1830 edition) instead of *wrest* (1837 and all subsequent editions)

Alma 13:20

behold the scriptures are before you

if ye will **wrest** them / it shall be to your own destruction

Alma 41:1

for behold some have **wrested** the scriptures

and have gone far astray because of this thing

drugs (O, P) instead of *dregs* (1830 and all subsequent editions)

Alma 40:26

and they drink the **dregs** of a bitter cup

fraction (O, P) instead of *faction* (1830 and all subsequent editions)

Alma 58:36

behold we fear that there is some **faction**

in the government

Notice that some of these earliest readings will work: “wither even as a dried weed,” “my soul was wrecked,” “the drugs of a bitter cup,” and “there is some fraction in the government.” Yet in each case the phonetically similar word introduced into the printed edition works much better and more consistently with usage in the English language. Relying on Oliver’s excessively elevated and ornate writing style in the *Messenger and Advocate* from October 1834, one might deduce that Oliver would never have made such mistakes. But the evidence from the Book of Mormon manuscripts (dating from 1829, over five years earlier) directly contradicts such an assumption. Oliver’s language ability may have improved over the years. To be sure, the 1830 typesetter exceeded Oliver’s language abilities at the time of the printing of the 1830 edition. Note that the 1830 typesetter is the one responsible for

correcting most of the above misinterpreted phrases, but not all: even he left unchanged “my soul was wrecked” and “some have arrested the scriptures.” The important point here is that Oliver twice accepted the implausible phraseology “to arrest the scriptures” (in Alma 13:20 and Alma 41:1) instead of the correct “to wrest the scriptures.” In a similar way, he could have twice misinterpreted the phrase “the pleading bar” as “the pleasing bar” (in Jacob 6:13 and Moroni 10:34).

And these are not the only conjectural emendations that reject a workable but strange reading in the manuscripts, as in the following examples from 1 Nephi (all of which are extant in the original manuscript):

	<i>earliest reading</i>	<i>emended reading</i>
1 Nephi 7:1	that might raise up seed	that they might raise up seed
1 Nephi 7:22	offer sacrifice and offer burnt offerings	offer sacrifice and burnt offerings
1 Nephi 12:1	and beheld the land / the land of promise	and beheld the land of promise
1 Nephi 17:53	but I will shock them	but I will shake them
1 Nephi 18:15	had much swollen exceedingly	had swollen exceedingly

(Interestingly, Oliver Cowdery himself made the first three of these emendations when he copied the text from O into P; I am responsible for the fourth one, while Joseph Smith made the last one in his editing for the 1837 edition.) When we compare each of these earliest readings with usage elsewhere in the Book of Mormon text as well as in the King James Bible or more generally in the English language, including Early Modern English, we discover that these earliest extant readings are probably not the original readings, even though these earliest readings will, in some sense, work.⁸

Just like the use of the word *ceremony* in Mosiah 19:24, one could argue that “the pleasing bar of God” is perfectly fine and should be left

8. See the discussion under each of these passages in part 1 of volume 4 of the critical text.

alone. Yet this phraseology is inconsistent with respect to the many references to being judged at “the bar of God” found throughout the Book of Mormon text. I repeat them here because it is important to realize that **none** of these passages refer in a positive way to the day of judgment; they are either negative or neutral:

negative

2 Nephi 33:15

for what I seal on earth shall be brought against you
at the judgment bar

Jacob 6:9

know ye not that if ye will do these things
that the power of the redemption and the resurrection
which is in Christ
will bring you to stand with shame and awful guilt
before the bar of God

Alma 5:22

how will any of you feel if ye shall stand
before the bar of God
having your garments stained with blood
and all manner of filthiness

neutral

2 Nephi 33:11

and you and I shall stand face to face **before his bar**

Mosiah 16:10

even this mortal shall put on immortality
and this corruption shall put on incorruption
and shall be brought to stand **before the bar of God**
to be judged of him according to their works
whether they be good or whether they be evil

Alma 11:44

but all things shall be restored to its perfect frame
as it is now or in the body

and all shall be brought and be raigned
before the bar of Christ the Son
and God the Father and the Holy Spirit

Alma 12:12

and Amulek hath spoken plainly concerning death
and being raised from this mortality
to a state of immortality
and being brought **before the bar of God**
to be judged according to our works

Mormon 9:13

and they shall come forth both small and great
and all shall stand **before his bar**
being redeemed and loosed
from this eternal band of death

Moroni 10:27

for ye shall see me **at the bar of God**

There is nothing here to suggest anything pleasing about the bar of God. In fact, we get the same result when we look at the two cases in the current text of *pleasing bar*. One passage is negative, the other neutral:

negative

Jacob 6:13

finally I bid you farewell
until I shall meet you before **the pleasing bar of God**
which bar striketh the wicked with awful dread

neutral

Moroni 10:34

and now I bid unto all farewell
I soon go to rest in the paradise of God
until my spirit and body shall again reunite
and I am brought forth triumphant through the air
to meet you before **the pleasing bar of the great Jehovah**
the Eternal Judge of both quick and dead

The first example comes after a long passage (Jacob 6:5–12) in which Jacob warns the unrepentant of God’s coming judgment.

Of course, one can always find some source that will support the notion that the day of judgment will be pleasing, at least to the righteous. One example is C. S. Lewis’s claim in *Reflections on the Psalms* that the Psalms support an interpretation of the day of judgment in which we will be more like plaintiffs than defendants. C. S. Lewis provides evidence from the Psalms for his interpretation, citing examples like “when God arose to judgment to save all the meek of the earth” (Psalm 76:9, the King James Bible). But more importantly, C. S. Lewis does not ignore opposing evidence. For instance, he also cites those passages in the Psalms that support the traditional Christian view of the day of judgment, such as “and enter not into judgment with thy servant / for in thy sight shall no man living be justified” (Psalm 143:2, the King James Bible). And C. S. Lewis is rightly concerned that the positive view of the day of judgment might be misused: “All this of course has its spiritual danger. It leads into that typically Jewish prison of self-righteousness which Our Lord so often terribly rebuked.”⁹ To be sure, there is no need here for C. S. Lewis to emphasize the supposed Jewish nature of this self-righteousness; it seems to be endemic to the whole human race! But ultimately, the use of C. S. Lewis’s writings is irrelevant in determining the text of the Book of Mormon. As with the example of *ceremony* in Mosiah 19:24, we can always find some cultural evidence in support of our interpretation of the text. There will always be evidence that for some the day of judgment will be “a resounding triumph.”

In the Book of Mormon text, on the other hand, we have a strong and consistent image of the day of judgment as a trial before the bar of God. Nor is there any reason from the text itself to assume that these references to the bar of God are merely figurative or metaphorical. Note, in particular, the use of the very legalistic word *arraign* (originally *raign* in the Book of Mormon text) in Alma 11:44: “and all shall be brought and be **arraigned** before the bar of Christ.” In fact, the legal interpretation should also be applied to the proposed “the plead-

9. C. S. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1958), 17.

ing bar of God.” The term *pleading* here does not refer to making a plea for mercy. As lawyers know, the word *pleading* refers to making one’s case in court (originally oral, now written) and neutrally refers to the arguments and evidence both for and against a person. (See the earliest definitions in the Oxford English Dictionary for the noun *pleading* as well as for the noun *plea* and the verb *plead*.)

Another legal aspect to the judgment of God is found in two separate statements in the Book of Mormon—namely, that Christ’s twelve apostles in Jerusalem and the twelve Nephite disciples or ministers will play some role in judging the house of Israel:

1 Nephi 12:8–10

and the angel spake unto me saying
 behold the twelve disciples of the Lamb
 which are chosen to minister unto thy seed
 and he saith unto me
 thou rememberest the twelve apostles of the Lamb
 behold they are they which shall judge
 the twelve tribes of Israel
 wherefore the twelve ministers of thy seed
 shall be judged of them
 for ye are of the house of Israel
 and these twelve ministers which thou beholdest
 shall judge thy seed

Mormon 3:18–19

yea behold I write unto all the ends of the earth
 yea unto you twelve tribes of Israel
 which shall be judged according to your works by the twelve
 whom Jesus chose to be his disciples in the land of Jerusalem
 and I write also unto the remnant of this people
 which shall also be judged by the twelve
 whom Jesus chose in this land
 and they shall be judged by the other twelve
 whom Jesus chose in the land of Jerusalem

Here the references to the twelve apostles judging the twelve Nephite ministers imply that the judgment being referred to is individual, not collective. Although the specific role of the twelve in that judgment is not spelled out, it is clearly referred to. One should not automatically dismiss the idea that the twelve may play a role in the day of judgment.

The Book of Mormon also refers to the day of judgment as occurring before the judgment seat of God (12 times), as in “that ye may be found spotless at the judgment seat of Christ” (from the title page of the Book of Mormon). Interestingly, references to the bar of God in the Book of Mormon are restricted to the day of judgment, while the judgment seat as a place of judgment is also used to refer to secular governing (45 times), as in the statement that Kishcumen “murdered Parhoron as he sat upon the judgment seat” (Helaman 1:9).¹⁰ There is biblical evidence in support of being secularly judged before the judgment seat (10 times in the New Testament), as in Pilate’s judgment of Christ in Matthew 27:19: “when he was set down on the judgment seat / his wife sent unto him.” The use in the Book of Mormon of “the bar of God” seems real enough even though it may not represent an ancient system of judgment (unlike the references to the judgment seat).

Now let us turn to the question of external evidence for the phrases “the **pleasing** bar of God” and “the **pleading** bar of God.” One thing is quite clear: in judicial contexts there is irrefutable linguistic evidence for *pleading bar*, but none thus far for *pleasing bar* (except in the current Book of Mormon text). To be sure, there is evidence for *pleasing bar* alone, as in “the most aesthetically pleasing bar in Manchai” and “a visually pleasing bar at the side of the screen.”¹¹ Of course, these examples are not evidence for “the pleasing bar of God.”

Two Internet citations refer to a seventeenth-century English courtroom, now a museum, in Fordwich, England (near Canterbury). This courtroom dates from the time of Charles II (reigned 1649–60). The citations clearly identify what the pleading bar is:

10. The earliest textual sources, the original and printer’s manuscripts, suggest the spellings *Kishcumen* and *Parhoron*.

11. Gleaned from www.google.com (accessed 15 May 2006).

The tour ended at the town hall. Mr. Tritton said: “That was the most interesting part of the day. The people who made the film reproduced the court room back at their studio. They had the jury bench, **the pleading bar**, everything, right down to the smallest detail of King Charles II’s coat of arms.”

At the head of the stairs, Sgt. Bassett ducks under a beam inscribed ‘Love and honour the truth.’ In real life **the court’s pleading bar, where prisoners stood while on trial**, is at the head of the stairs. It does not obstruct anyone entering the room, nor bear an inscription—though the motto ‘Love and honour the truth’ is prominent under King Charles II’s Coat of Arms, displayed on the ceiling above the panelled rear wall.¹²

On the first floor is the Court Room where all criminal cases in Fordwich were tried until 1886. **The accused would stand flanked by the Town Constables, at the “pleading bar” situated at the head of the stairs. (Hence the expression “prisoner at the bar”).** The Judge or chief magistrate was the Mayor for the time being and he sat in the chair at the north end of the room, flanked by six Jurats on each side, seated on the “bench.” The Mayor’s seat and bench together with the paneling are early Tudor in origin.¹³

One could dismiss these citations to *pleading bar* as somehow errors, especially since they are not found in legal documents dating from the 1600s. Yet the term *pleading bar* does exist in literary references that do date from the late 1500s and early 1600s.¹⁴ In the first case, there is no doubt that the whole passage refers metaphorically to a courtroom:

John Harington, *Orlando Furioso* (1591), book 27, stanza 46:
 If you deny my claim, here I will prove it,
 This field the court, this list my **pleading bar**,

12. “Report of Fordwich Trip,” *Kent Messenger*, “Extra,” 10 September 1999 at www.powell-pressburger.org (accessed 23 October 2003).

13. Fordwich Town Hall Web site (updated 23 July 2003) at www.canterbury.gov.uk (accessed on 23 October 2003).

14. Found on *Literature Online* at lion.chadwyck.com (accessed 13 June 2005).

My plea is such, as no writ can remove it,
My judge must be the sequel of the war.¹⁵

(Here *list* specifies an area set aside for jousting or other combat.) The second citation is found in a play that was apparently written no later than 1634:

John Webster, *Appius and Virginia*, act 5, scene 1
Fortune hath lift thee to my Chair,
and thrown me headlong to thy **pleading bar**.

Of particular interest here is the evidence that John Webster was no novice in legal matters. Scholars have argued that he was admitted to the Middle Temple (one of the English courts of law) on 1 August 1598. Moreover, he is considered the primary author of a play that deals with legal issues, *The Devil's Law Case; or, When Women Go to Law, the Devil Is Full of Business* (published in 1623). Thus it is not surprising that there is a metaphorical reference to *pleading bar* in his play *Appius and Virginia*, first published in 1654 (after Webster's death) and attributed to Webster (the title page refers to Webster as the sole author, although he may have had collaborators, a common enough practice even today).¹⁶

Now one may claim that the term *pleading bar* cannot be found in judicial records dating from Early Modern English. This may be so—although there are a lot of legal records to be checked, most of which have never been electronically transcribed. There might be a good reason for why the term might be missing from legal records—namely, legal records refer to the specifics of cases, not to the structure of the courtroom, neither to its furniture nor to the placement of that furniture. The claim that *pleading bar* does not exist in judicial records is meaningless unless one has already established that in general there are references in those records to the courtroom structure and its furniture. More likely, the term *pleading bar* would appear in histories

15. Sir John Harington's *Translation of Orlando Furioso by Lodovico Ariosto*, ed. Graham Hough (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962), 318.

16. For further discussion of Webster's possible legal background, see Clifford Leech, *John Webster: A Critical Study* (New York: Haskell House, 1966).

commenting on specific cases, or in literary works that use the term metaphorically, as we have seen.

But if we look long enough, maybe we can find the term *pleading bar* in an actual legal source from the 1500s and 1600s. Quite recently, with the kind help of Frank Kelland, a reference librarian at the Howard W. Hunter Law Library at Brigham Young University, I have been able to locate such an instance of the term *pleading bar*—namely, in the Law Notes Collection deposited in the Department of Special Collections, the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, at the University of Kansas. These seventeenth-century notes are written in the secretary script, a court-derived script common in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹⁷ These notes have the manuscript number MS P367 and are identified as a quire of twelve leaves containing a list of headings written in English for the most part and with notes below each heading written in “law French.” The bibliographic citation states that “each heading is followed by a number of phrases—legal apothegms, definitions, judgements—each with a citation either to a statute or to what is apparently a page number. Crowding and blanks indicate on-the-spot compilation.” The word *apothegm* here refers to “a short, pithy, and instructive saying or formulation.”¹⁸ And at the top of the eighth leaf, we have a heading with the term “Pleading bar & trav’s.” The last word, *trav’s*, is Law French for *travers* and means “denial in pleading.”¹⁹ Thus the heading is equivalent to *pleading bar and denial*. On the twelfth leaf, the date is given as “21 Ja. 15” (presumably 21 January 1615). The University of Kansas bibliographer states that this quire “may have been tipped into a printed book.” In other words, the quire seems to have served as an index for an unidentified law book, especially since the headings are arranged alphabetically and the reference citations were added as they were found in the book. The law book itself was probably in French.

17. See D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland, 1994), 201–2, 248–49.

18. *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th ed., s.v. “apothegm.”

19. See J. H. Baker, *Manual of Law French*, 2nd ed. (Hants., England: Scolar Press, 1990), 207.

In my mind, the linguistic use of *pleading bar* as a legal term is established. This is **not** the relevant issue. Rather, the issue is whether the original Book of Mormon text referred to “the **pleasing** bar of God” or to “the **pleading** bar of God.”

One may then ask, “Why should the Lord give a revealed text to Joseph Smith that he, Joseph Smith, could not fully understand?” Frankly, I do not know the answer. But the evidence is mounting that despite the strangeness of it all, the revealed text was not fully comprehensible to readers in the 1800s (nor to readers today). This is not just an issue of the archaic vocabulary. There are also the non-English Hebraisms in the original text (such as the repeated use of the *if-and* construction originally in Helaman 12:13–21), constructions that were generally removed by Joseph Smith in his editing for the second (1837) edition. So why did the Lord reveal such a Hebraistic text? We do not know why, but we do know that he did do it! And why did the Lord allow the text to be given in nonstandard English? We do not know why, but it was! And why did the Lord choose to have the biblical quotations based on the King James Bible when some of its language was unrecognizable to Joseph Smith and his scribes (as in the indecipherable “the besom of destruction”)? If one assumes that the Lord would only reveal a perfectly understandable text, then we must assume that all of these strange linguistic uses must be mistakes that Joseph or his scribes introduced into the text.

The point is this: we go where the evidence leads us. And we consider all the evidence, not picking and choosing only those interpretations that support our own conceptions. We may have our own views of what may happen at the day of judgment, but we shouldn’t let those views determine how we establish the Book of Mormon text. Just because we may think that the day of judgment will be a positive experience (for us, at least), this does not mean that the Book of Mormon text must agree with us.

There are other examples where our interpretation of the text has been influenced by our conceptions of what the Lord will and will not do. Consider B. H. Roberts’ claim that the Book of Mormon text

could not have been given word for word directly by the Lord since the resulting text was in ungrammatical English:

If the Book of Mormon is a real translation instead of a word-for-word bringing over from one language into another, and it is insisted that the divine instrument, Urim and Thummim, did all, and the prophet nothing—at least nothing more than to read off the translation made by Urim and Thummim—then the divine instrument is responsible for such errors in grammar and diction as occur. But this is to assign responsibility for errors in language to a divine instrumentality, which amounts to assigning such errors to God. But that is unthinkable, not to say blasphemous. Also, if it be contended that the language of the Book of Mormon, word for word, and letter for letter, was given to the prophet by direct inspiration of God, acting upon his mind, then again God is made responsible for the language errors in the Book of Mormon—a thing unthinkable.²⁰

According to this view, it is tantamount to blasphemy to think that God would make a grammatical error in English. Of course, what B. H. Roberts was really claiming here was that if God had given the text word for word, it would have been in his, B. H. Roberts', correct English!

A similar example of letting our own conceptions determine our interpretation is found in the assumption that Joseph Smith must have read from an actual copy of the King James Bible when he translated the biblical quotations in the Book of Mormon, mainly because in those passages the Book of Mormon text follows the King James text:

There appears to be only one answer to explain the word-for-word similarities between the verses of Isaiah in the Bible and the same verses in the Book of Mormon. When Joseph Smith translated the Isaiah references from the small plates of Nephi,

20. See B. H. Roberts, "Translation of the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era*, April 1906, 428–29.

he evidently opened his King James Version of the Bible and compared the impression he had received in translating with the words of the King James scholars. If his translation was essentially the same as that of the King James Version, he apparently quoted the verse from the Bible.²¹

The unstated assumption here is that if the Lord himself had chosen the translation for the biblical quotations, he would have used his own translation or one that would have directly reflected what was on the plates, rather than following an outdated, awkward, and occasionally mistranslated King James text. But perhaps the Lord himself decided to use the King James text as the base text but allowed for the occasional alteration, just as when Moroni cited the Bible to Joseph Smith, sometimes in agreement with the King James text and other times differently (as explained in Joseph Smith—History 1:36–40).

Clearly, making conjectural emendations is often a difficult task. Sometimes the correct reading is obvious: “it came pass” is undoubtedly an error for “it came to pass.” But in many instances, no clear-cut decision is possible, although a text must be chosen when one decides to publish an edition of the Book of Mormon or to translate it into another language. There are degrees of uncertainty, and some conjectures are more conjectural than others. For me, *pleading bar* makes perfectly good sense, *pleasing bar* does not. Others are welcome to their own views.

Appendix: Substantive Conjectural Emendations (from the title page through Alma 21)

In the following, I provide a list of substantive conjectural emendations for the first half of the Book of Mormon text (up through Alma 21). I exclude here cases of emendation involving punctuation or grammar.

There are five columns: (1) the passage from the Book of Mormon in which the emendation occurs; (2) the earliest or standard reading;

21. See Daniel H. Ludlow, *A Companion to Your Study of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 141.

(3) the proposed conjecture; (4) the source for the conjecture (that is, who proposed it first); and (5) whether the conjecture is accepted in the critical text project.

Two-symbol abbreviations are used for the names of the books; basically, for single-word books, the first and last letter are used to represent the book (thus *jb* = Jacob, *es* = Enos, *jm* = Jarom, *oi* = Omni, *mh* = Mosiah, *aa* = Alma); for other books, symbols for each key word are used (thus *1n* = 1 Nephi, *2n* = 2 Nephi, *wm* = Words of Mormon).

The numbers following the books' names stand for the chapter and verse. I assign two numbers each to the chapter and verse, with a leading zero when necessary, thus *1n0205* stands for 1 Nephi 2:5. I use *00* to stand for an original preface, thus *1n0100* stands for the preface to 1 Nephi that is found just prior to chapter 1 of 1 Nephi.

I use bold in the readings to show where the conjectural emendation occurs. If the conjecture involves a fairly long addition to the text, I use *NULL* to mean that the words are not found in the earliest or standard reading.

In giving the source for the emendations, I use *O* to stand for the original manuscript, *P* for the printer's manuscript. *O** and *P** stand for original or initial readings in the two manuscripts, while *O^c* and *P^c* stand for corrected readings in the two manuscripts. If the change first appears in an edition, I give the year for that edition. If an *R* follows the year, this means that edition is an RLDS edition; the 1858 edition is followed by *W* to indicate that it is the 1858 Wright edition, a privately printed edition that serves as part of the RLDS textual tradition.

Sometimes conjectures can be identified with specific individuals, in which case I give their name. Certain two-letter abbreviations are used for the following individuals who are responsible for a large number of conjectures: *OC* = Oliver Cowdery, *JG* = John Gilbert, *JS* = Joseph Smith, and *RS* = Royal Skousen. Some of the manuscript scribes are unidentified, so they are represented by the symbol *S* followed by a number: scribe *S3* in *O* and scribe *S2* in *P*.

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
3witness	we beheld and bear record	we beheld and bare record	1874R	accept
1n0100	I Nephi wrote this record	One Nephi wrote this record	Karl Franson	
1n0205	nearer the Red Sea	near the Red Sea	RS	
1n0316	the commandment	the commandment of the Lord	OC: O ^c	
1n0409	and beheld his sword	and I beheld his sword	OC: P	accept
1n0411	the Spirit saith	and the Spirit saith	OC: O ^c	accept
1n0433	go down in the wilderness	go down into the wilderness	RS	accept
1n0508	yea and also know	yea and I also know	OC: P	accept
1n0701	that might raise up seed	that they might raise up seed	OC: P	accept
1n0705	and also his hole hole	and also his household	OC: P	
1n0705	and also his hole hole	and also his whole household	RS	accept
1n0717	my faith which is in me	my faith which is in thee	OC: O ^c	
1n0719	to lay hands upon me	to lay their hands upon me	RS	
1n0720	that they had done against	that they had done against me	OC: O ^c	accept
1n0722	offer sacrifice and offer burnt offerings	offer sacrifice and burnt offerings	OC: P	accept
1n0811	and beheld that it was most sweet	and I beheld that it was most sweet	OC: P	
1n0812	that it was desirous	that it was desirable	JS: 1837	
1n0820	a straight and narrow path	a strait and narrow path	1981	
1n1106	the Most High	the Most High God	OC: O ^c	
1n1136	the pride of the world	the pride of the world and it fell	OC: O ^c	

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
1n1201	and beheld the land the land of promise	and beheld the land of promise	OC: P ^c	accept
1n1204	on the face of the land	upon the face of the land	RS	
1n1204	that it rent the rocks	rent the rocks	S3, O ^c	
1n1204	that it rent the rocks	and the rocks that they rent	OC: O ^c	
1n1223	a dark and loathsome and a filthy	a dark and a loathsome and a filthy	RS	
1n1324	the gospel of the Land	the gospel of the Lord	OC: P	
1n1324	the gospel of the Land	the gospel of the Lamb	RS and students	accept
1n1332	that state of awful woundedness	that state of awful blindness	JS: 1837	
1n1332	that state of awful woundedness	that state of awful wickedness	RS	accept
1n1412	their dominion ... were small	their dominions ... were small	JS: 1837	accept
1n1427	the name and apostle of the Lamb	the name of the apostle of the Lamb	OC: P	accept
1n1428	which I saw	which I saw and heard	OC: P	
1n1429	and I bear record	and I bare record	RS	
1n1528	also from the saints	and also from the saints	OC: O ^c	accept
1n1530	the justices of God	the justice of God	OC: P	accept
1n1533	to be judged of their work	to be judged of their works	1830	accept
1n1534	that there cannot	and there cannot	OC: O ^c	
1n1535	the devil is the preparator of it	the devil is the father of it	JS: P ^c	
1n1535	the devil is the father of it	the devil is the foundation of it	JS: 1837	
1n1535	the devil is the preparator of it	the devil is the proprietor of it	Renee Bangerter	accept
1n1535	the final state of the souls of man	the final state of the souls of men	OC: P	

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
1n1535	the final state of the souls of man	the final state of the soul of man	RS	accept
1n1607	the elder daughter of Ishmael	the eldest daughter of Ishmael	1830	accept
1n1621	having lost their springs	having lost their spring	1953R	
1n1703	and provide ways and means	and provide means	OC: P	
1n1703	he did provide ways and means	he did provide ways	OC: P	
1n1721	which time we might have enjoyed	in the which time we might have enjoyed	RS	
1n1743	I know not but they are ...	I know not but what they are ...	RS	
1n1748	with even as a dried weed	with even as a dried reed	1830	accept
1n1753	but I will shock them	but I will shake them	RS	accept
1n1806	with all our loading	with all our lading	RS	
1n1815	had much swollen exceedingly	had swollen exceedingly	JS: 1837	accept
1n1902	at that time which I made them	at that time when I made them	OC: O ^c	
1n1910	yieldeth himself	yieldeth himself up	RS	
1n1910	and according to the words	according to the words	JS: 1837	accept
1n1913	and power and glory	and the power and glory	1920	
1n1920	NULL	I should have perished also	JS: 1837	
1n1923	in the books of Moses	written in the books of Moses	OC: O ^c	
1n2001	NULL	or out of the waters of baptism	JS: 1840; 1920	
1n2011	how should I suffer my name ...	I will not suffer my name ...	OC: O ^c	
1n2107	to servant of rulers	to a servant of rulers	RS	accept
1n2111	make all my mountains away	make all my mountains a way	JS: 1840	accept

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
1n2124	or the lawful captive	or the lawful captives	1830	
1n2125	the captive of the mighty	the captives of the mighty	1830	
2n0120	keep his commandments	keep my commandments	OC: O ^c	
2n0120	cut off from his presence	cut off from my presence	OC: O ^c	
2n0124	whose views have been glorious	whose visions have been glorious	RS	
2n0211	neither holiness nor misery	neither happiness nor misery	Corbin Volluz	accept
2n0214	and now my son	and now my sons	1830	accept
2n0222	which they were	in which they were	1920	
2n0222	which they were	which they were in	RS	accept
2n0226	by the punishment of the law	by the punishment of the Lord	1908R	
2n0312	the fruit of my loins	the fruit of thy loins	1837	accept
2n0314	the fruit of thy loins	the fruit of my loins	1837	accept
2n0318	I will raise up	I will raise up one	RS	accept
2n0320	their cry shall go	their cry shall go forth	RS	accept
2n0415	and writeth them	and I writeth them	RS	
2n0426	hath visited me	hath visited men	JG: 1830	
2n0511	we did reap again in abundance	we did reap grain in abundance	Stephen Carr	
2n0706	I gave my back to the smiter	I gave my back to the smitters	RS	accept
2n0711	all ye that kindleth fire	all ye that kindle a fire	RS	accept
2n0804	for a light thing of the people	for a light of the people	JS: 1837	accept
2n0815	the Lord thy God	the Lord thy God that divided the sea	Stan Larson	

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
2n0819	these two sons	these two things	John Tvedtnes	
2n0823	unto the hand of them	into the hand of them	1830	accept
2n0823	which I said	which have said	JS: 1837	accept
2n0905	it should be among them	he should be among them	RS	
2n0913	the grave deliver up the body	the grave deliver up the bodies	1953R	accept
2n0915	insomuch as they have become ...	inasmuch as they have become ...	RS	
2n0916	their torment is a lake of fire	their torment is as a lake of fire	JS: 1837	
2n0922	at the great and judgment day	at the great judgment day	RS	
2n0941	his paths are righteousness	his paths are righteous	1837	
2n1003	for it behooveth our God	for thus it behooveth our God	1830	
2n1014	he that raiseth up a king	he that riseth up as a king	RS	
2n1023	this way of everlasting death	the way of everlasting death	1830	accept
2n1209	the mean man boweth down	the mean man boweth not down	JS: 1837	
2n1402	and excellent and comely	excellent and comely	1830	accept
2n1605	woe me	woe is unto me	JS: 1837	
2n1609	they understand not	they understood not	1837	
2n2506	made mention unto my children	made mention	RS	accept
2n2508	in the last days	in the last day	JG: P ^c	
2n2513	he is laid in a sepulchre	he has laid in a sepulchre	RS	
2n2520	and also give him power	and also gave him power	1830	accept
2n2609	the Son of righteousness	the Sun of righteousness	Sidney Sperry	accept

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
2n2702	visited with the Lord of Hosts	visited of the Lord of Hosts	JG: 1830	accept
2n2706	and shall be the words of them	and they shall be the words of them	JG: 1830	accept
2n2812	false teachers and false doctrine	false teachers and false doctrines	RS	accept
2n2823	and death and hell and the devil	and the devil	Nathaniel Skousen	accept
2n2904	do they remember the travels	do they remember the travails	Stan Larson; 1981	accept
2n3017	which is sealed upon earth	which is sealed on earth	RS	
2n3109	the straightness of the path	the straitness of the path	1981	accept
2n3309	and walk in the straight path	and walk in the strait path	1981	accept
jb0116	to search much gold and silver	to search for much gold and silver	RS	
jb0211	get thou up into the temple	get thee up into the temple	RS	
jb0212	and all manner of precious ores	and for all manner of precious ores	1902, 1911	accept
jb0218	seek ye for the kingdom of God	seek ye first the kingdom of God	Mark Skousen	
jb0234	ye have come unto great condemnation	ye have come under great condemnation	Joanne Case	
jb0305	their filthiness and the curings	their filthiness and the cursing	1920	accept
jb0411	and obtained a good hope	and having obtained a good hope	RS	accept
jb0501	which spake unto the house of Israel	which he spake unto the house of Israel	1879	accept
jb0508	I take away many ...	I will take away many ...	RS	accept
jb0513	in the nethermost part	in the nethermost parts	RS	accept
jb0524	behold that I have nourished also	behold that I have nourished it also	1830	accept
jb0529	let us go down in the vineyard	let us go down into the vineyard	1830	accept
jb0537	thou beheldest	thou beholdest	1830	accept

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
jb0544	thou beholdest	thou beheldest	OC; P ^c	
jb0545	thou beholdest	thou beheldest	OC; P ^c	
jb0545	and the part thereof	and a part thereof	1830	
jb0545	and the part thereof	and the other part thereof	RS	accept
jb0547	I have digged it	I have digged about it	JS; 1837	accept
jb0574	and the Lord had preserved	and the Lord had observed	Paul Huntzinger	
jb0574	and the Lord had preserved	and the good the Lord had preserved	Paul Huntzinger	accept
jb0575	and hath brought	and it hath brought	David Calabro	accept
jb0601	this prophet Zenos	the prophet Zenos	RS	
jb0613	the pleasing bar of God	the pleading bar of God	RS	accept
jb0701	some years had passed away	after some years had passed away	OC; O ^s ; P ^c	
jb0701	some years had passed away	some years had passed away and	RS	accept
jb0704	he was learned that he had ...	he was learned in that he had ...	James Siebach	
jb0704	he was learned that he had ...	he was learned so that he had ...	RS	
jb0708	poured in his Spirit into my soul	poured his Spirit into my soul	Joanne Case	
es0103	and the words which ...	and I pondered the words which ...	Lyle Fletcher	
es0103	and the words which ...	and I remembered the words which ...	Lyle Fletcher	accept
es0113	some future day	at some future day	1830	
es0118	thy fathers have also required of me	thy fathers have also requested of me	Joanne Case	
es0121	and flocks of herds	and flocks of birds	George Talbot	
es0121	and flocks of herds	and flocks and herds	RS	

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
jm01112	destroyed upon the face of the land	destroyed from off the face of the land	RS	
oi0110	behold I Abinadom I am ...	behold I Abinadom am ...	JS: 1837	
oi0118	they are written but not in these plates	they are written but not upon these plates	RS	
oi0126	fasting and proping	fasting and praying	1830	accept
wm0105	I chose these things	I choose these things	1852	accept
wm0115	and they punished	and they had been punished	Stan Larson	
mh0102	which was delivered them	which was delivered unto them	RS	
mh0411	which was spoken by the mouth ...	which was spoken of by the mouth ...	RS	
mh0414	and save the devil	and serve the devil	OC: P ^c	accept
mh0502	a mighty chance in us	a mighty change in us	OC: P ^c	accept
mh0718	in this wise	on this wise	RS	
mh0813	for that he had not ought	for that which he had not ought	RS	
mh0813	for that he had not ought	for that he had not ought to	Paul Huntzinger	
mh0817	things which has past	things which are past	1920	
mh0817	things which has past	things which is past	David Calabro	
mh0817	things which has past	things which has passed	RS	accept
mh0904	near to the land of our fathers	near the land of our fathers	RS	
mh1005	spin and toil and work and work	spin and toil and work	RS	accept
mh1012	a wild and ferocious and a bloodthirsty	a wild and a ferocious and a bloodthirsty	RS	
mh1012	and they were also wronged	and that they were also wronged	RS	
mh1016	they were wrath with him	they were wroth with him	1830	accept

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
mh1109	with gold and silver and with ...	with gold and with silver and with ...	RS	
mh1123	and turn the Lord their God	and turn unto the Lord their God	OC; P ^c	
mh1123	and turn the Lord their God	and turn to the Lord their God	RS	accept
mh1202	and prophesying saying	and prophesy saying	1837	accept
mh1202	smitten on the cheek	smitten on the cheeks	RS	
mh1205	shall be driven before	shall be driven forth	Joanne Case	
mh1229	hath cause send me	hath cause to send me	1830	accept
mh1502	he dwelleth in flesh	he dwelleth in the flesh	RS	
mh1503	thus becoming the Father and Son	thus becoming the Father and the Son	RS	
mh1509	taken upon himself their iniquity	taking upon himself their iniquity	Lyle Fletcher	
mh1509	taken upon himself their iniquity	and taken upon himself their iniquity	RS	
mh1509	taken upon himself their iniquity	having taken upon himself their iniquity	RS	accept
mh1516	that art still publishing peace	that are still publishing peace	1830	accept
mh1601	he stretched forth his hands	he stretched forth his hand	1830	
mh1603	carnal sensual devilish	carnal sensual and devilish	David Calabro	
mh1607	or have broken the bands of death	or broken the bands of death	RS	accept
mh1710	yea and will suffer	yea and I will suffer	JG: 1830	accept
mh1710	yea and I will suffer even until death	yea and I will suffer even unto death	RS	accept
mh1713	and scourged his skin with fagots	and scorched his skin with fagots	RS	accept
mh1807	after many day	after many a day	RS	
mh1807	after many day	after many days	1830	accept

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
mh1828	to those priests that stood in need	and to those priests that stood in need	1830	
mh1903	to breathe out threatening	to breathe out threatenings	1830	accept
mh1924	after they had ended the ceremony	after they had ended the sermon	Renee Bangerter	accept
mh1924	after they had ended the ceremony	after they had ended the testimony	Don Brugger	
mh1926	made oath unto the king	made an oath unto the king	RS	
mh2019	and now behold and tell the king	and now behold tell the king	RS	
mh2106	to murmur with the king	to murmur to the king	Karl Franson	
mh2118	and secure their grain	and secured their grain	1849	
mh2118	and secure their grain	to secure their grain	RS	accept
mh2128	king Benjamin had a gift	king Mosiah had a gift	1837	
mh2208	and our children our flocks and	and our children and our flocks and	RS	
mh2312	bound with the bands of iniquity	bound with the bonds of iniquity	RS	
mh2317	except it were by him from God	except it were given him from God	Karl Franson	
mh2401	and the land of Shilom	and in the land of Shilom	1830	
mh2411	and put guards over them	and he put guards over them	1830	
mh2506	and he also read the account of Alma	and he also read the account of Alma and his brethren and all their afflictions and he also read the account of Ammon	Ellis Harris	accept
mh2609	Alma did know concerning them	Alma did not know concerning them	OC: P ^c	
mh2623	for it is I that hath created them	for it is I that hath created him	Richard Tripp	
mh2633	the people of that church	the people of the church	Ross Geddes	

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
mh2638	sufferings all manner of afflictions	suffering all manner of afflictions	1830	accept
mh2711	behold the angel of the Lord appeared	behold an angel of the Lord appeared	Joanne Case	
mh2716	that their prayers may answered	that their prayers may be answered	1830	accept
mh2719	he could not move his hands	he could not move his limbs	Ross Geddes	
mh2729	my soul was wrecked	my soul was racked	1879	accept
mh2730	but now that they may foresee	but now I know that they may foresee	David Calabro	accept
mh2803	the very thoughts	the very thought	RS	
mh2804	and suffering much fearing	suffering much and fearing	1920	
mh2810	which would accept of the kingdom	which would accept the kingdom	RS	
mh2817	from that time until the creation	from that time back until the creation	1920	
mh2907	which will cause wars	which would cause wars	1830	
mh2907	yea and destroy the souls	yea and destroying the souls	Paul Thomas	
mh2919	must unavoidably remained	must unavoidably remain	S2: P*; 1849	
mh2919	must unavoidably remained	must unavoidably have remained	1858W	
mh2919	must unavoidably remained	must have unavoidably remained	RS	accept
mh2921	ye cannot death an iniquitous king	ye cannot remove an iniquitous king	S2: P ^c	
mh2925	choose you ... judges	choose ye ... judges	RS	
mh2930	and I commanded you	and I command you	JG: 1830	
mh2932	that this inequality should be no more	that this iniquity should be no more	RS	
mh2933	the trials and troubles a righteous king	the trials and troubles of a righteous king	1830	accept
mh2936	contentions and bloodshed	contentions and bloodsheds	RS	

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
mh2942	appointed to be the chief judge	appointed to be the first chief judge	1837	
mh2946	being sixty and three years	being sixty and three years old	1830	accept
aa0115	they carried him upon the top	they carried him up on the top	RS	accept
aa0124	they were remembered no more	they were numbered no more	RS	accept
aa0125	they bore with patience	they bare with patience	RS	
aa0126	and the priest not esteeming himself	and the priest also not esteeming himself	Alison Coutts	
aa0129	whatsoever they stood in need	whatsoever they stood in need of	RS	
aa0130	that was hungry	or that was hungry	1830	accept
aa0132	and in envyings and strife	and in envyings and strifes	John Gee	
aa0204	and privileges of the church	and the privileges of the church	RS	accept
aa0211	Amlikites	Amlicites	1830	accept
aa0222	to watch camp of the Amlicites	to watch the camp of the Amlicites	1830	accept
aa0225	they obtain possession of our city	they will obtain possession of our city	RS	
aa0227	as the sands of the sea	as the sand of the sea	David Calabro	
aa0238	by those beasts and also the vultures	by those beasts and also by the vultures	RS	
aa0238	heaped up on the earth	heaped upon the earth	1892R	
aa0238	heaped up on the earth	heaped up upon the earth	RS	
aa0305	save it were skin	save it were a skin	RS	accept
aa0316	and again will I set a mark	and again I will set a mark	1830	accept
aa0405	three thousand five hundred souls	three thousand and five hundred souls	David Calabro	
aa0408	their own wills and pleasure	their own will and pleasure	1830	

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
aa0503	the land was called the land of ...	the land which was called the land of ...	1830	
aa0504	delivered out of the hand of ...	delivered out of the hands of ...	1830	
aa0507	in the midst of darkness	in the mist of darkness	John Tvedtnes	
aa0511	did he not speak the word of God	did he not speak the words of God	JS: 1837	
aa0511	and my father Alma believed them	and my father Alma believe them	1830	
aa0511	and my father Alma believed them	and my father Alma believed him	RS	
aa0525	such an one can have place in ...	such an one can have a place in ...	1858W	
aa0535	ye shall not be put down	ye shall not be hewn down	1830	
aa0535	ye shall not be put down	ye shall not be cut down	RS	accept
aa0548	yea the Son of the Only Begotten	yea the Son / the Only Begotten	JS: 1837	accept
aa0704	yea hath given unto me	yea he hath given unto me	RS	
aa0712	how to suffer his people	how to succor his people	1837	accept
aa0727	your women and your children	and your women and your children	RS	
aa0727	from this time forth and forever	from this time henceforth and forever	RS	
aa0820	I know that thou will be a blessing	I know that thou will be a blessing	1841	
aa0821	and set before Alma	and set it before Alma	RS	
aa0922	they having been waxed strong	they having waxed strong	1920	
aa0928	the power and captivation of the devil	the power and captivity of the devil	Ross Geddes	
aa1002	I am the son of Gidanah	I am the son of Giddonah	1830	
aa1007	and thou shall receive him	and thou shalt receive him	JS: 1837	
aa1019	the people should cause iniquity	the people should choose iniquity	JG: 1830	accept

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
aa1020	repent ye repent	repent ye repent ye	RS	
aa1022	by pestilence and the sword	by pestilence and by the sword	RS	
aa1028	the people cried out ... saying	the people cried out ...	OC: P ^c	
aa1101	should receive wages	should receive his wages	RS	accept
aa1121	and this Zeezrom began to question	and thus Zeezrom began to question	RS	accept
aa1121	and this Zeezrom began to question	and now this Zeezrom began to question	RS	
aa1136	I speak as though I had authority	I spake as though I had authority	1830	
aa1142	which is called temporal death	which is called a temporal death	1830	
aa1144	and shall be brought	and all shall be brought	Ross Geddes	accept
aa1144	and be raigned before the bar of Christ	and be arraigned before the bar of Christ	JG: 1830	
aa1210	until they knew them in full	until they know them in full	1830	accept
aa1214	for our words will condemn us	for our works will condemn us	RS	accept
aa1214	yea all our work will condemn us	yea all our works will condemn us	1837	accept
aa1227	but behold behold it was not so	but behold it was not so	JG: 1830	accept
aa1301	I would cite your minds forward	I would cast your minds forward	RS	
aa1301	I would cite your minds forward	I would cite your minds back	Douglas Stringer	
aa1309	thus they become high priests forever	thus they became high priests forever	RS	
aa1309	the Son of the Only Begotten	the Son / the Only Begotten	JS: 1837	accept
aa1312	many / an exceeding great many	many / exceeding great many	OC: P ^c	
aa1312	many / an exceeding great many	an exceeding great many	RS	
aa1314	this same order which I have spoken	this same order of which I have spoken	1906	accept

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
aa1316	now their ordinances were given ...	now these ordinances were given ...	1830	accept
aa1316	look forward on the Son of God	look forward to the Son of God	RS	
aa1320	ye will arrest them	ye will wrest them	JS: 1837	accept
aa1405	their lawyers and judges of the land	their lawyers and the judges of the land	RS	accept
aa1405	their lawyers and judges of the land	the lawyers and judges of the land	David Calabro	
aa1418	questioned them about many words	questioned them with many words	Douglas Stringer	
aa1420	will ye stand again	will ye stand against	RS	
aa1501	they departed	they departed out of the land	Paul Huntzinger	
aa1501	came out even into the land of Sidom	came out over into the land of Sidom	Paul Huntzinger	
aa1603	and taking others captive	and taken others captive	1852	
aa1605	whether ... they should go	whither ... they should go	JS: P ^c ; 1981	accept
aa1611	Desolation of Nehors	Desolation of the Nehors	RS	
aa1611	Desolation of Nehors	Desolation of Nehor's	RS	
aa1611	Desolation of Nehors	the Desolation of Nehors	RS	
aa1619	and the resurrection of the dead	and also the resurrection of the dead	1830	
aa1708	to preach the word	to preach the word of God	OC: P ^c	
aa1711	good examples unto them in me	good examples unto me	JS: P ^c	
aa1718	he departed from them	and he departed from them	OC: P ^c	
aa1726	the water of Sebus	the waters of Sebus	RS	accept
aa1727	scattered the flock	scattered the flocks	1830	accept
aa1731	we will reserve the flocks	we will preserve the flocks	1849	

<i>passage</i>	<i>earliest or standard reading</i>	<i>conjecture</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>critical text</i>
aa1731	we will reserve the flocks	we will restore the flocks	RS	accept
aa1738	save it were their leader	save it were their leader with his sword	JS; 1837	
aa1738	save it were their leader	with the sword save it were their leader	RS	accept
aa1802	and had learned of the faithfulness	and he had learned of the faithfulness	OC; P ^c	accept
aa1819	Ammon answered and said unto him	and Ammon answered and said unto him	RS	
aa1819	and he answered unto him	and he answered and said unto him	1830	
aa1836	and which had been spoken	which had been spoken	1837	accept
aa1836	and which had been spoken	and that which had been spoken	RS	
aa1837	and their travel	and their travail	Stan Larson; 1981	accept
aa1837	and their travail	and their travails	RS	
aa1901	and lay it into a sepulchre	and lay it in a sepulchre	1830	
aa1906	the light of everlasting light	the light of everlasting life	JS; P ^c ; 1852	accept
aa1923	Mosiah trusted him unto the Lord	Mosiah entrusted him unto the Lord	RS	
aa2102	Amalekites	Amlicites	Lyle Fletcher	accept
aa2103	in wickedness and their abominations	in wickedness and abominations	RS	
aa2103	in wickedness and their abominations	in their wickedness and their abominations	RS	
aa2103	in wickedness and their abominations	in wickedness and in their abominations	RS	
aa2105	there arose an Amlicite and began ...	there arose an Amlicite and he began ...	RS	
aa2105	there arose an Amlicite and began ...	there arose an Amlicite which began ...	RS	
aa2113	fled ... unto the regions round about	fled ... into the regions round about	1841	
aa2121	for that his father had granted ...	for his father had granted ...	RS	

