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The Geography of Book of Mormon Events: A Source Book

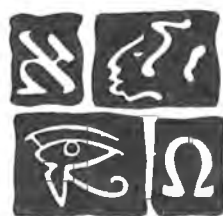
John L. Sorenson

Study Aid, Revised

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The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies



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Introduction

The subject of “Book of Mormon geography” has stimulated three different responses among Latter-day Saints over the years. On the part of Church authorities caution, if not anxiety, has prevailed. For a minority of members the reaction has been persistent curiosity. Meanwhile a large majority have been satisfied to ignore the matter.

The leaders’ position probably stems from mixed concerns all classed under the heading of the threat of change: (1) fear of embarrassment to the Church from premature, non-revelatory settling of popular opinion on one solution to the question that might later have to be changed; (2) fear of divisiveness among members over competing correlations; (3) the challenge to traditional views about geography that is posed by scholarly study which might shake the faith of lay members who have not distinguished mere tradition from revelation; and, (4) generalized mistrust of intellectuals and hobbyists in religious matters. But whatever the concerns of the leaders, a portion of the membership of the Church goes right on thinking their own thoughts about the geography of Book of Mormon events just as on many other subjects. Between these two unfocused interests or concerns, Mormon students of the scripture have produced a remarkably large body of writings that displays in its variety, if not its quality, the vigor of LDS thought.

The expressed motivation for much of this literature seems to have been little more than intellectual gymnastics—working on the equivalent of a complex crossword puzzle where all the Ammonihahs and Mantis must interrelate. Another motive for writing has been apologetic, for some have assumed that an accurate geography could lead to a correlation with archaeological remains or traditions that would support “the authenticity of the Book of Mormon” against scoffers. Serious discussion of benefits for the individual reader of the scripture that could come from a solution to the geography conundrum has been surprisingly rare. Among obvious points that could be made are: (1) a heightened sense of concreteness or believability conferred on readers by their having specific, detailed knowledge of the setting of reported events; and (2) likelihood that giving the scriptural account definite spatial, historical and cultural dimensions will make its lessons-for-living clearer. Third, the matter of geography may also be seen as a challenge: if Latter-day Saints have so far failed to examine “the keystone of our [LDS] religion” with sufficient care to set it into a definite place and concrete scene, does that not mean that we are treating a sacred matter superficially? That there are many hundreds of geographical statements and facts included in the record can be taken to indicate that we ought to pay attention to them. So while I do not consider the topic crucial, I believe it is significant. And for me personally it is interesting.

This volume aims to review the entire subject. The first thing to do is to examine what has been done previously with what has been called “Book of Mormon geography.”

The literature reveals confusion. A great amount of effort has gone into the work. Most of it, probably, has been wasted. One reason is that devotees of the topic have been loners, mainly, hence they have not had the benefit of criticism. In this volume, at least, the means will be laid out to allow future workers to see what others have done and to set out on a more productive course. I would like to see this volume lead toward a meeting of minds rather than more of the arm-waving so common in the past. By a willingness to correct past errors, we may move toward helpful sharing of knowledge and even a text-based consensus.

Because of a negative attitude of some Church leaders, the expression “Book of Mormon geography” has taken on a bad connotation. Another problem with the expression is its ambiguity. The label could cover topics as diverse as where copies of the Nephite scripture are being printed and distributed or which Church members in which areas own and use copies. In addition, there are students of the scriptural text who deal only with events and their locations in the Old World—where the events took place that were reported by Nephi in the first eighteen chapters of his record. But here I am concerned with only one aspect. I have chosen an unambiguous name for the topic to distinguish it: “the geography of (American) Book of Mormon events.” Since 99% of the text’s reflections of geography concern the American promised land scene, I shall drop the parenthetical label and simply suppose that hereafter “the geography of Book of Mormon events” will be taken as referring to the question of what locations in the New World constituted the scene of the events reported in the Book of Mormon after Lehi’s arrival in the American promised land? (The Jaredite record is impossible to deal with except where it connects with the Nephite account; thus I ignore those geographical statements and hints in the book of Ether which I cannot connect to Mormon’s account.)

The first task I have set is to examine everything substantive that has been written by Latter-day Saints on the subject. There is no use “re-inventing the wheel.” If answers to questions of the geography of Book of Mormon events already have been found, we might as well acknowledge and take advantage of them. If reliable answers have not come forth, we at least need to know what ground has been plowed. Of course some of the work done has been inconsequential, and certain writings are inaccessible to me, yet I have learned so much more than anyone hitherto about who did and said what that my findings to this point may be useful to others.

To avoid others having to look up the sources, which are often obscure, I give summaries of them below. Part 2 includes sketches of all the schemes encountered (some unpublished) according to a paradigmatic format that will simplify comparisons. Copies of available maps are included. I consider this

a working edition, so no doubt I will have missed some sources and possibly misread others. Corrections and additions will be appreciated.

Each distinctive body of geographic interpretation—each scheme which identifies particular Book of Mormon lands and features with a particular set of places on the western hemisphere map—I term a model. Closer examination probably will no doubt allow identifying certain of those models as sufficiently close to others that the total number (70, so far) ought to be reduced by lumping very similar, derivative schemes together in families-with-variants. Initially, here, I have chosen not to suppose that models which look a good deal alike are necessarily related to each other historically; the similarities may be coincidences following separate discoveries or invention of ideas.

Part 1 consists of a historical interpretation of the course of LDS (and RLDS) thought on the topic from the appearance of the Book of Mormon in 1830 to the present. My interpretation is based on the summaries in Part 2 plus some other minor literature. I am attempting in this treatment to place the sequence of discoveries and statements about the geography of Book of Mormon events in context. It becomes apparent that certain notions continued from writer to writer (often without acknowledgment and perhaps even unrealized). Yet overall there has been a historical cumulation of data and interpretations that can be appreciated best in the format of the “history of ideas.”

To anticipate my conclusion, the upshot is that the existing literature goes in so many directions that no solution stands out as sufficiently persuasive to rally consensus behind it. As a consequence I conclude (in Part 3) that the task must start over with the basics. The following parts then present a set of tools to move students toward a consensus. The logic for them will be explained in Part 3.

Part 1

A History of Ideas:
The Geography of
Book of Mormon Events
in Latter-day Saint Thought

A History of Ideas: The Geography of Book of Mormon Events in Latter-day Saint Thought

The approach to the record of the past known as the history of ideas takes the position that the apparent stream of thought or argument about an area of knowledge can be analyzed usefully by considering that the component concepts or notions in that stream have been produced by individual minds acting in given sociocultural settings at identifiable moments in time. The development of notions as they are visible down through time in the documents can be considered analogous to tributary streams running into a river system. The river itself may exhibit tortuous channels, eddies, backwaters and sinkholes in the sand in addition to receiving additions to its flow. For example, it is likely that some one person at one moment in history came up with the idea that the Magdalena River was the river Sidon, then that point was picked up by others. Another person at another moment first stated that the Usumacinta River was the Sidon, whereupon the two ideas were put into competition. And so on.

By isolating such contributions to thought, we may be able to clarify why certain geographical propositions flourished and others did not in terms of the intellectual, communicative and social settings of those who paid attention to these matters. Taken all together, such analyses have the potential to illuminate the channeling forces that have kept the stream of thought running within its evident banks instead of taking other lines. Only by trying to do this will we learn whether there is value in the picture produced that may free us of some unproductive historical predispositions. At the least we should be able to see better how far we are from the head of the river, and we may even glimpse its mouth. (Of course, those who do not accept the Book of Mormon as an authentic ancient document would say that this whole stream runs into an intellectual dead sea where nothing lives!)

Most historical material of interest here is organized not in terms of individual notions, ideas or geographical motifs but of "models." Each of those who have thought and written on the geography of Book of Mormon events has tended to develop a relatively consistent picture of the features fitted together. Such a picture I term a model. Thus the "Driggs 1925 Model" referred to later on consists of that set of geographical ideas represented in a brochure first printed (as far as I can tell) by Jean Russell Driggs in Salt Lake City in 1925. Since I am interested in the history of ideas, not just a publishing history, in cases where I am aware that a person crystallized a certain idea or constellation of ideas prior to the earliest formal publication accessible to me, I have dated the model from the earlier moment rather than from the publication date.

At the moment, I am satisfied mainly to track models rather than the component ideas or features composing them. Part 2 summarizes 70 models, and to deal with that sequence is difficult enough. Yet there are hundreds of component ideas within those. Analysis of their interrelations would be a far more difficult task. Ultimately it could be done. I shall follow certain of ideas through the sequence of models, but that treatment is largely illustrative. Thus the title of this section is "A History of Ideas," not *"The History of Ideas."* To complete the latter is a task that I do not expect to get round to, and perhaps it does not even deserve doing. But I shall begin and see what enlightenment comes from the effort.

Note that two kinds of models are considered. An "external" model interprets Book of Mormon events as having occurred at a particular place in the western hemisphere. It provides a correlation between geographical features in the scriptural text and some specific American scene. We shall see that a large majority of the models published up until now have been external models. The other kind is, of course, "internal." Here the information in the text is analyzed and related with no reference to an external correlation; that is, constructing an internal model in the strict sense means ignoring all considerations of areas, rivers, isthmuses, ruins, etc. locatable on a map of the Americas. A number of such exclusively internal models have been published.

Methodologically it should be obvious that two separable steps should be involved here. A person ought initially to prepare an internal model, and only then correlate that with features externally locatable. Actually, it is questionable if this ideal procedure has ever been followed in purity. What is more typical, and harder to do, has been to begin considering the topic with certain notions about internal geography in mind—but without making them very explicit, let alone complete—and then switching attention to presumed givens about external correlation. The result is that assumptions about internal relationships get colored by assumptions about external relationships, and vice versa. The result is usually a mishmash where it is not clear which relationships came first in logical process. My summaries specifically distinguished the purely internal models (nine of them) which do not purport to relate to any external scene.

The models summarized and considered include those coming from persons in the tradition of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It is obvious in examining these that the originators paid attention to the more abundant LDS literature, hence ideas passed in the one direction without much regard to denominational boundaries. There is less evidence that RLDS views have had much circulation or effect among LDS writers.

Let us proceed by working through time from 1829 to the present, identifying periods of unusual interest and change in the consideration of geography and seeing what models and concepts originated and flourished when.

Earliest Period, 1829-1842

Reconstructing thought on geography before the Nauvoo period is particularly difficult because the existing records of what was being said at that time are so few. What is recorded gives the impression that a single, "obvious" model of the geography of Book of Mormon events prevailed. (See General 1830 Model.) It seems to have considered the entire hemisphere as the Nephite-Lamanite scene, with North America the land northward and South America the land southward. That Panama was considered the narrow neck of land is less clear, but probable nevertheless. The evidence for this model comes from a handful of statements from the 1829-1842 period (see Appendix A); despite their brevity, they appear to be consistent.

Given the level of secular knowledge manifested by Joseph Smith and his associates at that time, we are safe in supposing that their combined knowledge of the geography of the western hemisphere was limited and probably unclear. That was true of virtually all Americans, of course, and those living on the frontier had even less knowledge than others. Even the form and character of the territory that would become the continental United States over the next two generations was vague to all but a few scholars, and "Oregon" and "California" were barely conceived of as real places, let alone Peru, "Darien" (Panama) or "Guatemala."

To the saints, the one sure fact was that the plates had come out of the hill in New York, therefore, it was felt, that must have been the scene of the final Nephite battle. Furthermore, there is no evidence that early Latter-day Saints, any more than other frontier people of the time, differentiated among "Indians." An Indian, anywhere in the United States and by extension anywhere in the hemisphere, was considered generically pretty much like any other Indian (a view that still prevails in the 20th century among a substantial portion of the American population). Consequently, a Lamanite was a Lamanite was a Lamanite to a Book of Mormon believer in the 1830's. Ignorance of the actual ethnological variety among New World peoples that later research would reveal left the early saints confirmed in their vague unitary, hemispheric geography. Meanwhile nothing in the revelations to Joseph Smith (e.g., Doctrine and Covenants 28:8; 32:2; 49:24; and 54:8), given to the Church members "after the manner of their language" and understanding (D. & C. 1:24), gave them reason to question their assumptions of Lamanite/Indian homogeneity and hemispheric unity.

We must also realize that the Book of Mormon was not an object of careful study in the early days of the Church, in fact it was referred to surprisingly little (see Grant Underwood, "Book of Mormon Usage in Early LDS Theology," *Dialogue* 17 (3, Autumn 1984): 35-74). The scripture anchored faith and clarified aspects of theology, but it was not studied systematically, let alone critically, as history or geography. For example, even Orson Pratt, who was one of the best informed and had one of the most logical minds

among Latter-day Saints of his day, was unaccountably cavalier in these matters. Still in 1868 he supposed that the Jaredites brought “elephants, cureloms and cumoms (very large animals)” with them across the Pacific Ocean on their barges! (see Appendix A). He also taught that Omer (Ether 8) and a few families alone from among the Jaredites “were saved, while all the balance, consisting of millions of people, were overthrown because of their wickedness” (see Appendix A). And he held the view, probably universal among his associates, that Moroni deposited the plates of Nephi which his father Mormon had given him in the hill of the final battle. More exacting reading of the scriptural text shows us today that the text justifies none of these ideas; they all are highly unlikely or are contradicted outright by the record.

This failure to study the Book of Mormon with care was joined with limited knowledge of the external world to prevent anything like the kind of careful study of the geography that is possible today. Besides, the predominant objectives of 19th century Mormonism—to gather and establish the Church in a safe home base and to preach the gospel—turned the attention of most people in directions that did not call for and did not really allow “analyzing” the scripture. Anyway, whatever efforts at thoughtful study went on had to be sandwiched among urgent, time-consuming duties like missionary labors and eking out a living on the frontier.

Another factor clearly was the sheer smallness of the number of minds at work studying the Book of Mormon in any degree. For at least the first 50 years of the Church’s existence, virtually everyone who thought in detail about and then put their thoughts in print on any gospel topic were few in number. They were almost all known personally to each other and were concerned with unity, not alternative views. There was no source of nor room for variant points of view, let alone criticism. No one would have thought of questioning Joseph Smith or whoever it was who indicated that “the ancient City of Manti” had once been located in Missouri (see Appendix A). (It is obvious enough nowadays to Book of Mormon students that since Book of Mormon Manti was in the land southward and near the head of north-flowing river Sidon, a location in Missouri is out of the question.) Nor did anybody, it appears, comment to Brother Pratt that the Book of Ether fails to say anything about elephants or cumoms on the barges (the vessels were, after all, only “as long as a [temperate zone] tree”—Ether 2:17). Even if the incongruity of Pratt’s assertions had been detected by an alert reader, there was no medium nor atmosphere to allow pointing it out. Brigham Young took on Pratt for doctrinal unorthodoxy, and that alone was traumatic for the leadership structure; to have people pointing out relatively minor, “scholarly” errors like the elephant business would have been more than the social and belief structure of those early days could have put up with (see Gary James Bergera, “The Orson Pratt-Brigham Young Controversies: Conflict within the Quorums, 1853 to 1868,” *Dialogue* 8, 2, Summer, 1980, pages 7-49). LDS

thought was monolithic in pioneer times. Yet the same factors that so greatly constrained the range of thought in early Utah were already powerful in the first decade of the Church's existence. Thus no trace of an alternative model of geography can be detected and probably none existed. In relation to the geography of Book of Mormon events, the Latter-day Saints in the first decade were as straightforwardly "obvious" or naive in their interpretation as they were in regard to many doctrines. Only later would their views open up to allow recognizing that they could move to a broader viewpoint that allowed alternatives.

1842-?

An abortive opening up in regard to geography began when J. M. Bernhisel in late 1841 sent from the east to Joseph Smith a copy of John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan* (Vol. 1, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1841), a sensational "best-seller" in both the United States and England. It stimulated lengthy treatment in the Nauvoo *Times and Seasons*. The September 15, 1842, issue included a lengthy extract from the book, then the October 1 issue continued:

Since our 'Extract' was published from Mr. Stephens', Incidents of Travel etc., we have found another important fact relating to the truth of the Book of Mormon. Central America, or Guatemala is situated north of the Isthmus of Darien and once embraced several hundred miles of territory from north to south.— the city of Zarahemla, burnt at the crucifixion of the Savior, and rebuilt afterwards, stood upon this land as will be seen from the following words in the book of Alma: And now it was only the distance of a day and half's journey for a Nephite, on the line Bountiful and the land Desolation, from the east to the west sea; and thus the land of Nephi, and the land of Zarahemla was nearly surrounded by water: here being a small neck of land between the land southward...(Page 915).

The phrasing I have emphasized makes clear that the newly-received volume was a direct spur for constructing a different model of where the major Nephite cities lay than had prevailed before.

A year later the word was still the same:

Mr. Stephens great developments of antiquities are made bare to the eyes of all the people by reading the history of the Nephites in the Book of Mormon. They lived about the narrow neck of land, which now embraces Central America, with all the cities that can be found

... Read the destruction of cities at the crucifixion of Christ, pages 459-60. Who could have dreamed that twelve years could have developed such incontrovertible testimony to the Book of Mormon? (See Appendix A.)

The authorship of the words in the newspaper is not clear. John Taylor was the managing editor at that time, although Joseph Smith had announced himself to be the formal editor and responsible for content and policy (see

Appendix A). The euphoria over the Stephens book must at least have had Joseph's approbation, for he had already waxed enthusiastic about the volume in a letter he sent in November 1841 thanking Bernhisel for the gift (see Appendix A).

An 1849 statement by Orson Pratt made clear anew how strongly the volume had impacted the LDS circle in Nauvoo:

No one will dispute the fact that the existence of antique remains in different parts of America was known long before Mr. Smith was born. But every well informed person knows that the most of the discoveries made by Catherwood and Stephens were original. . . . Now the Book of Mormon gives us the names and locations of great numbers of cities in the very region where Catherwood and Stephens afterwards discovered them. (See Appendix A.)

The year before Pratt had said in the *Millennial Star*:

"[The Book of Mormon says that] in the 367th year after Christ, 'the Lamanites'—the forefathers of the American Indians—took possession of the city of Desolation'—which was in Central America, near to or in Yucatan . . . the Nephites being the Nation who inhabited the cities of Yucatan.

.....

In the 384th year, the occupants of Yucatan and Central America, having been driven from their great and magnificent cities, were pursued by the Lamanites to the hill Cumorah in the interior of the state of New York, where the whole nation perished in battle. (See Appendix A.)

So impressed was Pratt with Stephens' writings that later when he edited the *Star* (1865-66), he printed a long series of extracts from Stephens' volume 2, which had been published in 1843.

It is not clear, however, that these enthusiasts for Stephens' findings consistently worked out the geographical implications of what they were saying. We can see in retrospect that by placing Zarahemla in Guatemala and the city of Desolation in or near Yucatan, they had come up with a different model of geography for Book of Mormon events than the one innocently held in the 1830's, where, it appears, Zarahemla was supposed to be in South America. As the Nephite capital was located in the land southward, if it was now supposed to be in Guatemala, that meant that the narrow neck of land had to be north from there, seemingly in Mexico. Panama could not be the neck. So what role did South America play in the new thinking? We do not know whether the minds of those in Nauvoo involved in the discussion got around to that question because nothing further has survived in the documents.

Yet there is one additional hint that the new model was being rationalized. It involves the much-cited statement about Lehi landing at 30 degrees south in Chile. This had been written in the hand of Frederick G. Williams, and there is reason to think that it may date to the time of the Kirtland Temple

dedication (1836), although the matter is far from clear (see F. G. Williams III, “Did Lehi Land in Chile? An Assessment of the Frederick G. Williams Statement, *FARMS Paper* WIL-88, and Appendix A). Given the whole-hemisphere scope of the interpretation of the geography of Book of Mormon events prevailing before Nauvoo, it seems quite likely that the belief was general that Lehi landed in southern South America, whatever revelational status the Williams statement had. So it must be significant that the same *Times and Seasons* presenting the Stephens’ material also stated that “. . . Lehi went down by the Red sea to the great Southern Ocean, and crossed over to this land, and landed a little south of the Isthmus of Darien [Panama] . . .” (emphasis added; see also Appendix A). Now that puts the landing nearly three thousand miles north of the Williams statement. It is evident that it was Stephens’ data that produced this drastic modification in the idea of where Lehi had landed. So it seems possible that if we knew all that was being thought in Nauvoo in 1842-1843, we might discover that northern South America had come to have a greatly reduced role in their interpretation of Nephite geography. On the other hand, we might find that they had not got around to thinking much about the matter at all. In fact, whether the 1842 stir left behind it any permanent effect on the view of most Latter-day Saints is questionable. A generation later (1868) we find Orson Pratt with Bountiful and Zarahemla back in Colombia and once more he has Lehi landing in Chile (see Appendix A). We lack documentation to know what was going on in the minds of the very few people who thought about these matters, and the membership of the Church at large likely never even realized that the geography was under discussion. In any case, the whole topic must have seemed abstruse and unimportant after the death of Joseph and especially from 1846 on when practical pioneering became the order of the day.

The significance of the events surrounding the 1842 *Times and Seasons* Model is at least threefold:

1. It let anyone then concerned and those of us now interested know that it was legitimate to consider alternatives to the “obvious” hemispheric model, and that on the basis of external discoveries by gentile scholars.
2. It communicated that the issue of where the Nephite cities lay had not been settled by revelation before 1842.
3. The failure of the 1842 model to become fully accepted among the Saints also shows that neither was *it* put forward as based on revelation.

1850-1879

In the early pioneering period in Utah no attention seems to have been given to this subject, as shown by a complete absence of significant printed statements for more than fifteen years. The first evidence of renewed interest is from 1865, when Orson Pratt, presiding in England and editor of the *Millennial Star*, began printing excerpts from John Lloyd Stephens’ second book. Articles and editorials by him in subsequent years (see Appendix A)

give us a glimpse of his views on geography at that time. It may be that few others were thinking on the matter with him, but the wide readership of the *Star* at the time, even among immigrants and former missionaries then in Utah, must have brought his perspective forward and established it as the new “obvious” scheme. There were few if any challengers to him among Latter-day Saints as the most respected interpreter of secular thought and reasoned analysis in relation to the gospel.

His geographical scheme for Book of Mormon events (Pratt 1866 Model) probably was much like the General 1830 Model. We cannot be sure how similar they were because our knowledge of that earliest picture is very incomplete. I count his 1866 viewpoint as a new model so as not to assume a connection that has not been demonstrated. After all, his obvious interest in Stephens and the *Times and Seasons* position might (should) have separated him in some ways from the earlier general view. Either he forgot entirely about or ignored the Nauvoo development and its implications for geography, or else somehow he incorporated some of it into his 1866 model in ways not now apparent.

However he handled the *Times and Seasons* material, by 1866 (see Appendix A) we see him using the full hemisphere for the Nephite scene. Expression of this model culminated in the footnotes he prepared for the new division into chapters and verses which he prepared for the 1879 edition of the Book of Mormon. That authoritative platform resulted in his ideas becoming standard among most Latter-day Saints by the turn of the century. Because his notions were printed as footnotes in the scripture, they were accorded a quasi-inspired status in many minds. Yet he made it evident to those who would read carefully that the scheme was a construct of his own mind. For example his note at Omni verse 12 said, “The land of Nephi is *supposed to have been* in or near Equador, South America” (emphasis added). His note for verse 13 continues in this tentative mode: “The land of Zarahemla is *supposed to have been* North of the head waters of the river Magdalena” (emphasis added). Again at Alma 2:15 he says, “*Supposed to be* the river Magdalena” (emphasis added). He was not so tentative elsewhere, as at Helaman 3:8 where he labels the sea south of the scripture the “Atlantic, South of Cape Horn” and the sea north the “Arctic, North of North America.” At Mormon 6:2 he simply says, “The Hill Cumorah is in Manchester, Ontario, N.Y.” Meanwhile one wonders whether those footnotes would have survived without more qualification had Brigham Young not passed away two years before publication of the new edition. His skepticism about some of Pratt’s views might have led him to demand more cautious statements although perhaps not disagreeing in general with the model (see Appendix A).

Reluctance to challenge the formidable reputation of Brother Pratt extended even to B. H. Roberts, no meek follower of common views, for as late as 1909 he cited Pratt and Reynolds as all but conclusive on geographical matters (“Such is the theory of Orson Pratt”—*New Witnesses for God*, vol. 2,

1909, page 162; also 140, 144, 163). Only as an afterthought, at the end of his volume 3 (1909, pages 501-503) did Roberts admit any doubt about Pratt's model.

As a whole, the geography of Book of Mormon events that prevailed during this period can be characterized as a rather narrow orthodoxy—a version of the old General 1830 model mediated primarily through Orson Pratt and of explicit concern to only a small portion of the saints.

1880-1909

Several factors combined to stimulate substantial interest and variety in geographic concerns in this period. We can suppose that the very fact of the appearance of Pratt's footnotes focused attention on the matter. The publication in the Richards and Little *Compendium* (Salt Lake City, 1882) of the statement about "Lehi's Travels," which was attributed to Joseph Smith, must have raised the matter of geography again in inquiring minds.

But the model that affected the most people no doubt was that of George Reynolds. It first appeared in the *Juvenile Instructor*, published by George Q. Cannon, whom Reynolds had served in Liverpool as immigration clerk in 1863. In Salt Lake City he was personal secretary to Brigham Young and then secretary to the First Presidency in the administrations of Presidents Taylor, Woodruff, Snow, and Smith. He was simultaneously one of the presidents of Seventy for nineteen years. It was while he was a prisoner in the Utah territorial prison from 1879 to 1881 as a result of a famous test case over polygamy that he began his work that culminated in 1899 in publication of his monumental *A Complete Concordance of the Book of Mormon*. An early fruit of his effort was the series of pieces in the *Juvenile Instructor* which ran between 15 November 1880 and 1 February 1881. Amplified somewhat, these then were published in 1888 as *The Story of the Book of Mormon*, the first popularization based on the scripture. Because of Reynolds' intimate connections with the key Church leaders and his ties with its media (he was assistant editor for the *Instructor* and associate editor of *The Deseret News*), his book quickly reached best-seller status, apparently being published five separate times within the year 1888 (twice in Salt Lake, twice in Chicago and once in Independence)!

What Reynolds did was to flesh out and somewhat rationalize the outline geography Pratt had presented in the footnotes of the Book of Mormon. He explicitly agreed with Pratt and cited the footnotes at times. And like Pratt, he presented it all as tentative in details. The Sidon river he said was "generally understood" to be the Magdalena, while the land of Desolation "is generally supposed to have embraced . . . the region known to moderns as Central America."

He noted that other men had somewhat different ideas. Speaking of the placement of the city of Nephi, he agreed with Pratt in putting it in highland Ecuador, although "other brethren have placed it considerably farther south,"

acknowledging meanwhile that the exact whereabouts "cannot be answered authoritatively." Regarding the city Bountiful, he notes "an idea [was] held by some" that it lay on the west shore of Colombia rather than where he put it on the Atrato River.

Who those "other brethren" were is not very clear. One seems to have been Karl G. Maeser, who with student Heber Comer, mapped a model in 1880 at the Brigham Young Academy in Provo which differs in detail from Reynolds (see Comer and Maeser 1880 Model). The unknown originator of the Plain Facts 1887 Model could also have been among those referred to by Reynolds, judging by the date. But it sounds as if there were a number more.

In an influential and informative statement published in the *Juvenile Instructor* in 1890 George Q. Cannon (its publisher and first counselor in the First Presidency) told of the popularity of geographic study at that time:

There is a tendency, strongly manifested at the present time among some of the brethren, to study the geography of the Book of Mormon. We have heard of numerous lectures, illustrated by suggestive maps, being delivered on this subject during the present winter, generally under the auspices of the Improvement Societies and Sunday Schools.

He noted further that "no two original investigators agree When, as in the case, one student places a certain city at the Isthmus of Panama, a second in Venezuela, and a third in Guiana or northern Brazil, . . . they cannot be thus far apart in this one important point without relative positions being also widely separate." Consequently, "we see no necessity for maps of this character, because, at least, much would be left to the imagination of those who prepare them . . . " (see Appendix A).

Clearly, more models were being bruited about than I have discovered in the printed record. One other indicator of this flurry of effort comes from a letter of over twenty pages written 7 March 1907 to George H. Brimhall, President of BYU, from R. Holmes of Spanish Fork, Utah (in BYU library). He had, he said, "been deeply engaged for the last twenty-one years" in the study of Book of Mormon geography, which takes us to 1886. "During the last ten years there have been so many entertained by so many men that theory after theory spring up all around the country." In his view, "we know the whole thing is in a shape that my opinion is as good as the other fellow." (The actual geographic observations made in this rambling item are insufficiently clear for me to detect the lines of his model.)

One thing evident in all the discussion is that neither the proponents of the many map correlations nor Elder Cannon found anything intrinsically wrong in pursuing such studies, only in the confusion and disunity that resulted. There is no trace of a viewpoint that the geography of Book of Mormon events had been settled, by Joseph Smith, Orson Pratt or anyone else. Indeed Cannon himself went on to say:

The First Presidency have often been asked to prepare some suggestive map illustrative of Nephite geography, but have never consented to do so.

Nor are we acquainted with any of the Twelve Apostles who would undertake such a task. The reason is, that without further information they are not prepared even to suggest. The word of the Lord or the translation of other ancient records is required to clear up many points now so obscure

But his hope for restraint was vain; interest seems to have continued apace.

A further manifestation of the strong interest in this topic came in 1900. At the instigation of Benjamin Cluff, President of Brigham Young Academy, an expedition was planned to "Book of Mormon lands." The destination was the Magdalena river, generally believed to have been the Sidon. It departed Provo in April on horseback. Personnel and logistical problems combined with ignorance of the conditions they faced combined to make the effort futile, but publicity was extensive. According to Cluff one result of the activity was that it "probably furnished some evidence to corroborate the theory of Anthony Ivins and other Book of Mormon authorities that the narrow neck of land spoken of in the Book of Mormon ... is the Isthmus of Tehuantepec" (Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, eds., *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny*, Provo: BYU, 1976, page 161). Also, according to the same source, some people at the time thought that Hagoth's shipbuilding site on the "sea west" was at the Yucatan peninsula, which would not, of course, comport with a Panama/Magdalena model. I should like to know more about these variant views.

Another signal of continued concern that deserves investigation was a "Book of Mormon convention" held in Provo on May 23-24, 1903 where geography was evidently argued (mentioned in the letter of Holmes to Brimhall).

Perhaps tied to that event was a movement at Brigham Young College in Logan to study geography. The "Society of American Archeology" in 1904 published a "Report: Book of Mormon Geography" in the BYC Bulletin 3(2, December). John A. Widtsoe, later an apostle but then on the BYC faculty, was a member of the Society's executive committee and the secretary was Joel Ricks. Ricks wrote the report. He would become one of the most published LDS students of the subject.

This first piece by Ricks was all based on published materials, but soon he visited Colombia. This provided his subsequent writings with photographs and an I-was-there tone which went well with readers. In 1906 he published a series of articles in *The Juvenile Instructor* which specified his model in some detail (Ricks 1904 Model). In large measure he followed Reynolds, but he moved beyond in concrete details.

Interestingly, the RLDS Church was also caught up in the activity having to do with the geography of Book of Mormon events at this period of time. In 1894 their general conference appointed a Committee on Archaeology. It's studies provided information from which G. F. Weston drafted a set of maps that first appeared around 1900 (see RLDS/Weston 1900? Model and Hanson

1948 Model). They are distinguishable from Reynolds and Pratt only in details.

I have arbitrarily assigned a closing date of 1909 to this period because that year B. H. Roberts' *New Witnesses for God*, volume 3, appeared. It contained his call for caution in accepting uncritically the common view that the statement in Richards and Little's *Compendium* claiming that Lehi landed in Chile (see below) came from Joseph Smith and was a revelation. He was so influential an "intellectual" in LDS terms at that time, that I believe his caution on this point opened the door for a wider range and more open consideration of alternatives to the dominant orthodoxy.

Contextual reasons, both internal and external, for the interest in geography in this thirty-five year period are numerous. Inside the Church the death of Brigham Young in 1877 produced a reaction to the grip he had held on thinking in Deseret for thirty years. The moment coincided, of course, with increasing influence from the "outside" coming among the saints especially through the medium of local gentile businesses, press, and organizations. The effect of Latter-day Saint "higher education" must also be counted. Despite limitations on the scope of Brigham Young Academy and sister institutions of the time, they did bring together some minds able to probe beyond the sheerer orthodoxies of pioneer days. At the same time, information from the secular world about geography, traditional history and archaeology in the hemisphere was increasing markedly and becoming available through books and periodicals. While sophistication in such matters was still far off, at least some of the better students among the Latter-day Saints now encountered a degree of discipline imposed by facts about ancient America and contemporary geographical knowledge.

The publication of James A. Little and Franklin D. Richards' *A Compendium of the Doctrines of the Gospel* (Salt Lake City, 1882) tended to confirm the generally-shared and Orson Pratt's disseminated idea that Lehi's landing place had been in southern South America. In it was a statement which they headed: "LEHI'S TRAVELS.—*Revelation to Joseph the Seer.*" It says that Lehi and his party landed "on the continent of South America, in Chili, thirty degrees south latitude." (See Frederick G. Williams III, *Did Lehi Land in Chile? An Assessment of the Frederick G. Williams Statement*. F.A.R.M.S. Paper WIL-88, 1988.) The statement is in the handwriting of Frederick G. Williams; there is reason to believe that it was written no later than 1845 and may well have come from the Kirtland era. In the cited study of the matter by Williams' great-great-grandson, evidence is given pro and con about whether the content can be considered a revelation to Joseph Smith. The conclusion is that the origin of the words remains uncertain and the statement should bear no particular weight in considering the geography of Book of Mormon events.

The fact that Little and Richards asserted that the statement originated with Joseph and by revelation nevertheless impressed people who desired the

assurance that a revelatory solution to the question of geography would provide. Four years later A. H. Cannon could unequivocally say this: "19 Q. Where does the Prophet Joseph Smith tell us they landed? A. On the coast of Chili in South America." A generation of Sunday School children memorized this. (See *Questions and Answers on the Book of Mormon*. Designed and Prepared Especially for the Use of the Sunday Schools in Zion, Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1886, page 24.)

Dan Vogel (*Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake: Signature Books, 1986, page 85) has asserted that the rise of alternatives to the orthodox view on geography came only with B. H. Roberts, "in the first decade of the twentieth century, when [he] questioned it for apologetic reasons." Vogel claims that the stimulus was an anti-Mormon book by M. T. Lamb (*The Golden Bible; or, the Book of Mormon. Is it from God?* New York: Ward and Drummond, 1887). Supposedly "Roberts believed that such problems [as travel distances and population growth, raised by Lamb] could only be solved by postulating a limited geographical area for Book of Mormon events." Vogel's citation to Roberts' *New Witness* 3:503, is, however, a red herring, for he makes no statement there about this matter (see Appendix A). In fact, there is no reason to believe that Roberts ever adopted a limited geography model, something others were putting forward vigorously in his lifetime. As of 1922 he still wrote as though Latter-day Saints must deal with an entire-hemisphere map. He apparently saw the possibility of limiting the Nephites scene to be worth considering but never made the transition in his own thought. Furthermore, I have found no evidence that any students of the geography topic before or after Roberts' single mention of Lamb in 1909 paid any attention to what that critic had had to say.

In summary, I see the 1880-1909 period characterized by four key points:

(1) The old unspecified orthodoxy continued by inertia among the general membership.

(2) Rather than there being a dominant belief that the questions about geographical setting had been authoritatively settled, a number of leaders and thoughtful members felt that the subject was open to legitimate study, though divisive speculation was decried.

(3) Some people felt it quite acceptable to challenge the norm, and their opinions were not proscribed on the basis of content. Most of the challenges it is true, were only in regard to details in the location of Book of Mormon lands, but at least Church leader Anthony Ivins and presumably certain others of like mind seem to have opted for a restricted Book of Mormon scene consisting chiefly of Central America.

(4) The contention by some later defenders of the orthodox model that less-than-hemispheric models are only recent innovations does not hold up. Such models appear to have been around continuously for at least a century, though not widely known for most of that time. Counting the *Times and Seasons* model as the alternative to the original, naive General 1830s scheme,

then alternatives to the Chile-to-New York correlation have been part of the LDS thought almost since the Book of Mormon was first printed.

1910-1927

B. H. Roberts set the tone for this period in this statement near the end of volume 3 of *New Witness* (see Appendix A):

I may also say that as these pages go to press the question of Book of Mormon geography is more than ever recognized as an open one by students of the book. That is to say, it is a question if Mormon views hitherto entertained respecting Book of Mormon lands have not been a misconception by reason of premises forced upon its students by the declaration of an alleged revelation [the "Lehi's Travels" statement].

The next fifteen years saw the rise of competition among a greater variety of ideas than at any time before and that competition continued into the thirties.

This relative openness showed up in an interesting way in 1921 (according to Bruce Van Orden in an unpublished paper). A new edition of the Book of Mormon had been issued the year before with the Pratt footnotes eliminated. This change must have been the trigger for a meeting in Salt Lake City in which Joel Ricks, B. H. Roberts, J. M. Sjodahl and Willard Young all made presentations on geography. Apparently nothing came of the session, but the idea of competitive presentations was novel.

Jean Driggs (see Driggs 1925 Model) conveyed the tone of the times in stating that when Roberts wrote, "the general opinion was that Lehi landed on the coast of South America, 30 degrees south latitude. At the present time the Church does not commit itself on the location of Book of Mormon lands and we are left to work out the homelands of the Nephites and Jaredites from the Book of Mormon itself."

This cautious neutrality regarding competing models is evidenced further in a statement from President Joseph F. Smith; the year is uncertain but he died in 1918 and this may have been some years earlier. He said that the Lord had not yet revealed the landing place of Lehi and his people and that if, as he was being requested, he were to approve a particular map purporting to show the landing and afterwards it was found to be in error, it would affect the faith of the people (see Appendix A).

The opening up of viewpoints was no doubt connected to a liberalizing tendency that began to be manifest in LDS thought and programs soon after Roberts' 1909 caution had come to print. By the end of World War I the trend was patent. The rise of science as a force in the life of Mormons played some role. Not only was science a byword in the newly popular urban mass media of the time, it was established in the Church schools, especially at Brigham Young University. Prominent Church leaders (Talmage, Merrill, Widtsoe, Harris) proudly wore the label, and the practical benefits of science provided a strong positive cachet. Moreover, the urbanization of the Wasatch Front area, the rising level of education among Utah saints, and the general

liberalization in American society (including Utah) in the first three decades of the century broke some of the constraints on thought carried over from pioneer days which had inhibited diversity in thought. It now seemed acceptable to espouse objectivity and calm consideration of alternative theories, even in such a sensitive area as the geography of Book of Mormon events, as long as one did not make waves in the process.

The details of who thought what in this time period remain to be filled in, but Sjodahl's popular book, *An Introduction to the Study of the Book of Mormon* (The Author: Salt Lake City, 1927; see chapter 17, "A Suggested Key to Book of Mormon Geography"), gives us a partial picture. Sjodahl was in a safe position to write, as an associate of Church leaders and prominent contributor to LDS publications; nobody could consider him a kook. In fact his own model, in a "Suggested Key to Book of Mormon Geography," appeared first in the *Improvement Era* of September 1927.

Sjodahl's book respectfully summarized the Reynolds 1880 Model first, for it continued as the popular norm. Yet he granted only that it was one of five "theories." His caution was expressed in his characterization of this as "the best known theory [a term he used four times] . . . which, however Mr. Reynolds characterizes as a supposition, merely. . . ." Further showing his cool approach, after citing "opinions" of Pratt and others about Lehi landing in Chile, Sjodahl would only say, "All this is evidence that must be weighed when the question of the landing place of Lehi is considered" (page 92).

The second model he summarizes is "This [Reynolds'] Theory Modified" by Joel Ricks. Thirdly, he briefly sketches an unpublished schema by Stuart Bagley (which finally came to print in Bagley's own words in 1963—see Bagley 1927 Model). Bagley placed the land southward in Central America with the narrow neck at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec but the final battles in New York (his placement of Nephi was unique, that is, in northern Yucatan). The fourth view presented by Sjodahl was that of Willard Young, "The Central American Theory." In it Lehi's group landed in El Salvador, the Nephites and Lamanites inhabited that country, Honduras, Guatemala and Belize. The hill Cumorah was in eastern Guatemala. Finally Sjodahl gave his own picture (see Sjodahl 1927 Model), which tried to incorporate elements of all the others.

Young was one of the first generation of Mormons with formal education who broke with the geographic orthodoxy of the Pratt-Reynolds-Ricks tradition. He was Brigham Young's son, a graduate of West Point, and an internationally experienced civil engineer. After leaving his army career, he became president of the short-lived Latter-day Saints University in Salt Lake City. With strong credentials both in the Church and intellectually through his education and experience, he entered the lists with his own geography model around the time of World War I. He held for a strictly limited territory located in Guatemala and nearby lands (see Young Pre-1920? Model). He was soon seconded by Jean Driggs (a student of Young's?), also

an engineer, who issued in 1925 the first adequate physiographic map of Middle America, upon which he projected Book of Mormon events. He was the first in the Utah Church (unless Young preceded him) explicitly to maintain that the hill of the final battle was in Central America.

Louis Edward Hills, an RLDS student of the Book of Mormon, had by 1917 developed a model that was strictly limited to Mexico and Central America. His thought was heavily influenced by the native traditions from the area as reported by H. H. Bancroft. For him the hill Cumorah was in central Mexico, and he consciously contradicted the hemispheric RLDS/Weston 1900? Model which his fellow church members espoused (see more below). Jeremiah Gunsolley, also of the RLDS Church (see Gunsolley 1922 Model) also proposed that the hill of the final battles was in central Mexico, but Lehi's landing he put in Chile, and Panama was his narrow neck.

A real contribution of the two engineers, Young and Driggs, was to deal with the external scene in real world terms. They knew and talked about the topography, climate, vegetation and travel conditions in tropical America in a more concrete way (Young had worked in Panama) than earlier, or many later, students of the geography of Book of Mormon events.

1928-1946:

Sjodahl's book was the last gasp of competitive model-making for awhile. In 1928 the Church acquired the site of the hill Cumorah in New York state and readied it as a visitor's destination in time for the coming centennial of both the Church and the printing of the Book of Mormon. In March 1928 B. H. Roberts in an article in the *Deseret News* gave what he considered sure evidence from the scriptures and Church history that the final battle of the Nephites took place around the hill (he was the Eastern States mission president and the hill was in his mission). A month later in general conference Anthony W. Ivins reiterated this view, noting in passing, "There have been some differences of opinion in regard to it." (See Appendix A.) It seems likely that the historical celebration with its re-emphasis on tradition in the Church inhibited any tendencies to speak or write about the divisive issue of geography. Then in less than two years the onset of the Great Depression turned the attention of most members and many leaders from such intellectual trivia as maps to survival matters. The Latter-day Saints of the 1930's may have broken new ground in their thinking about social matters (e.g., the decisive 1932 Utah vote to repeal national prohibition, in specific opposition to the wish of Church leaders, and popular support for the New Deal), but nothing new was said about the Book of Mormon.

The years 1938 and 1939 proved important. For the first time in eleven years the *Improvement Era* (July 1938) published a piece on the geography of Book of Mormon events. Lynn C. Layton had written about a wholly new phenomenon—an internal model. Finally, after 108 years, a Latter-day Saint had showed that it was possible and even desirable to develop such a map.

While it is difficult to imagine that coming up with this concept took so long, it is nevertheless true, as far as I can find, this sort of map had never been published before. Layton's was rudimentary yet basically sound. Since then at least eight other purely internal maps have appeared, plus others produced in preparation to particular external correlations. Clearly the Layton approach represented a productive mutation in the stream of ideas dealing with this geographical issue. We shall see, however, that while Layton published first, he may not have been the first to work seriously at making an internal model—probably the Washburns were.

Three other 1938 events were significant in a different way. In September that year Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, the Church historian and increasingly prominent as a conservative spokesman in matters of doctrine, published a lengthy piece in the Church News section of the Deseret News which reasserted the general posture of the General 1830s-Pratt-Reynolds-Ricks family of models. There was no question, for him, that tradition in this matter was based on revelation and that the New York Hill Cumorah was where the final battles took place. (He never mentioned, and may not have been aware of, his father's statement cited above which espoused the need for caution on this subject.) He was scathing in his attack on "speculation about Book of Mormon geography" and "this modernistic theory" that would assign the hill Cumorah "some place within the restricted territory of Central America, notwithstanding the teachings of the Church to the contrary for upwards of 100 years" (see Appendix A.) Since nothing had been published on this matter for some time, we can suppose that it was unpublished work in progress which triggered his statement. (The Washburns' book, discussed below, was to be published the following year, and M. Wells Jakeman had already formed some of his basic notions of a limited geography. J. Nile Washburn later said, ". . . For years my father and I were in close touch with [the Church authorities], during the writing of our geography book" [see his *Book of Mormon Guidebook*, n. p., 1968, page xi]).

Elder Smith's hand had already become evident in another manifestation of his concern. The original publication of *The History of the Church of the Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (familiarily called "the Documentary History") was edited by B. H. Roberts and appeared in 1904. After the death of Roberts in 1933, the new Church historian, Joseph Fielding Smith, reprinted the series, with a significant change in a key statement regarding the geography of Book of Mormon events. The *History's* treatment of the Zelph incident, which took place during the march of Zion's Camp in 1834 (see Kenneth A. Godfrey, *The Zelph Story*, F.A.R.M.S. Paper GDF-89, 1989), depended on the details of the event. Some of the documents have Joseph Smith saying that Zelph was a white Lamanite warrior serving under one Onandagus who was known "from the hill Cumorah or eastern Sea, to the Rocky mountains" during "the last great struggle with the Lamanites and Nephites." Others lack the reference to "the hill Cumorah" and "the last great struggle with the

Lamanites and Nephites," leaving both Zelph's time and geography indeterminate. Godfrey's paper recounts how when Willard Richards and assistants composed the *History* in Nauvoo from a number of sources, their manuscript had the reference to "hill Cumorah" and "the last . . . struggle" in the first drafted but then explicitly crossed them out. The Roberts edition (1904) omitted those phrases in accordance with the Richards manuscript. Fletcher Hammond reported (*Geography of the Book of Mormon*, Author: Salt Lake City, 1959, pages 102-103) examining the Richards manuscript with assistant Church historian Preston Nibley, who concluded that the Roberts' edition correctly followed the Richards ms. "and that part of the 1934 edition of the same history which differs from it is erroneous." (Godfrey discusses the question at length on pages 15-19 and 22-23.) The reprinting in 1934, done under Elder Smith's direction, was when the excised statements were put back in, and they have remained to the present. In the Church News article of 1938, historian Smith said that this was "the correct" reading without commenting on the basis. It is clear enough that his motive was to protect the reputation of his great-uncle, Joseph Smith, as a prophet, and he strongly opposed any who implied that Joseph did not know the answer to the geography question or had been in error in regard to it.

A further factor was the phrasing of the *History* when Richards first wrote it in the first person to make it appear that it was specifically written by Joseph Smith. While he was the nominal author he had little or nothing to do with the actual content or wording (in conformity with 19th century editorial custom); his scribes organized the documents they had in hand in language they deemed adequate. Their draft was then read to the Prophet, in part or wholly, who commented on it, consequently it may be supposed that the changes in the wording in the Richards manuscript owed something to Joseph's comments.

Because of the phrasing in the reprinted *History*, for over half a century virtually all LDS readers of it have thought that Joseph positively said that Zelph fought in Illinois as part of the fourth century A.D. retreat of the Nephites to the New York hill Cumorah. The fact is that we cannot be sure what he said about Zelph in detail (see Godfrey 1989). (This is not an obvious matter— Elder John A. Widtsoe felt that "Zelph probably dated from a later time when the Nephites and Lamanites had been somewhat dispersed and had wandered over the country." See, *Is Book of Mormon Geography Known?*, *Improvement Era*, July 1950, page 451.) Now, Joseph Smith may indeed have said and meant "hill Cumorah." Yet it may also be that the crossing out of that key expression in the manuscript was Joseph's own decision. We lack means now to determine this. The fact remains, however, that in the late 1930's members of the Church were under strong pressure to stay with the traditional view on geography as expressed by the *History* and Elder Smith's article.

A landmark 1938 speech to Church educators by President J. Reuben Clark ("The Charted Course of Church Education") further limited options in thinking new thoughts. In it he called for retrenchment against liberal social, economic and political ideas that had crept into some seminary and institute classrooms. He insisted that all instruction must be gospel related and doctrinally based. That emphasis has continued in the schools to the present with the result that only limited reference is made to information or insights from secular sources. Church teachers who might have had a tendency to pursue geographical study of the Book of Mormon were pulled up short in 1938 and discouraged from public expression of such interests, and the policy continues still.

It was in this atmosphere that J. Alvin (father) and J. Nile (son), both teachers in the seminary system, published their important book *An Approach to the Study of the Book of Mormon* (New Era: Provo, 1939). It represented by far the most detailed and careful study of geography to that time. But it is 99% concerned with the internal map. (As to external correlates, J. A. in his 1940 thesis at BYU concluded, without elaboration, "Central America appears best suited to the requirements of the text." Their few other statements were little more enlightening on the matter.) The conclusions reached about distances and size of the Nephite lands had been anticipated in brief but lucid terms by Driggs (which J. N. acknowledged in *Book of Mormon Guidebook*, 1968, page 32). The difference was that Driggs had then proceeded directly to his external model, in Central America. Anybody who chose to reject that correlation would read his little publication without having learned much about the scriptural text or internal geography as such. The Washburns, in contrast, refused to be drawn into an argument about externals, so their detailed internal treatment stood on its own. Spots in their writings show us that they supposed the only correlation that would make sense had to be in "Central America," but they held back from explicating that position, either because they did not feel qualified to deal with externals or because they were cautious about spoiling the reception of their valuable internal schema. They did demonstrate convincingly that the scale of a map of Book of Mormon events was restricted by the text itself to a few hundred miles in extent. (While Layton had got the internal basic relationships down the year before, he paid no attention to scale.) The Washburns were the first to put all the major pieces together on a fairly consistent internal map, then they added a reasonable scale of miles.

Caught in the midst of a reaction against new thought and renewed emphasis on traditional ideas in the Church, the timing of the Washburn and Washburn book could hardly have been worse. Their effort was further bracketed by the Depression ("back to basics") and World War II ("unity"), both of which were times that discouraged new intellectual directions among Latter-day Saints. As a consequence, less came of their model's issuance than

its quality called for. Little attention has ever been paid to their work except among a handful of devotees of the geography subject.

From the 1960's to 1984 J. Nile Washburn wrote and lectured a number of times more on this subject. He made certain minor modifications in the internal placement of lands, but he seems to have become even more reluctant about an external correlation, refusing even to hint at an answer to the question.

In the period about 1937-1939 the development of a new focus of interest in geography was underway. M. Wells Jakeman and Thomas Stuart Ferguson were fellow students and friends at the University of California at Berkeley who shared an intense interest in the Book of Mormon (Milton R. Hunter was also on the same campus, but he seems not to have been directly concerned with the subject at the time). Working on a Ph.D. in ancient history (his dissertation would be on the geography and history of the peoples of Yucatan just before the Spaniards arrived), Jakeman saw in the "chronicles" (native traditions recorded after the conquest) many parallels to the Book of Mormon. These he introduced to Ferguson. When Jakeman received his degree in 1939 and returned to his home in Los Angeles, he, Ferguson and Franklin S. Harris, Jr., were instrumental in organizing "The Itzan Society," dedicated to doing research and publishing on those matters. Through the war years only a few of their plans came to pass and when Jakeman came to the BYU faculty in 1946, the rudimentary organization evaporated.

Jakeman has never publicly discussed the background of his thought, but it seems that some inspiration probably came from the writings of Louis Edward Hills, mentioned earlier. Hills identified the "Quinames" of Mexican tradition with the Jaredites, the "Nahuas" with the Nephites (landing in El Salvador), the "Mayas" with the Lamanites, and the "Olmecs" with the Mulekites. A number of historical and geographical points in his scheme are so patently like those in Jakeman's 1940s Model that it would be very surprising if there had been no connection (e.g., the Mulekites landed at Xicalanco on the Laguna de Terminos, Nephi was at or near Copan, and the hill Cumorah was in the Valley of Mexico).

1947-1974:

The collaboration between Jakeman and Ferguson foundered over their differing enthusiasms. Jakeman was the meticulous scholar who wished to have every detail worked out before publishing. (His 1945 professional book, *The Origin and History of the Maya*, had been reviewed negatively by the formidable archaeologist J. Eric Thompson and Jakeman did not care to repeat that experience.) Ferguson (a lawyer) was primarily an apologist or even propagandist, not a scholar. He wanted to get "the word" out about the Mexican chronicles as "evidence" for the Book of Mormon, and the sooner the better. In 1947 he published *Cumorah, Where?*, a short book specifically confronting the New York view by mustering arguments from the scriptural

text that require a limited geographical scene; he made a few statements that said the scene had to be entirely in Middle America. This was the first publication proposing such a small scale model since Sjedahl 20 years before. In the face of Apostle Smith's support for a hemispheric scale, Ferguson's piece was generally greeted with suspicion or hostility.

In an interesting political gambit, he drew into collaboration Milton R. Hunter, one of First Quorum of Seventy, with a Ph.D. in history and a background as a Church educator. Their *Ancient America and the Book of Mormon* (1950) laid out lengthy excerpts from Ixtlilxochitl, one of the native writers who recorded traditions in Mexico after the Spanish conquest, showing striking parallels to the Book of Mormon text. This book was much heftier and had more influence than Ferguson's own, in part perhaps because it handled the question of geography more subtly (see Ferguson and Hunter 1950 Model). Meanwhile Jakeman was incensed that material to which he thought he had discovery rights had been brought out (and not with his sort of scholarly care at that) by someone else. The rift between the two men was never fully healed.

Jakeman had come to BYU in 1946, to begin teaching and research in archaeology, with a modest assist from Ferguson in making the connection and with the blessing of Elder John A. Widtsoe. To Jakeman "Book of Mormon archaeology" was a branch of conventional archaeology waiting to be born and nurtured and he saw himself as the obstetrician and pediatrician. Apostle Widtsoe, former university president and acknowledged intellectual, played the role of godfather. He encouraged studies of the Book of Mormon by a variety of persons and approaches, hoping that "out of diligent prayerful study, we may be led to a better understanding of times and places in the history of the people who move across the pages of the divinely given Book of Mormon" (see Appendix A). He played a key role in providing a measure of legitimacy for scholarly studies of the Nephite record at a time when many in the Church did not welcome them.

Jakeman's most significant contribution was through his students. Over a period of three decades he furnished stimulation to many hundreds of young people who passed through his courses at BYU. As they spread throughout the Church, they carried with them assurance that Mesoamerica was the scene of Book of Mormon events and that traditions from that area strikingly confirmed scripture. He never arrived at a point where he felt confident enough with his own model of geography, or at least with his phrasing of it, that he was willing to make it fully public (see Jakeman 1940s Model). On the one hand this denied clarity to those who came to learn from him, but on the other it left them room to construct their own readings of the geography, history and archaeology to which he introduced them.

Through the "University Archaeological Society," later the "Society for Early Historical Archaeology," Jakeman and Ross Christensen harnessed the energies of a number of students and hobbyists in studies related to the

“archaeology of the scriptures.” Yet Jakeman has never been comfortable with anybody but him dealing with the geography, although he has never, in fact, finished that task.

What he perceived as rivalries hindered cooperation in the crucial 1950-1970 period. Ferguson and Hunter did their own thing in book form, then Ferguson organized the “New World Archaeological Foundation” to move ahead with a program of field archaeology where again he felt Jakeman was stalling. At BYU, meanwhile, Jakeman’s relations with Sidney Sperry and Hugh Nibley ran from guarded cooperation downward. Later, many of his students (Sorenson, Lowe, Warren, Norman, and others) went their own ways in Book of Mormon matters in varying degrees of distance from their mentor even while acknowledging important intellectual debts to him.

Jakeman’s primary contributions were two: (1) the settling, for many people, of the basic “where?” of the geography of Book of Mormon events; those who studied systematically with him ended up with no question but that the entire story took place in Mesoamerica and related significantly to what can be learned from the native Mesoamerican traditions; and, (2) the idea that the ultimate “test” for correlating the Book of Mormon in space and time with one particular set of Mesoamerican sites and localities would involve comprehensive study of the ancient world, not just geography; ultimately traditions, archaeology, physical anthropology and linguistics had to combine. He was the first student of the geography of Book of Mormon events to gain professional standing as an “archaeologist” (though he did virtually no digging personally) and to see that geography must connect with cultural contexts through meticulous scholarship.

By the sixties the increasing number of people working with the geography question had settled on Mesoamerica as the only plausible candidate area in the New World. There were rare exceptions with anomalous models located in Peru, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, “Central America,” and so on, but certain basic issues appeared to be settled for those who had paid close attention: (1) the area in which the story took place was far smaller than a continent, (2) the hill in New York could not be the scene of the final battle because of statements in the text itself, and (3) only some place within the high civilization area called Mesoamerica could qualify. Even Sidney B. Sperry, prominent writer on Old World aspects of the Book of Mormon, and long a voice among BYU religion faculty in favor of the traditional (Smith) view of geography, by 1960 had changed his mind, having found the scriptural text undeniably contrary to the full-hemisphere, New York-hill correlation (see Ross T. Christensen, *Geography in Book of Mormon Archaeology, Newsletter and Proceedings of the SEHA*, No. 147, December 1981, page 3). RLDS students had arrived at the same conclusions. Meanwhile the Church membership in general still held a vague idea of a hemispheric model, although they thought little about it under a virtual ban on discussion of the topic in Church manuals and in the education system. Yet thousands

of readers and people who had studied under Jakeman or his students scattered throughout the Church actually held the Mesoamerican view.

Progress toward clarification or consensus about geography was slow. No mechanisms existed to facilitate intercommunication about it. Instead there were minor rivalries among protagonists (often over nothing more than personality differences) and jockeying for position about detailed differences in models.

By the seventies, Church authorities still held a cautious position on geography. At BYU Jakeman always felt held down under what he inferred to be a lid on explicit discussion. Once the Church had taken over financing the New World Archaeological Foundation from Ferguson in the fifties, NWAf professional staff were specifically instructed not to discuss the geography, or any other Book of Mormon matter, but to be wholly professional in their approach to archaeology. Only the fact that extensive, long-term financial support was given to that agency—with work restricted largely to the Book of Mormon period and exclusively to southern Mesoamerica—could be taken as indicating that the authorities had any geographical preference about the Book of Mormon scene whether they did in fact or not.

1975-1990:

Historical perspective is, of course, more difficult the nearer one gets to the present, particularly for someone who is a participant in the events considered. Later interpretations will no doubt be better, but for what it is worth, here are some viewpoints on the virtual present.

In late 1974 I was approached by David A. Palmer, an active student of Book of Mormon geography and of archaeology in relation to it. He had once studied under Jakeman and was (and is) a chemical engineer with a major petroleum firm in Naperville, Illinois. (I was then nominally professor of anthropology at BYU but at the time was serving as chair of the University Studies Department) Aware of the general features of my model for the geography of Book of Mormon events, he urged upon me the importance of working toward a consensus on the disputed topic. He proposed a conference to which all serious students of geography would be invited and where competing viewpoints would be presented and discussed. Knowing the degree of emotion the matter involved for some of the prospective participants, I was reluctant to engage in what I thought likely to be a painful and probably unfruitful activity. But Palmer's persistence drew from me a commitment to aid him in putting together a mail "non-conference." Garth Norman and I both consented to circulate position papers. Mine consisted of the latest revision of a brief item I was calling "Where in the World," which I had first written and sent to friends and former students in 1955; it outlined the Sorenson 1955 Model, together with a lengthy appendix in which secular materials on Mesoamerican geography and cultures were mustered to show

that the model fit the literature. (I had worked out the basic model in the central depression of Chiapas in April 1953 while Tom Ferguson and I—then a recently graduated student in archaeology at BYU—were doing archaeological reconnaissance which in that area, until then, was unstudied by archaeologists. We were acting on the recommendation of field director Dr. Pedro Armillas, at the end of what Ferguson considered a disappointing field season in Tabasco (where, he had concluded by 1952, Zarahemla would be found), the first for his privately funded New World Archaeological Foundation. Our survey (see my *An Archaeological Reconnaissance of West-Central Chiapas*, New World Archaeological Foundation Publication no. 1, 1956, pages 7-19) turned out to set the agenda from which the NWAFF began in 1955 to excavate in Chiapas, an effort that has continued to the present.

Palmer sent the papers by Norman (see Norman 1966 Model) and me to a couple of dozen people, inviting them to comment. Fewer than ten did so. Palmer interpreted the responses as a strong endorsement of the Sorenson model as against Norman's. On that basis in 1975 he made contacts in the Church office building in Salt Lake City which resulted in a series of weekly presentations which I made over the fall months to a varying group of people from several departments, the magazines, curriculum, education, etc. As a result, Jay Todd, managing editor of *The Ensign*, invited me to prepare a series of articles; they were completed early in 1976.

For the next nine years we worked together trying to find a style and range of content acceptable for publication in *The Ensign*. Not surprisingly, reluctance was manifested on the part of various constituencies that would be affected by such a discussion appearing in the Church periodical. Meanwhile requests for access to my manuscript were persistent and as a result a total of about 1200 photocopies were distributed at cost of copying. I was surprised and gratified by the widespread interest. Strong interest was expressed by many well-informed Latter-day Saints, including a number of general authorities, who thought that such a detailed statement of an LDS position phrased in terms of current scholarship was needed.

One factor in this interest was that anti-Mormon writers and lecturers were attacking the Book of Mormon on grounds which the Church was unprepared to defend against by reason of its past reluctance to allow, let alone encourage, discussions of geography and archaeology. Poorly informed opponents were having a field day attacking 19th century models and notions still widespread among Church members and missionaries and which were represented as the definitive LDS position.

The significance of this series of events for the present discussion is that most of those who had opinions on or models for "Book of Mormon geography" since the mid-seventies became very aware of the Sorenson model. Many were supportive. Others were stimulated to prepare alternative statements. The Palmer 1981 Model was one result. He considered that there was urgency in telling the public about the material I

had pointed out, so he did that, supplemented with his own data, in his 1981 book. Further, a growing Latter-day Saint tourist clientele anxious to visit “Book of Mormon lands” helped raise to consciousness the question of where those lands might be located specifically.

By 1984 continuing discussions involving editor Todd, those supervising him, and me produced a request that I prepare two articles for *The Ensign* giving some of the same sort of information as in the unpublished series. The first of these, “Digging into the Book of Mormon: Our Changing Understanding of Ancient America and Its Scripture”, *The Ensign* 14, September 1984, pages 26-37, contained a brief section on “The Nephite and Jaredite Lands,” which gave the basic arguments favoring a limited-scale model and recapped a little of the history of LDS study of geography (see endnotes 6 and 8). This represented the first printing of any information about external models in a Church magazine for many decades. As one consequence, the major publisher to the LDS trade decided that they had received a green light from 47 East South Temple to publish on the geography of Book of Mormon events where before they would not touch the topic.

It would be easy to read too much and too little into this event. By no means did the Brethren approve a particular model or even the notion of a limited geography model as such; the *Ensign* articles did not even put forward details of my model but dealt only in general with Mesoamerica. What was signalled by this request and publication of the pieces was that it was now permissible, and perhaps even desirable, to discuss the topic openly. Such a position was easier to adopt because of the progressive passing from the scene of older Church authorities who had been strongly committed to the prevailing hemispheric model with which they had grown up.

Thus the eighties have seen an unprecedented crop of writings on the geography of Book of Mormon events—more than ever. Much of this consists of slightly revised versions of previous models. The table on the next page illustrates this fact. It shows in sequence when certain major features or attributes of most of the external models were communicated. (A full history-of-ideas treatment would require many more and more elaborate displays of this sort with appropriate analyses.)

Key Points in the History

For the first 85 years few anomalies can be seen. The full hemispheric model prevailed, yet with one notable blip on the screen of history—the 1842 Times and Seasons Model. This was discussed above, but placed in the format of this chart, its uniqueness stands out starkly.

Hills, an RLDS student of the Book of Mormon, seems to deserve credit for many innovations: (1) the first regionally limited model, (2) that the lands where Book of Mormon events took place comprised exclusively Mesoamerica, (3) that the Isthmus of Tehuantepec was the narrow neck, (4) that the Usumacinta was the Sidon, and (5) the first comprehensive attempt to

	Narrow Neck					Land Northward					Land Southward					Cumorah					River Sidon					Nephi's Landing						
	Panama	Honduras Bay	Belize-Yuc. base	Tehuantepec	Other	Panama-N. York	Tehuantepec	Yucatan Pen.	So.-Cent. Mexico	Guatemala	Ecuador-Colom.	South America	Honduras-El Sal.	So. Guatemala	S. Meso., inc. Yuc.	Tehuantepec-El Salv.	Peru and south	Other	New York	Central Mexico	So. Veracruz	Guatemala	In So. America	In Peru	Magdalena	Ulua	Usumacinta	Grijalva	Other	Chile	Colombia	Central America
General 1830s	x					x						x							x					?						x		
T. and S. 1842	-					?						?					x		x						?					x		
Pratt 1866	x					x						x							x						x					x		
Com./Maes. 1880	x					x						x							x						x					x		
Reynolds 1880	x					x						x							x						x					x		
Plain Facts 1887	x					?			x			x							?						x				?			
Roberts 1888	x					x						x							x						x					x		
RLDS/Wes 1900?	x					x						x							x						x					x		
Ricks 1904	x					x						x													x					x		
Hills 1917				x					x						x					x							x					x
Young pre-1920?					x					x			x									x				x						x
Gunsolley 1922	x					x						x								x					x					?		
Driggs 1925		x				x								x								x				x						x
Bagley 1927			x						x										x													
Sjodahl 1927				x			x												x												x	
Jakeman 1940s				x					x						x					x							x					x
Laytons 1940?				x			x								x											x						
Wilde 1947	x					x						?							x											?		
Birrell 1948					x					x							x														x	
Simmons 1948				x					x						x												x					x
Ferg./Hunter 1950				x					x						x												?					x
Stout 1950					x												x												x			x
Hanson 1951				x					x						x						?											?
Pierce 1954					x			x															x				x					x
Sorenson 1955				x				x								x					x							x				x
Dixon 1958	x					x						x							x												x	
Hammond 1959				?											?					?							x					x
Vincent 1960?				x				x							x						x						?	?				?
Lowe 1960a		x								x										x								?				x
Lowe 1960b					x														x													x
Warren 1960				?					x						x						x							x				x
Warren 1961									x						x						x							x				x
Norman 1966				?					x						?													x				x
Christensen 1969			x					x															?				x					x
Lowe 1970s					x								x								?						x	x				?
Priddis 1975					x						x													x							x	
Steede 1975				x					x						x						?						?					x
Loving 1976					x				x						x								x					x				
Robison 1977			x					x						x									x					x				
DeLong 1977				x				x							x						x							x				
Ellsworth 1980					x														x											x		x
Lesh 1980				x					x						x												x					x
Palmer 1981				x					x							x													x			x
Holley 1983																				x										x		
Porritt 1985					x				x						x																	x
Kocherhans 1986						x					x													x								
Sahlin 1987															x																	
Warren 1987					x				x								x												x			x
Curtis 1988																			x	x												
Hauck 1988						x								x																		x
Hobby/Smith 1988	x					x						x																		?		
Quilter 1988			x						x					x																		x
Allen 1989				x					x						x													x				

utilize secular scholarly literature (on the native chronicles or traditions) to settle Book of Mormon questions. The first point involves both the landing of Lehi's party in Central America and the presence of the hill Cumorah of the final Nephite battles in Mexico; actually, then, the concept of "two Cumorahs" goes back *at least* 75 years.

I pointed out above that there is reason to think that some LDS students may have preceded and inspired Hills' geographic correlation. For instance, the Plain Facts 1887 Model, though brief, maintained that "Most of the descendants of the genuine race of Lamanites, possibly live in Yucatan or Central America." Had more details been added to that short piece, we might have learned that something less than a full hemispheric model was intended, as hinted by the inclusion of only a partial map. Also we need to learn more about the Anthony Ivins' 1900 view that the Isthmus of Tehuantepec was the narrow neck. And there may have been others.

Interestingly, as noted above, Hills' model is similar at all major points of geography with that of Jakeman, a generation later. This raises the question, persistent as we scan the models in sequence, of how much influence previous students of the topic had on later ones. Only very rarely does one find a writer giving explicit credit to a predecessor. It would seem that particular attributes of many models reappear by separate rediscovery. That may, in fact, be so. After all, there are only a limited number of possible isthmuses and once one of those has been chosen, certain other features, such as a candidate river for the Sidon, virtually suggest themselves. Yet, while this is possible in some cases, a more parsimonious explanation is that those who phrased a later model had somehow been alerted, whether by reading or oral reporting, to ideas of their predecessors. In an extreme instance, it is difficult to imagine that Birrell, Priddis and Kocherhans produced their very similar Andean-emergence models in complete independence. Yet we are not told, in their printed works at least, who influenced whom.

The particular joint (?) contributions of Young and Driggs were (1) recognition of the key nature of distances in relating Book of Mormon features on the map, and (2) their attention to detailed external facts about the tropical landscapes of the scene(s) they chose.

Jakeman made a major contribution by his insistence on, as he repeatedly put it, "the archaeological test." He meant that ultimately archaeologists would have to find sites of the correct nature and date at particular points in order to qualify a geographical model as pointing to actual Book of Mormon lands. In his day unfortunately, the quantity and quality of archaeological information was woefully short of permitting valid application of the "test," yet his concept remains unassailable. Until his time, virtually all those Book of Mormon believers who dealt with the topic acted as if geography were chiefly a matter of drawing abstract lines on abstract maps of the hemisphere (tempered somewhat in the case of Young and Driggs) and that any sort of ancient site would do, or none at all.

Ferguson made no contribution to geography *per se*, but he did grasp the point that Latter-day Saints could not afford simply to sit and wait for secular scholars to come up with the external data that would be needed in order to correlate the scriptural account with its scene. This viewpoint was not appreciated very much in Church leadership circles until much later. Furthermore, both he and Jakeman invested effort in seeing that serious students as well as the public were educated and focused on this topic. Ferguson particularly provided opportunities for others to learn in the field much that would later contribute to studies of the geography of Book of Mormon events. (Those who learned explicitly from Jakeman include at least Ferguson, Hunter, Lowe, Sorenson, Warren, Vincent, Norman, K. Christensen, Palmer, Hauck, Allen, Clark, M. Smith, and T. Tucker. Ferguson's efforts directly affected at least Lowe, Sorenson, Warren, Norman, Clark, and Treat.)

The effect of Sorenson's working through the Church leadership to provide some cachet of acceptance for work on the geography topic has been noted. Other contributions by him include bringing into the geographical study current data and concepts from expert studies on Mesoamerican cultures and societies, the importance of the nature of the scripture as a cultural record, and the issues of distances and directions.

The Washburns laid important groundwork with their major internal reconstruction of geography. Even though it was not definitive, it educated many in the need to pay attention to this aspect. Until their time, nobody had preceded the attempt at correlating scriptural events and the external map by seriously analyzing the text's internal picture. Instead, for over a century, all studies began with certain assumptions about the external scene—the hill of the final battle must be in New York, Lehi surely landed in Chile, Palenque was Bountiful, Panama was the narrow neck, or whatever. Until this father-son team showed that there was a great deal to be done with the internal facts *first*, nobody dealt with that aspect. After they wrote, most students of geography have paid some attention to this initial step in determining the where of Book of Mormon events, although all seem till to have been led to a degree by recognized or unrecognized assumptions. Only in 1989 did Clark finally produce the first consistently rationalized internal model which had not been preceded, and to an extent betrayed, by picking an external correlation in advance.

What we see in our survey of these models which stretch over more than a century and a half is that superficial study has been the norm, while confusion has been rampant for at least the latter half of the period by reason of the multiplicity of discordant maps. It is true that for the last seventy-five years the old hemispheric model has tended to fall into disfavor, Tehuantepec as the narrow neck has become the common view, and the notion of sweeping geological changes at the time of the crucifixion of the Savior is now less often mentioned. Yet all sorts of variants continue to crop up or reappear. Large

land masses are still thought to heave out of the sea, the Magdalena River in Colombia is still argued as the Sidon, and several types of "necks" are yet proposed. There is no indication that by simply waiting for more books or papers to appear somehow consensus will emerge. Without major changes in approach, nothing like that promises to come about. There have been lessons out of the history of thought on this matter, but we need to identify them pointedly and insist that they not be forgotten if we are to avoid continued folly.

Part 2

Summaries of Models

Alphabetical List of Models

Anonymous n.d. (see Ludlow n.d.)
Allen 1989
Bagley 1927
Birrell 1948
Christensen 1969
Clark 1989
Comer/Maeser 1880
Curtis 1988
Davila 1961
"DeLong-Steede-Simmons" 1977 (R)
Dixon 1958
Driggs 1925
Ellsworth 1980
Erickson 1991
Ferguson 1947
Ferguson and Hunter 1950
General 1830s
Gunsolley 1922 (R)
Hammond 1959
Hanson 1951 (R)
Hauck 1988
Hills 1917 (R)
Hobby and Smith 1988
Holley 1983
Holmes 1903
Jakeman 1940s
Kocherhans 1986
Lauritzen n.d.
Layton 1938
Layton and Layton 1940?
Le Poidevin 1977 (R)
Lesh 1980 (R)
Loving 1976 (R)
Lowe 1960a
Lowe 1960b
Lowe 1970s
Ludlow *et al.* n.d.
Ludlow 1976
Nielsen 1987
Norman 1966
Palmer 1981
Peay 1992

Pierce 1954
Plain Facts 1887
Pratt 1866
Porritt 1985
Priddis 1975
Proctor 1988
Quilter 1988
Reynolds 1880
Ricks 1904
RLDS/Weston 1900? (R)
Roberts 1888
Robison 1977
Sahlin 1987
Simmons 1948 (R)
Sjodahl 1927
Sorenson 1955
Steede 1975 (R)
Stout 1950 (R)
Times and Seasons 1842
Tyler n.d.
Vincent 1960?
Warren 1960
Warren 1961
Warren 1963
Warren 1987
Washburn and Washburn 1939
Wilde 1947
Young Pre-1920?

Total: 70

(9 are internal only; 11 are RLDS originated)

By date:

General 1830s

Times and Seasons 1842

Pratt 1866

Comer/Maeser 1880

Reynolds 1880

Plain Facts 1887

Roberts 1888

RLDS/Weston 1900? (R)

Holmes 1903

Ricks 1904

Hills 1917 (R)

Young Pre-1920?

Gunsolley 1922 (R)

Driggs 1925

Bagley 1927

Sjodahl 1927

Layton 1938

Washburn and Washburn 1939

Jakeman 1940s

Layton and Layton 1940?

Ferguson 1947

Wilde 1947

Birrell 1948

Simmons 1948 (R)

Ferguson and Hunter 1950

Stout 1950 (R)

Hanson 1951 (R)

Pierce 1954

Sorenson 1955

Dixon 1958

Hammond 1959

Vincent 1960?

Lowe 1960a
Lowe 1960b
Warren 1960
Warren 1961
Davila 1961
Warren 1963
Norman 1966
Christensen 1969

Lowe 1970s
Priddis 1975
Steede 1975 (R)
Loving 1976 (R)
Ludlow 1976
Le Poidevin 1977 (R)
Robison 1977
"DeLong-Steede-Simmons" 1977 (R)

Ellsworth 1980
Lesh 1980 (R)
Palmer 1981
Holley 1983
Porritt 1985
Kocherhans 1986
Nielsen 1987
Sahlin 1987
Warren 1987
Curtis 1988
Hauck 1988
Hobby and Smith 1988
Quilter 1988
Proctor 1988
Allen 1989
Clark 1989
Erickson 1991
Peay 1992

Anonymous n.d.
Lauritzen n.d.
Ludlow *et al.* n.d.
Tyler n.d.

Allen 1989 (External) Model

Originator: Joseph L. Allen.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Mesoamerica east and south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Northward: Mesoamerica west and north of the Isthmus.

Nephi's Landing Place: Near Izapa on the Mexican-Guatemalan border.

Hill Cumorah: Cerro El Vigia.

Sidon River: Grijalva River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Highland Guatemala.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala.

Land of Zarahemla: The bloc of land between about 16 and 18 degrees latitude and extending from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec straight east to the Bay of Honduras/Caribbean. (Page 238-9: "The best probable candidate for the Land of Zarahemla is a lowland central depression area located in . . . Chiapas, Mexico. . . . However, we must still consider the possibility of the Middle Usumacinta Valley as the possible location for the Land of Zarahemla.")

City of Zarahemla: Probably the site of Santa Rosa, Chiapas.

Land Bountiful: Shown as a strip extending from the Coatzacoalcos River's mouth encompassing the delta of the Grijalva and Usumacinta Rivers and to the Caribbean in Belize; essentially the states of Tabasco, Campeche, Yucatan and Quintana Roo. (Page 223: "The Yucatan was probably part of the Land [State] of Bountiful." Page 243: "The Land of Nephi, the Land of Zarahemla, and the Land of Bountiful were all lands or states within the country, or general area, of Bountiful.")

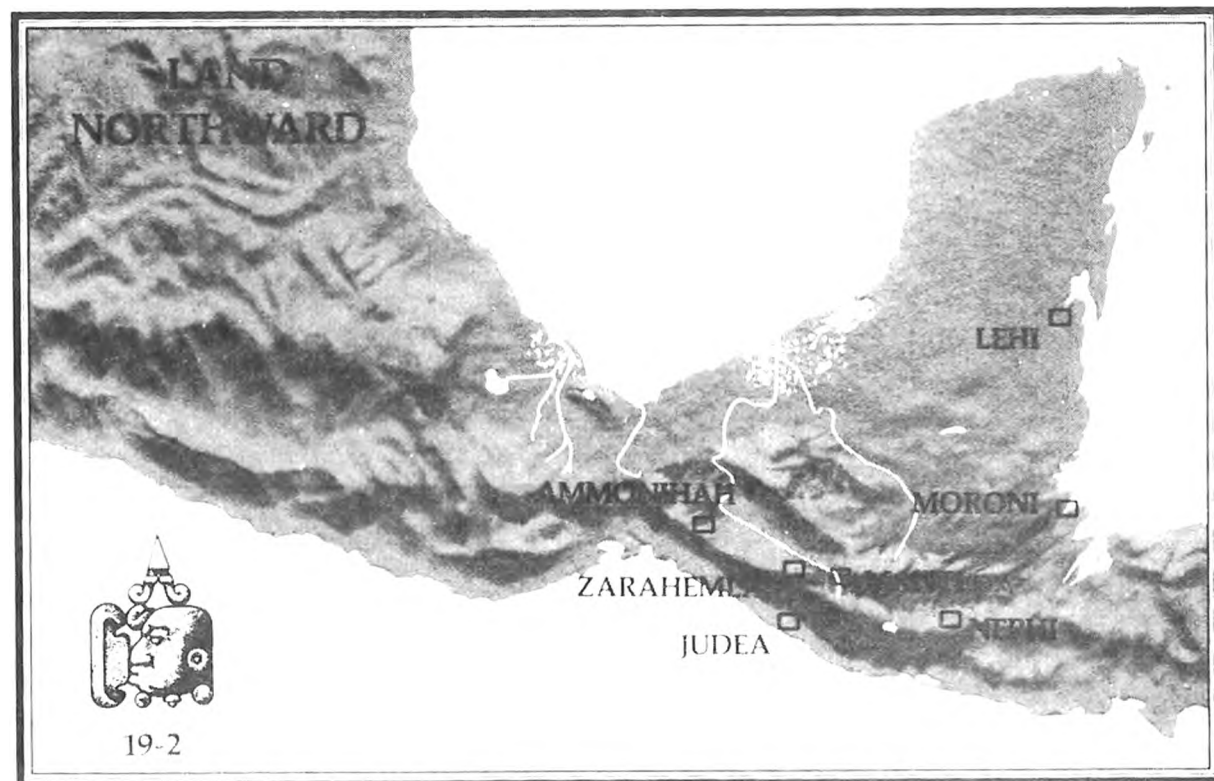
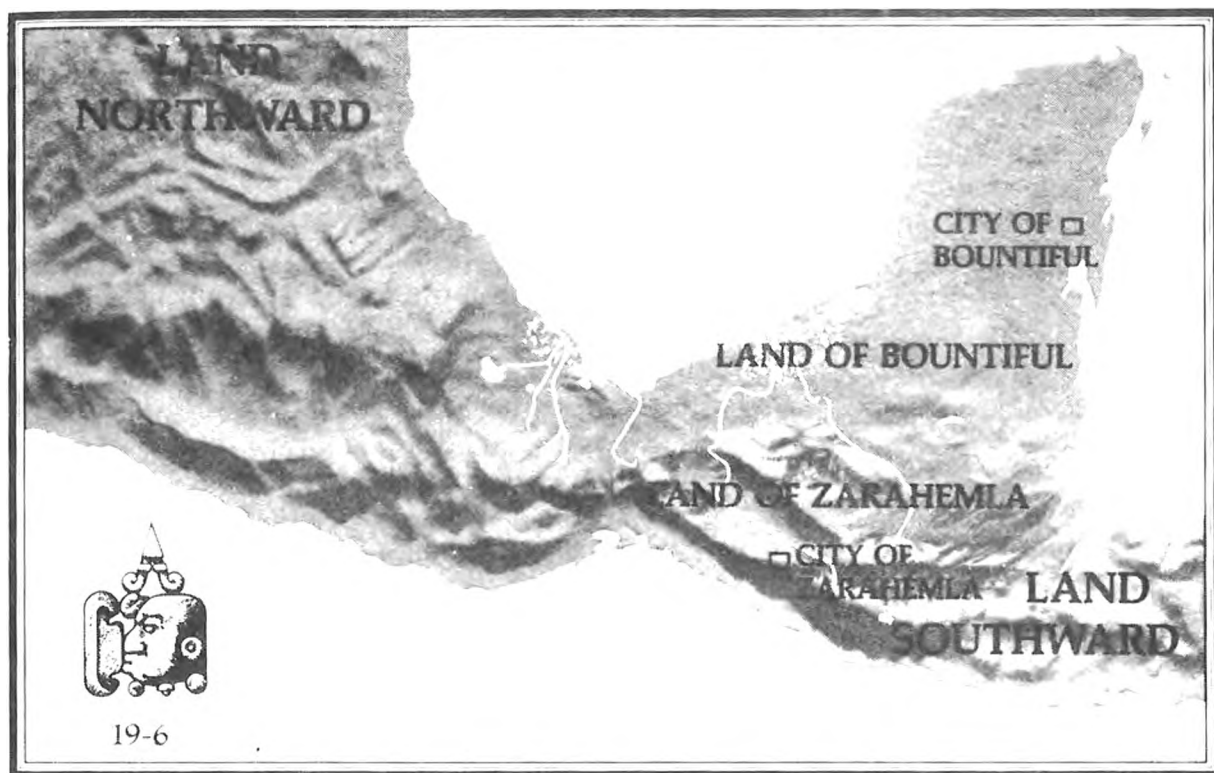
Narrow Pass: The pass over the continental divide within the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (Chivela Pass).

Land of Desolation: Equivalent to the land northward.

Land of Moron: Valley of Oaxaca.

Jaredite Landing Place: Probably on the coast of Oaxaca east of 98 degrees west longitude (but an Atlantic crossing is a possibility).

Other Cities or Areas Specified: City of Bountiful, in the state of Quintana Roo a little north and west of the Bahia de Chetumal. Moroni, at the Bay of Honduras. Nephihah, inland (40 miles?) from Moroni (apparently near the site of Poptun). Aaron, with a question mark, mapped



west of the Usumacinta River not far from Altar de Sacrificios. Lehi, in extreme northern Belize. Judea is Izapa. Waters of Mormon, Lake Atitlan. Ammonihah, the site of Mirador in western Chiapas. City of Desolation, at Acayucan in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Melek, Tonalá on the west coast of Chiapas.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: No drastic changes.

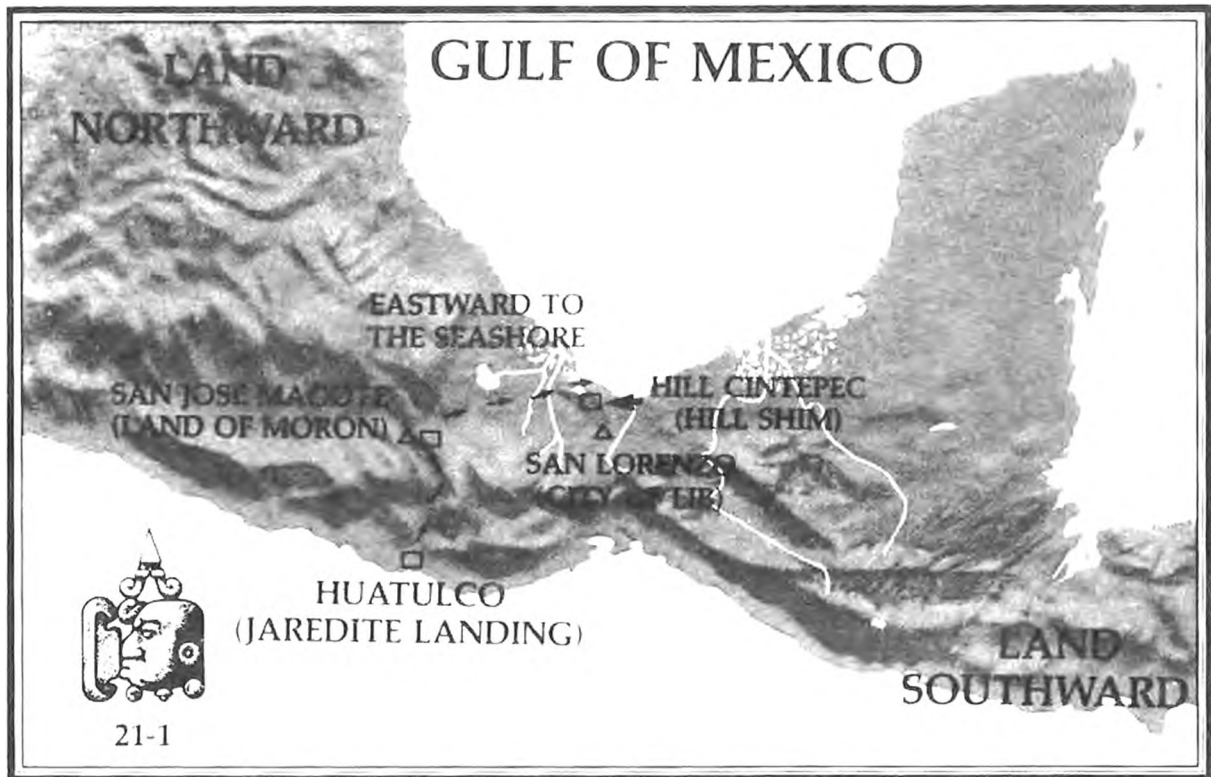
Scope of Model Specification: Extensive detail on certain points, much less on others.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Significant discussion and comparison (pages 182-197). Credits generalized influence from Washburn and Jakeman, but (p. 181) apparently considers his own views independent of primary influences.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Substantial.

Source:

Joseph L. Allen. *Exploring the Lands of the Book of Mormon*. S. A. Publishers: Orem, Utah, 1989, pages 181-390.



Bagley 1927 (External) Model

Originator: Charles Stuart Bagley.

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

[The source from 1927 is so brief that two later versions of the same model, 1963 and 1985, are incorporated here on the assumption that they do not differ markedly from the original.]

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: The Isthmus of Tehuantepec. (1963: This is *a* narrow neck of land but not *the* narrow neck. At least now this neck appears to consist of the base or middle of the Yucatan Peninsula.)

Land Southward: Apparently Yucatan and Guatemala.

Land Northward: Not specified as such. See Land of Desolation.

Nephi's Landing Place: 1963: Between Peru and Lower California, and probably between Panama and Tehuantepec, based on an assumption of travel via the equatorial counter current. 1985: "They were cast ashore on the southern coast of Middle America."

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Explicitly northern Yucatan. [Yet the Lamanites in the "south wilderness" were south of the Motagua River (southeastern Guatemala and Honduras), the Lamanite city of Siron was near Copan, and Cumeni, Antiparah and Judea were near the headwaters of the Chixoy River, far south of Yucatan. Moreover the Nephite line built by Moroni to protect the land of Zarahemla from the Lamanites ran from the Gulf of Honduras to the Pacific Ocean, then northwest to the Gulf of Mexico with Lamanites on the south. All these features are puzzling in relation to a Nephi in northern Yucatan.]

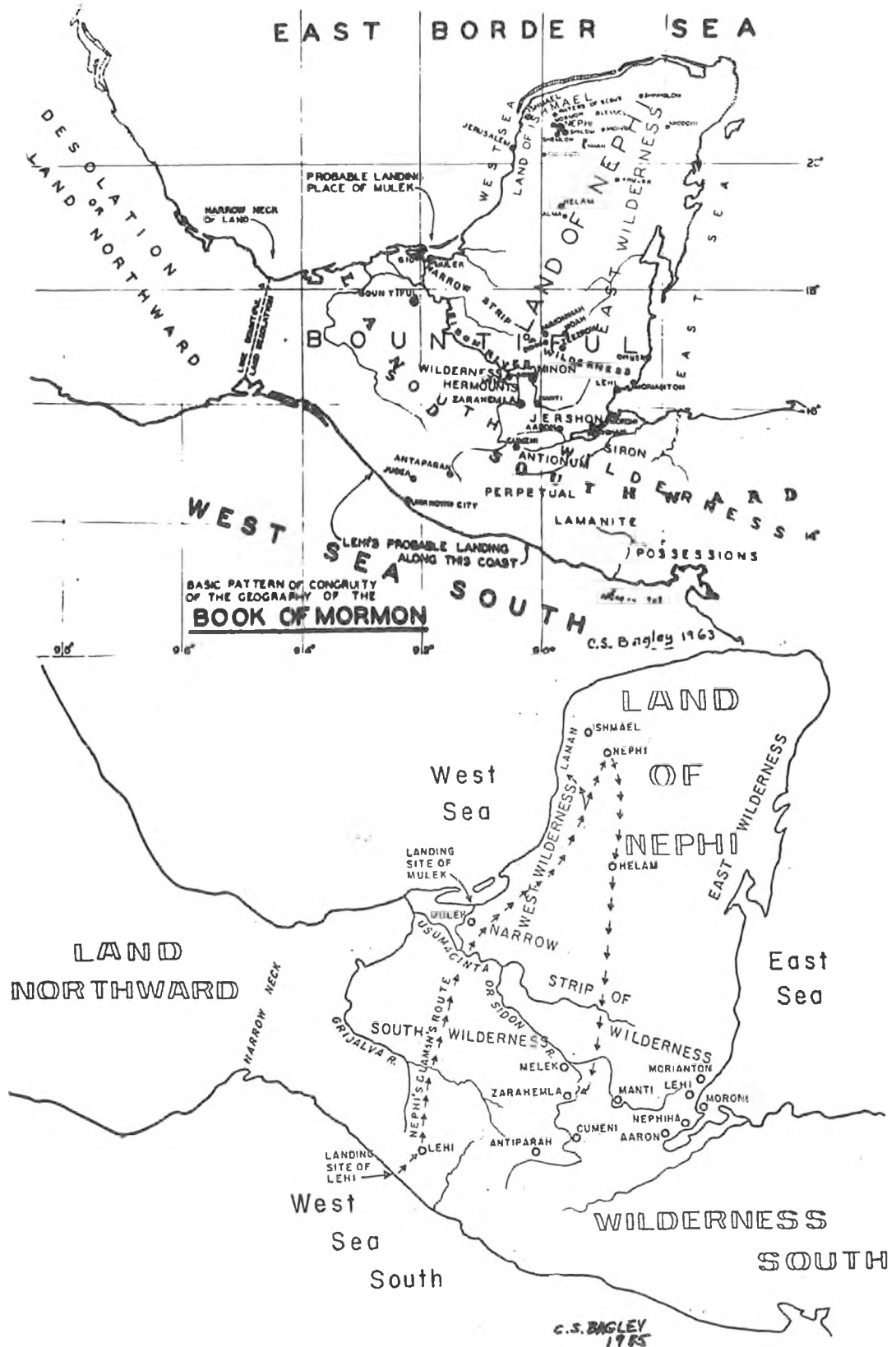
City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): The city of Nephi was Uxmal, and Labnah and Sayil were Shilom and Shemlon respectively. (Bagley 1985: "The city of Nephi or Lehi-Nephi is located in the northwestern part of the peninsula, somewhere in the low range of hills that traverse Yucatan in a southeasterly direction from the modern city of Maxcanu.")

Nephi's Landing Point: On the Soconusco-Guatemala coast. (At some point inland from there (on his 1985 map appearing to be actually in the mountains above Mapastepec).

Land of Zarahemla: The basin of (especially) the upper Usumacinta River and of its tributaries, the Pasion and Chixoy.

City of Zarahemla: On the Rio Chixoy, a tributary of the Usumacinta River. (Bagley 1985: "Zarahemla is located on the Rio Chixoy where it forms the boundary between eastern Chiapas and Guatemala. Thus the city of

Bagley



Zarahemla is almost due south of the city of Nephi at a distance of about 300 miles.”)

Sidon River: The Chixoy and Pasion merge to become the Usumacinta/Sidon.

Land of Bountiful: In Chiapas. (1963: From Tehuantepec all the way to Belize)

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: All of Mexico north of Tehuantepec.

Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: Yucatan.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: City of Bountiful is Palenque. Melek is the ruin of Menche. Tikal is Ammonihah. Moroni was near Puerto Barrios. Lehi and Morianton are in Belize (on his 1985 map, however, he also has a “Lehi” near the initial landing place). Aaron is on the Coban river. (1963: Highland Guatemala and El Salvador constitute “perpetual Lamanite possessions.”) Siron is the Copan area. Nephihah is on the north shore of Lake Izabal. Antionum is more or less the Motagua Valley. Judea and the City-by-the-sea are in the Soconusco area [the latter city indicated on the map as perhaps Izapa]. Antiparah, around Huehuetenango, western Guatemala. The Mulek party landed at the Laguna de Terminos. Lehi, Morianton and Omner are on the Belize coast. Jerusalem and Ishmael are on the west coast of Yucatan, i.e., the “west sea.”

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Some, but not fundamental ones.

Scope of Model Specification: Limited.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None indicated.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None indicated.

Sources:

J. M. Sjodahl. *An Introduction to the Study of the Book of Mormon*. The Author: Salt Lake City, 1927, pages 415-418. The fact that Sjodahl felt the need to summarize “Elder Stuart Bagley’s” theory indicates that it had not been previously published. Later see Charles Stuart Bagley, *A New Approach to the Geography of the Book of Mormon. Papers of the Fourteenth Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures*, ed. by Forrest R. Hauck, pages 70-86. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Department of Extension Publications, 1963. Also two unpublished manuscripts by Bagley: *The Limhi Expedition*, and, *A Textual Geography of the Book of Mormon*, both dated 1985, copies in F.A.R.M.S. archives.

Birrell 1948 (Internal-External) Models

Originator: Verla Birrell.

Area Focus: Western South America.

Features:

(Her Chart 28 offers three models, each a variant on a basic Andean theme and all in the same general area. The entries below are numbered to correspond to each of her three variants, indicated as (1), (2), and (3). In Variant (1) the land southward is from Ecuador into Bolivia. Variant (2) has the land southward from Ecuador only to southern Peru. Variant (3) covers the same territory as (2) but arranges details differently.)

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: (1) The Marañon River narrows or the Andean passes in Southern Ecuador.

(2) Mountainous constriction between El Tambo and Igapirca.

(3) Pass at Tulcan, Colombia.

Land Southward: See above.

Land Northward: (1) Most of Ecuador plus Colombia.

(2) From El Tambo, Ecuador, north through Colombia.

(3) Colombia.

Nephi's Landing Place: (1) Between Arica, Chile and Arequipa, Peru.

(2) Same as (1) or near Lima.

(3) Either Northern Chile or coastal Northern Peru.

Hill Cumorah: (1) Acacana hill or another in the vicinity of Tarqui, Ecuador.

(2) Sangay, Altar, Chimborazo or some such hill or mountain in Ecuador.

(3) Cara Urcu, Pasto, etc., hill or mountain in Ecuador.

Sidon River: (1) Marañon River.

(2) Jubones, or Piate, River.

(3) Headwaters of the Guayas or Pastaza River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: (1) From Lake Titicaca, Bolivia, to Cerro de Pasco.

(2) Peru north of Arequipa.

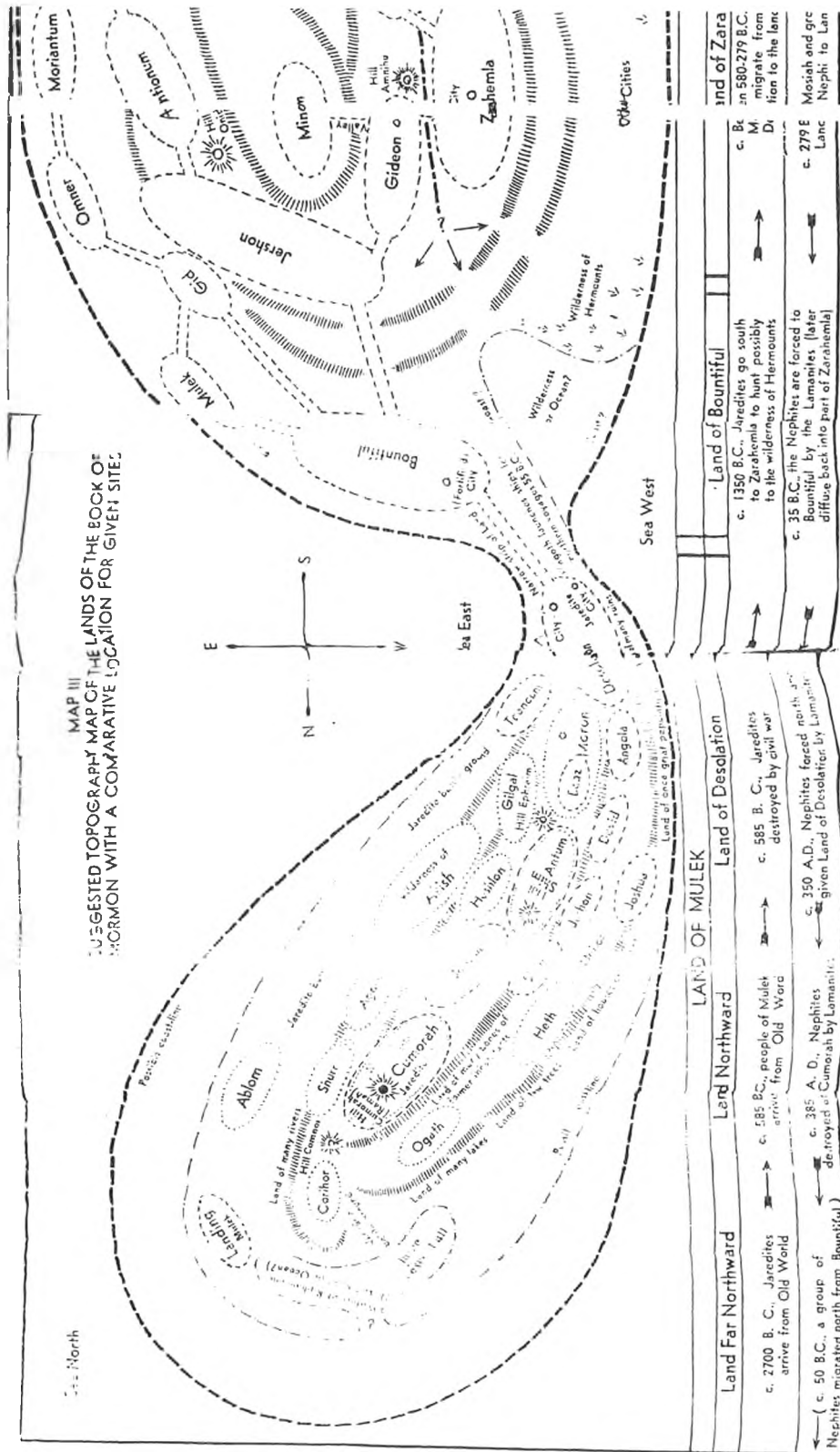
(3) Either Peru as a whole or the northern Peruvian highlands.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

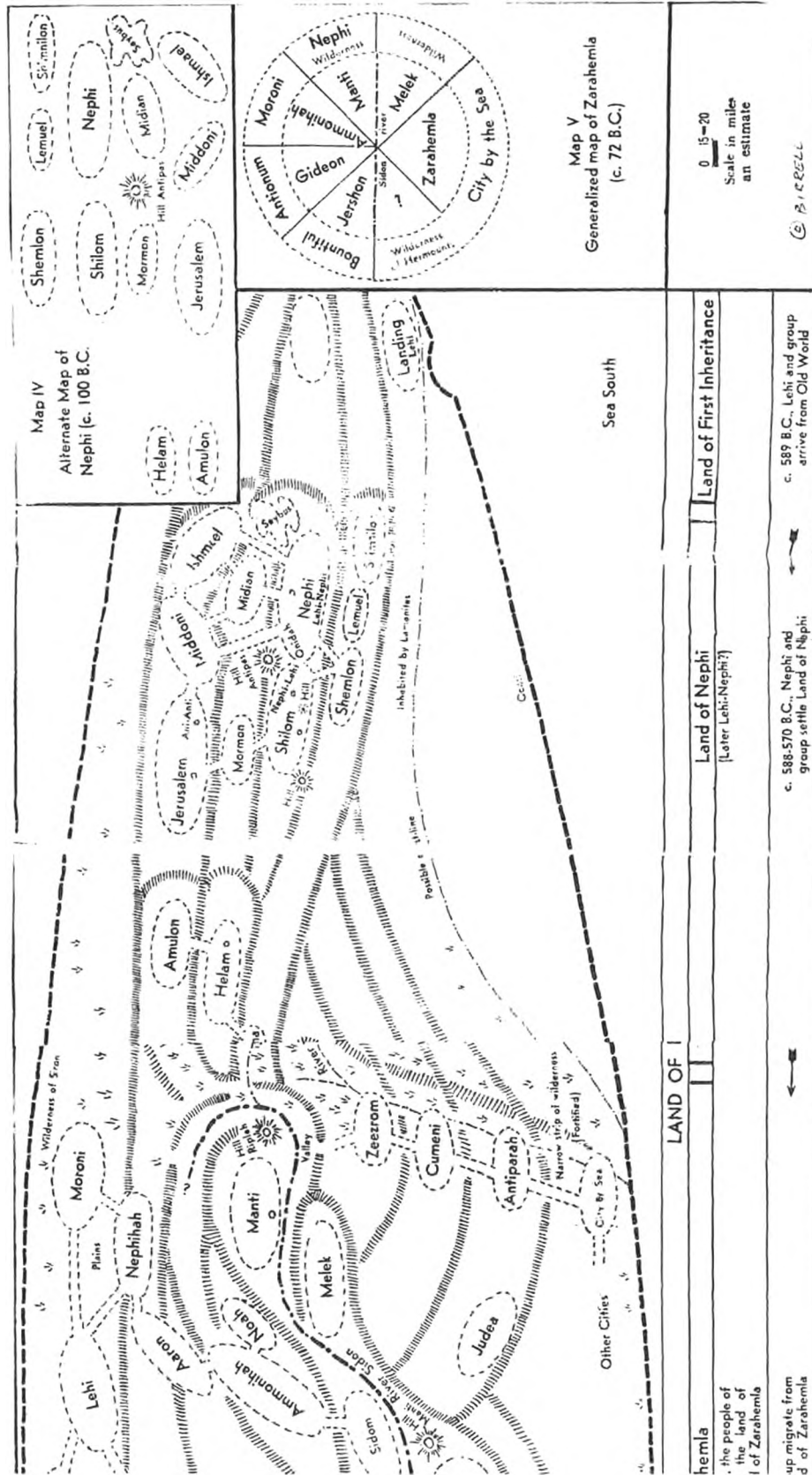
Land of Zarahemla: (1) Paramonga to Lambayeque, Peru.

(2) Marañon River narrows to Giron, Ecuador.

(3) El Tambo to Quito, Ecuador.



Birrell



City of Zarahemla: (1) Caras or Cajamarca.
(2) Zaraguro and Zaruma.
(3) Guaranda or Cajabamba.
Land Bountiful: (1) Northern Peru west of the Amazon basin.
(2) Giron to El Tambo, Ecuador.
(3) Northern Ecuador.
Narrow Pass: Not specified.
Land of Desolation: (1) Southern and Central Ecuador.
(2) El Tambo to Quito, Ecuador.
(3) Tulcan to San Agustín, Colombia.
Land of Moron: (1) City of Moron near Cuenca or Riobamba, Ecuador.
(2) City near Quito, Ecuador.
(3) San Agustín, Colombia.
Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.
Other Cities or Areas Specified: None.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: At least important local features could have changed.

Scope of Model Specification: Limited.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Little. Claims this model is original.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Very little.

Source:

Verla Birrell. *The Book of Mormon Guide Book*. The Author: Salt Lake City, 1948.

Christensen (Christiansen?) 1969 (Minimal External) Model

Originator: Keith Christensen (Christiansen?).

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: The neck was probably 210 miles across on its north side and 140 miles on its south. It was probably located immediately south of the Yucatan Peninsula where the land would have been lower and thus a smaller distance across.

Land Southward: Not indicated clearly but implied to be Central America south and east of the Motagua River valley.

Land Northward: Yucatan peninsula.

Nephi's Landing Place: Not indicated.

Hill Cumorah: Not indicated, but inferable as in Yucatan (Belize?)

Sidon River: Ulua River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Implied to be southern Honduras.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not indicated.

Land of Zarahemla: Implied to be western Honduras.

City of Zarahemla: Not indicated.

Land of Bountiful: Not indicated.

Narrow Pass: Apparently the Motagua River valley. The pass traversed the narrow neck of land "diagonally and led into the land northward from the east sea on the south to the west sea on the north."

Land of Desolation: Not indicated.

Land of Moron: Not indicated.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not indicated.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: "[The name of] a small town in El Salvador called Jerusalé [by Spanish speakers, obviously] closely resembles the Book of Mormon town of Jerusalem that was destroyed . . . by being sunk into the sea."

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Formerly the "neck" across the southern Yucatan peninsula was narrower than now.

Scope of Model Specification: Skeletal.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Essentially none.

Source:

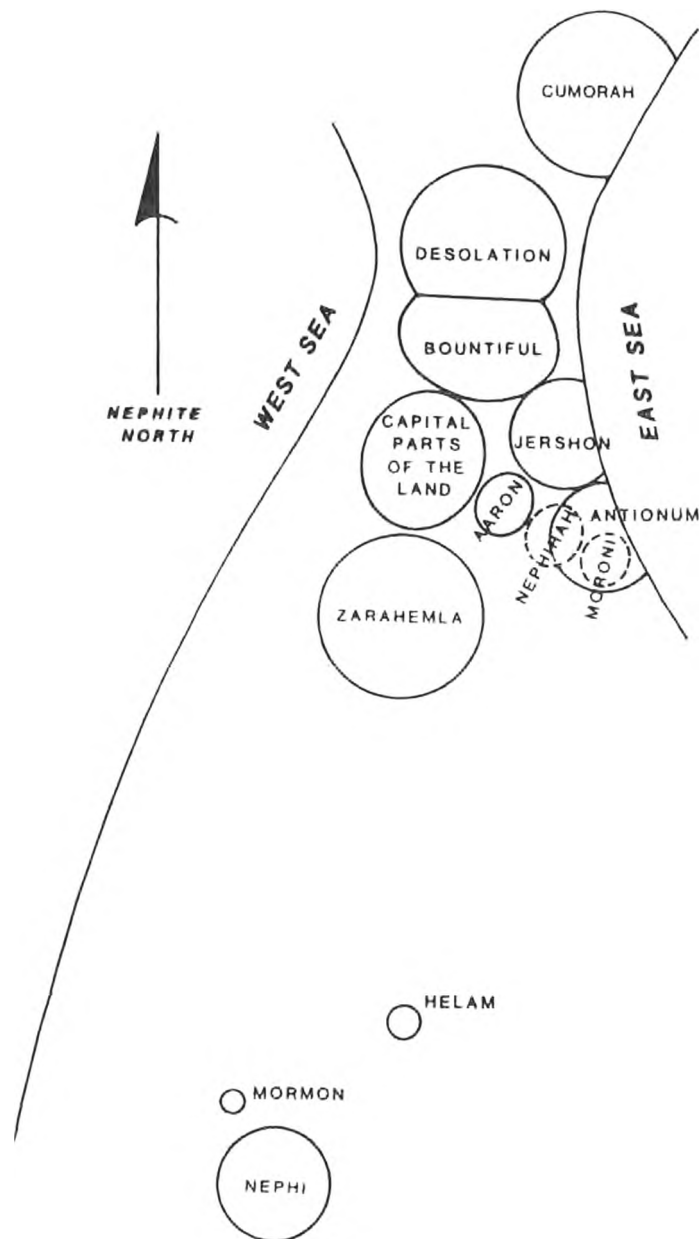
Keith Christiansen [sic]. Southern Yucatan Theory. 1969.
Unpublished paper in the possession of Paul R. Cheesman. (So cited in Cheesman, *These Early Americans* (Deseret Book: Salt Lake City, 1974.) In Cheesman's *The World of the Book of Mormon* (Deseret Book: Salt Lake City), 1978, page 3, he cites and summarizes points from "Keith Christensen [sic], unpublished paper." This paper is not now found in the BYU library.

Clark 1989 (Internal) Model

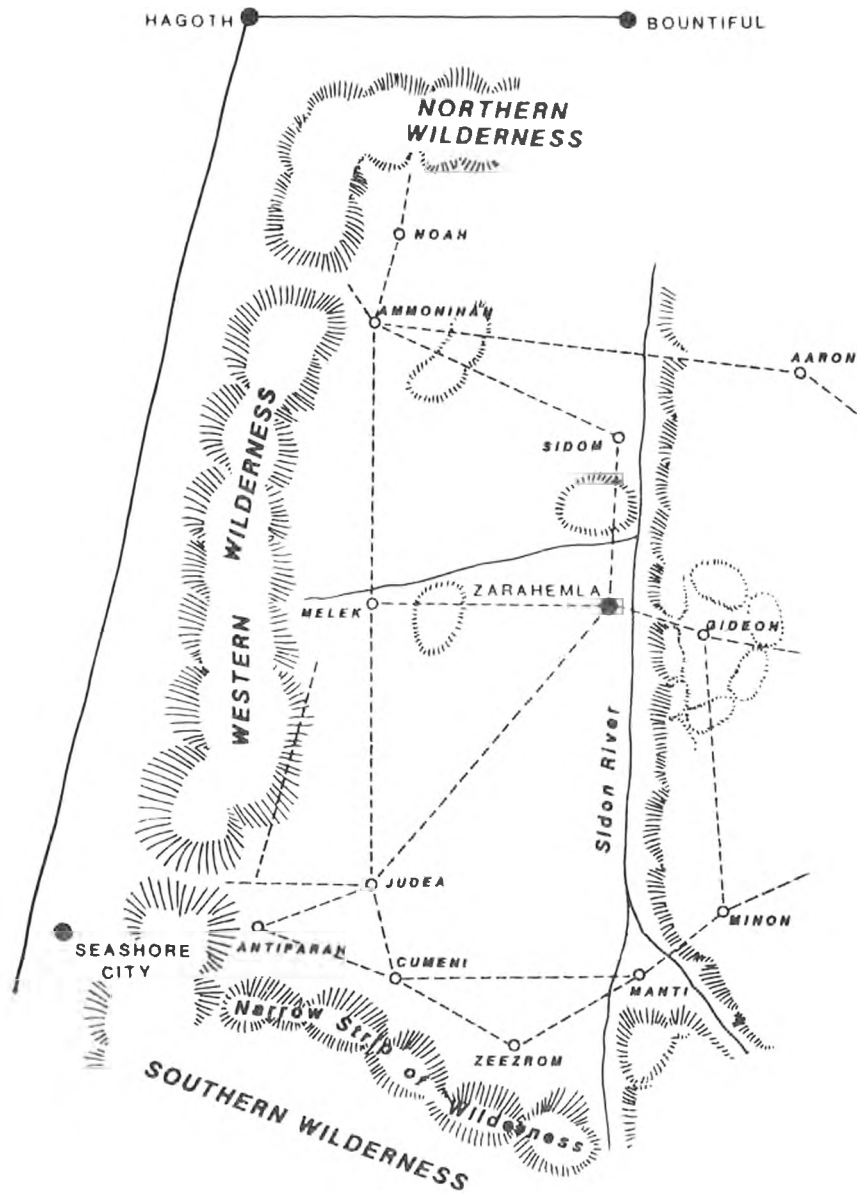
Originator: John E. Clark.

Degree of Detail: Substantial, with detailed logic, including distances in terms of standardized "units of standard distance" expressed as days of travel under normal conditions.

Source: John E. Clark, Review of, *Deciphering the Geography of the Book of Mormon*, by F. Richard Hauck. *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon*, vol. 1 (1989): 20-70. This review is subtitled, *A Key for Evaluating Nephite Geographies*.



Clark



Comer/Maeser 1880 (External) Model

Originator: Heber Comer and Karl G. Maeser.

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Panama.

Land Southward: South America.

Land Northward: From Panama northward including North America (the map is only of South America; the land northward attribution is only implied).

Nephi's Landing Place: Chile.

Hill Cumorah: New York (implied).

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: "Nephi" is written across the entire continent of South America near 10 degrees south latitude.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): In highlands south of Lake Maracaibo.

Land of Zarahemla: Andean Colombia.

City of Zarahemla: East side of the Magdalena River halfway up its course.

Sidon River: Magdalena River.

Land of Bountiful: Easternmost Panama.

Narrow Pass: Not indicated.

Land of Desolation: Not indicated.

Land of Moron: Not indicated.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not indicated.

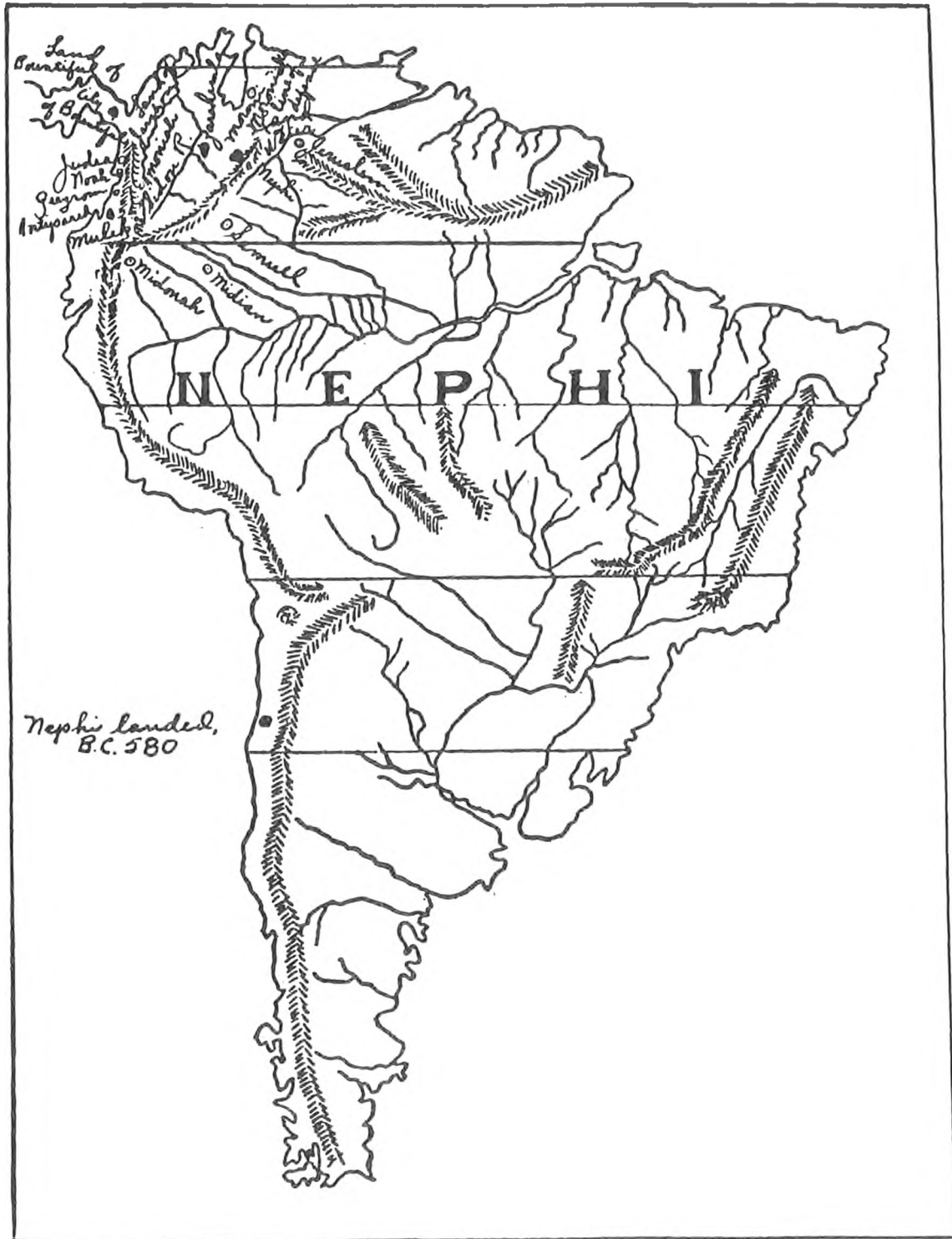
Other Cities or Areas Specified: On or near the west coast of Colombia, from south to north: Mulek, Antiparah, Zeezrom, Noah and Judea. Land of Jershon, immediately east of Panama. Moroni: on the east side of the Lake Maracaibo. Jerusalem: on the middle Orinoco. Middonah (sic), Midian and Samuel (sic): in the upper reaches of the Amazon drainage in Ecuador and Colombia.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Not indicated.

Scope of Model Specification: Map only.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None indicated.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None.



Source:

See J. A. and J. N. Washburn, *An Approach to the Study of Book of Mormon Geography*. Authors: Provo, Utah, 1939. On page 212 they reproduce a "map . . . carefully prepared" from "a large one made in 1880 by Brother Heber Comer, of Lehi, in the old Brigham Young Academy, under the personal direction of Dr. Karl G. Maeser."

Curtis 1988 (1939?) (External) Model

Originator: Delbert W. Curtis.

Area Focus: Northeastern North America.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: The isthmus between Lakes Erie and Ontario.

Land Southward: "All of the narrow neck of land from the City of Desolation to the River Sidon. Today it would be from Hamilton [Ontario] to the Niagara River."

Land Northward: Lower Ontario, Canada (Lake Huron was the "sea north").

Nephi's Landing Place: At the west end of Lake Ontario, after a voyage from south Arabia, around Cape of Good Hope, northward through the entire Atlantic Ocean into the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Not clear.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: A strip a few miles wide immediately west of the Niagara River.

City of Zarahemla: Near where the Niagara River enters Lake Ontario.

Land of Desolation: A part of the north shore of Lake Erie.

City of Zarahemla: Where the Niagara River enters Lake Ontario.

Sidon River: Niagara River.

Land of Bountiful: A strip a few miles long on the New York side of the Niagara River.

Narrow Pass: A segment of land between the Grand River and Twenty Mile Creek within the isthmus between Lakes Erie and Ontario.

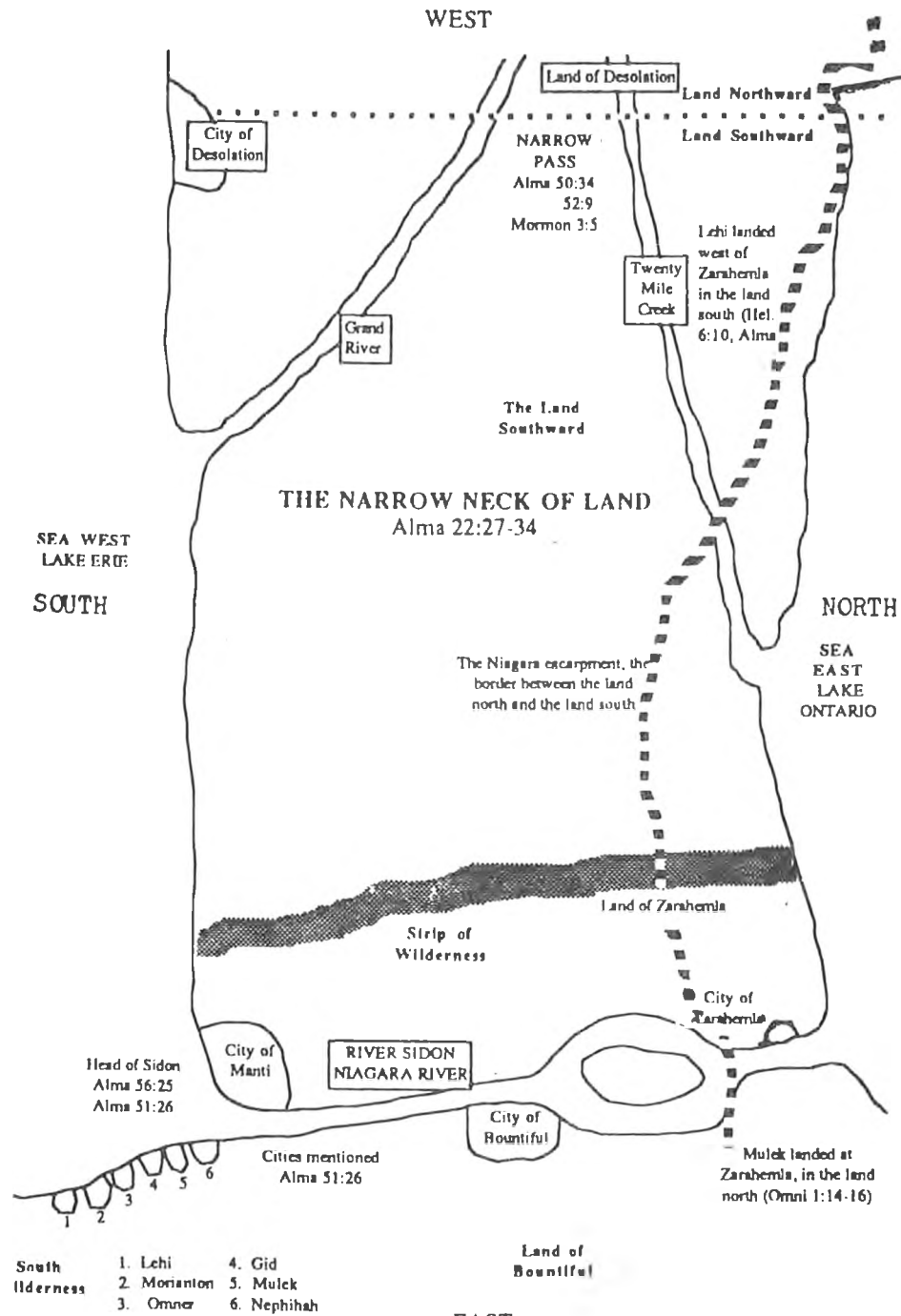
Land of Desolation: A small area of the isthmus immediately south of the western tip of Lake Ontario.

Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: Unclear but apparently the northeastern North America seaboard.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: City of Bountiful, a spot on the New York side of the Niagara River half way between Lakes Erie and Ontario, less than ten miles from the city of Zarahemla. Lehi, Morianton, Omner, Gid, Mulek and Nephihah (each about a mile from the next one) form a line on the New York side where the Niagara River originates. Manti is directly across the river from Nephihah.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Slight.



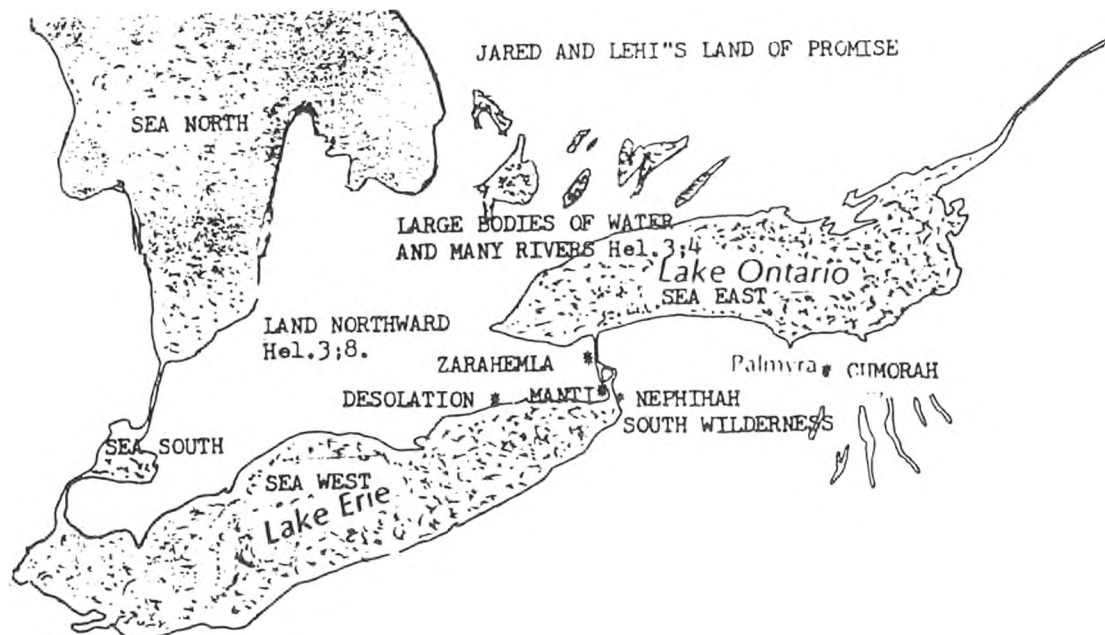
Scope of Model Specification: Scattered observations, three maps.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Essentially none. [Note: Washburn and Washburn 1939, page 194, mention that "Only within the past few months the authors have had brought to their attention the suggestion that the narrow neck is between the southern extremities of Lake Michigan and Lake Erie." They lived in American Fork, Utah, Curtis' home, so he may have held this view, and communicated it to them, as early as 1939.]

Use of Current External Scholarship: Essentially none.

Source:

Delbert W. Curtis. *The Land of the Nephites*. The Author: American Fork, UT, 1988. 40 pp.



Davila 1961 (External) Model

Originator: Jose O. Dávila.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Southern and eastern Mesoamerica.

Land Northward: From the Isthmus of Tehuantepec northward and westward.

Nephi's Landing Place: At the mouth of the Nahualate River on the Pacific coast of Guatemala.

Hill Cumorah: Not specified.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Highland Guatemala.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Nahuala, Guatemala.

Land of Zarahemla: Usumacinta River basin implied.

City of Zarahemla: At or near El Cayo, on the west bank of the Usumacinta River near Yaxchilan.

Sidon River: Usumacinta River.

Land of Bountiful: The lower drainage of the Usumacinta.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Not specified.

Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Palenque is the city Bountiful. Tikal is Jerushon. The Waters of Mormon, Lake Atitlan. Totonicapan, Guatemala, is Shemlon. After Mulek's group landed on the delta of the Usumacinta, some rebelled, and Mulek and others fled to the Orinoco basin in Venezuela.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Not clarified, but at least the wet areas of Tabasco first appeared at the time of the crucifixion (implying emergence from the sea).

Scope of Model Specification: Limited, incidental to a travelogue.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None indicated.

Source:

Jose O. Dávila. *An Account of our Book of Mormon Lands Tour, Jan. 27th to Feb. 16th, 1961*. Duplicated, 48 pages (BYU Library).

“DeLong-Steede-Simmons” 1977 (External) Model

Originator: Richard A. DeLong (?)

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Mesoamerica east and south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Northward: Mesoamerica north and west of the Isthmus.

Nephi’s Landing Place: Not specified.

Hill Cumorah: In the state of Puebla (apparently the eastern part) and reaching over 6000 meters above sea level.

Sidon River: Usumacinta River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Not specified.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Possibly Copan.

Land of Zarahemla: Apparently the basin of the Usumacinta.

City of Zarahemla: Palenque.

Land of Bountiful: Not specified.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Not specified.

Land of Moron: Not specified, but the Olmecs are considered the Jaredites.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: The city of Aaron may be Tikal. Copan may be either Ishmael or Nephi.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Unknown.

Scope of Model Specification: General terms only.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None apparent.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Some indicated.

Sources:

Personal communications from Robert F. Smith to John L. Sorenson dated 5 Oct. 1977 and 27 Feb 1978 reporting lectures by DeLong to the Foundation for Research on Ancient America in Independence, MO, on Oct. 2 and 5 Feb. respectively. See also *FRAA Newsletter* 23 (11 May 1976), which

reports some information from an earlier DeLong lecture, 1 Feb. 1976. Smith's personal contacts with DeLong led him to refer to the "DeLong-Steede-Simmons Hill Cumorah," hence the naming of the model above.

Dixon 1958 (External) Model

Originator: Riley Lake Dixon.

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Panama.

Land Southward: South of Panama?

Land Northward: From Panama northward, including the lands of Bountiful and Zarahemla (sic, p. 20).

Nephi's Landing Place: Chile.

Hill Cumorah: In New York.

Sidon River: Not specified (vaguely said to be in Central America, p. 26).

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: The Nephites may have called all South America the land of Nephi, or perhaps only the northern part.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: North of Bountiful. The Nephites may have called all North America the land of Zarahemla.

City of Zarahemla: In Central America near the west coast.

Land of Bountiful: Panama. (but page 8, Panama was the wilderness between the land of Nephi and the land of Zarahemla.)

Narrow Pass: Not distinguished.

Land of Desolation: From the Isthmus of Tehuantepec an indefinite distance northward.

Land of Moron: Near or north of the Isthmus of Mexico (but page 101, "near the central part of Mexico").

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: The city of Mulek was in the land of Bountiful.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: There were major changes in Central America at least.

Scope of Model Specification: Rambling and unsystematic through 26 pp.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Essentially none.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None.

Source:

Riley Lake Dixon. *Just One Cumorah*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958.

Driggs 1925 (External) Model

Originator: Jean Russell Driggs.

Area Focus: Northern Central America.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: At the Bay of Honduras.

Land Southward: South of the Motagua River.

Land Northward: From the Isthmus of Tehuantepec south to the Motagua River, but also North America in a general sense.

Nephi's Landing Place: The Gulf of Fonseca, El Salvador.

Hill Cumorah: In eastern Guatemala or Belize.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Implies highland Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): "May have been" around Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

Land of Zarahemla: The Ulua River basin.

City of Zarahemla: On the Ulua River.

Sidon River: Ulua River.

Land of Bountiful: The lower parts of the Ulua and Chamelecon Rivers.

Narrow Pass: Around the point formed by the Omoa Mountains just west of the Motagua River.

Land of Desolation: In eastern Guatemala, though in a larger sense, North America.

Land of Moron: Not specified, but in a restricted area in Central America, implied to be Guatemala.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not indicated but surely in Central America.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Helam may be not far from Lake Yojoa, Honduras. Moroni was on the Bay of Honduras.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Limited; some subsidence around Moroni has surely altered the shoreline.

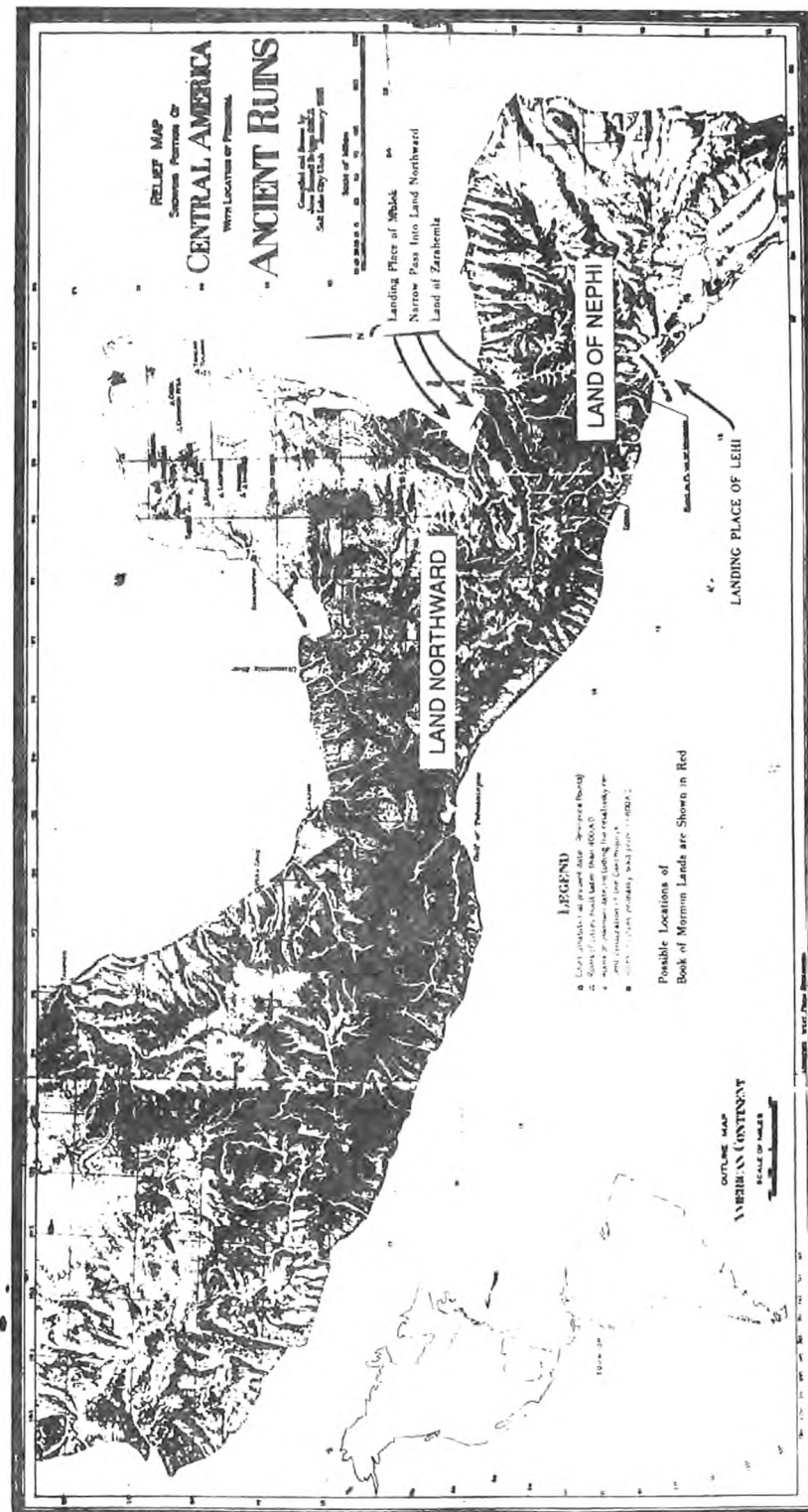
Scope of Model Specification: Limited.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None indicated.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Considerable.

Source:

Jean Russell Driggs. *The Palestine of America*. The Author: Salt Lake City, 1925, consisting of three maps and eight unnumbered pages of text.



Ellsworth 1980 (Internal/Minimal External) Model

Originator: Robert B. Ellsworth.

Area Focus: Costa Rica. [Note: The text consists almost entirely of an outline of topics for a lecture. Most topics are statements derived from the Book of Mormon text giving characteristics of or relationships between lands and other features. A few comments indicate the external correlation, which must have come across much clearer via the lecture.]

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Not specified, but somewhere in Costa Rica.

Land Southward: Costa Rica.

Land Northward: Impliedly, northern Costa Rica and southern Nicaragua.

Nephi's Landing Place: Not indicated.

Hill Cumorah: Near the city of Rama, an inland port city today on the Escondido River in Nicaragua. The Rama River today flows past the proposed site of the Hill Ramah/Cumorah.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Impliedly, southern Costa Rica.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not indicated.

Land of Zarahemla: Not indicated.

City of Zarahemla: Not indicated.

Sidon River: Not indicated.

Land of Bountiful: Not indicated.

Narrow Pass: Not indicated.

Land of Desolation: Impliedly in northern Costa Rica.

Land of Moron: Not indicated.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not indicated.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: None.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Substantial changes: "A simple land form change has taken place some time between Book of Mormon times and the present" which he has identified using satellite photos. Specifically, Lake Nicaragua was an arm of the sea 2000 years ago.

Scope of Model Specification: Incidental to a lecture on internal matters.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Claims some, but not specified.

Source:

Robert B. Ellsworth, *Lecture Notes on an Interpretation of a Map of Zarahemla and the Land Northward as Described in the Book of Mormon*. Author (dba "Rob-Ell"): Ogden, Utah, 1980. 17 photocopy pages, within thick paper coverings.

Erickson 1991 (External) Model

Originator: Duane Erickson

Area Focus: North America

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Not specified.

Land Southward: Not specified.

Land Northward: Not specified.

Nephi's Landing Place: Implied, Pacific coastal Guatemala.

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Sidon River: Mississippi River

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Modern Utah.

City of Nephi: Nephi, Utah.

Land of Zarahemla: Upper and Middle Mississippi River Valley.

City of Zarahemla: At the Mormon settlement of "Zarahemla" across the river from Nauvoo.

Land Bountiful: Not specified.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Ontario.

Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: "Northeast part of the United States."

Other Cities or Areas Specified:

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: No evidence of such.

Scope of Model Specification: Extremely limited.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Effectively none.

Source:

Duane Erickson, Untitled, self-published brochure of 33 pp. available from the author in Salt Lake City.

Ferguson 1947 (Minimal Internal/Minimal External) Model

Originator: Thomas Stuart Ferguson

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Keys:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: "Just south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec."

Land Northward: Between the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and the Valley of Mexico.

Nephi's Landing Place: Not specified.

Hill Cumorah: Not specified, but implied in Veracruz.

Others:

Land of Nephi: Not specified.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Not specified.

City of Zarahemla: Not specified.

Sidon River: Not specified.

Land of Bountiful: Just south of the isthmus.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Not specified, but impliedly in south-central Veracruz.

Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: None.

Scope of Model Specification: Skeletal.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Some. Ancestry of the model is not discussed, but the author's previous long association with Jakeman was one influence.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Essentially none.

Source:

Thomas Stuart Ferguson. *Cumorah—Where?* The Author: Oakland, CA, 1947.

Ferguson/Hunter 1950 (Minimal Internal/External) Model

Originators: Thomas Stuart Ferguson and Milton R. Hunter

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Mesoamerica south and east of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Northward: The area between the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and the Valley of Mexico.

Nephi's Landing Place: Guatemala or near there on the south.

Hill Cumorah: In the Tuxtla Mountains of southern Veracruz.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Highland Guatemala, and perhaps Honduras, implied.

City of Nephi: Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Not specified.

City of Zarahemla: Not specified.

Sidon River: Usumacinta River implied.

Land of Bountiful: Just south and east of the isthmus.

Narrow Pass: Along the eastern edge of the narrow neck.

Land of Desolation: Equivalent to land northward.

Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: None.

Scope of Model Specification: Skeletal.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: This model is a slightly expanded version of Ferguson 1947. Slight indication of previous models, but both originators were close associates of Jakeman's in the 1930s and clearly follow his general model as well as that of the Washburns.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Considerable.

Source:

Milton R. Hunter and Thomas Stuart Ferguson. *Ancient America and the Book of Mormon*. Kolob Book: Oakland, California, 1950 (see especially maps on pages 83, 139, 159, 186).

Subsequent Modification

Personal communications to Sorenson and Lowe in 1952-53, in connection with the first field season of the New World Archaeological

Foundation in which they were engaged, made clear that Ferguson was then supposing Zarahemla to be in Tabasco on the west side of the Grijalva River around Huimanguillo.

Also, in Ferguson's *One Fold and One Shepherd* (San Francisco: Books of California, 1953, p. 252) he suggests that the site of La Venta could be the city that Lib built at the narrow neck of land.

General 1830s (External) Model

Originator: Unknown (Joseph Smith?).

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Uncertain, probably Panama.

Land Southward: Uncertain, probably South America.

Land Northward: North America (and Central America?)

Nephi's Landing Place: Evidently Chile.

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Sidon River: Uncertain.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Uncertain, probably in South America.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Uncertain.

Land of Zarahemla: Uncertain, probably in South America.

City of Zarahemla: Uncertain.

Land Bountiful: Uncertain, probably in northern South America.

Narrow Pass: Uncertain.

Land of Desolation: North America.

Land of Moron: Uncertain.

Jaredite Landing Place: Uncertain.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: None indicated.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Uncertain but likely.

Scope of Model Specification: Fragmentary.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Not applicable.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None.

Source:

See Appendix A. Those relevant are few and fragmentary:

Oliver Cowdery on the Jaredites and Nephites being destroyed in New York.

Lucy Mack Smith: Joseph may have referred to the hill near their home as "Cumorah" immediately after an early visit there (but see Whitmer 1878).

The 1834 Zelph incident, particularly Joseph Smith's use of the expression for the Illinois prairies, "the plains of the Nephites."

The Kirtland Saints (Joseph Smith the source?) on the “City of Manti” at Huntsville, Missouri.

Joseph Smith on North America as the “land of desolation” in Levi Ward Hancock, and W. W. Phelps 1832).

Gunsolley 1922 (Minimal External) Model

Originator: Jeremiah A. Gunsolley.

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Panama.

Land Southward: South America.

Land Northward: North of Panama.

Nephi's Landing Place: Implied in Chile.

Hill Cumorah: In southern Mexico.

Sidon River: Magdalena River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Ecuador and southward.

City of Nephi: Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Colombia and nearby.

City of Zarahemla: On the Magdalena.

Land Bountiful: Immediately adjacent on the east and south to the Isthmus of Panama.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Central America implied.

Land of Moron: In Central America.

Jaredite Landing Place: "North of the Isthmus of Panama."

Other Cities or Areas Specified: None.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Perhaps, implied by his statement: "To make a detailed map of ancient America is impossible."

Scope of Model Specification: Slight.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None.

Source:

Jeremiah A. Gunsolley. *A Study of the Book of Mormon* Zion's Religio-Literary Society, at Herald Publishing House: Lamoni, Iowa, 1917 (and the same in 1916 and 1917 issues of *The Religio Quarterly*, Senior Grade), merely reproduces the Weston maps. But in his More Comment on Book of Mormon Geography, in *Saints Herald* 69 (Nov. 15, 1922), pages 1074-1076, he argues, uniquely for that day among RLDS, that the Hill Cumorah must be in

Mexico. It is for that notable innovation that his thought is listed here as a separate model.

Hammond 1959 (Internal-Minimal External) Model

Originator: Fletcher B. Hammond.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Not specified but implied to be the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Southern Mesoamerica.

Land Northward: (At least a portion of) Northern Mesoamerica.

Land of Zarahemla: Possibly the basin of the Usumacinta River.

Nephi's Landing Place: Not specified but in Mesoamerica.

Hill Cumorah: Not specified but implied in central Mexico?

Sidon River: Possibly the Usumacinta River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Not specified but implied in Guatemala and perhaps southward. He also defines a small "land of Nephi" around the mouth of the Sidon River on the east sea and containing the cities of Mulek, Gid and Omner; this is implied to be around the mouth of the Usumacinta River.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Not specified.

City of Zarahemla: Not specified.

Land Bountiful: Not specified, but implied to be in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Implied to be the portion of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec just west of the narrowest point.

Land of Moron: On the west coast of the land northward, implied to be north and west of the isthmus.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

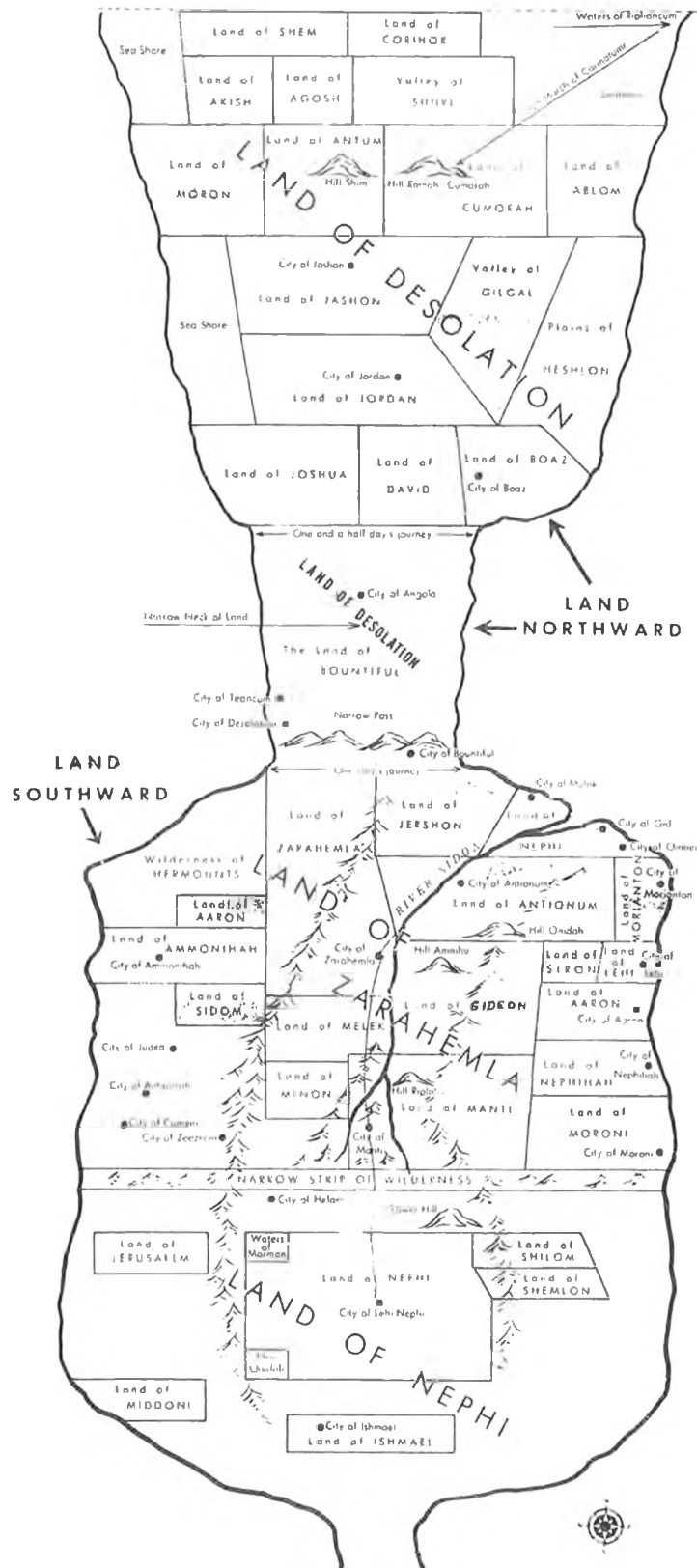
Other Cities or Areas Specified: None, but gives two detailed internal maps. Has two lands of Aaron and two Desolations (a small one at the narrow neck adjacent to Bountiful, the other consisting of the entire land northward).

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Modern features would be derived from pre-catastrophe features, although substantial changes now prevent our identifying specifics with confidence.

Scope of Model Specification: External model, very limited.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Little and unsystematic.

Hammond



Use of Current External Scholarship: Very little.

Source:

Fletcher B. Hammond. *Geography of the Book of Mormon*. Author: Salt Lake City, 1959.

Hanson 1951 (Minimal External) Model

Originator: Paul M. Hanson.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

(This is a general espousal of a Tehuantepec correlation, after first explaining why the "1894" [Weston 1900?] map prepared by the RLDS Committee on Archaeology fails to pass important tests in the scriptural text.)

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Mesoamerica south and east of Tehuantepec.

Land Northward: South-central Mexico, west of Tehuantepec.

Nephi's Landing Place: Not specified.

Hill Cumorah: Near the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (implied by his approving citation of Washburn and Washburn).

Sidon River: Not specified.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: The southern portion of Southern Mesoamerica implied.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Not specified.

City of Zarahemla: Not specified.

Land of Bountiful: Not specified.

City of Bountiful: Not specified.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Mexico west of Tehuantepec.

Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: None.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Implies none important.

Scope of Model Specification: Limited.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Acknowledges the older RLDS tradition in order to refute it. Evident influence from the Washburns.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Practically none.

Sources:

Foreshadowed in Paul M. Hanson, *Jesus Christ among the Ancient Americans*. Herald House: Independence, Missouri, 1945 (note XX, page 202).

As above in Paul M. Hanson, Book of Mormon Geography, *Saints' Herald*, January 8, 1951; reprinted verbatim, but with the addition of Lesh's 1980 map, in *Recent Book of Mormon Developments: Articles from The Zarahemla Record*, ed. by Raymond C. Treat, pages 77-78. Zarahemla Research Foundation: Independence, Missouri, 1984.

Hauck 1988 (Internal-External) Model

Originator: F. Richard Hauck.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: The coastal plain of Chiapas in the Tres Picos-Tonala area.

Land Southward: The highlands extending across Guatemala from the Bay of Honduras to the Soconusco.

Land Northward: A sinuous strip from the Chiapas coast around Tonala, across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and into and through Veracruz to Jalapa.

Nephi's Landing Place: Near Izapa on the Guatemalan-Chiapas border.

Hill Cumorah: In the Tuxtla Mountains.

Sidon River: The Chixoy, a tributary of the Usumacinta.

Others:

Land of Nephi: The locality of Mixco Viejo in the Motagua River valley of Guatemala.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Mapped around Zacualpa in the upper Motagua River valley.

Land of Zarahemla: The Chixoy River area of Alta Verapaz, Guatemala.

City of Zarahemla: In the Laguna Lachua-Montaña Nueve Cerros locality of Alta Verapaz in the transition zone to the Guatemalan lowlands.

Land Bountiful: He has two. One is near the Sarstoon River on the Gulf of Honduras, where was located the city of Bountiful. The other is on the Pacific Coast of Chiapas or Soconusco area, but without a city.

Narrow Pass: Some particular spot within the narrow neck area.

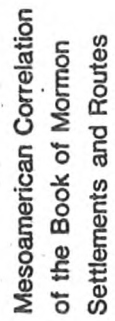
Land of Desolation: Plains on the Pacific side of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec around the lagoons.

Land of Moron: Near Jalapa, northern Veracruz state.

Jaredite Landing Place: On the Gulf of Mexico near Moron.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Valley of Gideon, the Chisec area of Guatemala. Antiparah and Judea, very near Izapa. Zeezrom, probably in the Sacapulas region of interior Guatemala. City of Manti, around modern Coban. Nephihah, in the Polochic River valley. Others are mapped. A number of maps give his separate internal model.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: The Laguna Izabal was formed after the city of Moroni was founded nearby.



Scope of Model Specification: In detail.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Little indicated. Credits influence from Norman.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Substantial.

Source:

F. Richard Hauck. *Deciphering the Geography of the Book of Mormon: Settlements and Routes in Ancient America*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988.

Hills 1917 (External) Model

Originator: Louis Edward Hills.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Southern and eastern Mesoamerica.

Land Northward: Northern and western Mesoamerica.

Nephi's Landing Place: Gulf of Fonseca, El Salvador.

Hill Cumorah: In the Valley of Mexico.

Sidon River: Usumacinta River and especially its Rio Pasion tributary.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Honduras and El Salvador.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Copan.

Land of Zarahemla: The middle and upper Usumacinta basin.

City of Zarahemla: Mapped at about Altar de Sacrificios.

Land of Bountiful: The Isthmus of Tehuantepec extending eastward to near the lower and Middle Usumacinta river.

Narrow Pass: Not indicated to be separate from the narrow neck.

Land of Desolation: Oaxaca state and extending to Cholula.

Land of Moron: From Cholula to Tampico on the Gulf of Mexico.

Jaredite Landing Place: Tampico.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Ablom, the Chontalpa (western Tabasco). Aaron, the site of Naranjo in the northern Peten. A second Aaron is in highland Chiapas. Waters of Mormon, Lake Guija. Mulek, the site of Mulke, south of the Laguna de Terminos. Sidom, Ocosingo. Nephihah, Morianton, Lehi and Moroni are in northern British Honduras. Antiparah is at about Holmul in the northeastern Peten. Jerusalem and the Waters of Mormon are at or near Lake Yojoa, Honduras. The land of Jershon is the Quiche area of Guatemala. The land of Antionum is the Motagua River valley. Bountiful city is Palenque. Angola is "Huim-anguillo" [Spanish suffix]. Teancum is Tehuantepec and the name is derived from it. Moron, Cholula. The city of Desolation is Mitla. Jordan is Juchitan. The Quiche Maya are descended from the people of Ammon (but Melek is just west of the Usumacinta River). Nahuas are Nephites. Mayas are Lamanites. "Olmecs" (of the traditions, not the archaeological Olmecs) are the "Muleks."

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Explicitly denied.

Scope of Model Specification: Significant.



Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Little indicated except that this piece constitutes a refutation of the RLDS/Weston 1900? Model.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Considerable, particularly Bancroft on documentary history and traditions.

Sources:

Louis Edward Hills. (A Short Work on the) *Geography of Mexico and Central America from 2234 B.C. to 421 A.D.* n. p.: Independence, Missouri, 1917. 42 pp. Louis Edward Hills. *A Study of the Geography of the Book of Mormon.* n.p., 1920. Louis Edward Hills. *Friendly Discussion of the Book of Mormon Geography.* n. p.: Independence, Missouri, 1924. Louis Edward Hills. *Historical Data from Ancient Records and Ruins of Mexico and Central America.* The Author: Independence, Missouri, 1919, contains a "Map of the World. Showing Probable Course of the Ancient Colonies across the Ocean," which appears to be the Weston map on that topic. The legend on Hills' version identifies Quinames crossing the Atlantic "about 2234 B.C.," the Nahuas crossing the Pacific in 591 B.C. to El Salvador, and the Olmecs crossing the Atlantic 588 B.C., reaching Veracruz then moving to Campeche.

Hobby/Smith 1988 (External) Model

Originators: Michael Hobby and Troy Smith.

Area Focus: North America and Northern South America.

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Panama.

Land Southward: From the Atrato River in Colombia, adjacent to Panama, and including all of Colombia, Venezuela, Guyana, Surinam, French Guiana, parts of northern and western Brazil, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. "Conceptually, and by definition, it included the entire South American continent; but in a practical sense, it included the areas listed."

Land Northward: The North American continent and south through Panama.

Nephi's Landing Place: Not given.

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: The limited land not specified, but compare the statement on the land southward.

City of Nephi: Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: A strip of northern South America from the Atrato River extending south and east from the Caribbean on the north to the geologic ridge which separates the Orinoco and Amazon watersheds.

City of Zarahemla: "Almost to the headwaters" of the Orinoco River. (See Hobby, *The Mulekite Connection*, page 36.)

Sidon River: Orinoco River (however, "the Atabapo [River] . . . is an equal candidate for the main river.")

Land of Bountiful: The Atrato-San Juan River basin of northwestern Colombia, including tributaries, plus all of the land surrounding the Gulf of Uraba (into which the Atrato River discharges). However, "The land of Bountiful-Jershon [an entirely separate area] was the area between the eastern side of the Guayana Shield, and the Atlantic, drained by the Essequibo/Cuyuni/Puruni and other parallel rivers, north to . . . the Orinoco Delta."

Narrow Pass: Equivalent to the entire isthmus.

Land of Desolation: Beginning east of the Ulua River Basin in western Honduras and extending south to the Atrato-San Juan River basin.

Land of Moron: Ulua River basin.

Jaredite Landing Place: Northern Honduras.

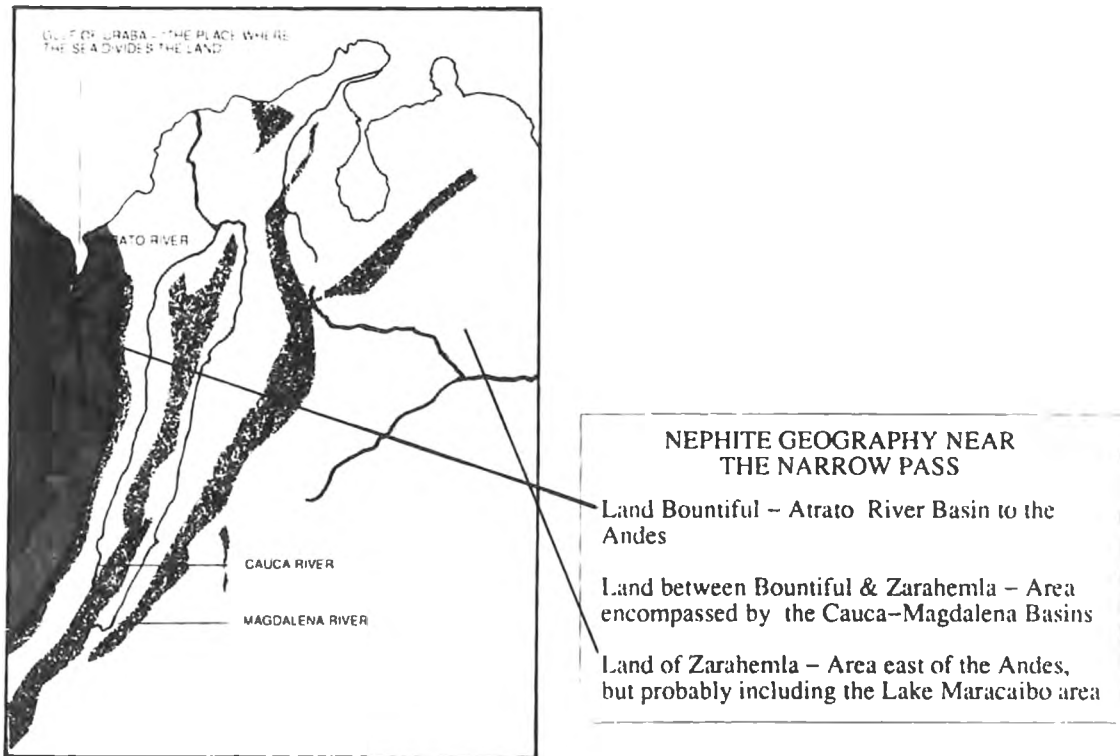
Other Cities or Areas Specified: Copan was the city of Moron.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Some, not spelled out.

Scope of Model Specification: Brief but systematic.



MORON—The most ancient capital of the Jaredites, "Now the land of Moron, where the king dwelt, was near the land which was called Desolation by the Nephites."

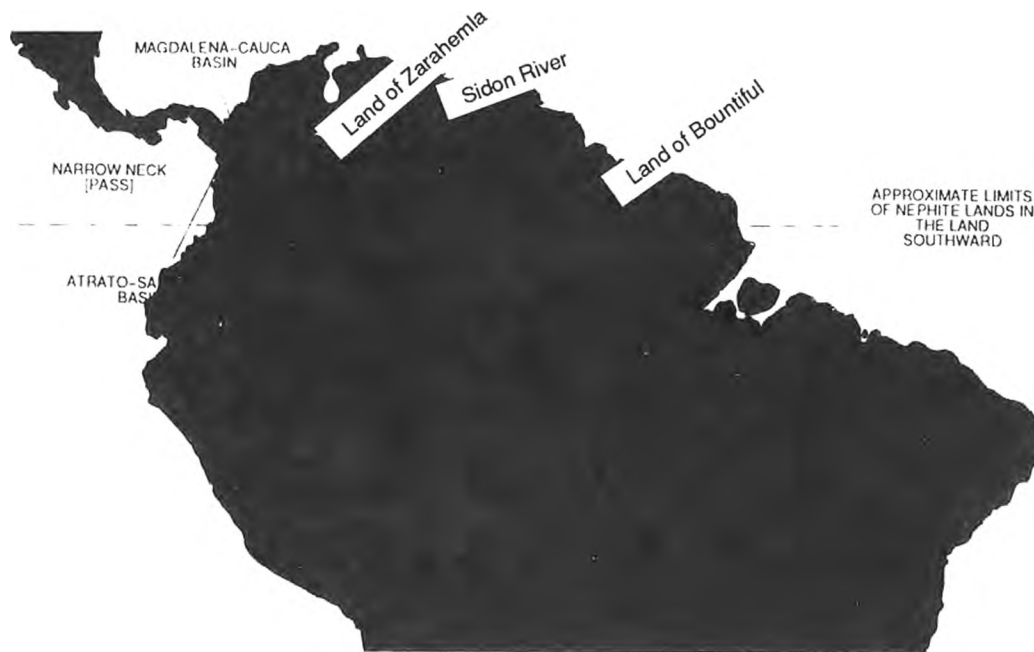


Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Very little. The resemblance to Reynolds and Ricks is so close that they must be supposed primary influences.

Use of Current External Scholarship: They write as if they are aware of some but cite very little.

Source:

Michael Hobby and Troy Smith. A Model for Nephite Geography. *Zarahemla Quarterly* 2(1)(1988): 4-14. Hobby, The Mulekite Connection. *Zarahemla Quarterly* 2(1)(1988): 36ff.



Holley 1983 (External) Model

Originator: Vernal Holley.

Area Focus: New York area.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: The isthmus immediately west of the Niagara river.

Land Southward: Western New York, western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio.

Land Northward: Lower Ontario.

Nephi's Landing Place: Mouth of the Delaware River in Pennsylvania.

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Sidon River: The Genesee River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio. The immediate land of Lehi-Nephi is the same as Lehigh County, eastern Pennsylvania.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Western New York.

City of Zarahemla: On the west bank of the Genesee within a few miles of the south shore of Lake Ontario.

Land of Bountiful: Not specified.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Not specified.

Land of Moron: A little north of Lake Ontario.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Shilom, in southern Pennsylvania.

Valley of Alma, the Ohio River valley around Pittsburgh. Teancum, near Windsor, Ontario. Morianton, a little east of Detroit. Angola, near and south of Niagara Falls.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Nothing said.

Scope of Model Specification: Very short, mainly on two maps.

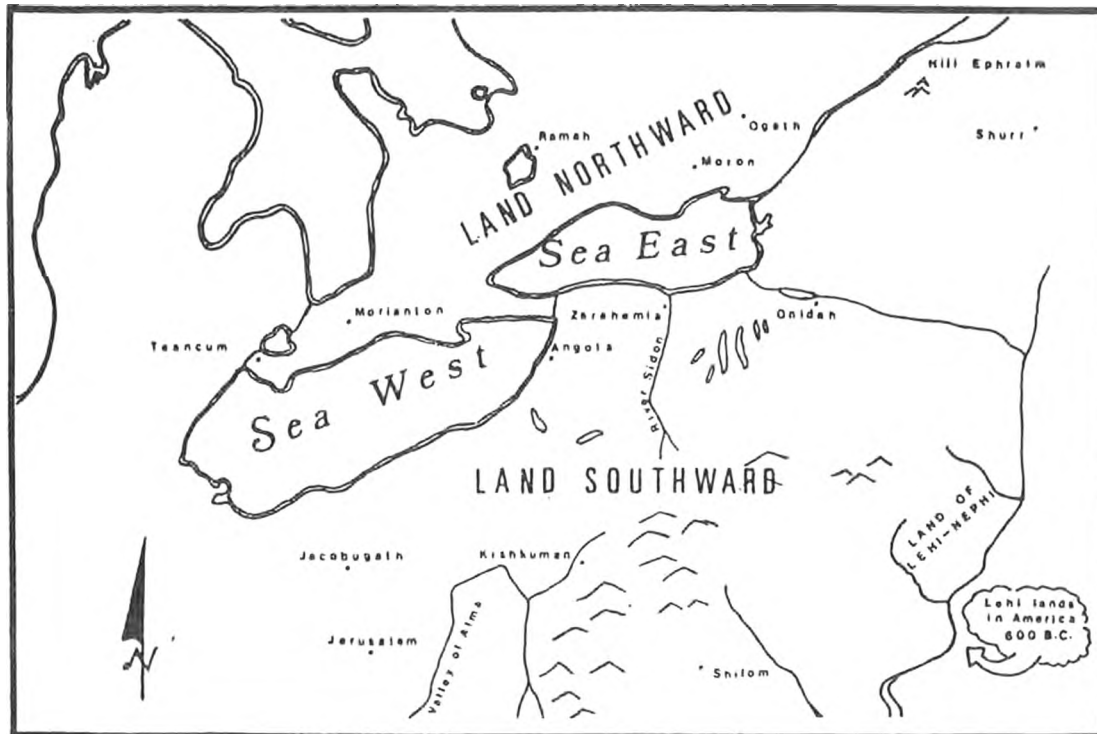
Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Essentially none.

Source:

Vernal Holley. *Book of Mormon Authorship: A Closer Look*. Zenos Publications: Ogden, Utah, 1983. 46 pp. [The author asserts that the Book of Mormon originated when Joseph Smith, Jr., plagiarized the "Spaulding

Manuscript” and that the basic geography and place names were taken from the area where Joseph lived. The site names on Holley’s maps are derived, often tortuously, from historical names in the states and province indicated.]



Proposed Book of Mormon Lands

Holmes 1903 (External) Model

Originator: Robert Holmes

Area Focus: Central America

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Implied, at the Bay of Honduras

Land Southward: Southern Central America and South America, implied.

Land Northward: Implied, northward from the Bay of Honduras, including specifically Arizona (ruins).

Nephi's Landing Place: Chile

Hill Cumorah:

Sidon River: Usumacinta River

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Ecuador

City of Nephi: Lehi-Nephi, Shilom and other Lamanites cities seem to lay east and south of Lake Nicaragua.

Land of Zarahemla: The narrow strip of wilderness was Panama and Central America. Mosiah left South America and passed through this "strip" to reach Zarahemla (implied in Honduras).

City of Zarahemla:

Land of Bountiful:

Narrow Pass:

Land of Desolation:

Land of Moron: Their bones finally lay scattered from some distance south of the line of the Bay of Honduras to the Gulf of Mexico.

Jeredite Landing Place:

Other Cities or Areas Specified: City of Lib was by the Bay of Honduras. Manti was at the head of the Usumacinta River. The waters of Mormon were Lake Nicaragua.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Not specified.

Scope of Model Specification: Sketchy and less than logical.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Mentions first seeing Orson Pratt's geographical footnotes to the Book of Mormon in 1885 and being "amazed" for he thought it elsewhere. He then began his 15 years of study of the subject.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None

Source:

Robert Holmes, *Geographical Sketches of the Book of Mormon*, 1903.

Located in the LDS Church Historical Department. Ten long sheets. The first eight are filled on both sides in the writer's own hand; one is wholly blank on both sides; the last sheet consists of nothing but quotations from the Book of Ether. At the very end is written "Spanish Fork".

Jakeman 1940s (External) Model

Originator: M. Wells Jakeman

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: From the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to western Honduras and El Salvador

Land Northward: From the Isthmus of Tehuantepec at least to the Valley of Mexico.

Nephi's Landing Place: Not specified but on the Pacific Coast of Central America.

Hill Cumorah: In the Valley of Mexico.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: The mountainous highlands of southern Guatemala, northwestern Honduras and El Salvador.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: "The lower hill country and plains of northern Guatemala, northern Chiapas, Tabasco, and southern Campeche."

City of Zarahemla: The vicinity of El Cayo on the west bank of the middle Usumacinta River.

Sidon River: Usumacinta River.

Land of Bountiful: The lower part of the Usumacinta, together with its joint delta with the Grijalva and including the Laguna de Terminos.

Narrow Pass: The beach around the east side of the Tuxtla Mountains.

Land of Desolation: Not specified.

Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: City of Bountiful, the site of Aguacatal, Campeche, on the Laguna de Terminos. Mulek he supposed to be immediately south of Aguacatal. Moroni, implied to be on the Bay of Honduras.

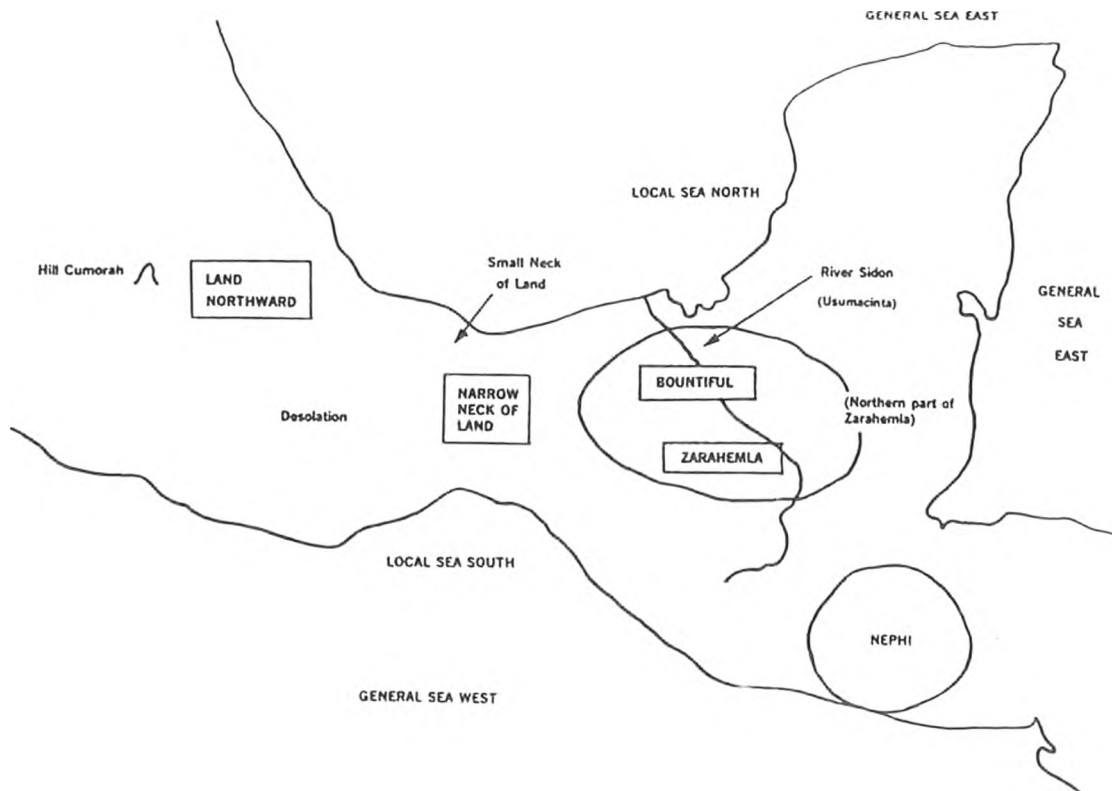
Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Only slight changes.

Scope of Model Specification: Scattered observations.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Unknown.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Significant but selective.

Jakeman



After Cheesman, These Ancient Americans

Sources:

M. Wells Jakeman. The Book-of-Mormon Civilizations: Their Origin, and Their Development in Space and Time. In, *Progress in Archaeology: An Anthology*, comp. and ed. Ross T. Christensen, pages 81-88. *University Archaeological Society Special Publication No. 4*. Provo, Utah. Also, *Discovering the Past*. Brigham Young University: Provo, Utah, 1954, pages 81-84. (Summarized in Paul R. Cheesman, *These Ancient Americans*. Deseret Book: Salt Lake City, 1974, pages 164-166.) And, Ross T. Christensen, The River of Nephi: An Archaeological Commentary on an Old Diary Entry, *Newsletter and Proceedings of the Society for Early Historic Archaeology* 158 (December 1984), pages 1-8, who discusses a statement attributed to Joseph Smith (1844) equating "the river of Copan" with "the river of Nephi." Christensen notes that this agrees well with Jakeman's placement of the city of Nephi on a classroom map which the latter prepared and used at BYU in the 1950's; that placement was within the boundaries of the Copan River basin. The map is reproduced on page 4.

Also oral information available at BYU in 1949-55 when Sorenson was a student and later colleague of Jakeman's.

Kocherhans 1986 (External) Model

Originator: Arthur J. Kocherhans.

Area Focus: Andean South America.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Andes Mountains around Guayaquil, Ecuador.

Land Southward: South America.

Land Northward: Unclear, but implied to be at least Colombia and other parts of South America north of Guayaquil, Ecuador.

Nephi's Landing Place: Chile.

Hill Cumorah: Not indicated.

Sidon River: Mantaro River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Included the valley of Cuzco.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not indicated.

Land of Zarahemla: Included the Pachacamac Valley, coastal Peru.

City of Zarahemla: Pachacamac, Peru.

Land of Bountiful: Not indicated.

Narrow Pass: Not indicated.

Land of Desolation: Not indicated.

Land of Moron: Not indicated.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not indicated.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Shilom is a small district within the Cuzco Valley.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: All of Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina rose out of the sea in three hours at the time of the crucifixion.

Scope of Model Specification: Slight.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Virtually none.

Source:

Untitled typescript in two parts, "Lehi/Kocherhans Preface" of 16 pp. and "Lehi/Kocherhans Appendix 1" of 35 pp., received in FARMS archives 1986.

Arthur J. Kocherhans. *Lehi's Isle of Promise*. Salt Lake City, 1990.

Lauritzen n.d. (Internal) Model

Originator: Kenneth A. Lauritzen.

Degree of detail: About four dozen features are shown on a single map sheet (none Jaredite). The other side of the sheet contains geographical references. Covers only the land southward and narrow neck areas .

Source:

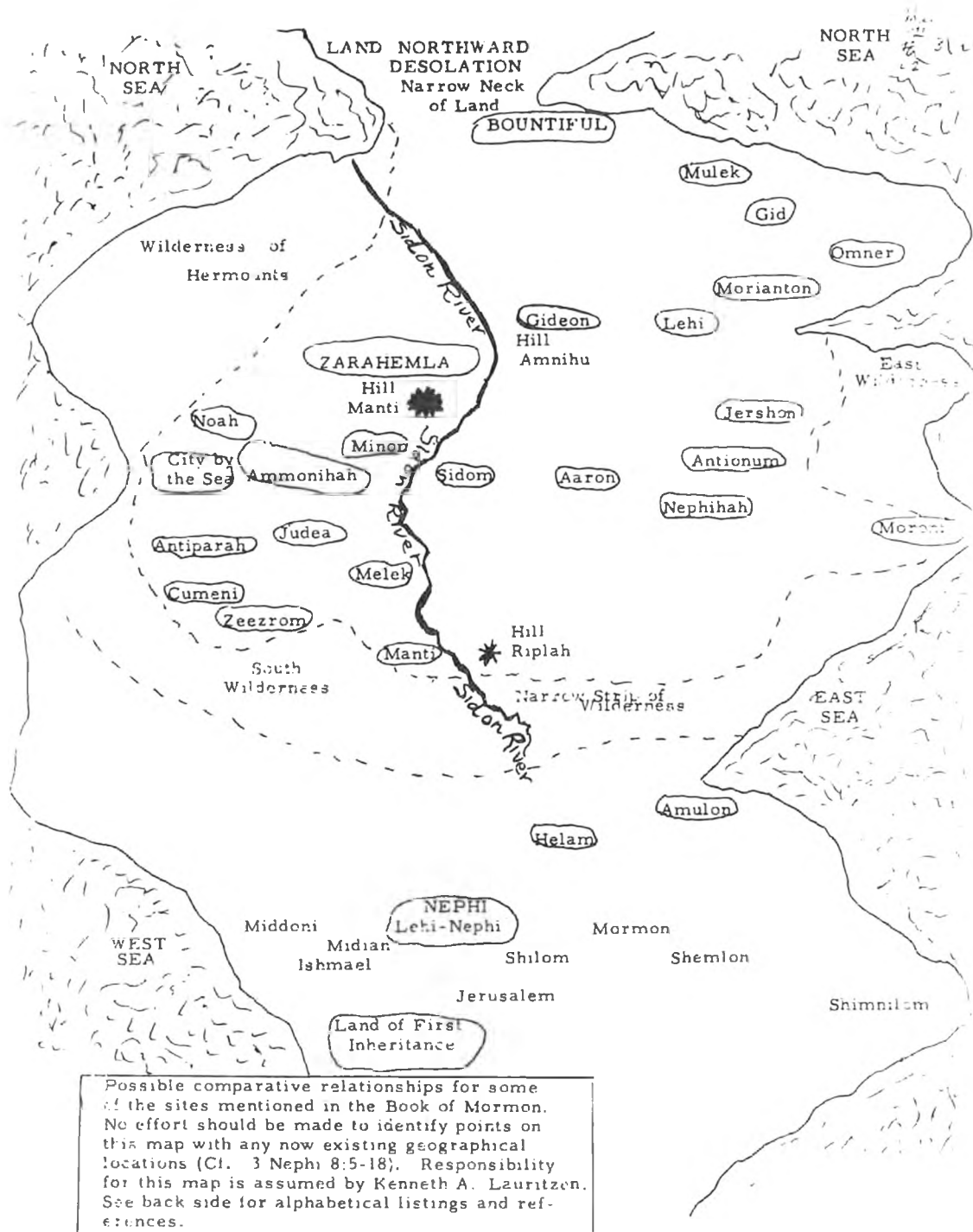
Kenneth A. Lauritzen. Possible Comparative Relationships for Some of the Sites Mentioned in the Book of Mormon. Mormon Americana collection, BYU library (call number, MOR M222 A1a #33). The "title" of the document is the first sentence of the legend enclosed in a box in the lower left-hand corner of the map. The remainder of the legend is: "No effort should be made to identify points on this map with any now existing geographical locations (Cf. 3 Nephi 8:5-18). Responsibility for this map is assumed by Kenneth A. Lauritzen. See back side for alphabetical listings and references."

This map is identical in practically all substantive details to Ludlow *et al.* n.d. On the latter, the positions of Noah and Ammonihah are more or less reversed from the former, and instead of the attribution to Lauritzen we read, "Prepared by Daniel H. Ludlow, J. Grant Stevenson, F. Kent Nielsen, and Richard Cowan." A few ever-so-slight positional differences in the placement of certain lands or cities can be observed which are hardly more than a product of the evident retyping.

Another map in Sorenson's files, "Anon. n.d. (Internal) Model", of unknown date and provenance, is essentially the same but has still a different legend, simply: "Possible Comparative Locations for Some of the Sites Mentioned in the Book of Mormon". The typing of names is identical to Ludlow *et al.* n. d. (Internal) Model, but the positions for Minon, Ammonihah and Noah are now notably different than on either of the other two.

The near identity of these three maps raises a question of directions of unattributed influence. If not plagiarism, at least an odd kind of liberty comes to mind.

Lauritzen



Layton 1938 (Internal) Model

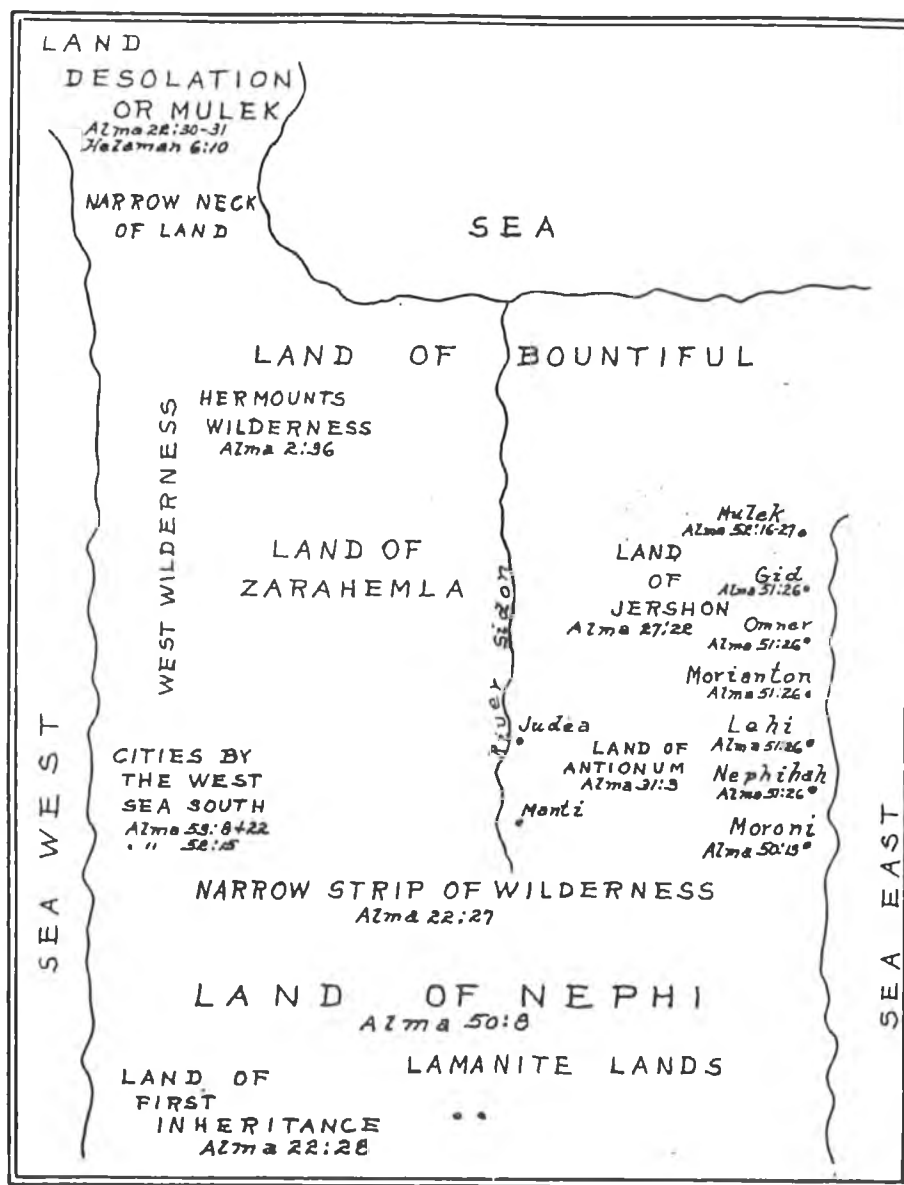
Originator: Lynn C. Layton

Degree of Detail: Limited

Source:

Lynn C. Layton, *Al "Ideal" Book of Mormon Geography, Improvement Era* 41 (July 1938): 394-395.

THE IMPROVEMENT ERA, JULY, 1938



Layton 1940? (1939 Internal/Minimal External) Model

Originator: Lynn C. and H. J. Layton.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Southern and eastern Mesoamerica.

Land Northward: North and west of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Nephi's Landing Place: Not indicated.

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Sidon River: Usumacinta River ("answers the location requirements as does no other").

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: In southern Guatemala or Honduras.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Copan.

Land of Zarahemla: Evidently the Usumacinta basin.

City of Zarahemla: On the Middle Usumacinta.

Land of Bountiful: Not indicated.

Narrow Pass: Not indicated.

Land of Desolation: North and west of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land of Moron: Evidently Colima or thereabouts.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not indicated.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: City of Bountiful is on the Laguna de Terminos. Mulek is roughly around La Venta (at least on the west of his composite Sidon River mouth). Morianton and Lehi, around the Laguna de Terminos. Aaron and Nephihah, in Belize (two Aarons). Moroni is on the Gulf of Honduras. Lehi and Morianton are inland from Chetumal Bay. Ammonihah, in Tabasco (the Chontalpa). Land of First Inheritance, El Salvador. Manti could be the site of Menche "at the head" of the Usumacinta. Judea "could easily be" Piedras Negras.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: None indicated.

Scope of Model Specification: Limited.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Little indicated.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None indicated.

Sources:

Lynn C. and H. J. Layton. *Book of Mormon Lands*. n.p., n.d. (5 pp. duplicated). Compare, Lynn C. Layton. An "Ideal" Book of Mormon Geography, *Improvement Era* 41 (July 1938): 394-395, 439 (purely internal), from which the date of the former item is considered to be "1940?" (The copy in BYU Special Collections has on it in pencil, "1940?")

Le Poidevin 1977 (External) Model

Originator: Cecil G. Le Poidevin.

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Panama.

Land Southward: Andean South America from Bolivia northward.

Land Northward: From Panama north.

Nephi's Landing Place: Chile.

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Southern Peru and perhaps northern Bolivia.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): In highland southern Peru (perhaps

Cuzco?)

Land of Zarahemla: Northern Peru and Andean Colombia.

City of Zarahemla: Near the Ecuador-Peru border.

Sidon River: The Marañon River?

Land of Bountiful: Northern Ecuador and Andean Colombia.

Narrow Pass: The narrowest part of Panama.

Land of Desolation: Western Panama and Costa Rica.

Land of Moron: In Central America.

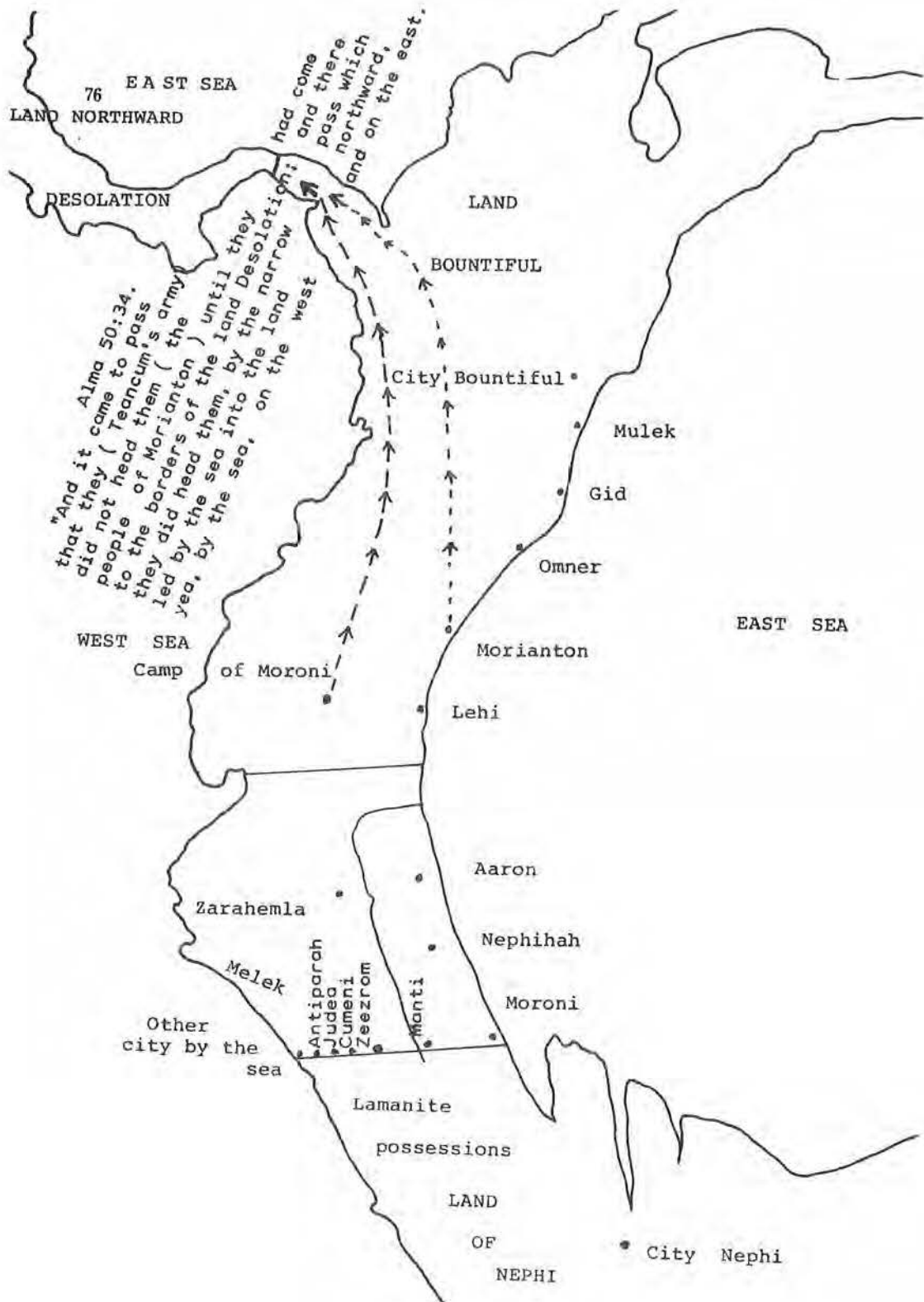
Jaredite Landing Place: In Central America.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: The Amazon basin and east of the Colombian extension of the Andes was submerged, forming the "mysterious East Sea" until raised at the time of the crucifixion. Manti was on the upper Marañon River, and Zeezrom, Cumeni, Judea and Antiparah stretch in a straight line westward to near the sea. Melek would be on the coast of extreme northern Peru. Moroni, Nephihah, Aaron, Lehi, Morianton, Omner, Gid and Mulek stretch from north-central Peru to a latitude near Bogota all lying along the eastern foothills of the Andes, at that time a shoreline. The city Bountiful is around Bogota. The cities of Desolation and Teancum were in central Panama. The final Nephite retreat and Lamanite pursuit carried all the way to New York. (Remnant righteous Nephites sailed to Scandinavia to join the Norsemen who are of the Ten Tribes.)

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Yes, but selective, apparently producing a sudden rise of the Amazon and Orinoco basins but no other area.

Scope of Model Specification: Unfocused discussion and many (highly redundant and subjective) maps.

Le Poidevin

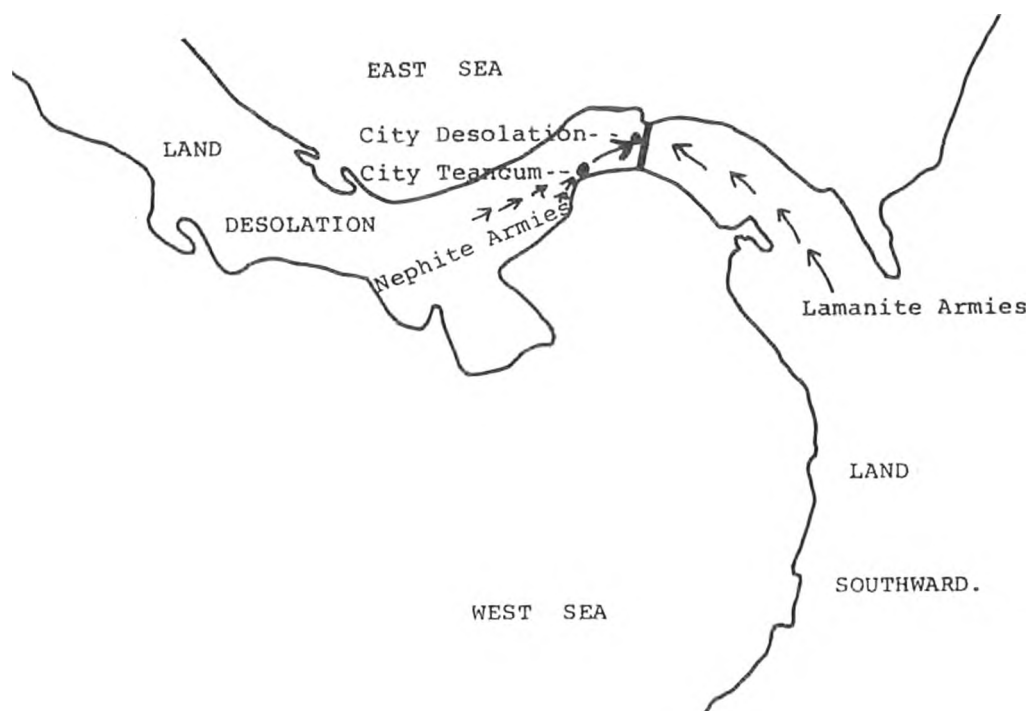


Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None acknowledged.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Virtually none.

Source:

Cecil G. Le Poidevin. *Zion, Land of Promise: An Atlas Study of the Book of Mormon*. Author: n.p., 1977. 132 pp.



Lesh 1980 (External) Model

Originator: Ralph F. Lesh.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Mesoamerica south and east of Tehuantepec.

Land Northward: Mesoamerica north and west of Tehuantepec.

Nephi's Landing Place: Southern Guatemala.

Hill Cumorah: In Veracruz state, along the Papaloapan River near where it emerges from the mountains.

Sidon River: Usumacinta.

Others:

Land of Nephi: Highland Guatemala. The city and local land of Nephi apparently are placed in the Valley of Guatemala.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Mapped in the Valley of Guatemala.

Land of Zarahemla: A triangular territory with limits having an apex around the Laguna de Terminos and another angle at the Bay of Honduras. The base cuts across the highlands to include Alta Verapaz and Chiapas all the way to near the Tehuantepec lagoons, then angles northeastward to near the mouth of the Usumacinta River.

City of Zarahemla: Mapped around the site of Yaxchilan.

Land of Bountiful: Tabasco.

Narrow Pass: Vaguely south of the city Bountiful and east of the Uspanapa River.

Land of Desolation: Apparently from Morelos and the Valley of Mexico to the Coatzacoalcas River.

Land of Moron: Essentially Guerrero and southern Oaxaca. The city of Moron is mapped at about the Valley of Oaxaca.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not far from Acapulco.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: City of Bountiful, apparently at about La Venta. Moroni is on the Bay of Honduras. Land of Siron is the Laguna Izabal area. Nephihah and Aaron are on the west margins of the Peten, the edge of Nephite lands cutting across the peninsula from Moroni to the Laguna de Terminos. Omner, Morianton and Lehi are near the mouth of the Usumacinta. Mulek is west of there, and Joshua is in the same vicinity. Ammonihah would be on the Rio Jatate. The cities of Zeezrom, Cumeni, Judea, Antiparah and the city-by-the-seashore are strung on a line from the Cuchumatanes Highlands across the Central Depression of Chiapas to near Tonalá. Jerusalem is on Lake Atitlan. The lands of Midian and Ishmael are in the mountains above the Soconusco (Izapa area). The far land of waters is the



Valley of Mexico, and the city of Nehor around Morelos. Jaredite areas are assigned throughout Veracruz and states to its west (Nehor, in Morelos; Gilgal, at about Cuicuilco; Corihor, around Jalapa).

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Implies none important.

Scope of Model Specification: Substantial detail on map only. ("Positions of specific sites are tentative and may be changed as later editions are printed.")

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None mentioned except Steede and Simmons.

Use of Current External Scholarship: No indication.

Sources:

Ralph F. Lesh, *Ancient Mesoamerica: A Preliminary Study of Book of Mormon Geography*. Map, approximately 30 by 24 inches. Produced by The Zarahemla Research Foundation: Independence, Missouri, 1980. Also Lesh discusses "Development of the Map" in *Recent Book of Mormon Developments: Articles from The Zarahemla Record*, ed. by Raymond C. Treat, pages 81-82. Zarahemla Research Foundation: Independence, Missouri, 1984.

Loving 1976 (External) Model

Originator: Albert L. Loving.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Southern and eastern Mesoamerica.

Land Northward: West and north of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec as far as the Valley of Mexico.

Nephi's Landing Place: Not specified.

Hill Cumorah: The hill at Xochicalco, Morelos, Mexico.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Chiefly the Guatemalan and Honduran highlands.

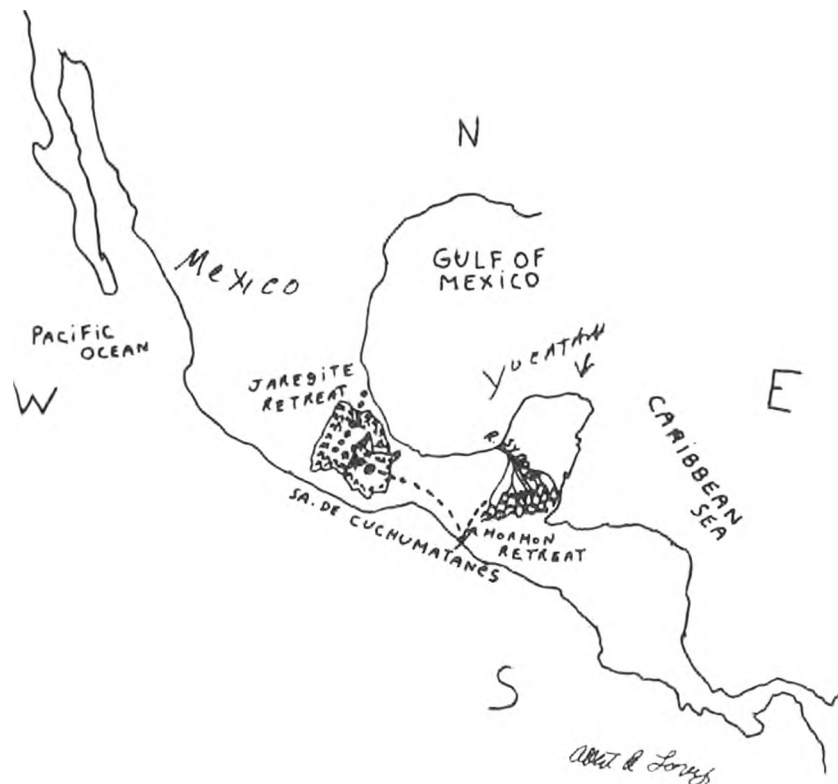
City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Usumacinta basin and nearby.

City of Zarahemla: Not specified.

Sidon River: Usumacinta River.

Land of Bountiful: Implied to be Tabasco?



Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Oaxaca state, particularly the Pacific side?

Land of Moron: Near the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (Oaxaca?)

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: The waters of Ripliancum were the lake in the basin of Mexico. The state of Morelos, the land of Cumorah. Teancum, near the Pacific Coast in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec near Salina Cruz. Ablom, on the Vera Cruz coast. The valley of Mexico, the Jaredite land of Corihor. The "Basilica of Quetzalcoatl" at Teotihuacan could have been where the prisoners from Sherrizah were kept; Sherrizah may have been the round pyramid at Cuicuilco.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: None indicated.

Scope of Model Specification: Limited discussion, but only two of his maps are of much informational value.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None acknowledged.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Virtually none.

Source:

Albert L. Loving. *From the Tower of Babel to the Hill Ramah/Cumorah in Mexico*. The Author: Independence, Missouri, 1976.

Lowe 1960a (External) Model

Originator: Gareth W. Lowe.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: The indentation of the coast around Laguna Izabal and the Bay of Honduras.

Land Southward: South and east of the Motagua River valley reaching to Lago Nicaragua.

Land Northward: Guatemala northward from the Motagua River valley and east of the Chixoy River (headwaters of the Usumacinta).

Nephi's Landing Place: The Gulf of Fonseca, eastern El Salvador.

Hill Cumorah: In southern Belize; Cumorah, Shim and Antum were all "within 50 miles of the Laguna Izabal."

Sidon River: Ulua River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: In the highlands around Laguna de Guija on the border of El Salvador and Honduras.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): At Matagalpa, Nicaragua.

Land of Zarahemla: Ulua River valley, Honduras.

City of Zarahemla: On the middle Ulua River.

Land of Bountiful: Around the mouth of the Motagua River.

Narrow Pass: Around the mouth of Laguna Izabal.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Eastern Alta Verapaz, Guatemala, north of the Sierra de las Minas and west of Laguna Izabal.

Land of Moron: In Alta Verapaz around Coban.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Ammonihah, around Esquipulas, Guatemala. Ishmael, Middoni and Jerusalem were in the valley extending northwestward from the Lago de Nicaragua. Judea was in the lowlands around the Gulf of Fonseca, which was the western (southern) anchor of Moroni's defensive line against Amalickiah. Gideon was near Lake Yojoa. Lehi, Moroni and Nephihah were on or near the coast east of the Ulua River. The city of Bountiful was near the mouth of the Motagua River.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: None.

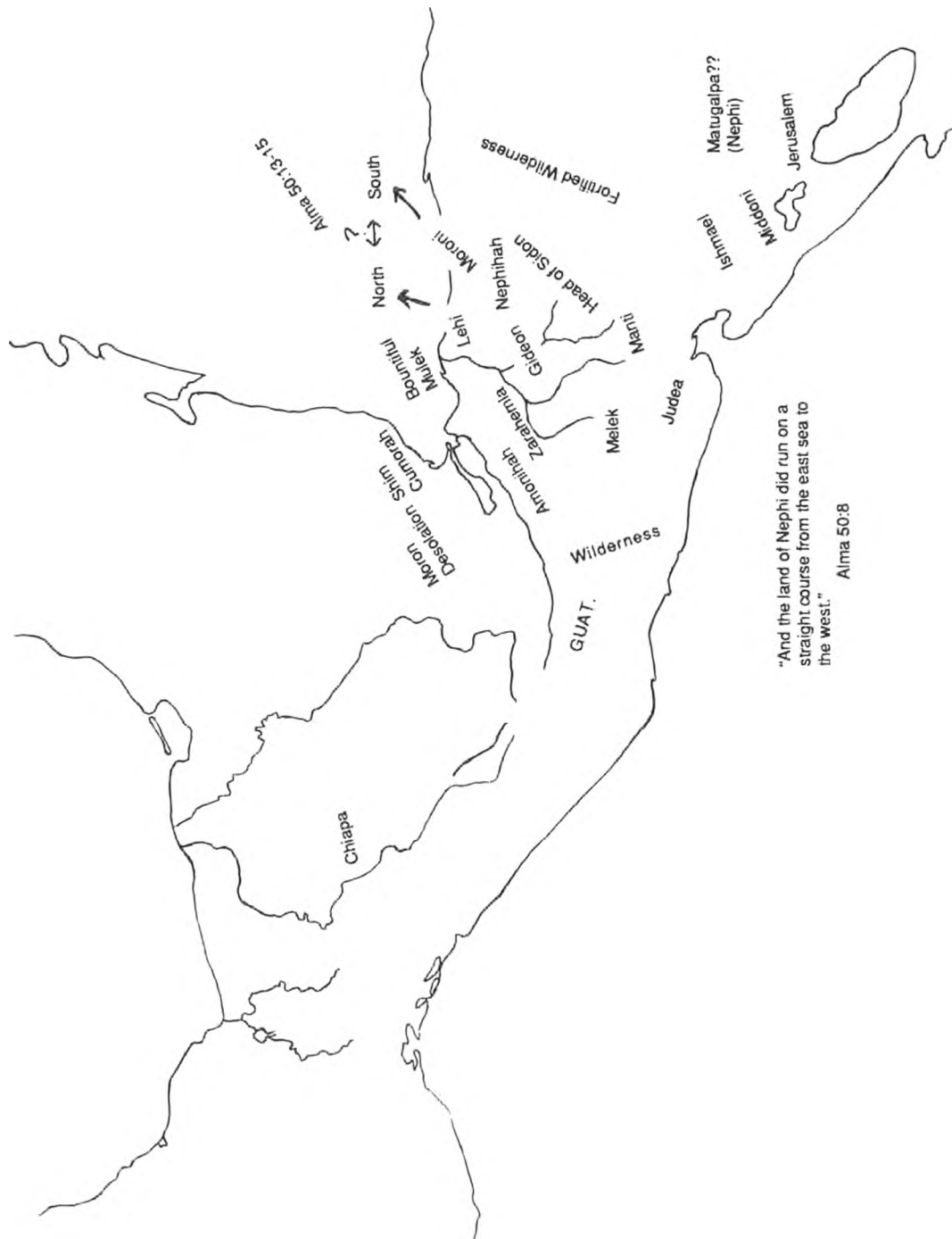
Scope of Model Specification: Personal letter and original map.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None indicated.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Not indicated, but his extensive knowledge made this inevitable.

Source:

Personal communication, 19 July 1960, to J. L. Sorenson, together with a 15 August 1960 personal communication to Bruce W. Warren (copy in Sorenson's possession).



Lowe 1960b (External) Model

Originator: Gareth W. Lowe.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Keys Features:

Narrow Neck: Possibly the strip of coastal dunes along the Tabasco coast.

Land Southward: State of Chiapas, plus Honduras-El Salvador (but not highland Guatemala, a Book of Mormon “no-man’s-land”).

Land Northward: Everything west of Tonalá (on the Pacific Coast of Chiapas), plus the central depression of Chiapas and Tabasco.

Nephi’s Landing Place: Gulf of Fonseca in eastern El Salvador.

Hill Cumorah: Not specified (Tuxtla Mountains implied).

Sidon River: Usumacinta River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: In highlands around Laguna de Guija on the border of El Salvador and Honduras.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: West of the middle Usumacinta River (implied).

City of Zarahemla: Tonina, Chiapas, or thereabouts.

Land of Bountiful: Not specified.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Not specified (implied in Tabasco).

Land of Moron: Ulua Valley?

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Onidah, the place of arms, Volcan Ixtepeque near Asuncion Mita, Guatemala. Jerusalem had sunk beneath Laguna de Guija. Shemlon = Copan. (Kaminaljuyu and the valley of Guatemala were occupied by Jaredite survivors and miscellaneous Lamanites and constituted no part of the mentioned Book of Mormon lands.)

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: None.

Scope of Model Specification: Four-page, single spaced letter.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None indicated.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Substantial.

Ancestry of the Model: Explicitly his own.

Source:

Personal communication to Bruce W. Warren, 5 Oct. 1960, copy in John Sorenson’s possession.

Lowe 1970s (External) Model

Originator: Gareth W. Lowe.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Keys:

Narrow Neck: Pacific coastal lowland strip around Tonala, Chiapas.

Land Southward: Central Chiapas as well as Honduras and El Salvador.

Land Northward: From Tonala, Chiapas northward through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and beyond.

Nephi's Landing Place: Not specified but probably El Salvador.

Hill Cumorah: Implied to be in the Tuxtla Mountains.

Sidon River: Grijalva River.

Others:

Land of Nephi: In highlands on the border of El Salvador and Honduras.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: The central depression of Chiapas.

City of Zarahemla: The site of Santa Cruz on the Grijalva.

Land of Bountiful: Not specified.

Narrow Pass: The pass between the mountains and also the site of Horcones between Perseverancia and Tonala on the west coast of Chiapas.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Not specified (implied as possibly the west portion of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec).

Land of Moron: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Manti, the site of Santa Rosa on the Grijalva. Ammonihah, the site of Chiapa de Corzo. Gideon, around Venustiano Carranza. The Soconusco was always Lamanite territory, while highland Guatemala was "a no-man's land" occupied by a mixture of Lamanites and Jaredite survivors but not involved at all in the Book of Mormon account. Moroni's fortified line ran from around Pijijiapan on the Pacific Coast straight east to and beyond La Libertad on the Chiapas-Guatemala border. The Chiapas highlands were "east wilderness."

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: None.

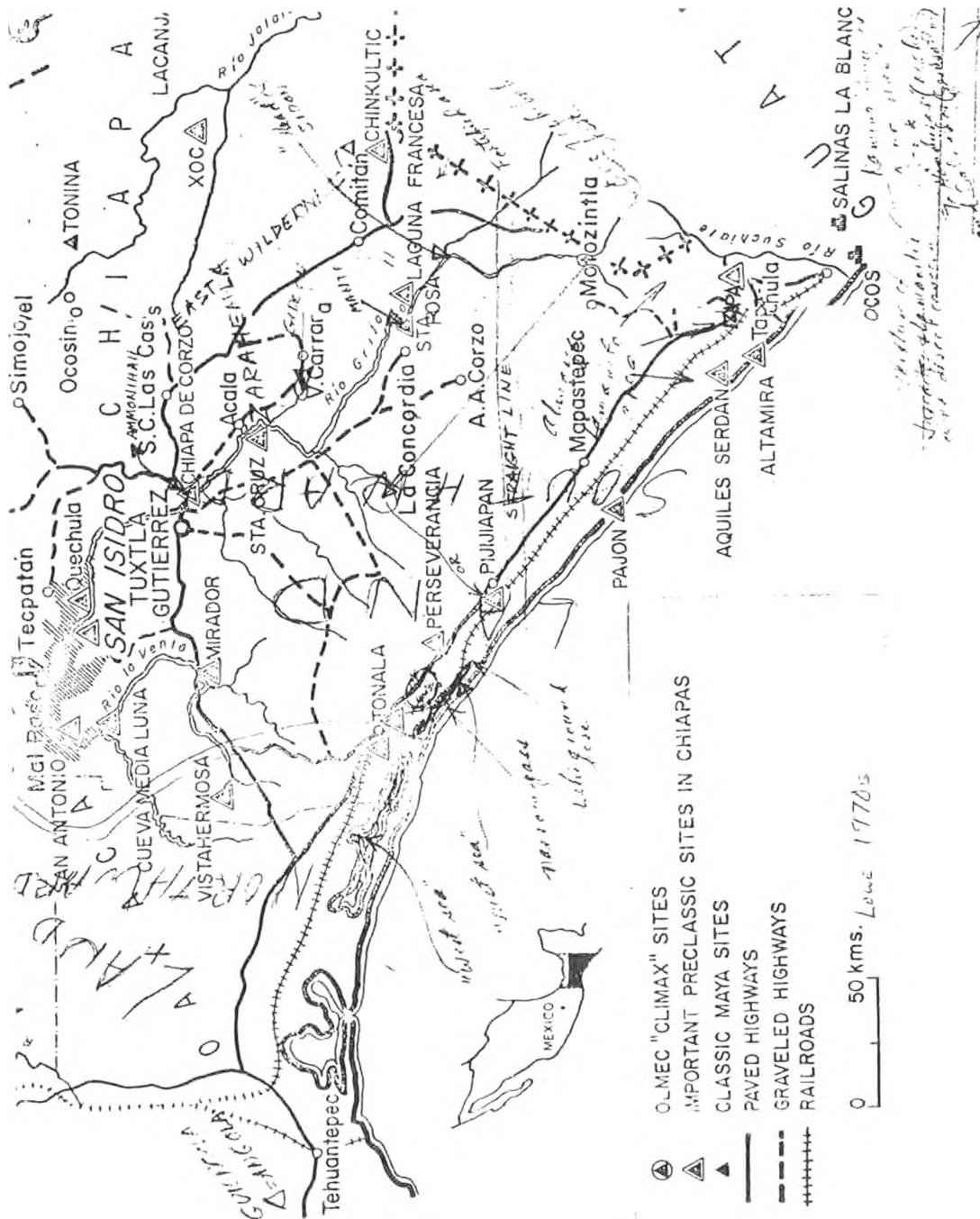
Scope of Model Specification: Personal letter and map.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None indicated.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Not indicated, but he was very knowledgeable.

Source:

Personal communication to John Sorenson, exact date unrecoverable but probably early in the 1970s.



Ludlow *et al.* n. d. (Internal) Model

Originators: "Prepared by Daniel H. Ludlow, J. Grant Stevenson, F. Kent Nielsen, and Richard Cowan." [Compare, Lauritzen n.d. (Internal) Model.]

Degree of Detail: A single sheet, with map on one side and Book of Mormon geographical references on the reverse. Some 47 features (none Jaredite) are mapped, in only the land southward and narrow neck areas.

Source:

"Possible Comparative Relationships for Some of the Sites mentioned in the Book of Mormon." This appears catalogued under the name Daniel H. Ludlow in the Mormon Americana collection in the BYU library (call number, MOR M222 .A1a #26). It consists of a single sheet with a map on one side and scriptural references on the reverse; a legend appears in a box on the lower left-hand corner. The title used above is the first sentence of that legend. The remainder of the legend reads: "No effort should be made to identify points on this map with any now existing geographical locations (Cf. 3 Nephi 8:5-18). Prepared by Daniel H. Ludlow, J. Grant Stevenson, F. Kent Nielsen, and Richard Cowan. See back side for alphabetical listings of references."

The F.A.R.M.S. Book of Mormon Bibliography contains the following possibly related item which has not been located to consult for this volume: "Ludlow, Daniel H., and Sidney B. Sperry. The Geography of the Book of Mormon (1964) (Collection: Cheesman)." Its date, 1964, may be broadly indicative of the date for Ludlow *et al.* n.d.



Ludlow 1976 (Internal) Model

Originator: "Originally prepared by Daniel H. Ludlow with later adaptations by J. Grant Stevenson, F. Kent Nielsen, and Richard Cowan."

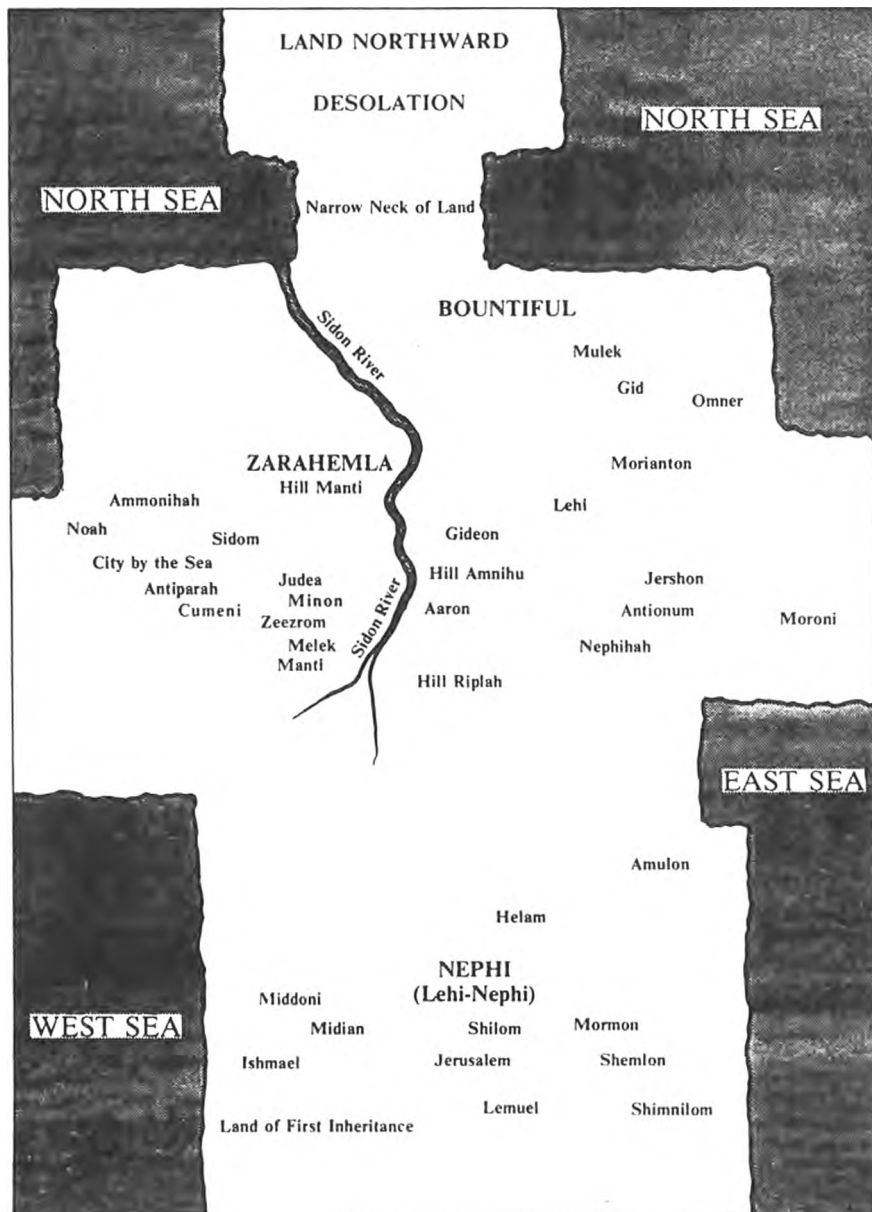
Degree of Detail: Forty seven features are mapped; only the land southward and the narrow neck are involved.

Source:

Daniel H. Ludlow. *A Companion to Your Study of the Book of Mormon*. Deseret Book: Salt Lake City, 1976. The legend at the top of this map is largely the same as for the Ludlow *et al.* n.d. (Internal) Model. The outline of the land is more schematized and certain features are either juggled about a bit or omitted, compared with the earlier map.

POSSIBLE BOOK OF MORMON SITES

Possible comparative relationships for some of the sites mentioned in the Book of Mormon based on internal evidences. No effort should be made to identify points on this map with any now existing geographical locations (Cf. 3 Nephi 8:5-18.) Originally prepared by Daniel H. Ludlow with later adaptations by J. Grant Stevenson, F. Kent Nielsen, and Richard Cowan.



Nielson 1987 (Internal) Model

Originator: Harold K. Nielson.

Degree of Detail: Sixty-eight features are mapped on the comprehensive map, none Jaredite and most in the land southward. A computer-generated standard map base is repeated with differing details as the sequence of maps moves through the historical account.

Source:

Harold K. Nielson. *Mapping the Action Found in the Book of Mormon*. Cedar Fort: Orem, Utah, 1987.



Norman 1966 (External) Model

Originator: V. Garth Norman

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec (broadly).

Land Southward: Mesoamerica south and east of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Northward: Mesoamerica west and north of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Nephi's Landing Place: Not specified.

Hill Cumorah: (Implied) In southern Tamaulipas state.

Sidon River: Usumacinta River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Not specified, but implied in highland Guatemala or beyond.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Most of the states of Chiapas, Tabasco and Campeche and that portion of Guatemala across the Usumacinta river from Chiapas.

City of Zarahemla: (By map placement) Palenque or nearby.

Land Bountiful: In the large sense, from sea to sea, from the mouth of the Usumacinta river through western Chiapas to Mar Muerto on the Pacific. The City of Bountiful was at or near Comalcalco, Tabasco.

Narrow Pass: The strip between Mar Muerto and the Sierra Madre on the extreme northerly (Pacific) coast of Chiapas.

Land of Desolation: Immediately north and west of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, including the valley of Oaxaca.

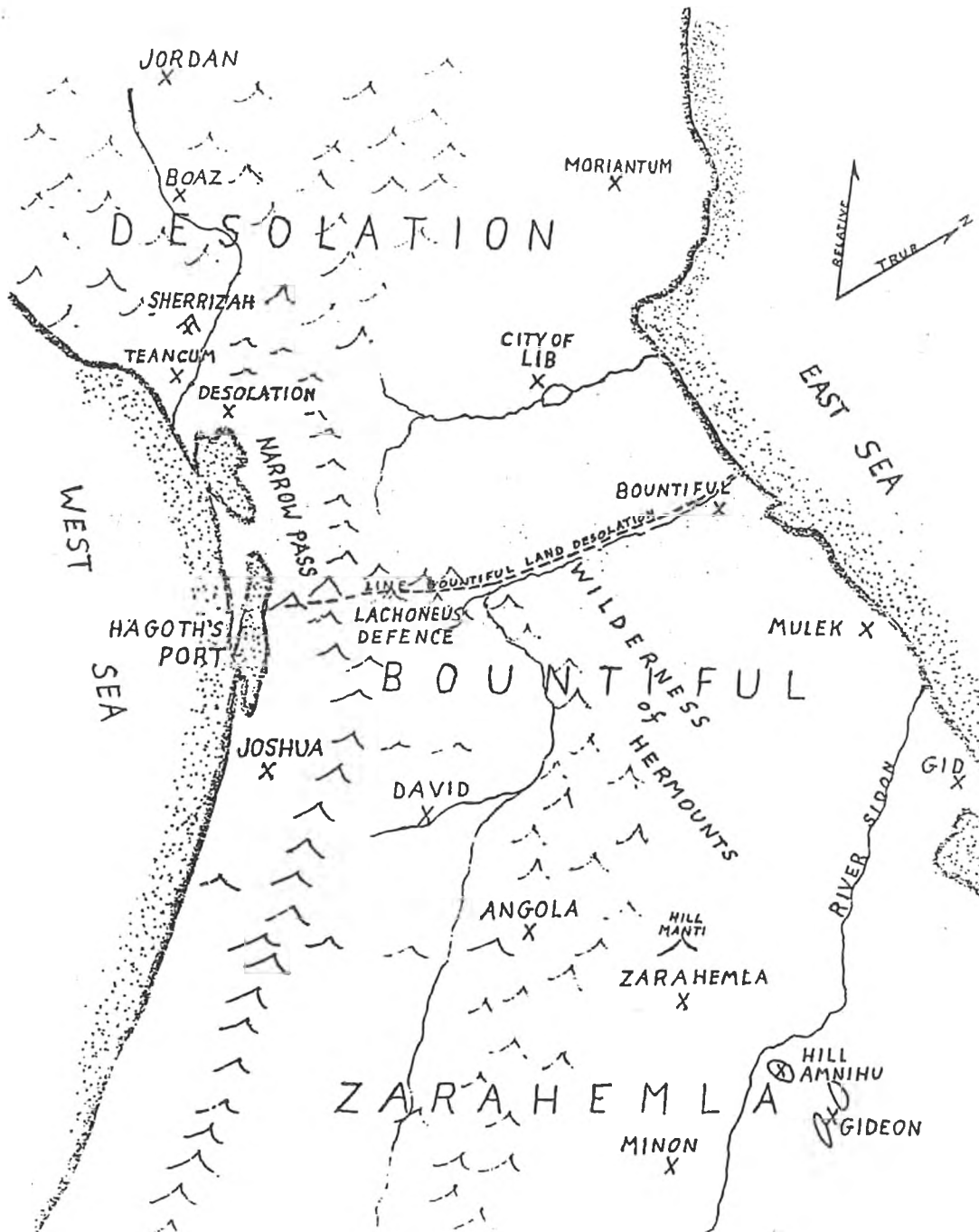
Land of Moron: Likely in the state of Puebla, central Mexico.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Land of large bodies of water to which some Nephites migrated, basin of Mexico. Cities of Desolation and Teancum, around the present cities of Tehuantepec and Juchitan on the southern side of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The city of Lib, the archaeological site of San Lorenzo Tenochtitlan. Tower of Sherrizah, the archaeological site of Giengola near the Rio Tehuantepec. Waters of Ripliancum, the Rio Grande (Rio Bravo) separating Texas and Mexico. Land of Cumorah, the coastal plains around the mouth of the Panuco river.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: No.

Norman



Scope of Model Specification: Substantial.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Little indicated; influence from Jakeman is evident.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Considerable.

Sources:

V. Garth Norman. Book-of-Mormon Geography Study on the Narrow Neck of Land Region. *Book of Mormon Geography Working Paper No. 1* (duplicated). Author: St. Michaels, Arizona, 1966/1972/1974. 124 pp.

V. Garth Norman. Reconstruction and Correlation of the Geography of the Land Southward, Border Regions of the Book of Mormon. *Book of Mormon Geography Working Paper No. 2* (duplicated). Author: St. Michaels, Arizona, 1966/1974/1975. 32 pp.

Palmer 1981 (External) Model

Originator: David A. Palmer.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: From the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to El Salvador.

Land Northward: From the Isthmus of Tehuantepec at least to the Valley of Mexico.

Nephi's Landing Place: On the Pacific Coast south and east of Guatemala City.

Hill Cumorah: Cerro El Vigia, Veracruz, Mexico.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Mountainous southern Guatemala.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala.

Land of Zarahemla: Essentially the central depression of Chiapas.

City of Zarahemla: Probably the site of Santa Rosa, Chiapas.

Sidon River: Grijalva River.

Land of Bountiful: The area immediately east of the Coatzacoalco River.

Narrow Pass: Gravelly ridge extending from the Coatzacoalcos River west to Acayucan, Veracruz.

Land of Desolation: Area immediately west of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land of Moron: Valley of Oaxaca.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Mulek = La Venta. City of Desolation = Laguna Zope. Ammonihah = the site of Mirador in western Chiapas. Aaron = San Isidro. Sidom = Chiapa de Corzo. Manti = the site of La Libertad. Lib's city = San Lorenzo. Helam = Chalchitan. City of Moron = San Jose Mogote, Oaxaca. "Nephite temple city" = Teotihuacan.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: None.

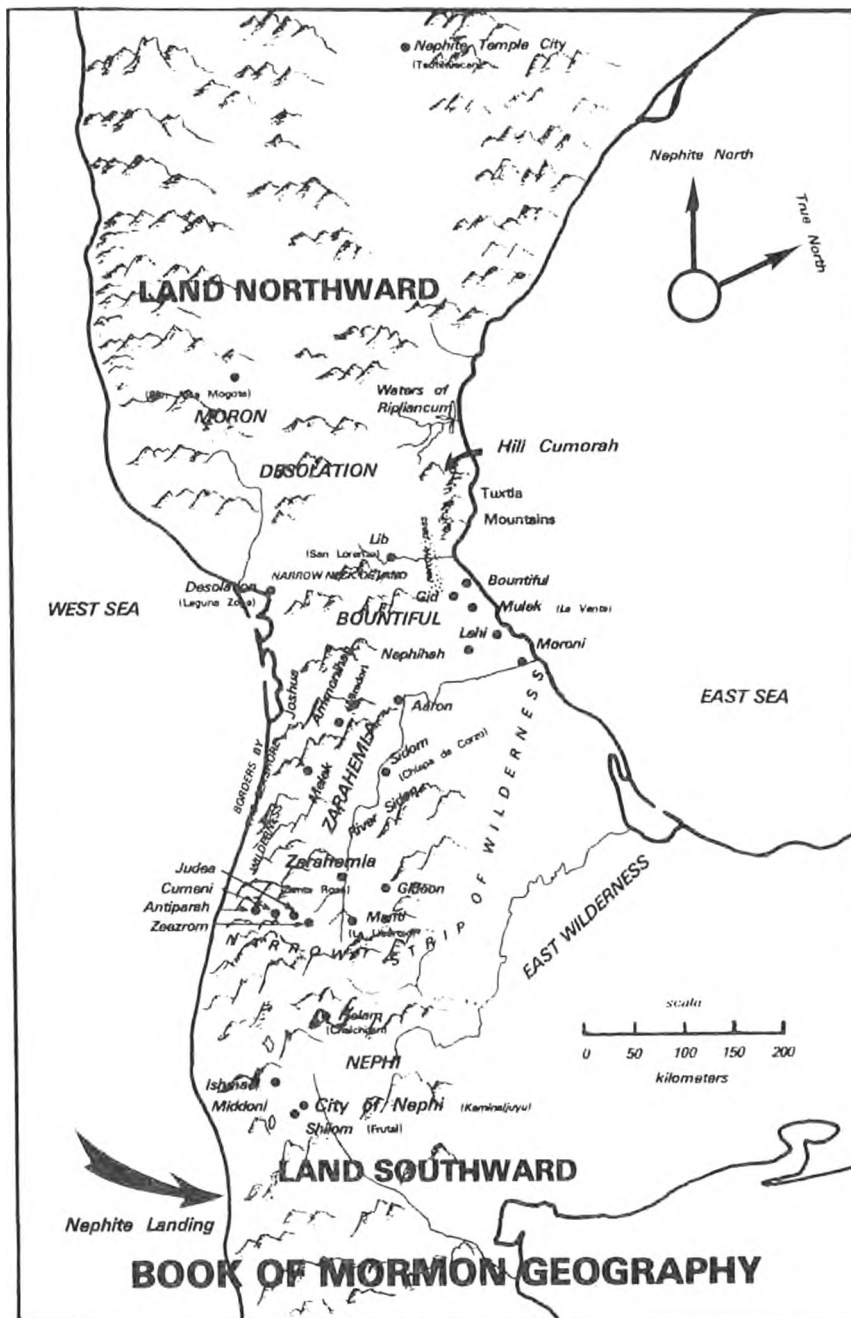
Scope of Model Specification: Systematic exposition.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Considerable. Acknowledges following Sorenson's model with some modifications.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Substantial.

Source:

David A. Palmer. *In Search of Cumorah: New Evidences for the Book of Mormon from Ancient Mexico*. Horizon: Bountiful, Utah, 1981.



Peay 1992 (External) Model

Originator: Eugene L. Peay

Area Focus: Southern (Eastern) Mesoamerica

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Across the middle of the Yucatan Peninsula.

Land Southward: South and east of a line from Lake Izabal to about Izapa.

Land Northward: Basically the northern part of the Yucatan peninsula, but "sometimes the land northward was the land of Zarahemla, and the land southward was the land of Lehi-Nephi." Also, sometimes the land northward was "central 'Mexico', or northern Yucatan, or the United States."

Nephi's Landing Place: Implied, Pacific coastal Guatemala.

Hill Cumorah: Not clear.

Sidon River: A river in northern Belize.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Especially western Honduras or El Salvador.

City of Nephi: Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Basically lowland northern Guatemala and adjacent parts of the Yucatan peninsula.

City of Zarahemla: Implied at or near Tikal.

Land Bountiful: Eastern Campeche.

Narrow Pass: Line of islands at Laguna de Terminos (?).

Land of Desolation: Part of western Yucatan.

Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jeredite Landing Place: Not specified but somewhere in Yucatan.

Other cities or Areas Specified: See map

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Unknown, probably not.

Scope of Model Specification: Limited, mainly via maps.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None evident.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Not evident.

Source:

Eugene Peay, *The Lands of Zarahemla: A Book of Mormon Commentary*. A ms, 1992, at F.A.R.M.S.

Pierce 1954 (External) Model

Originator: Norman C. Pierce.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: A stretch of a few score miles between the Golfo Dulce
Land Southward: Honduras and Costa Rica.

Land Northward: The Yucatan Peninsula.

Nephi's Landing Place: El Salvador (supposedly all southern El
Salvador was submerged, so the landing spot was up in what is now
mountainous territory).

Hill Cumorah: In the Golfo Dulce (Lake Izabal) area of eastern
Guatemala.

Sidon River: Ulua River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Southwestern Honduras.

City of Nephi: At Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

Land of Zarahemla: The Ulua River drainage (chiefly) of western and
northern Honduras.

City of Zarahemla: On the lower Ulua.

Land of Bountiful: The lower Motagua River valley.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: In the mountains or foothills (Alta Verapaz) of
Guatemala.

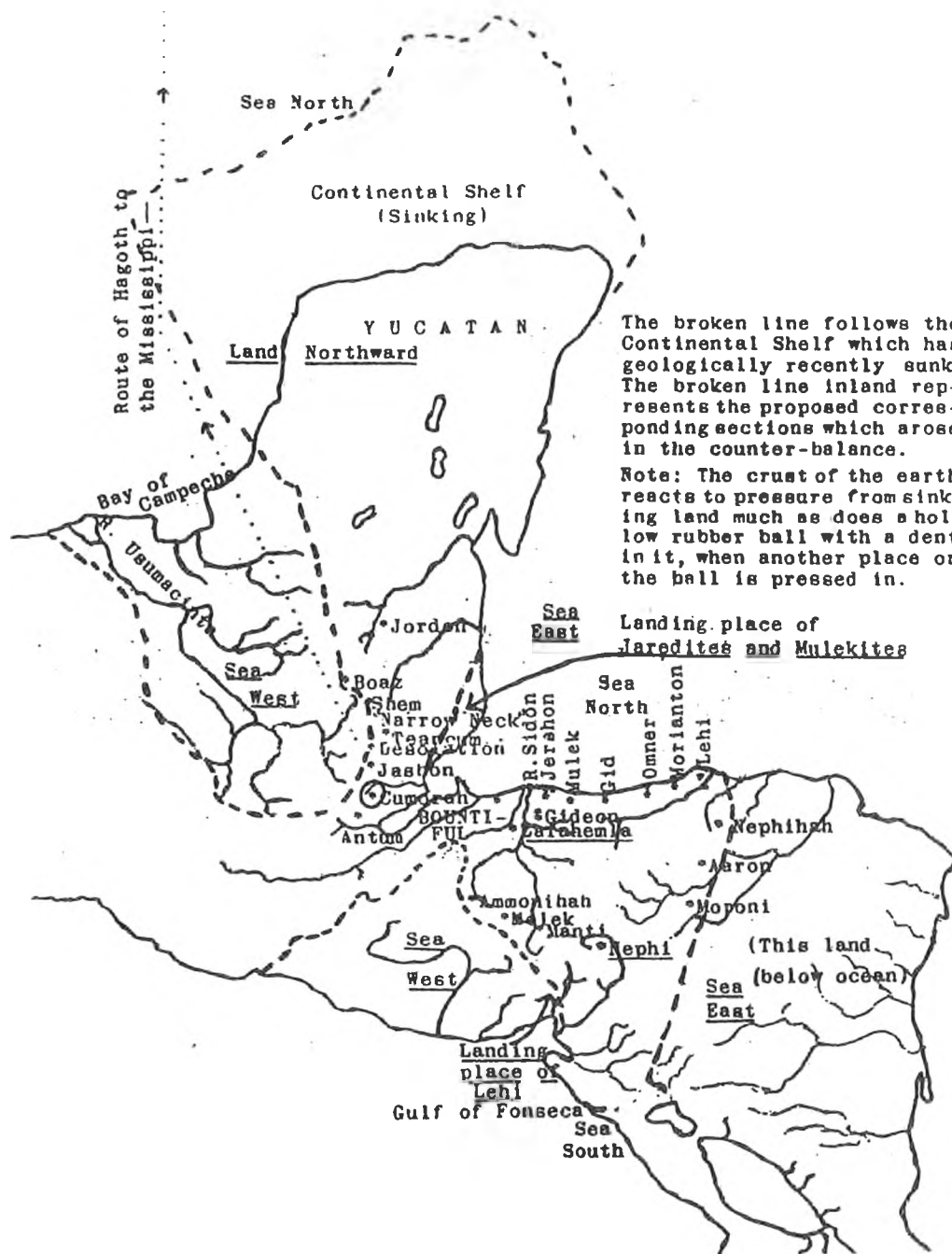
Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: Belize.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: City of Bountiful, on the coast near
the mouth of the Motagua River (Lake Izabal) and the then-submerged
Usumacinta River drainage. Moroni was in what is now central-eastern
Honduras, the eastern part of that country supposedly then being submerged.
Morianon and Lehi were on the north coast of Honduras, east of the Ulua
River. Nephihah and Aaron were on the (former) coast north of Moroni.
Manti and Melek were on upper tributaries of the Ulua River. Ammonihah
was at Lake Yojoa.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Major changes at the
time of the crucifixion, with the entire Usumacinta drainage, El Salvador and
part of Honduras and Nicaragua all under water, while the continental shelf
north and west of Yucatan was formerly exposed.

Scope of Model Specification: Substantial.



“Plain Facts” 1887 (Minimal External) Model

Originator: Unknown.

Area Focus: South America and Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Panama.

Land Southward: South America (the map only extends to Mexico on the north and Colombia on the south).

Land Northward: Chiefly southern Mesoamerica and Central America.

Nephi's Landing Place: Evidently Chile.

Hill Cumorah: Unclear. (The text says: “Most of the descendants of the genuine race of Lamanites, possibly live in Yucatan or Central America.”)

Sidon River: Magdalena.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Nephi and his party left the original landing site “for the valley of the Magdalena or the tributaries of the Orinoco.”

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not indicated.

Land of Zarahemla: Colombia.

City of Zarahemla: Evidently on the Magdalena River.

Land Bountiful: Around the mouths of the Atrato River.

Narrow Pass: Not indicated.

Land of Desolation: Evidently Central America.

Land of Moron: “About Guatemala or Chiapas.”

Jaredite Landing Place: “Probably” in Yucatan or Guatemala.

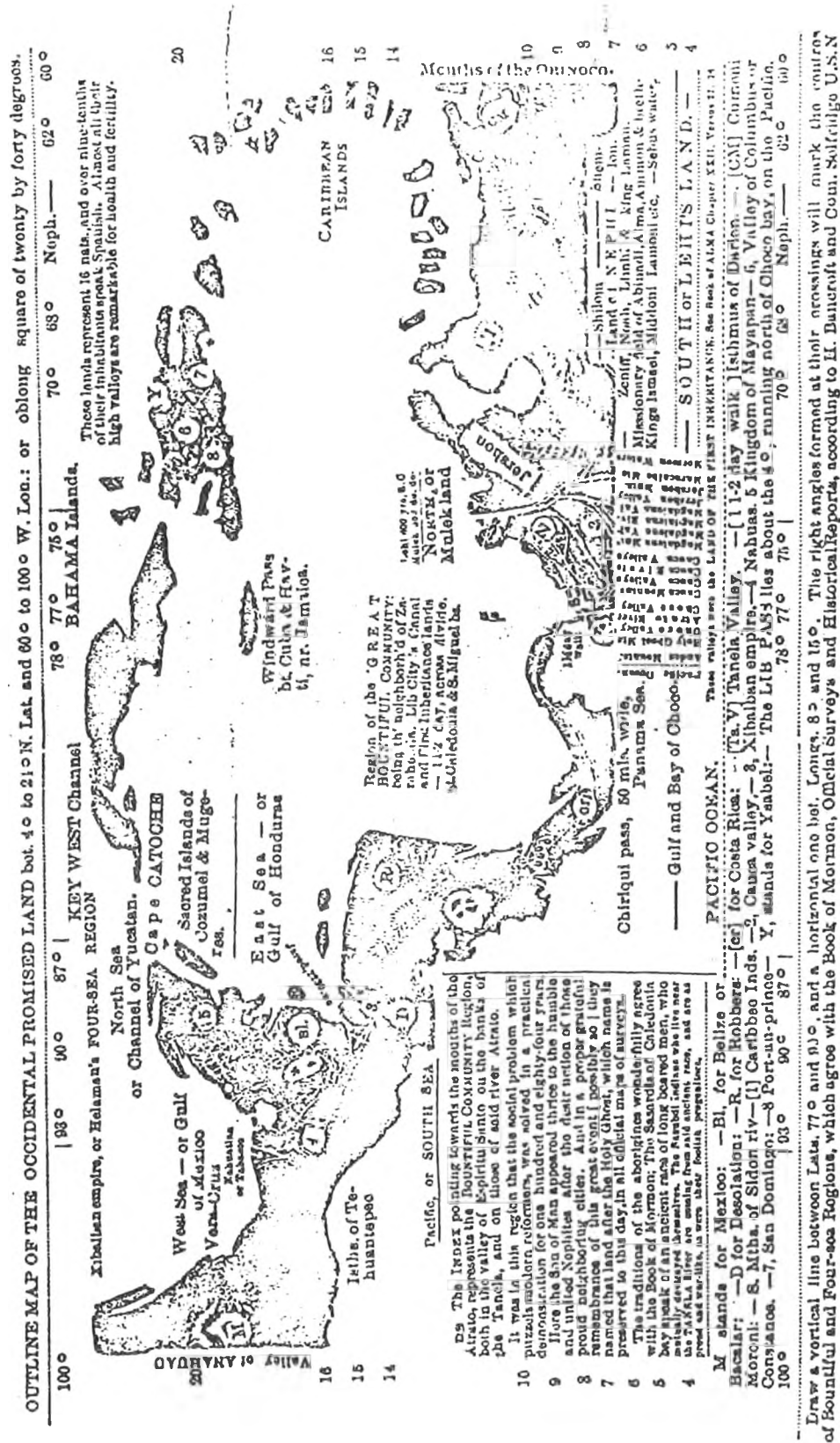
Other Cities or Areas Specified: City of Bountiful, on the Atrato River. Jershon is mapped west of Lake Maracaibo. Lib's city was between the Atrato and San Juan Rivers.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: None indicated.

Scope of Model Specification: Very limited.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None (little to cite at the date).

Use of Current External Scholarship: Slight; does cite Bancroft, published five years before.



Source:

Plain Facts for Students of the Book of Mormon, with a Map of the Promised Land. n. p., n. d. (A four-page pamphlet preceded by an "Outline Map of the Occidental Promised Land." A photocopy of the dog-eared original exists at BYU.) The text cites a letter from President John Taylor, dated 1886, to a nameless addressee in Logan, Utah, giving permission to undertake missionary work among Maya Indians but warning that only a single wife was to accompany anybody going. The text, which emphasizes the importance of preaching to the "genuine" Lamanites found in Yucatan, indicates that Pres. Taylor was alive at publication; since he died in 1887, the pamphlet is taken as published that year. While the "model" is unclear, it seems distinctive and notable in its emphasis on Mesoamerica as the de facto land northward (perhaps the final battleground was considered to be there).

Porritt 1985 (External) Model

Originator: Gail B. Porritt

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Mesoamerica south and east of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Northward: South-central Mexico (Oaxaca and southern Veracruz), west and north of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Nephi's Landing Place: El Salvador.

Hill Cumorah: Cerro Vigia in the Tuxtla Mountains.

Sidon River: Grijalva River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Highland Guatemala.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Chiapas.

City of Zarahemla: The site of Santa Rosa, Chiapas.

Land Bountiful: (Implied) Immediately east of the Coatzacoalcos river all across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Narrow Pass: Geological ridge extending west from the Coatzacoalcos River near Minatitlan.

Land of Desolation: Immediately north and west of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in southern Veracruz.

Jaredite Landing Place: Pánuco on the Gulf of Mexico coast.

Land of Moron: In the Oaxaca valley, perhaps around Monte Alban.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Nehor, probably the archaeological site of San Lorenzo Tenochtitlan. Hill Shim, in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada about 40 miles south of Ramah/Cumorah, with Jashon nearby on the southeast. Ablom, at the shore on the north side of the Tuxtla mountains. Waters of Ripliancum, the lagoons and rivers near Alvarado, Veracruz. Wilderness of Hermounts, in extreme eastern Oaxaca immediately east of (in) the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, the same area as the hunting preserve of the Jaredites. City of Lib, in the vicinity of San Lorenzo or La Venta. Other places identical to those in Sorenson's 1985 book.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Implied no.

Scope of Model Specification: Limited.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Some. Relationships are evident to Hunter and Ferguson and particularly to Sorenson.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Limited.

Sources:

Gail B. Porritt. The Jaredites. Duplicated paper, 42 pages plus illustrations. Copy in the possession of John Sorenson.

Gail B. Porritt. Location of the Nephite Hill Cumorah. Duplicated paper of 12 pages plus five pp. of supplementary material and two maps. Copy in the possession of John Sorenson.

Pratt 1866 (External) Model

Originator: Orson Pratt.

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Panama.

Land Southward: South America.

Land Northward: All north of Panama. ("About fifty-four years before Christ, five thousand four hundred men, with their wives and children, left the northern portion of South America, passed through the Isthmus, came into this north country. . . and began to settle up North America." "When they came into North America they found all this country covered with the ruins of cities, villages and towns [of the Jaredites]. . . .")

Nephi's Landing Place: "As near as we can judge from the description of the country contained in this record the first landing place was in Chili, not far from where the city of Valparaiso now stands"

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Sidon River: Magdalena River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: "The land of Nephi is supposed to have been in or near Equador, South America" ("near the headwaters of the Amazon River"). (Also, JD 1872, pages 324-331: "The Nephites were commanded of the Lord to ... leave the first place of colonization in ... Chili. They came northward from their first landing place traveling, according to the record, as near as I can judge, some two thousand miles")

Land of Zarahemla, Colombia and nearby.

City of Zarahemla: A few days up the Magdalena.

Land of Bountiful: Immediately south of Panama.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Central America.

Land of Moron: Implied in Central America.

Jaredite Landing Place: On the Pacific coast south of the Gulf of California and north of the land of Desolation which was north of Panama.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Waters of Ripliancum, "supposed to be Lake Ontario." In the first century B.C. colonists to the land northward who "came to large bodies of water and to many rivers and fountains" reached the Mississippi Valley. Ablom was in New England. The sea north was the Arctic Ocean.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Vast geologic changes are supposed, but he gives no evidence of thinking that either the outline or overall configuration of the land changed.

Scope of Model Specification: Limited.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None indicated (evidently there had been little or none). Yet expressions such as “supposed to be” and “as near as we can judge” suggest that his views had resulted in part from discussion with others.

Use of Current External Scholarship: At least as editor of the *Millennial Star* in 1865-1866 he reprinted extensive portions of John Lloyd Stephens’ 1841 book.

Sources:

See Appendix A. See also geographical footnotes to the 1879 edition of the Book of Mormon, which Pratt prepared. These are all listed on pages 12-15 of a duplicated paper by V. Mack Sumner, *An Exploration of the Footnotes in the 1911 Edition, Used by the Talmage Committee* (a report submitted in partial fulfillment of the course requirements of Graduate Religion 622, External Evidences, Dr. Daniel Ludlow, Instructor, August 1967). Copy in F.A.R.M.S. library.

Priddis 1975 (External) Model

Originator: Venice Priddis.

Area Focus: Northwestern South America.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: A constriction of the cordillera with the Gulf of Guayaquil on the west and the "Amazon Sea" (at sea level then) on the east.

Land Southward: The Andean area from south of the Gulf of Guayaquil, Ecuador, to northern Chile.

Land Northward: Northern Ecuador and Colombia.

Nephi's Landing Place: Chile.

Hill Cumorah: Mount Imbabura, northern Ecuador.

Sidon River: Montaro River (a tributary of the Apurimac in the central highlands of Peru). It flows through the Valley of Gideon (p. 105).

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Bolivia, southern Peru and northern Chile.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Cuzco, Peru.

Land of Zarahemla: Coastal Peru.

City of Zarahemla: Archaeological site of Pachacamac, Peru.

Land of Bountiful: Area immediately south of the Gulf of Guayaquil.

Narrow Pass: A mountain pass within the cordilleran constriction that constituted the narrow neck.

Land of Desolation: On the Gulf of Guayaquil, Ecuador, and Andean valleys nearby.

Land of Moron: Riobamba, Ecuador, near Mount Chimborazo.

Jaredite Landing Place: On the north shore of the Gulf of Guayaquil.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: City of Bountiful, Cajamarca, Peru. Ammonihah is on the Apurimac River, with Noah, Sidom and Melek nearby. And other places are shown on her maps.

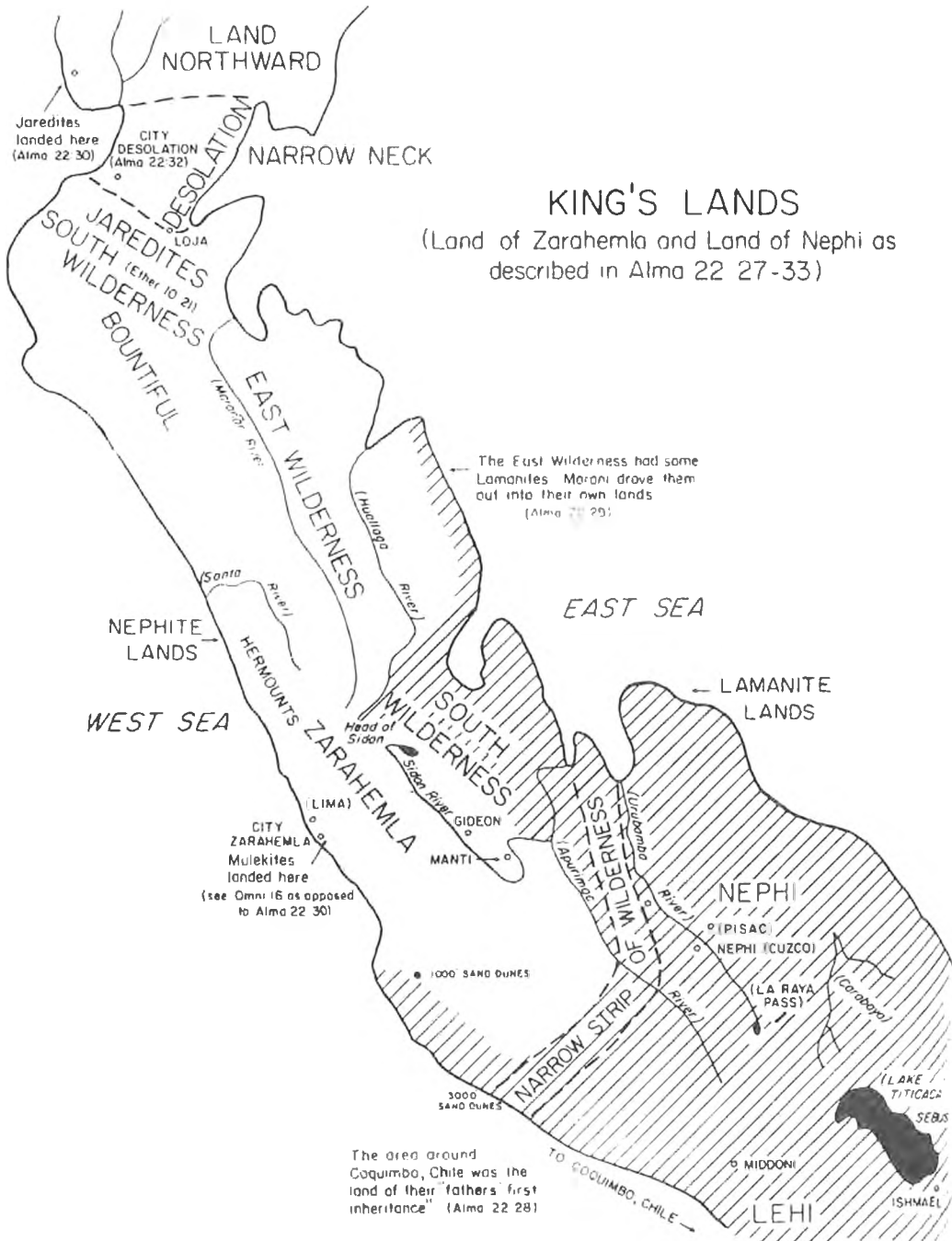
Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: At the time of the crucifixion, within three hours Tiahuanaco rose 3400 feet above its previous level, southern Chile emerged from the ocean's bottom, and previously submerged Panama rose above the surface of the ocean; however, Zarahemla and the Sidon River remained unchanged.

Scope of Model Specification: Detailed.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Practically none.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Slight.

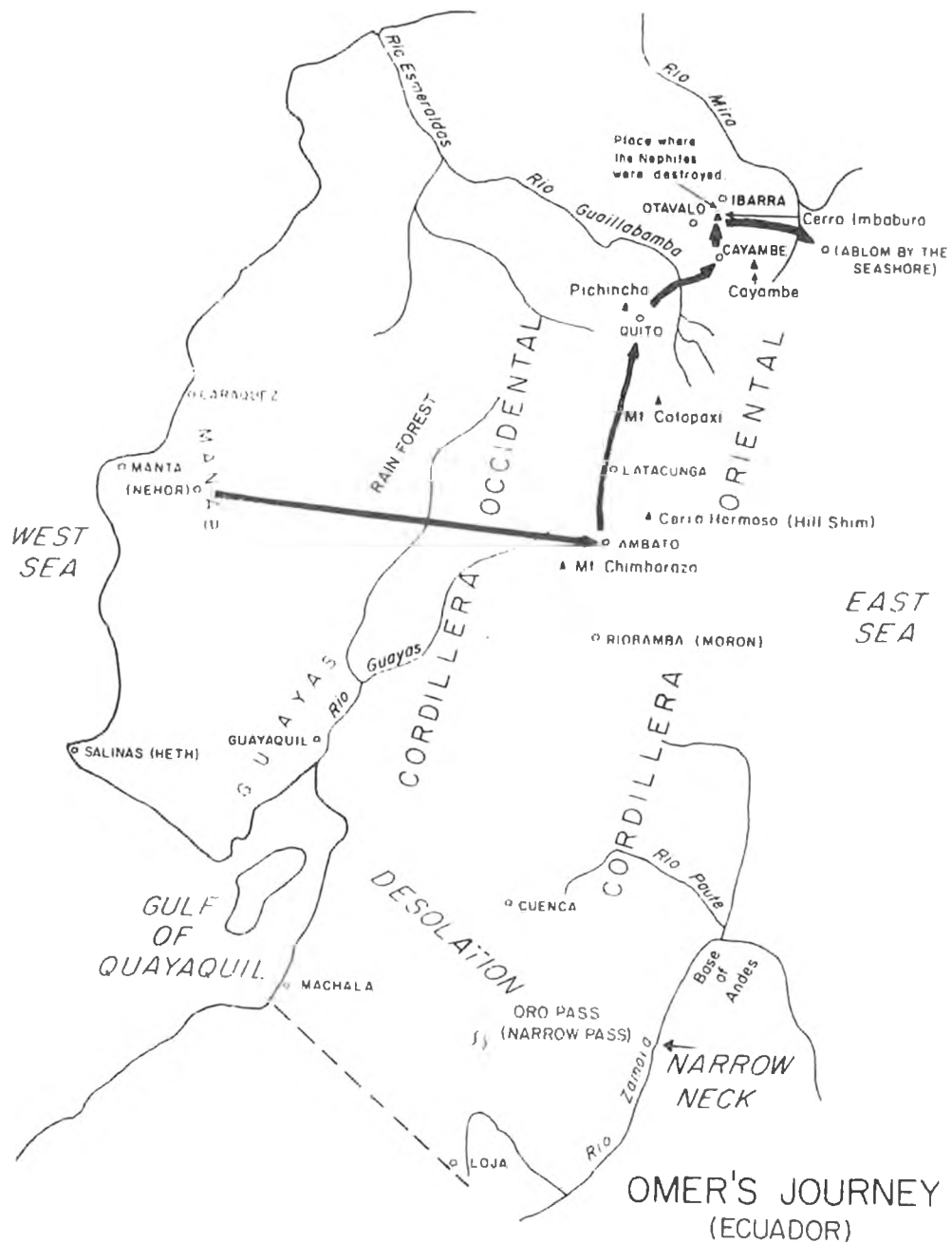




Ancestry of the Model: Claimed original. Acknowledges Birrell's model as an independent development.

Source:

Venice Priddis. *The Book and the Map: New Insights into Book of Mormon Geography*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1975.

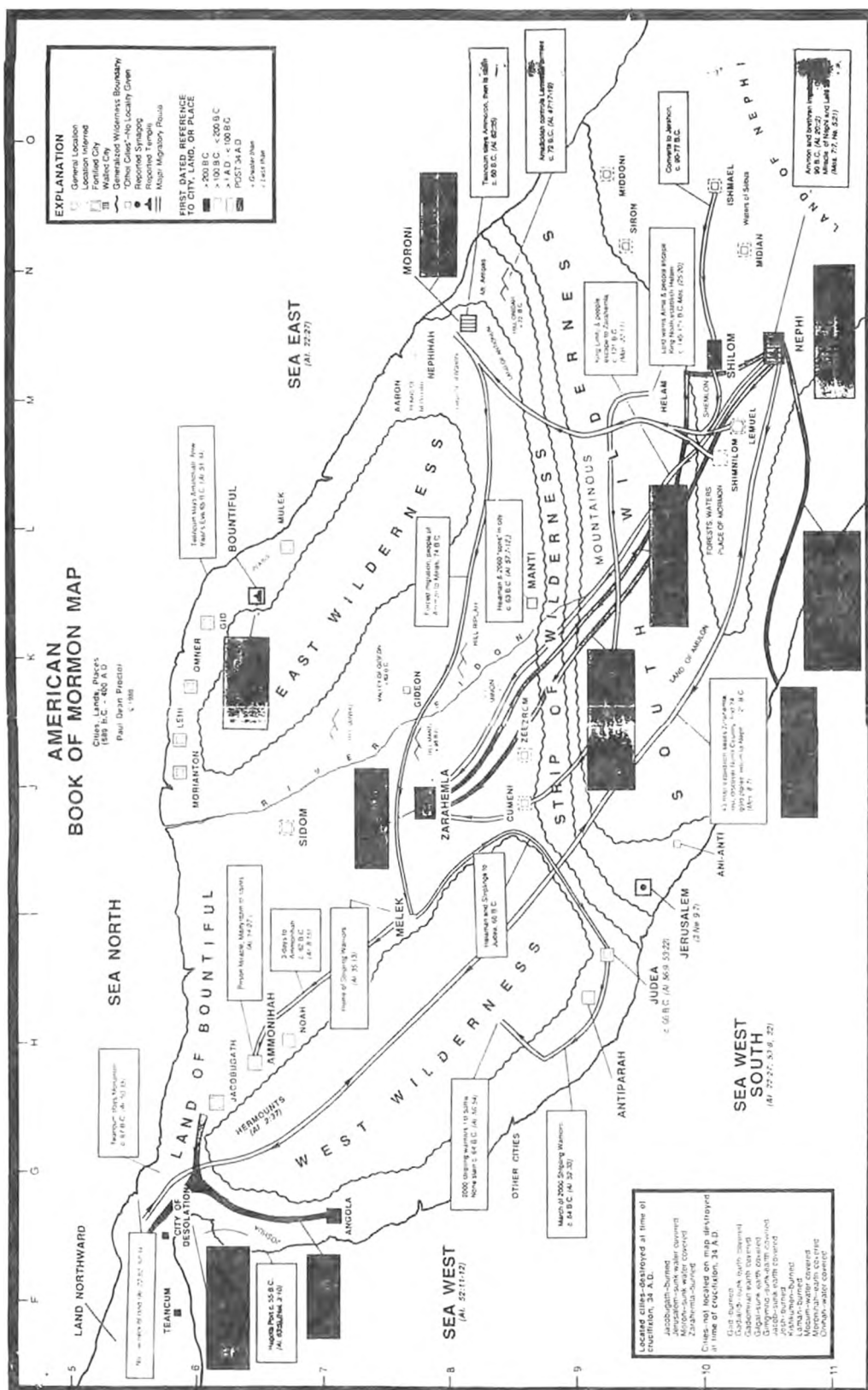


Proctor 1988 (Internal) Model

Originator: Paul Dean Proctor

Degree of Detail: A single detailed map of the land southward covering "589 B. C.-400 A.D." On it are placed sites and natural features with the general position of lands and certain natural features; some short notes are included within boxes positioned on the map, but basically there is no commentary.

Source: *American Book of Mormon Map*. Copyright Paul Dean Proctor, 1988. (Sold at BYU Bookstore) (1989): 20-70. This review is subtitled, A Key for Evaluating Nephite Geographies.



Quilter 1988 (External) Model

Originator: Charles H. Quilter.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: At the base of the Yucatan Peninsula between swampland or sluggish drainage areas.

Land Southward: Highland Guatemala.

Land Northward: Yucatan Peninsula.

Nephi's Landing Place: Pacific Coast of Guatemala.

Hill Cumorah: Somewhere in Campeche.

Sidon River: Holmul River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Highland Guatemala.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: The Peten (lowland Guatemala).

City of Zarahemla: Tikal.

Land Bountiful: The area immediately north of Tikal.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Not indicated.

Land of Moron: The city was San Lorenzo Tenochtitlan on the Coatzacoalcos River, the land the surrounding area to include La Venta.

Jaredite Landing Place: Near the mouth of the Coatzacoalcos River.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: The land of Helam, perhaps the area around the site of Seibal. Land of Jershon, in Belize around the site of Barton Ramie. Ablom, around Nohmul or Cuello, Belize. City of Jordan, Becan in the middle of the Yucatan peninsula. Boaz, the site of Oxpemul. The Nephite retreat went into Yucatan, then when Lamanites agreed to a final battle, they moved to Cumorah in the Rio Candelaria drainage of Campeche. Various Nephite settlements around Zarahemla (e.g., Moroni, Nephihah, Antionum) are also specified, all within the Peten.

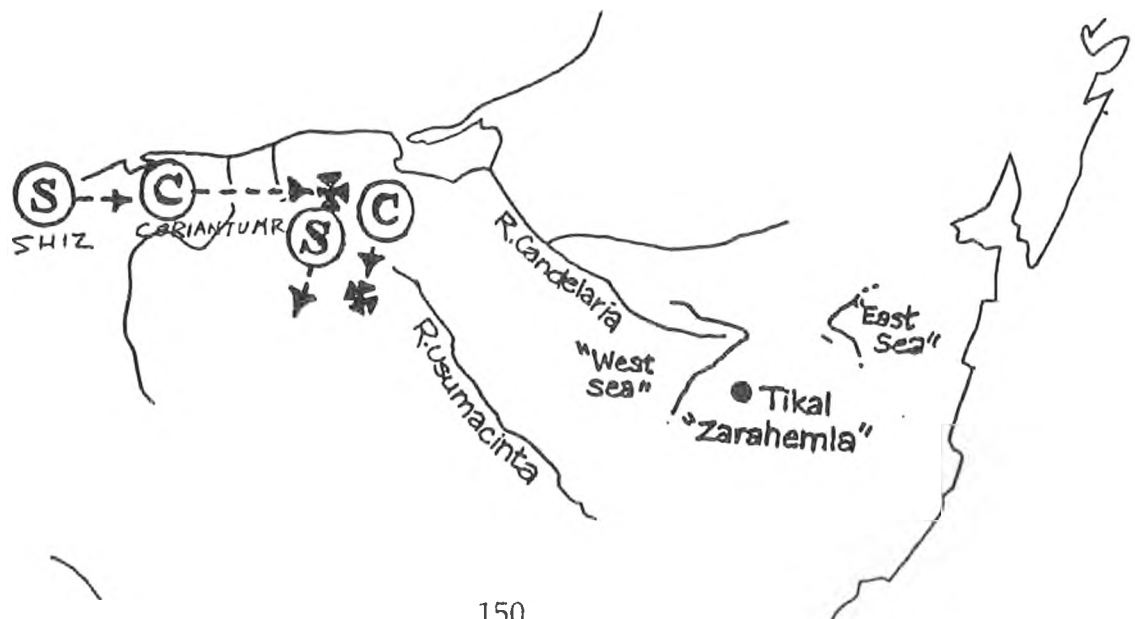
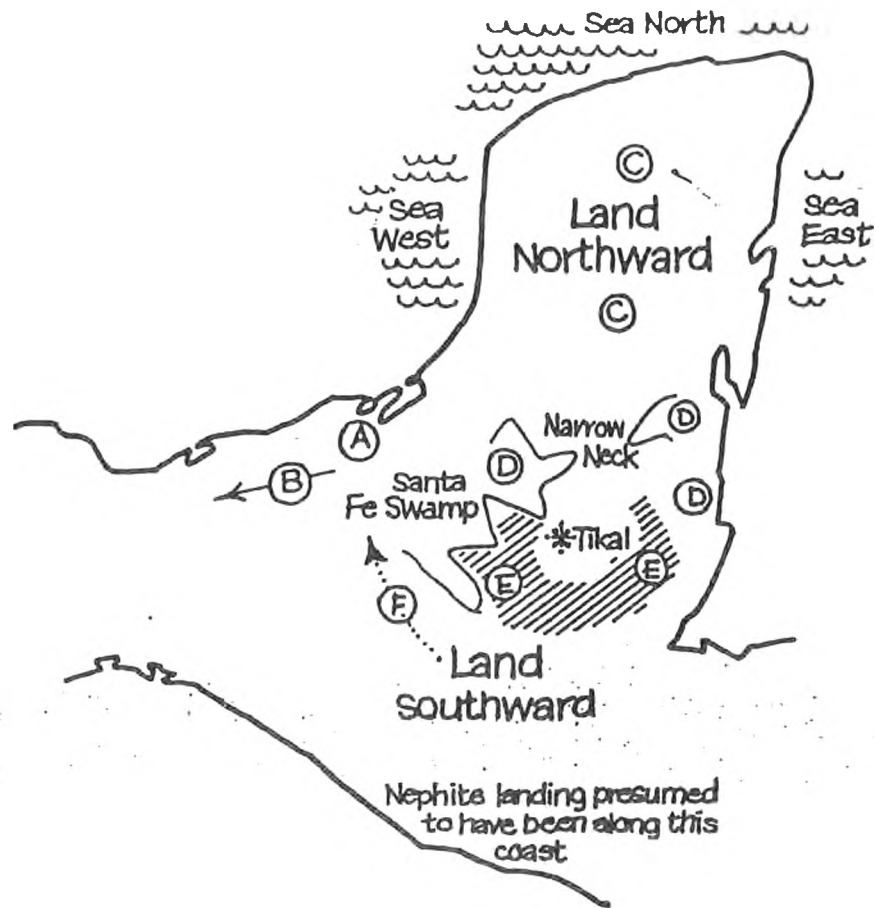
Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: No.

Scope of Model Specification: Substantial detail.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None. Claimed original.

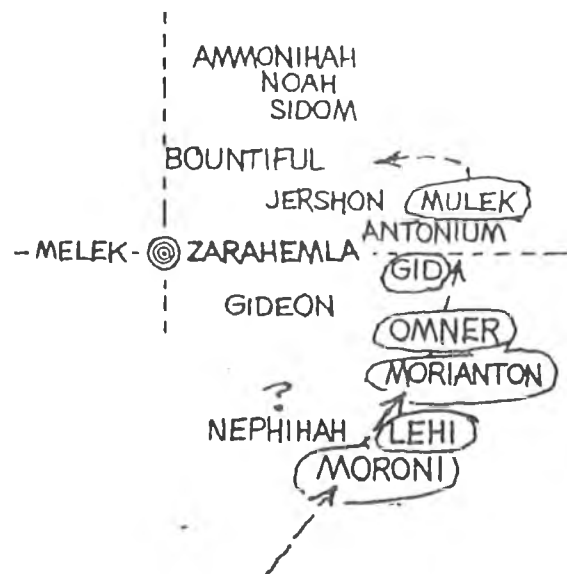
Use of Current External Scholarship: Extensive secondary sources.

Quilter



Source:

Untitled 83-page ms. by Quilter (of Salt Lake City) in the F.A.R.M.S. archives.



Reynolds 1880 (External) Model

Originator: George Reynolds.

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Panama.

Land Southward: South America.

Land Northward: Central and North America.

Nephi's Landing Place: Near Valparaiso, Chile.

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Sidon River: "Generally understood" to be the Magdalena.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: All South America from Ecuador south. In a narrower sense, probably the area now known as Ecuador (or at least, "one of the higher valleys, or extensive plateaus of the Andes"). The Nephites under Nephi first removed from central Chile only a short distance, then moved progressively northward.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): In the days of Mosiah, in upland Ecuador.

Land of Zarahemla: Essentially Colombia, Venezuela and the Guianas.

City of Zarahemla: On the Magdalena.

Land of Bountiful: That part of Colombia adjacent to Panama.

Narrow Pass: Equivalent to or within the Isthmus of Panama.

Land of Desolation: "It is generally supposed to have embraced . . . the region known to moderns as Central America."

Land of Moron: Somewhere in Central America.

Jaredite Landing Place: In Central America (implied on the Atlantic side).

Other Cities or Areas Specified: The city of Bountiful was on the Caribbean coast near the Panama-Colombia border. It is "far from improbable" that Helam was at the headwaters of a tributary of the Amazon in Ecuador. Mulek, Gid, Omner, Lehi and Morianton were on the Caribbean shore of Colombia and Venezuela. Moroni was in "Guiana."

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Implied to be not significant, although the coast of Chile is said to have been "entirely changed since those days," and the crucifixion catastrophe is said to have changed things "greatly." Yet the identification of specific cities and features implies that he considers the changes only limited.

Scope of Model Specification: Moderate detail.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Regarding the placement of the city of Nephi, he explicitly agrees with Orson Pratt, while acknowledging that "other brethren have placed it considerably farther south," and acknowledging that the exact whereabouts "cannot be answered authoritatively." He also follows Pratt's footnotes in the 1879 Book of Mormon in having two Nephiah's. Regarding the City Bountiful, he notes "an idea held by some" that it was located on the west shore of Colombia, but he puts it on the Atrato River.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: He makes apparent his debt to O. Pratt.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Significant changes.

Scope of Model Specification: Substantial detail.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Considerable (uncritical).

Sources:

The basics appeared in Reynolds' series in *The Juvenile Instructor* between 15 November 1880 and 1 February 1881. This was amplified in *The Story of the Book of Mormon* [1st ed., Joseph Hyrum Parry: Salt Lake City, 1888; 2d ed., George G. Cannon and Sons: Salt Lake City, 1898 (sic); 3d ed., H. C. Etten: Chicago, c. 1888; 4th ed., Hillison and Etten: Chicago, 1888; 5th ed., Zion's Printing and Publishing: Independence, Missouri, 1888]; see especially pages 382ff. in the 5th ed. Also in *A Dictionary of the Book of Mormon*. Joseph Hyrum Parry: Salt Lake City, 1892, pages 155-156, 187, 197-200, 203-205, 213-217, 224-225, 267-277, 320-321, 323-324, and 360-361 [Reprinted 1910, Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union; and 1954, Salt Lake City: Philip C. Reynolds].

Phillip C. Reynolds reprinted all the geographical information from the above, first in *Commentary on the Book of Mormon*, 7 volumes, "arranged and amplified from the notes of George Reynolds and Janne M. Sjodahl" by Phillip C. Reynolds and David Sjodahl King. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1955-1961; then again in *Book of Mormon Geography: The Lands of the Nephites and Jaredites*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957. Bruce Van Orden in an unpublished paper ("George Reynolds and Janne M. Sjodahl on Book of Mormon Geography") documents that Reynolds and Sjodahl never collaborated, actually holding quite different views on geography. For unknown reasons, Phillip C. Reynolds took egregious editorial license in constructing a false picture of collaboration by mixing materials by the two.

Ricks 1904 (External) Model

Originator: Joel Ricks.

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Panama.

Land Southward: Western South America.

Land Northward: Panama and northward to include North America.

Nephi's Landing Place: Chile.

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Sidon River: Magdalena River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Highland Ecuador. However, he says that Nephi's temple was at Tiahuanaco, Bolivia, where Nephi first settled, his people subsequently slowly expanding northward into Ecuador. He distinguishes Bolivia as the "Old Land Nephi" while the Lamanite kingdom, in Ecuador, is simply the "Land Nephi."

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Western and central Colombia and to the Gulf of Maracaibo. (1906: Includes a map of his local land of Zarahemla, including the wilderness of Hermounts abutting on the city, the city Melek some 10 miles from the city of Zarahemla, and Minon upriver less than 20 miles, all drawn on local Magdalena River basin topography.)

City of Zarahemla: On the central Magdalena River at the point where navigation is interrupted, 250 miles southeast of the isthmus of Panama and 250 north of the headwaters of the Magdalena.

Land of Bountiful: The valley of the Atrato river in western Colombia.

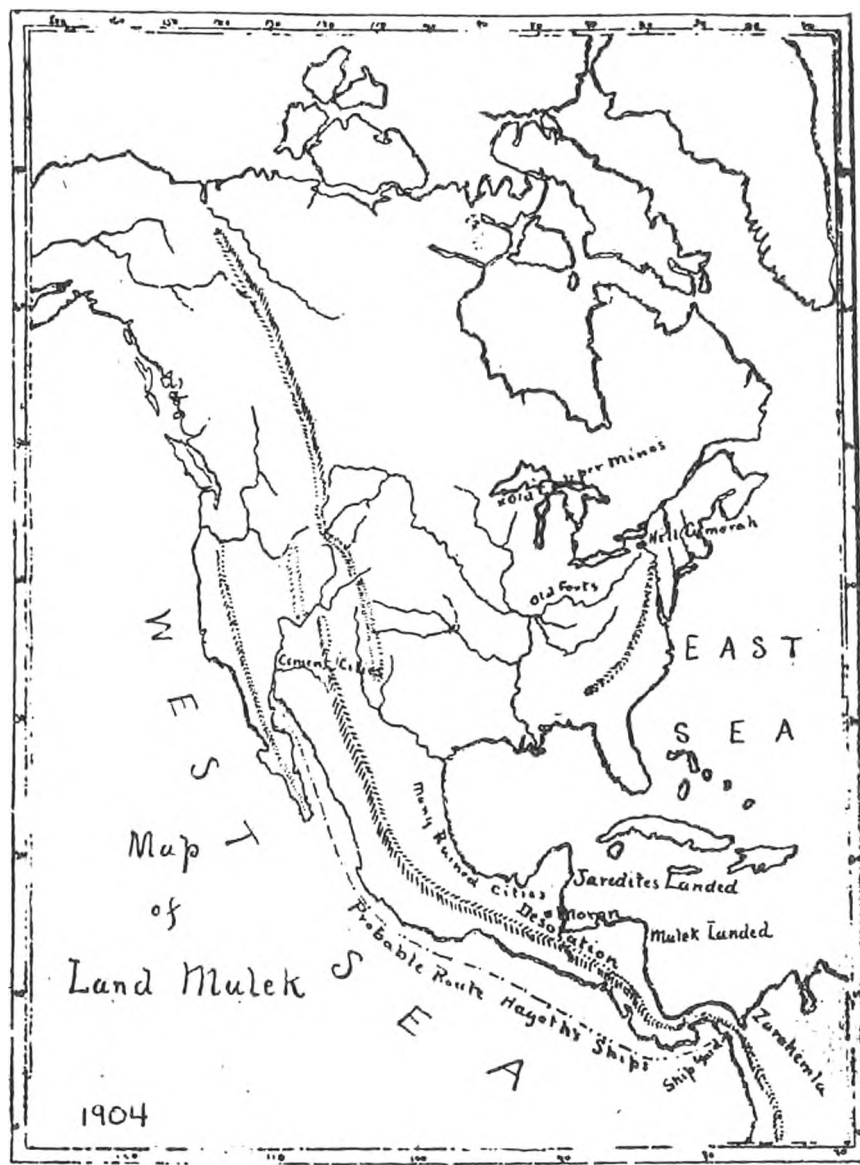
Narrow Pass: Not specified.

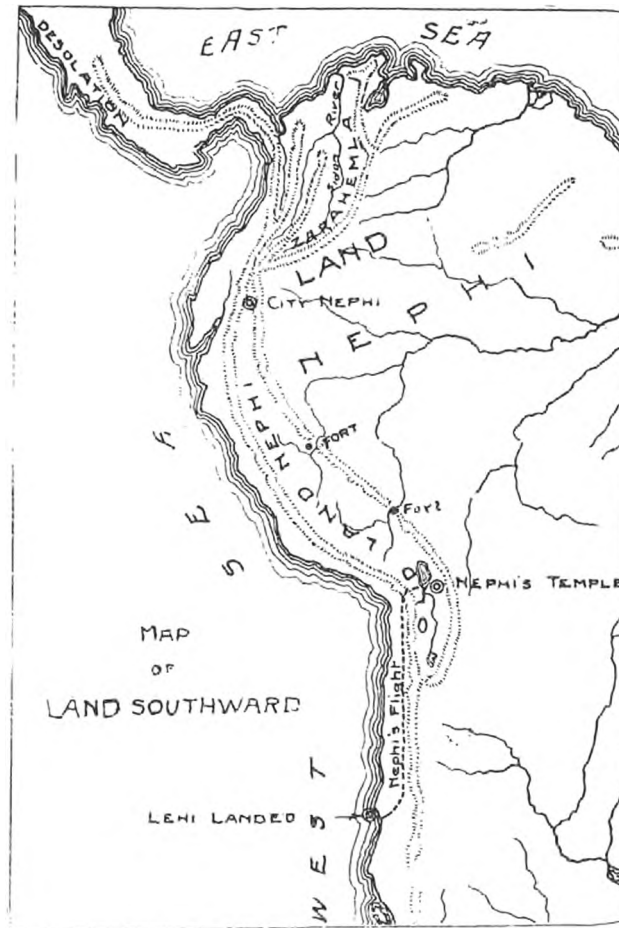
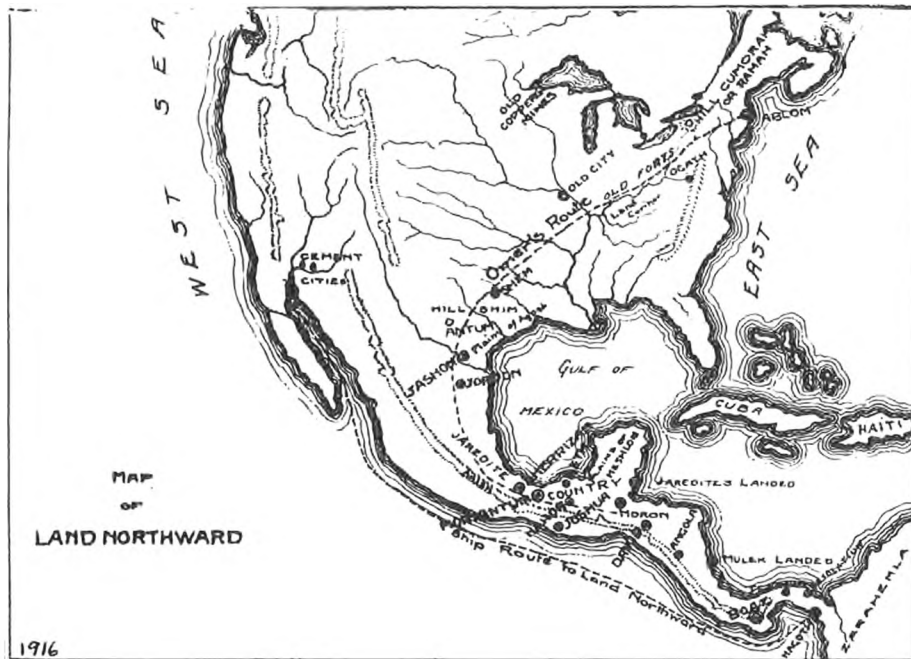
Land of Desolation: Central America, including Panama.

Land of Moron: Near the landing place on the Bay of Honduras.

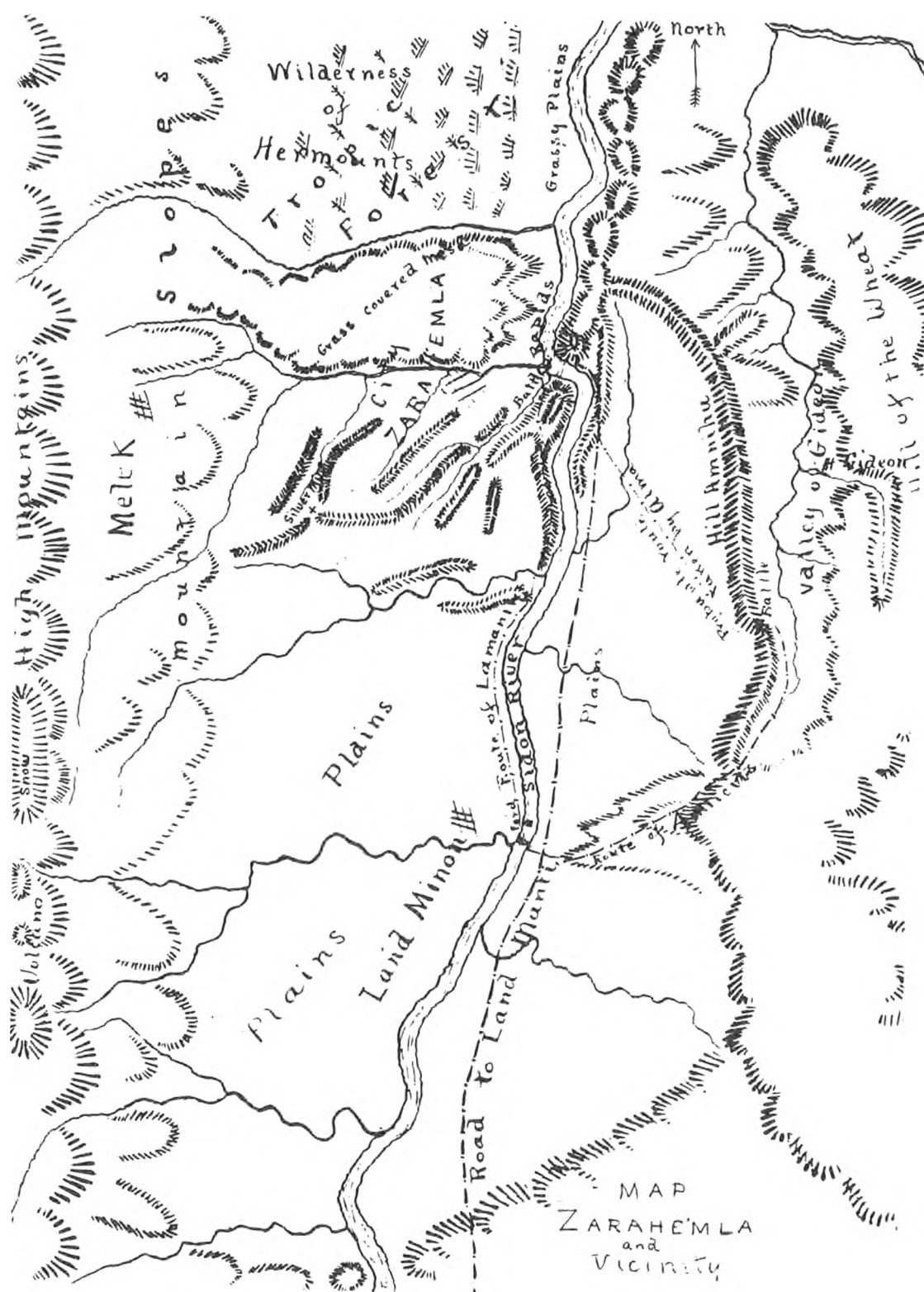
Jaredite Landing Place: Bay of Honduras.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Maps in his 1916 work show many cities at particular points, but the text does not discuss most of them. The city of Bountiful was at the head of the Gulf of Darien near the Colombia-Panama border. The 1904 maps place Omner on the lower Sidon with Gid to its west at a river mouth. Cumeni and Judea are on the upper Rio Cauca. Manti is on the upper Magdalena at 3 degrees north. Antionum and Siron are in mountains about 30 miles east-northeast of Zarahemla city. Moroni lies in the swamps at the south extremity of Lake Maracaibo.









Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Only modest changes resulted from the catastrophe at the time of the crucifixion.

Scope of Model Specification: Substantial.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None indicated. He credits and follows Orson Pratt. Sjodahl 1927, page 412, considers Ricks' model to be a modification of Reynolds'.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Very little.

Sources:

Brigham Young College Society of American Archeology. Society Report: Book of Mormon Geography. *Brigham Young College Bulletin* 3(2)(December) 1904 [Logan, Utah]. [Ricks wrote this report as chairman of their Committee on Book of Mormon Geography; the two maps are specifically "by Joel Ricks."]

Also a series of short articles in *The Juvenile Instructor* in 1906: The River Sidon, 41 (Mar. 1): 130-134; The Land Zarahemla, 41 (April 1): 193-196, continued April 15, pages 225-228; A Visit to the Temple in the Land Jershon 41 (Nov. 1): 641-645; and, The City Zarahemla and Vicinity 41 (Nov. 15): 673-676.

Essentially unchanged in Joel Ricks. *Helps to the Study of the Book of Mormon*. Author: Logan, Utah, 1916. (Three pages of text and several maps.) Subsequently he issued *Helps to the Study of the Book of Mormon*, n.p., n.d. 96 pp. Later this was essentially the same as his *The Geography of the Book of Mormon*. Author: n.p., [1939?] (maps unchanged). See also his *Whence Came the Mayas?* Author: n. p., 1943. Within this item he advertised "A Large Wall Map, 30 X 40 inches, showing Nephite and Jaredite civilizations." n.p., n.d.

RLDS/Weston 1900? (External) Model

Originator: Committee on American Archaeology, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, drawn by G. F. Weston.

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Panama.

Land Southward: South America.

Land Northward: Central and North America.

Nephi's Landing Place: Precisely at 30 degrees south, Coquimbo, Chile.

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Sidon River: Magdalena River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Peru and Ecuador.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): On headwaters of the Amazon near Huánuco, Peru. But the City of Lehi-Nephi was a different city, at about the Ecuador-Peru border.

Land of Zarahemla: Colombia and western Venezuela.

City of Zarahemla: On the Magdalena River.

Land Bountiful: Panama.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Costa Rica through Guatemala.

Land of Moron: Inland from the Bay of Honduras.

Jaredite Landing Place: Bay of Honduras.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Antipas-Onidah, on Amazon headwaters near Huanuco, Peru. Moroni, at Puerto Cabello, near Caracas, Venezuela. Morianton and Lehi, on the Caribbean coast nearer Panama. Middoni and Jerusalem were on the north Peruvian coast. Lake Lauricocha was the waters of Sebus. Amulon was around the Chimborazo volcano, Ecuador. There were two Aarons. Jacobugath was by Lake Maracaibo. Joshua was in El Salvador and Heth in north central Mexico. the land of Nehor was Yucatan. The land northward included most of the present-day United States. Ablom was in Massachusetts.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: None indicated.

Scope of Model Specification: Maps only, where some detail is given.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Little or none.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None.



Sources:

G. F. Weston. *Book of Mormon Maps*. Buchanan, Michigan, n.p., n.d. Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. *Report of Committee on American Archaeology* Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing Co. 1910. (The committee was appointed by the church's general conference in 1894. The 1910 report is evidently a revision of one c. 1900 which already contained Weston's maps, for which the committee furnished him all information.) Weston maps were used without comment or discussion in: Louise Palfrey, editor, *Lessons on the Book of Mormon and Archaeology* (*The Religio-Quarterly: Senior Grade*, volume 4) Independence, Missouri: Zion's Religio-Literary Society, at Ensign Publishing House, 1906; and also in Jeremiah A. Gunsolley, ed. *The Religio Quarterly: Senior Grade*, volume 15, numbers 1-3. Zion's Religio-Literary Society: Lamoni, Iowa, 1916-1917.

Hanson 1984 discusses the origin of the Weston maps (see the reference under Hanson 1951 Model, and also see Simmons 1977, page 108, under Simmons 1948 Model).

Roberts 1903 (External) Model

Originator: Brigham H. Roberts.

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Panama.

Land Southward: South America.

Land Northward: From Panama northward, including North America.

Nephi's Landing Place: Chile.

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Sidon River: "It is generally supposed" to be the Magdalena.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Explicitly follows Geo. Reynolds and O. Pratt, supposing that the Nephites progressively moved under Lamanite pressure from Chile to Ecuador.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): At the time of Mosiah, in Ecuador.

Land of Zarahemla: Implied to be Colombia.

City of Zarahemla: Not specified; implied to be on the Magdalena.

Land of Bountiful: Implied to be around the Colombia-Panama border.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Central America, perhaps from some point in Panama extending at least through Guatemala and perhaps including Yucatan and Chiapas.

Land of Moron: "In some part of the region we know as Central America."

Jaredite Landing Place: Follows O. Pratt, "probably south of the Gulf of California" on the Pacific side.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Ablom, in New England.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: The "considerable" catastrophic changes make conjectures "worthless about Nephite lands . . . except in a very general way."

Scope of Model Specification: Slight.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Knows and generally follows Pratt and Reynolds, while eschewing detail.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None indicated.

Sources:

Brigham H. Roberts. *New Witnesses for God*. II. *The Book of Mormon*, vol. II. Deseret News Press: Salt Lake City, 1909. In his preface, however, Roberts says that the material essentially as in the book was used for YMMIA instruction in 1903-5. But before that, in 1888, he had published a series of articles in the *Millennial Star* ("compiled and published" as *A New Witness for God* by Lynn Pulsipher, n.p., 1986) which served as an outline for Roberts's later volumes, and the few statements on geography are all consistent with what he put out in 1909, hence the date assigned the model here. In his volume III on *The Book of Mormon*, pages 499-504, "The Geography of the Book," he acknowledges belated doubts about the statement on Lehi landing in Chile. If those doubts are justified, he says, then "much found in this treatise of the Book of Mormon relative to the Nephites being in South America . . . will have to be modified," but he never made clear thereafter that his doubts carried through to any new model.

Robison 1977 (External) Model

Originator: Stanford Robison.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: West of Chetumal Bay—the Peten lakes may have been an arm of the sea (it remains unclear whether the west side of the Yucatan peninsula is considered to have been submerged/indented).

Land Southward: Essentially Guatemala.

Land Northward: Northern Yucatan.

Nephi's Landing Place: Caribbean coast (traveled around the Cape of Good Hope and up the South Atlantic).

Hill Cumorah: Adjacent to the site of Becan in central Yucatan.

Sidon River: Usumacinta River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: A strip of mountains shown extending from Palenque and Tonina on the northwest to Laguna Izabal.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Palenque.

Land of Zarahemla: The middle Usumacinta basin, from Altar de Sacrificios (Manti) downstream past Piedras Negras—adjacent to Gideon—to Palenque (Nephi)(sic).

City of Zarahemla: The site of Yaxchilan on the Usumacinta River.

Land Bountiful: Immediately around Lake Yaxha in the southern Peten.

City of Bountiful: At or near Lake Yaxha.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

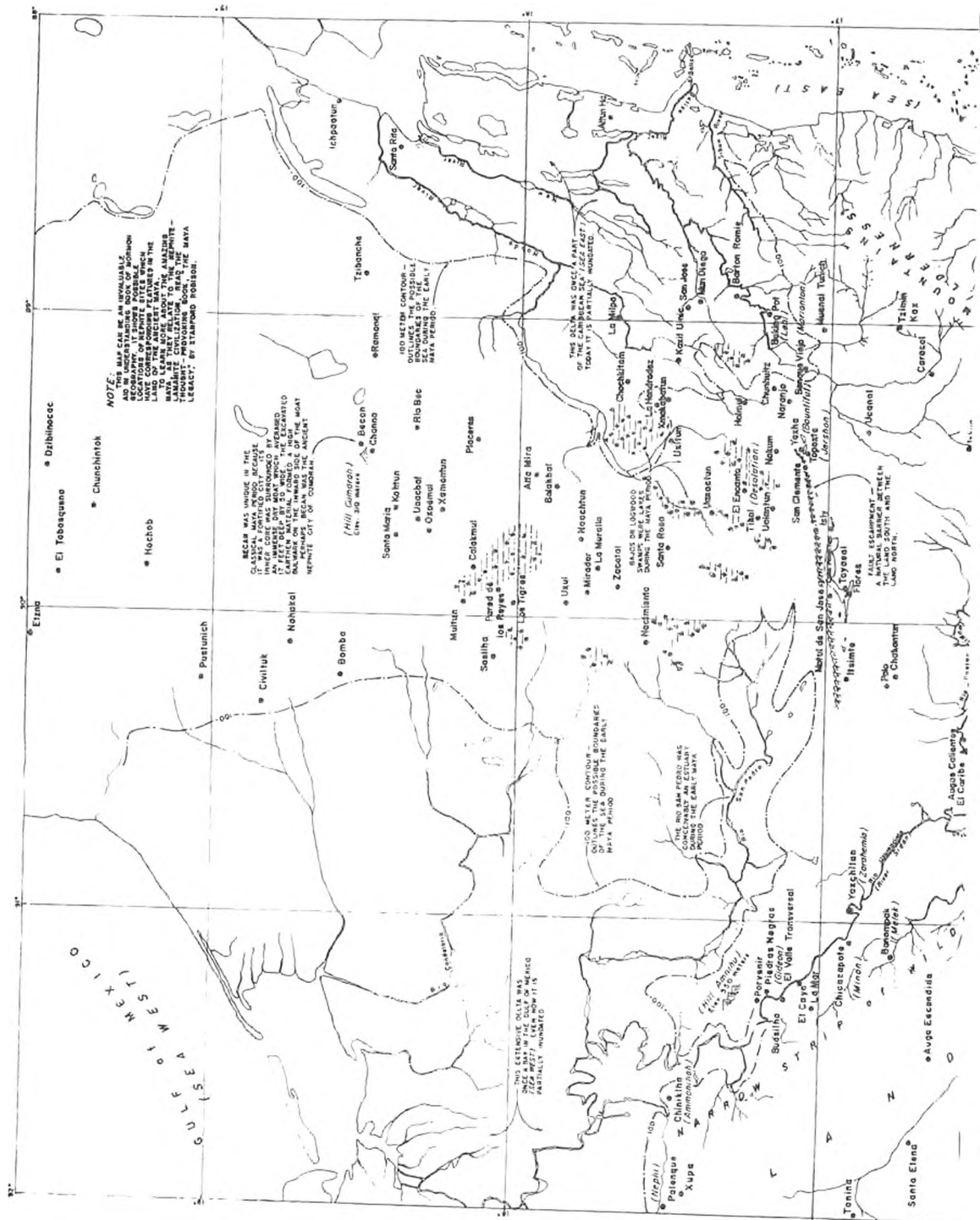
Land of Desolation: Mapped as a small swampy area surrounded by Tikal, Uaxactun, Holmul and Yaxha in the Peten.

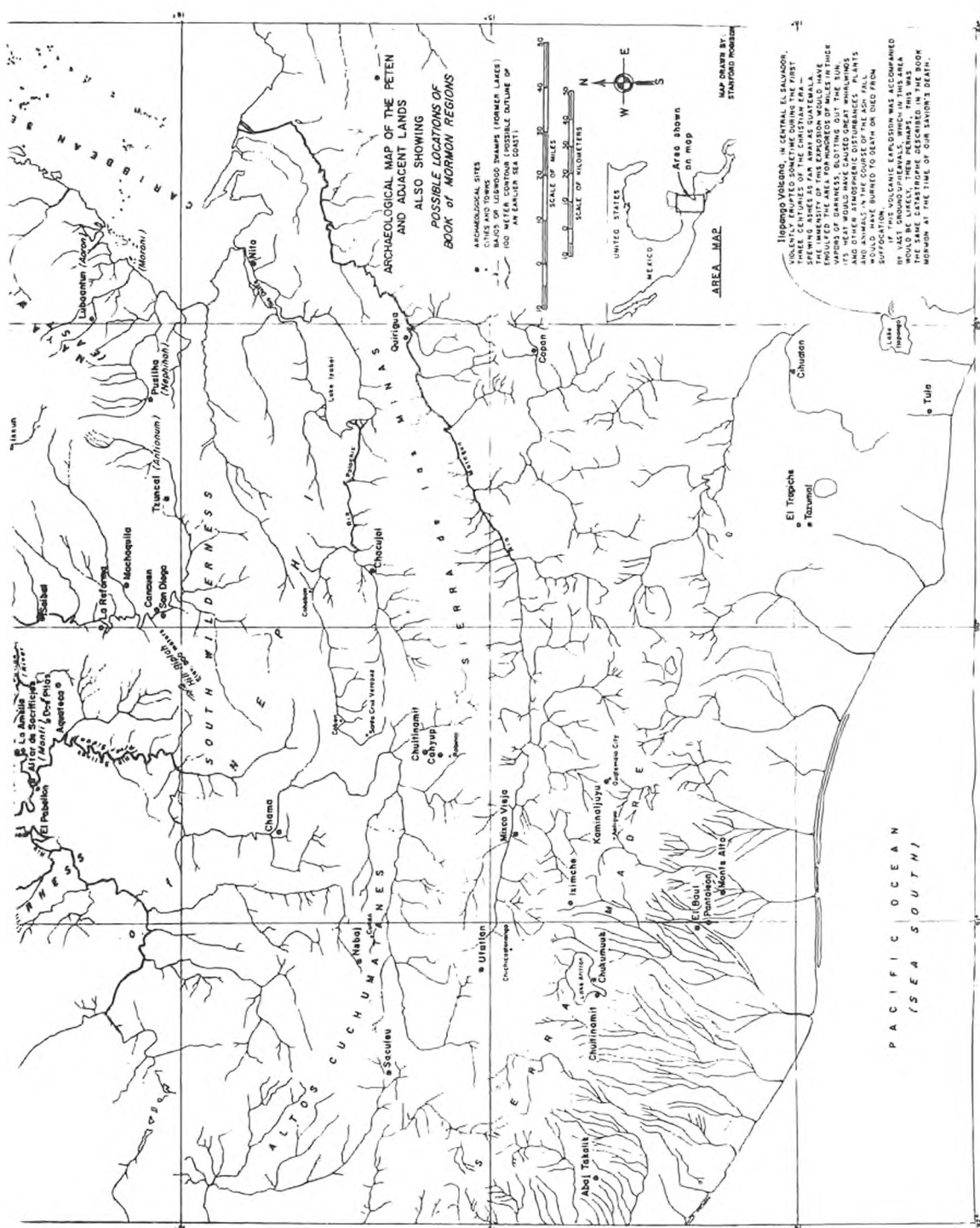
Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Moroni, on the Bay of Honduras. Nephihah, at the site of Pusilha west of Moroni. Morianton, the site of Benque Viejo. Melek, Bonampak. The narrow strip of wilderness lay immediately west of the Usumacinta River and parallel to it.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: The Laguna de Terminos was "once a bay," while the "100 meter contour outlines the possible boundaries of the sea during the early Maya period, extending up the Rio San Pedro almost to Tikal. The same contour line around the Rio Hondo on the east also represents former sea extending almost to Uaxactun.





Scope of Model Specification: Limited.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Practically none.

Source:

Stanford Robison. *The Maya Legacy: A Sequel to the Book of Mormon Story*. The Author: Las Vegas, Nevada [c. 1977].

Sahlin 1987 (External) Model

Originator: Ingemar Sahlin.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Not specified.

Land Southward: The states of Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche and Yucatan.

Land Northward: West and north from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Nephi's Landing Place: Laguna Inferior at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Hill Cumorah: Not specified (but implied to be beyond the north border of his Mesoamerican map, for Teancum is put at about Veracruz city and Boas around Tuxpan farther to the north).

Sidon River: Grijalva River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: In the foothills or mountains west of Veracruz.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Directly east of Teotihuacan about half way to the coast.

Land of Zarahemla: Chiefly east of the middle Grijalva River in the highlands of Chiapas but also a small section on the west of the river near the present Nezahualcoyotl Dam. From the dam upstream on the Grijalva to the Guatemalan border is a greater "land of Manti," including along the river Zeezrom, Cumeni, Antiparah (at about Santa Cruz), Judea, David and Angola (at about the Guatemalan border).

City of Zarahemla: Just west of the middle Grijalva River, around Las Palmas.

Land Bountiful: In the narrowest part of the isthmus.

City of Bountiful: Between the mouth of the Coatzacoalcos River and the Tuxtlas Mountains.

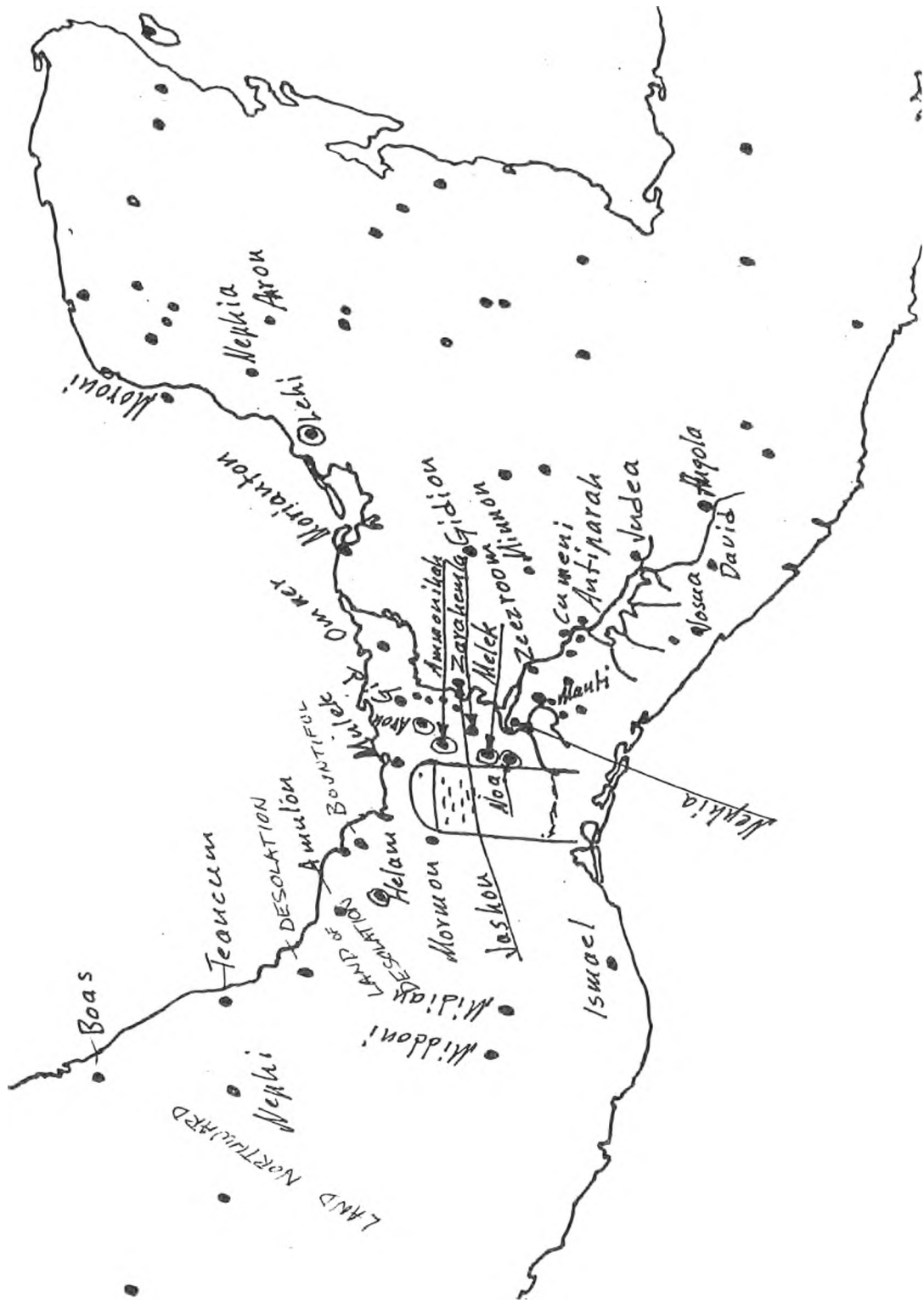
Narrow Pass: From the Coatzacoalcos River area near its mouth to the Tuxtlas Mountains (almost identical to Sorenson's narrow pass but conceived without knowledge of Sorenson's book). The Wilderness of Akish = the Wilderness of Hermounts and occupies the center of the Isthmus (much of the upper Coatzacoalcos River drainage).

Land of Desolation: Immediately west of the Coatzacoalcos River.

Land of Moron: Loosely, Oaxaca.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Cities or Areas Specified: The land of Helam, in the Papaloapan basin. Jerusalem, around Tres Zapotes. Midian and Middoni the valley of Oaxaca. The land of Ishmael, Pacific coastal Oaxaca. The land of Amulon, the Tuxtlas



Mountains. Mulek, around La Venta. Morianton, the west end of the Laguna de Terminos. Lehi and Moroni, in Campeche state. Manti is on the La Venta River not far from Ocozocuatla. (Mosiah discovered Zarahemla by traveling from near Orizaba peak to the middle Grijalva River.) The land of Nehor was the same as the area later known as Zarahemla.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: None indicated.

Scope of Model Specification: A number of maps, legends in Swedish.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None indicated.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Not evident.

Sources:

Personal communication from the originator to LDS Church headquarters, December 1987, forwarded to John L. Sorenson. Also personal communication from Sahlin to Sorenson, February 1988.

Simmons 1948 (External) Model

Originator: Verneil W. Simmons.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Southern Mesoamerica and northern Central America.

Land Northward: Mesoamerica west and north of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Nephi's Landing Place: Implies the Gulf of Fonseca, El Salvador (see Maps 6 and inside cover).

Hill Cumorah: Implied in eastern or central Veracruz inland from an embayment (lower Papaloapan River drainage?).

Sidon River: Usumacinta River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Honduras, El Salvador and southern Guatemala.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Usumacinta River basin.

City of Zarahemla: "Might well be" the site of Yaxchilan.

Land of Bountiful: In the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (page 119 implies that the Tabasco-Chiapas area is meant, but the map on the inside cover shows the area west of the isthmian neck constriction).

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Central Veracruz and westward into the highlands.

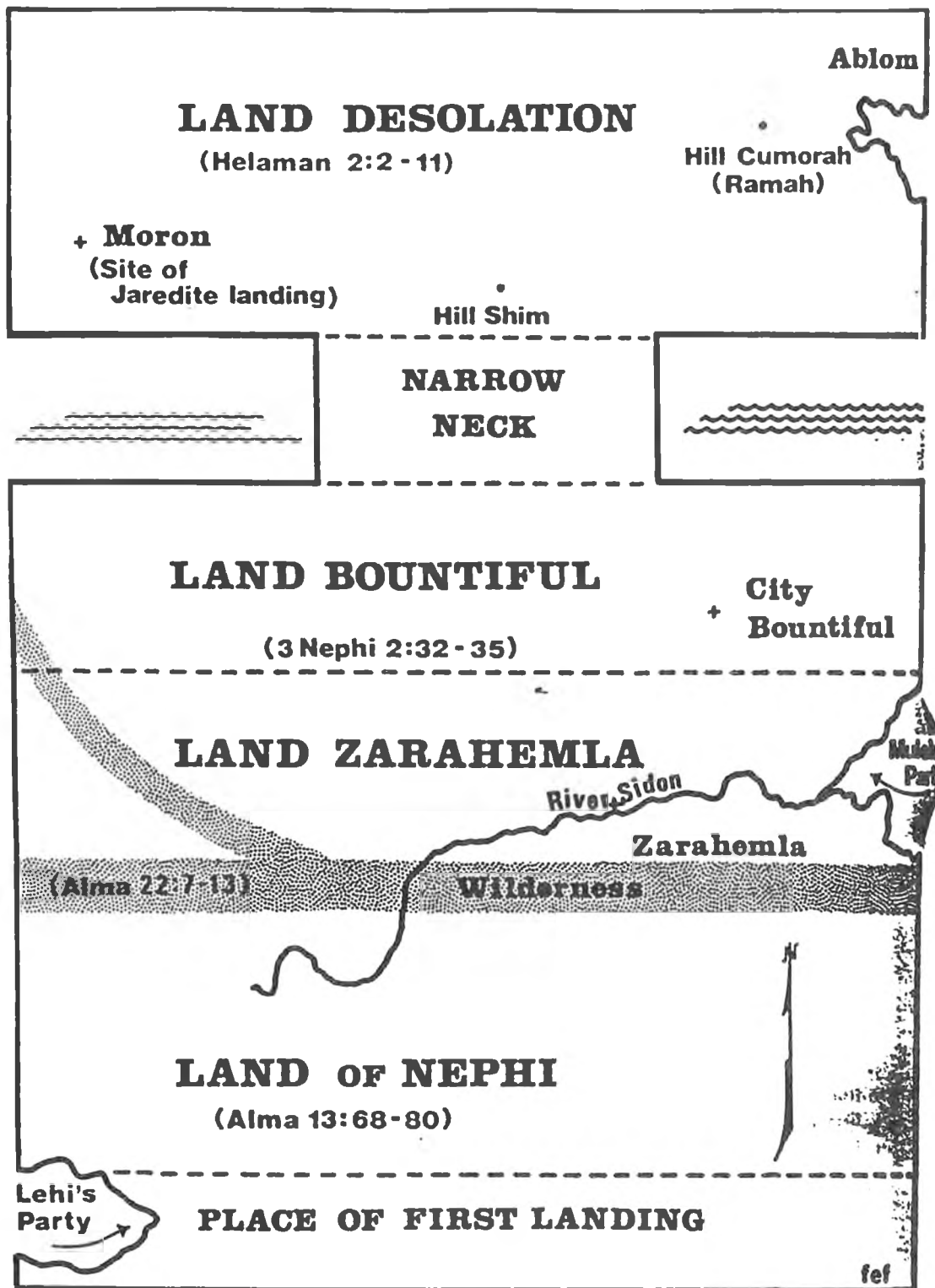
Land of Moron: Implies Guerrero or Oaxaca.

Jaredite Landing Place: Implies Guerrero or Oaxaca.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: The generalized map shows Mulek's party landing at the mouth of the Sidon (Usumacinta). The hill Shim is in the middle of the land just north of the neck. Ablom is by the sea north of an embayment (lower Papaloapan River drainage hinted). The city of Bountiful is mapped in a generalized position considerably inland between the Sidon (Usumacinta) and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Implies no major changes.

Scope of Model Specification: Little detail.



Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Only Paul Hanson and Louis E. Hills are cited.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Some.

Source:

Verneil W. Simmons, Lest We Forget the Lamanite, *Saints' Herald*, September 25, 1948. More in her *Peoples, Places and Prophecies: A Study of the Book of Mormon*. The Author: [McAllen, Texas], 1977.

Sjodahl 1927 (External) Model

Originator: Janne M. Sjodahl.

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: From the Isthmus of Tehuantepec through Central America and South America to Chile.

Land Northward: From the Isthmus of Tehuantepec northward to include all North America.

Nephi's Landing Place: Chile.

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: "There are two lands of Nephi" (page 422). One is in "the place of their father's first inheritance," also called Lehi-Nephi. The other is Nephi in the land of Bountiful. The latter "was Central America, between the Isthmus of Darien and Tehuantepec" (page 424).

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Unclear.

Land of Zarahemla: The Atlantic drainage of Central America (page 426), "from the Gulf of Mexico to the Mosquito coast on the Caribbean Gulf" (page 432).

City of Zarahemla: Not specified.

Sidon River: Not specified.

Land of Bountiful: Extended from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec southward to encompass all Central America, ending in a "narrow strip of wilderness" constituting Panama. It was composed, further, of two areas lying side by side, the land of Nephi on the Pacific side and the land of Zarahemla on the Atlantic side (page 426), "from the Gulf of Mexico to the Mosquito coast on the Caribbean Gulf" (page 432). A city of Bountiful is not specified.

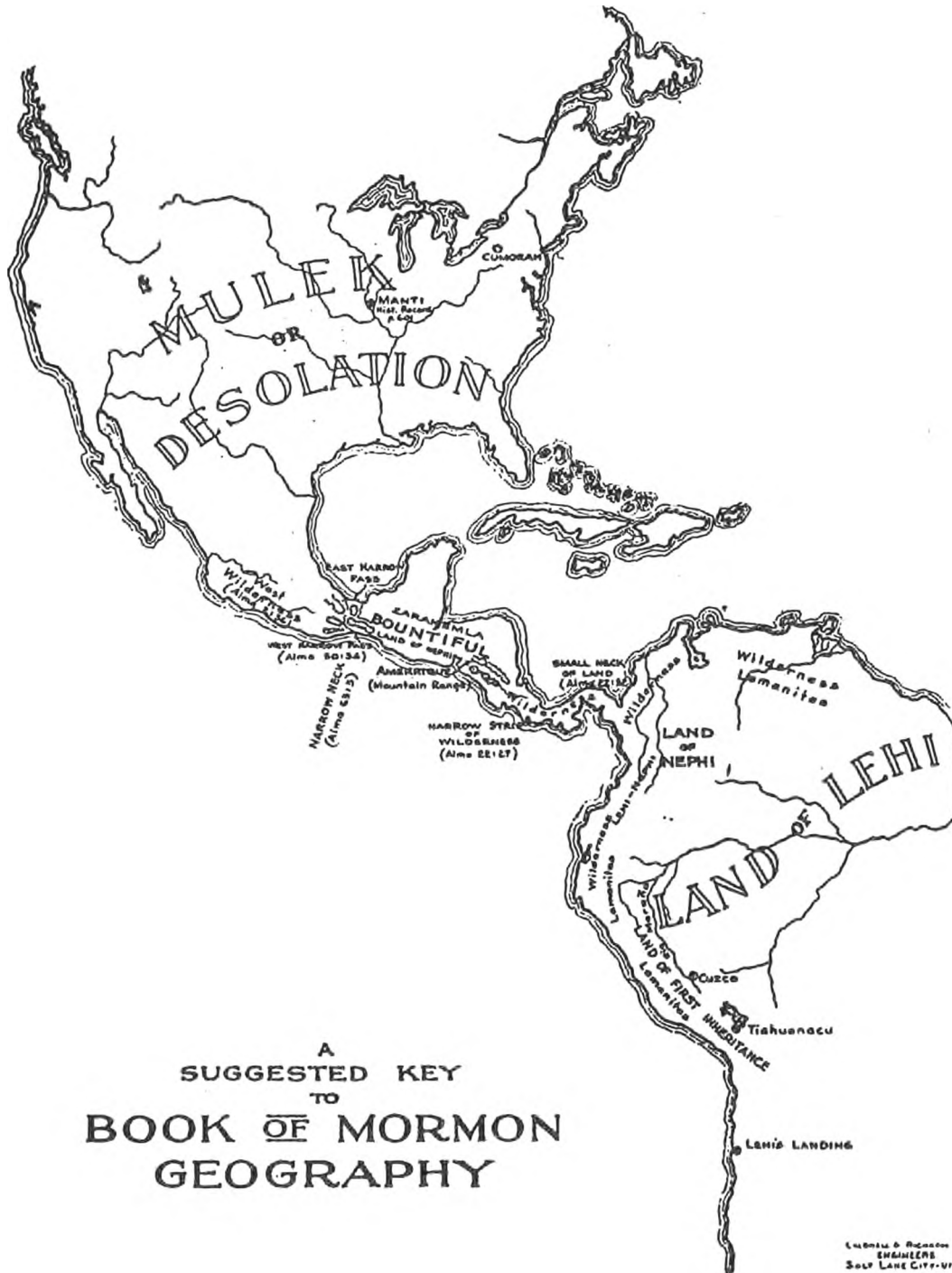
Narrow Pass: The coastal strip on the Pacific side of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, however, the map on page 420 shows this "west narrow pass" and also a corresponding "east narrow pass" on the Gulf of Mexico side.

Land of Desolation: All of Mexico north of Tehuantepec plus North America (i.e., the same as the land northward and also the same as the land of Mulek).

Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: None.



Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: No statement. (Implies little concern.)

Scope of Model Specification: Brief discussion summarized in one map.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Pages 410-418 summarize theories of geography by Reynolds, Ricks, Young and Bagley.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Some.

Source:

Janne M. Sjodahl. Suggested Key to Book of Mormon Geography, *Improvement Era* 30 (September 1927), pages 974-87. Included as part of *An Introduction to the Study of the Book of Mormon*. The Author: Salt Lake City, 1927. See Reynolds 1880 Model for a note on a gratuitous attempt in the 1950s to meld Sjodahl's views with those of Reynolds.

Sorenson 1955 (Internal/External) Model

Originator: John L. Sorenson

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Mexican states of Chiapas and Tabasco and part of Campeche, southern (highland) Guatemala and western El Salvador.

Land Northward: From the Isthmus of Tehuantepec northward and westward a few hundred miles.

Nephi's Landing Place: Within a few miles of the Guatemalan-El Salvador border.

Hill Cumorah: Cerro El Vigia in the Tuxtlas Mountains of southern Veracruz.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Generally the highlands of southern Guatemala; more specifically, the valley of Guatemala.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Very probably the archaeological site of Kaminaljuyu in suburban Guatemala City.

Land of Zarahemla: Most of the state of Chiapas and western Tabasco.

City of Zarahemla: Most likely the archaeological site of Santa Rosa, Chiapas.

Sidon River: Grijalva River.

Land of Bountiful: The immediate eastern side of the Coatzacoalcos River basin.

Narrow Pass: A gravelly ridge about 30 miles long extending from the Coatzacoalcos River near Minatitlan west to Acayucan.

Land of Desolation: An area near the Tuxtlas Mountains immediately west of the Coatzacoalcos River.

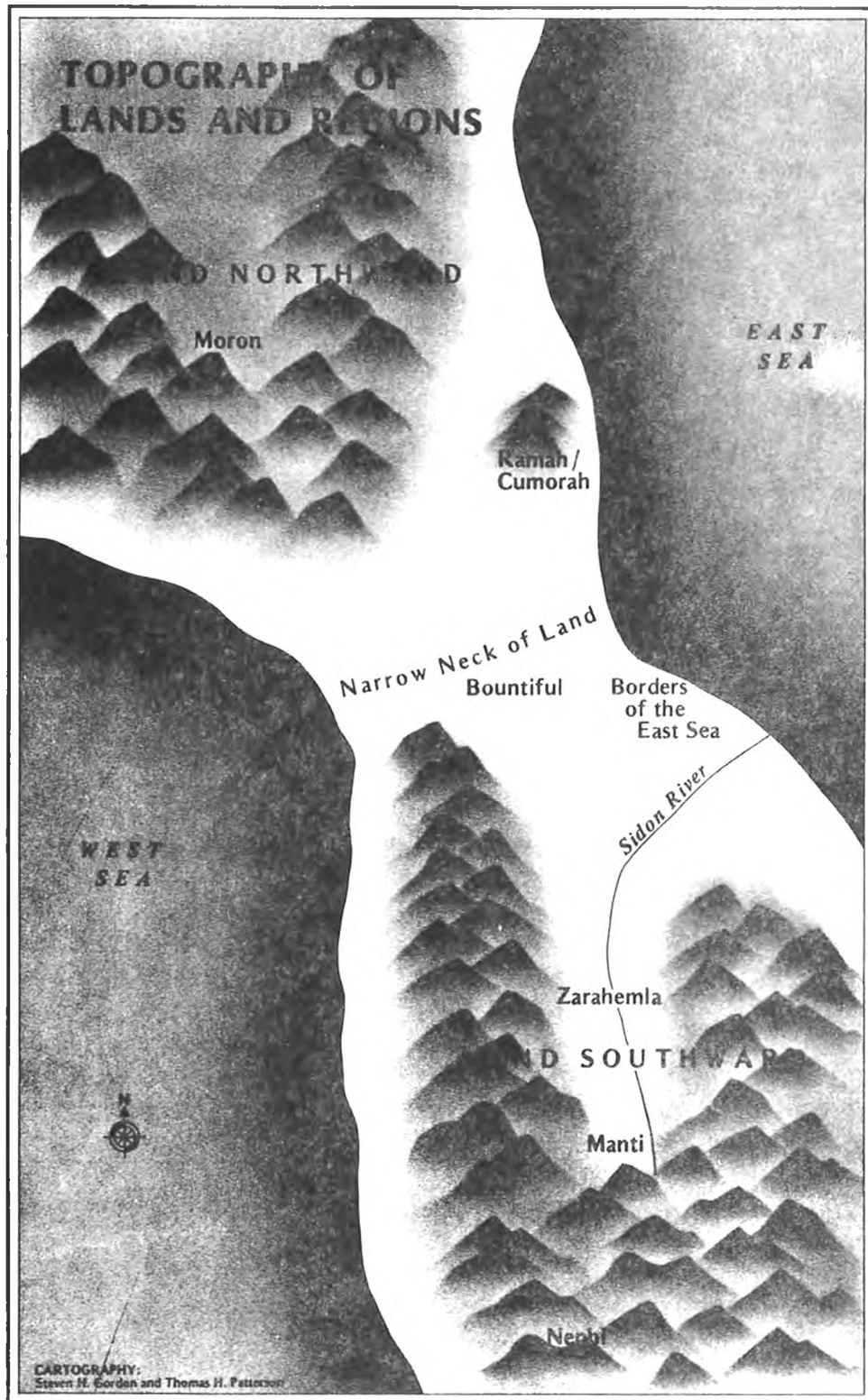
Land of Moron: Most likely in the valley of Oaxaca, although other possibilities can be considered.

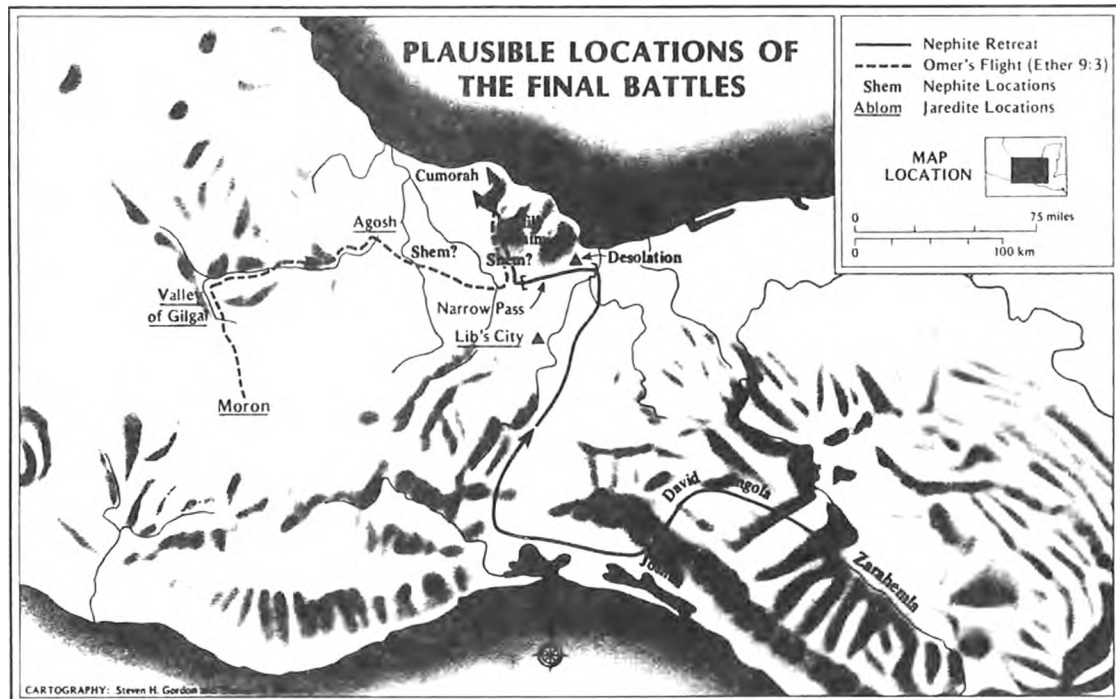
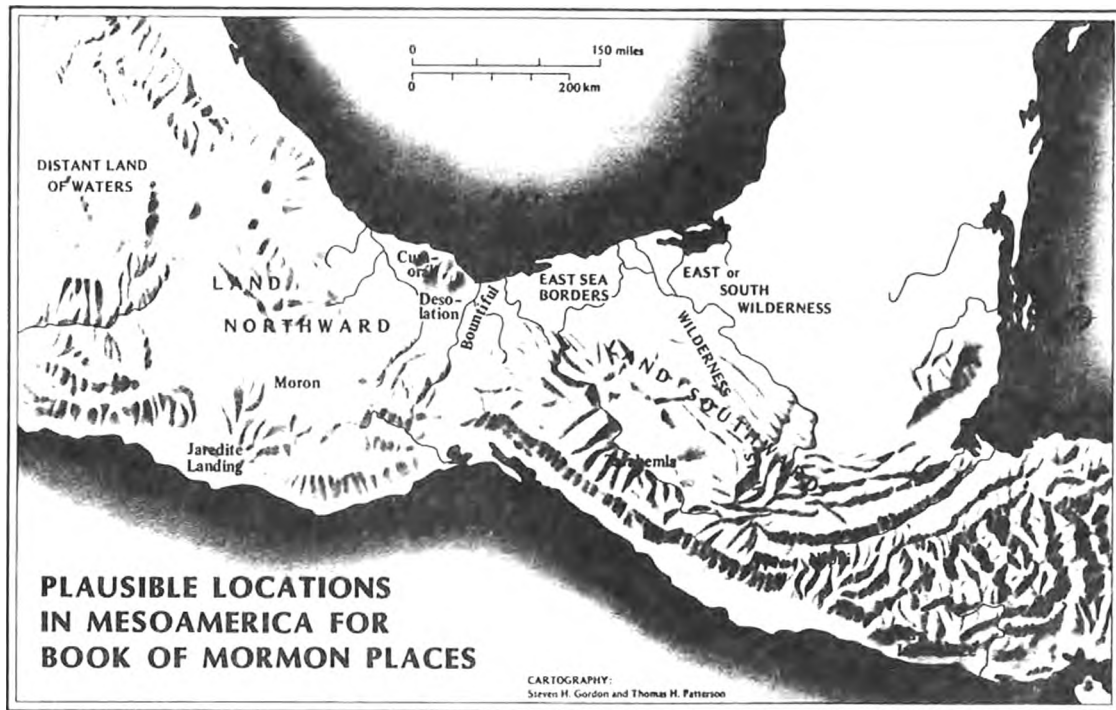
Jaredite Landing Place: Around Acapulco (Pacific crossing), but with some possibility of lying on the Gulf of Mexico (Atlantic crossing).

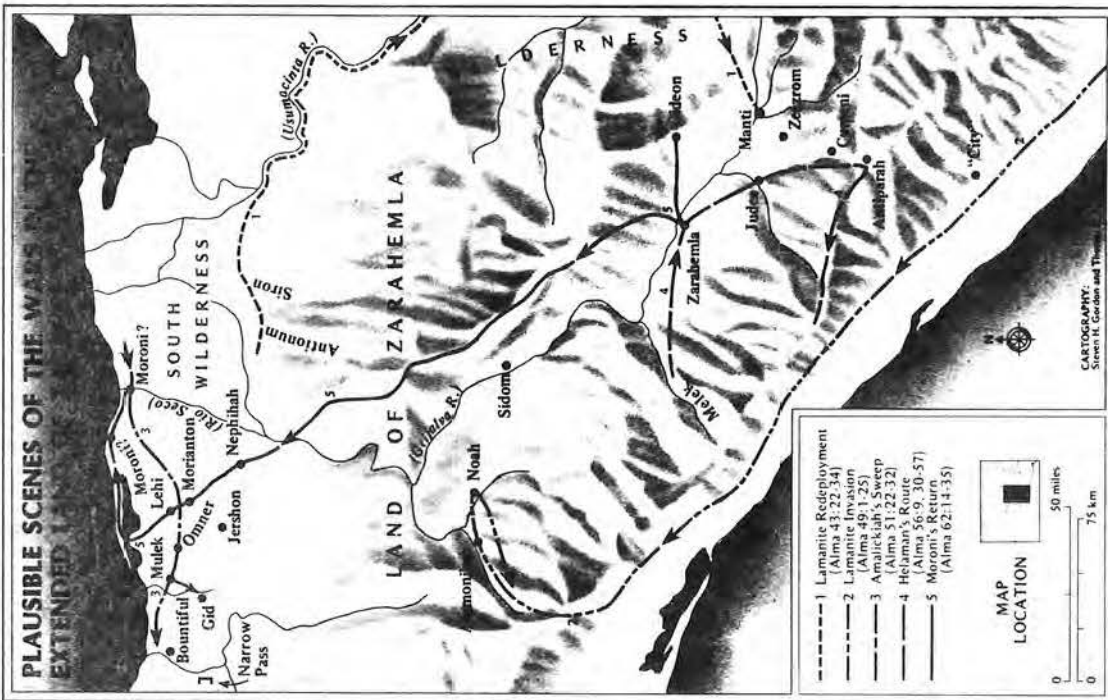
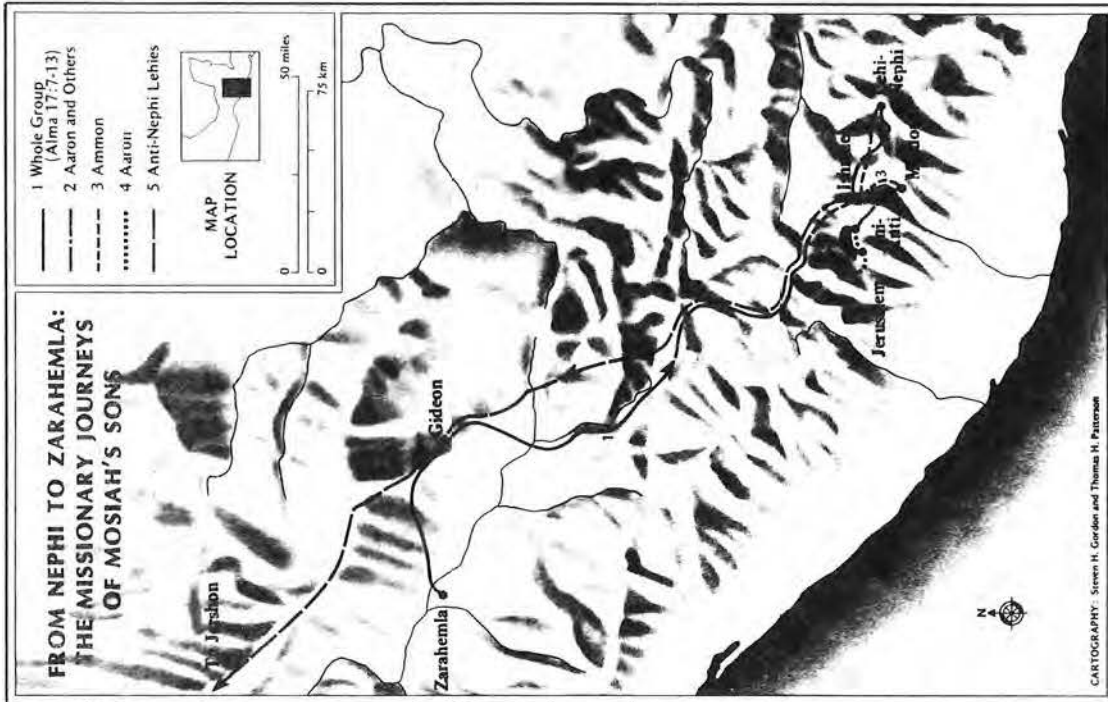
Other Cities or Areas Specified: Virtually every city mentioned in the Book of Mormon for which data are sufficient to suggest a location is represented at a plausible spot by an archaeological site of appropriate age.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: No "major" ones.

Scope of Model Specification: Fairly detailed exposition of internal geography and of the external correlation.







Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Some. Brief acknowledgment is made of influence from Jakeman and Ferguson, but many major ideas and all details of the model are original.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Very extensive.

Source:

John L. Sorenson. *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon*. Deseret Book and Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985, particularly chapter 1. The basics were formulated conceptually in April 1953 while the author was in the field in Chiapas, then were committed to paper around 1955 as a working paper (entitled, *Where in the World*). After further revision of details, an expanded paper (with, Appendix. Some Specific Tests of the Correlation) was circulated in ms. late in 1974 to participants in the so-called Book of Mormon Non-Conference Symposium arranged by David A. Palmer.

Steede 1975 (External) Model

Originator: Neil Steede.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Mesoamerica east and south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Northward: Mesoamerica north and west of the isthmus.

Nephi's Landing Place: Eastern El Salvador.

Hill Cumorah: Not specified (in Tuxtla Mountains implied).

Sidon River: Not specified (Usumacinta River implied).

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Mapped as the "Land of Nephi-Lehi." Highland Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: The states of Chiapas, Tabasco, and Campeche and the Yucatan Peninsula, plus northern, lowland Guatemala and Belize.

City of Zarahemla: Not specified.

Land of Bountiful: The area in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec east of the Coatzacoalcos River.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: South-central Veracruz state.

Land of Moron: The Pacific coastal lowlands of Guerrero-Oaxaca..

Jaredite Landing Place: Mapped on the Pacific coast at about the Guerrero-Oaxaca border.

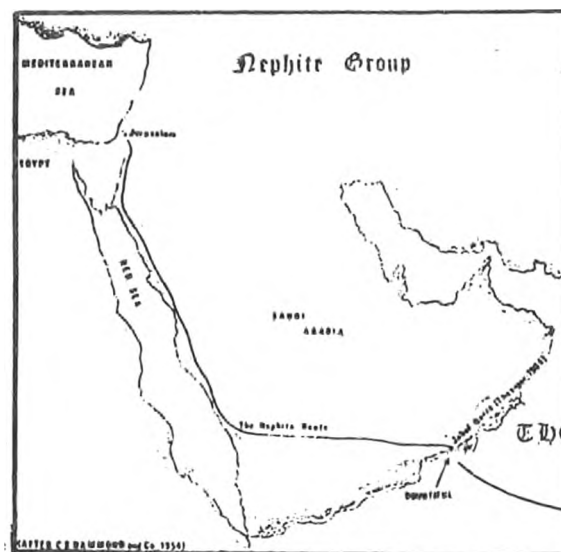
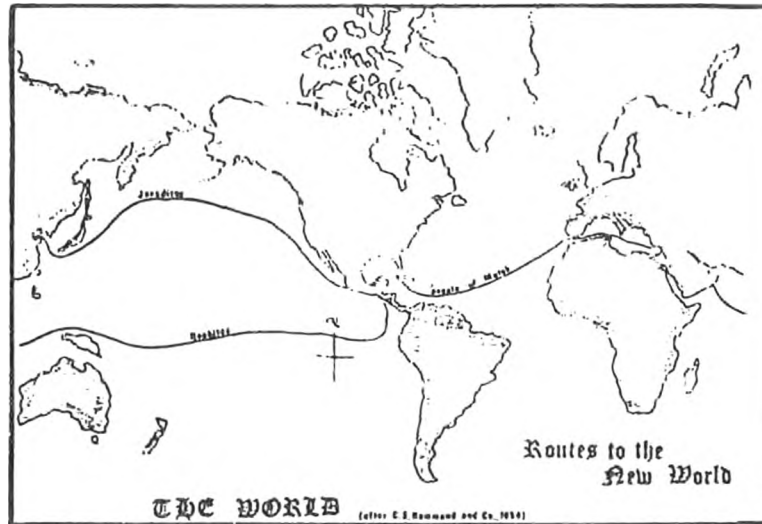
Other Cities or Areas Specified: None.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Unknown.

Scope of Model Specification: One map only.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None indicated. "Based on Verneil Simmons' research," according to Lesh 1984. In turn Steede is credited by Lesh with being the prime inspiration (c. 1975) for Lesh's 1980 model.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None indicated.



Alexander Von Wuthenau. *Unexpected Faces in Ancient America, 1500 B.C. - A.D. 1500; the Historical Testimony of Pre-Columbian Artists*. New York: Crown, 1975. On the same page where he salutes Lord Kingsborough, Von Wuthenau reproduces four maps prepared for him by Steede while a student of Von Wuthenau's at the University of the Americas, Puebla, Mexico, in the early 1970's. Three of the maps, for which no useful comment is given, show "possible routes" of Book of Mormon peoples to the New World; the fourth contains the Meso-American information.

Jarebite Group

many similar tribes

JAREBITE GROUP

JAREBITE RANGE

JAREBITE RIVER

JAREBITE PASS

remains probably no more the same culture

1000 ft



Stout 1950 (External) Model

Originator: Walter M. Stout.

Area Focus: Costa Rica-Nicaragua.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Base of the Nicoya peninsula.

Land Southward: Costa Rica.

Land Northward: Nicaragua.

Nephi's Landing Place: Implied to be in southern Costa Rica.

Hill Cumorah: At the southeast end of Lake Nicaragua.

Sidon River: An unnamed river in northern Costa Rica.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Southern Costa Rica.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Northern Costa Rica.

City of Zarahemla: Not specified.

Land Bountiful: A strip from east-west between the Gulf of Nicoya and the Caribbean.

City of Bountiful: Not specified.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Western and northern Nicaragua.

Land of Moron: In eastern Nicaragua.

Jaredite Landing Place: Eastern Nicaragua.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: See maps.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Implies that no major changes have taken place.

Scope of Model Specification: Considerable. On the top of the map on the back of his 1972 synopsis (the same map as in 1970), is written: "The location of cities here are inaccurate, but the area is dependable."

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None.

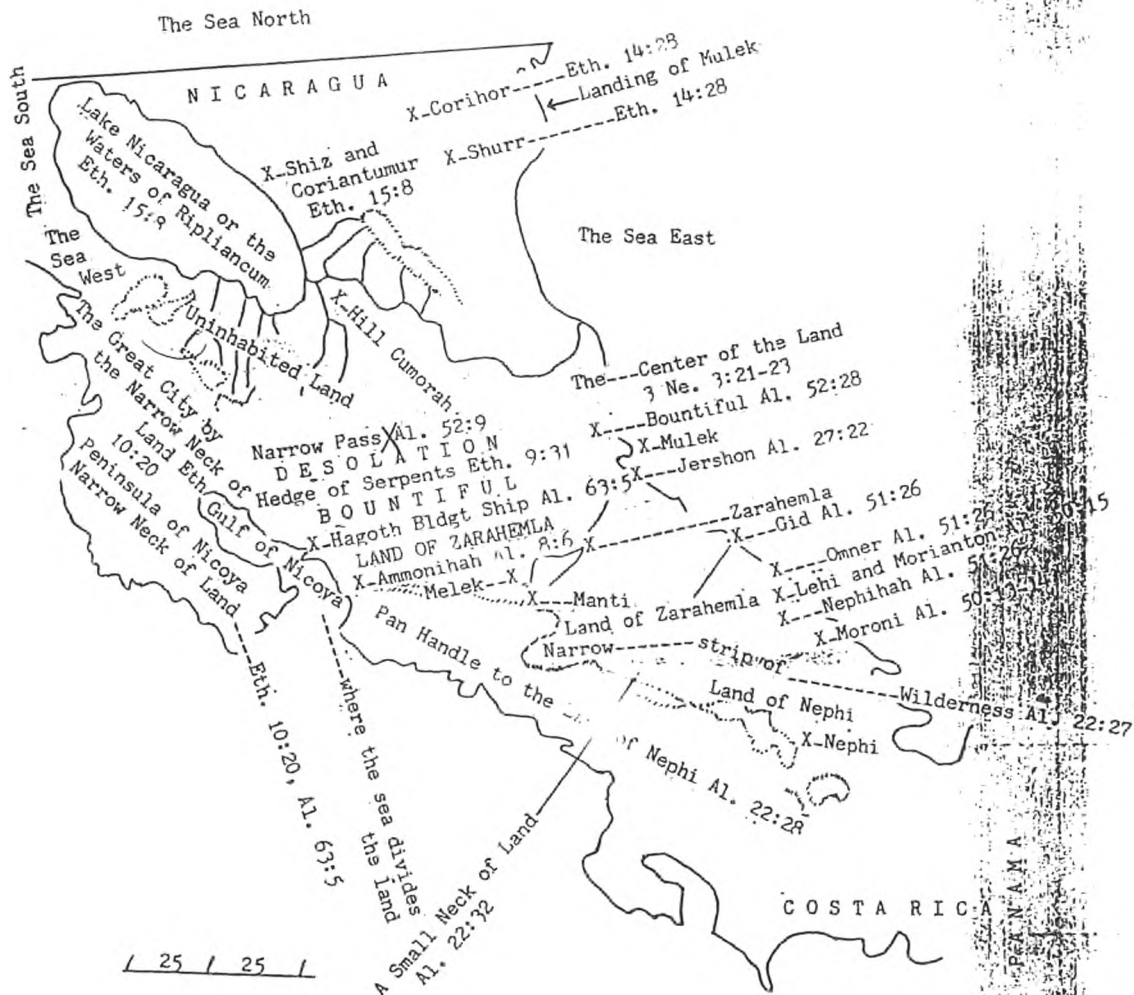
Use of Current External Scholarship: None.

Sources:

Walter M. Stout. *Landing Places of Book of Mormon Colonies*, n.p., n.d. ["copyright 1950" on map]. *Book of Mormon Practical Geography*. Upland, California: Author, 1970. Walter M. Stout. *A Synopsis of The Book of Mormon Practical Geography*. Author: Upland, California, 1972., 7 pp. duplicated.

Stout

The location of cities here are inaccurate, but the area is dependable.



Times and Seasons 1842 (External) Model

Originator: Joseph Smith or John Taylor

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Not stated explicitly, but logically it had to be north of Guatemala, given the positioning of Zarahemla in Central America (see below). ("They lived about the narrow neck of land, which now embraces central America . . .")

Land Southward: Central America and perhaps South America too.

Land Northward: All the land to the north of some point which was northward from Guatemala and Yucatan.

Nephi's Landing Place: Not indicated, but in the same issue of Times and Seasons as the basic statement (15 September 1842), the statement is made that Nephi/Lehi "landed a little south of the Isthmus of Darien [i.e., Panama]" (page 922).

Hill Cumorah: New York.

Sidon River: Not specified.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: "Central America or Guatemala The city of Zarahemla . . . stood upon this land. We are not going to declare positively that the ruins of Quirigua are those of Zarahemla, but . . . we are of the opinion that it would require more proof than the Jews could bring to prove the disciples stole the body of Jesus from the tomb to prove that the ruins of the city in question are not one of those referred to in the Book of Mormon" (1 October 1842, page 927).

City of Zarahemla: One of the ruined cities of Central America or Guatemala, possibly Quirigua.

Land of Bountiful: Not specified.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Not specified.

Land of Moron: Not specified.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: None. Palenque is supposed to be a product of the Nephites, although no specific Book of Mormon city is placed there (15 September 1842, page 914).

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Not indicated.

Scope of Model Specification: Limited and incidental.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: The phrasing at the beginning of the *Times and Seasons* piece seems significant: “. . . We have found another important fact relating to the truth of the Book of Mormon” (emphasis added). I infer from this statement, as well as from the excitement mirrored in the rest of the piece, that the discoveries of Stephens and Catherwood which triggered these comments in the paper were in the process of producing change in the model of Book of Mormon geography held generally until then (but so little is known about the General 1830 Model that what changes those were remains dim).

As to who was responsible for the phrasing of this piece, Joseph Smith, Jr., had announced himself the responsible editor (15 March, 1842, page 710), while John Taylor was the managing editor. John A. Widtsoe has said that the announcement of the Prophet’s editorial responsibility “gives subsequent statements in the newspaper on Book of Mormon geography an authority which they might not otherwise have,” and “offers the only solid Church authoritative base upon which one may pursue a study of Book of Mormon geography” (*Improvement Era*, July 1950, page 129). Apparently nothing more was published at Nauvoo on the subject. Considering the press of ecclesiastical and practical activities that faced the leaders in the months until the martyrdom in 1844, it would not be surprising if this relatively minor topic had to be put aside as a subject of thought and writing despite the initial interest it clearly engendered.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Frankly based on Stephens’ book, then the latest word.

Sources:

See Appendix A.

But Orson Pratt seems to follow this model in the *Millennial Star* in 1848 (15 November), volume 10, pages 346-357) which see in Appendix A.

"Tyler" n.d. (Internal) Model

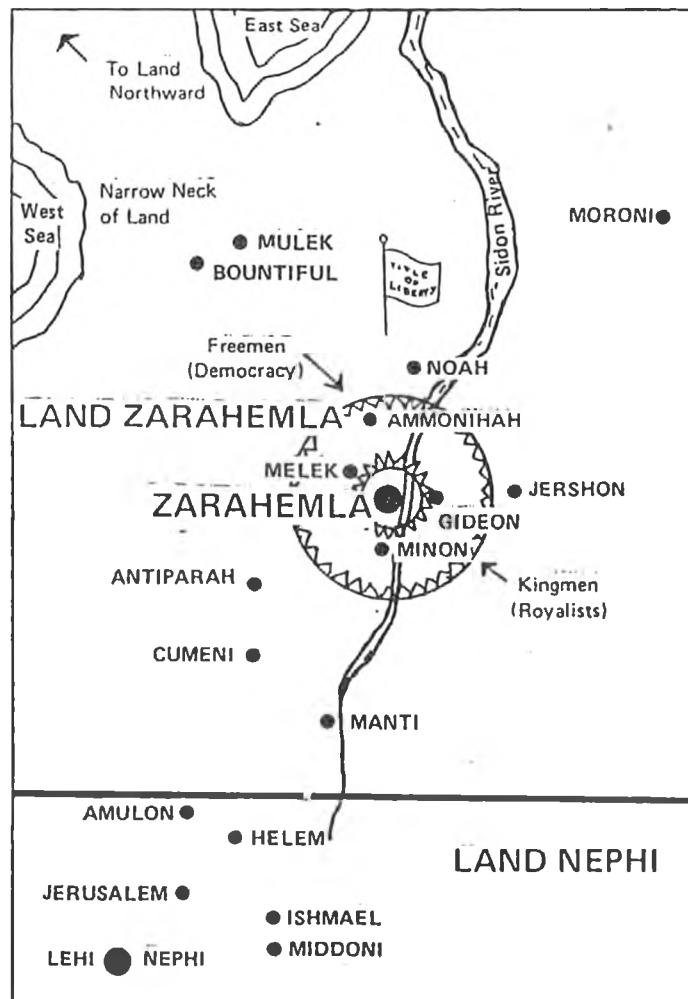
Originator: Thomas L. Tyler.

Degree of Detail: Major communities are mapped but natural features, including configuration of the overall land, are all but completely omitted.

Source:

A sample of individual, unbound, computer-generated (?) maps, apparently selected from an extensive series, is found in a folder in the FARMS' archive. The author is a CES employee and the maps are evidently intended for classroom use. Only one map is reproduced here. Correction: A letter from Tyler after the first printing of this volume disclaims authorship of these maps. They were circulated among some CES teachers a number of years ago. There is a possibility that Karl Wood originated them.

SUPPRESSION OF THE KINGMEN PAHORAN, CHIEF JUDGE, SUSTAINED (ALMA 51)



Vincent 1960? (External) Model.

Originator: Joseph E. Vincent.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Southern and eastern Mesoamerica.

Land Northward: Northern and western Mesoamerica and West Mexico (beyond the usual Mesoamerican boundary).

Nephi's Landing Place: Not indicated.

Hill Cumorah: In or near the Valley of Mexico.

Sidon River: He includes only a single river and refuses to choose between the Grijalva and Sidon, placing his river on his map halfway between the positions where the two actual ones would be.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: In southern Guatemala or Honduras.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not indicated.

Land of Zarahemla: Chiapas and/or Guatemala.

City of Zarahemla: On the upper middle portion of his single river.

Land of Bountiful: The Isthmus of Tehuantepec and westward to about the Valley of Oaxaca.

Narrow Pass: Vaguely in the middle of the Isthmus.

Land of Desolation: Colima-Michoacan-Guerrero-southern Oaxaca.

Land of Moron: Evidently Colima in west Mexico or thereabouts.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not indicated.

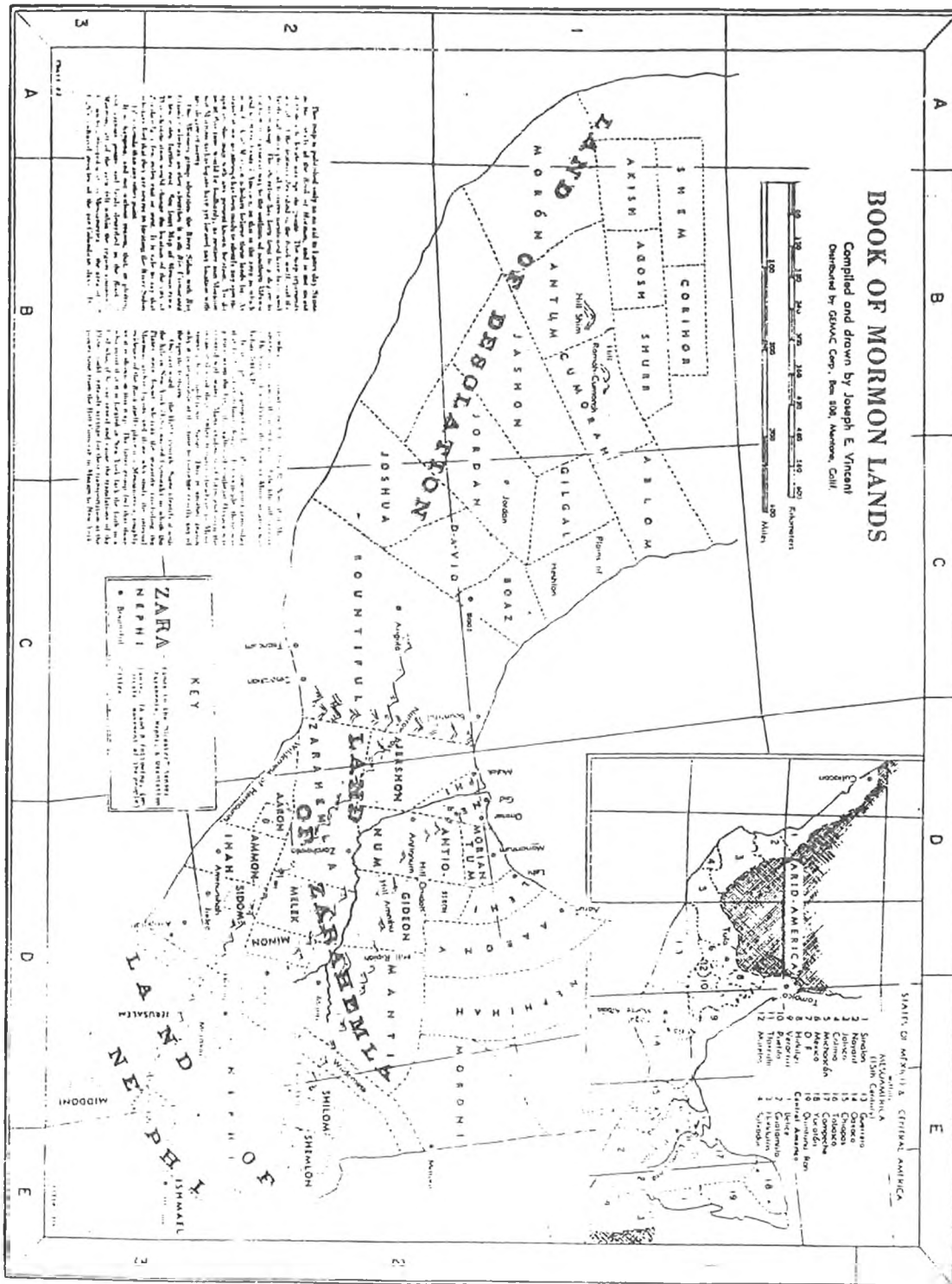
Other Cities or Areas Specified: City of Bountiful, at about the city of Coatzacoalcas. Mulek is La Venta or thereabouts (at least on the west of his Sidon River mouth). Morianton and Lehi, around the Laguna de Terminos. He has two Aarons.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Evidently some, but not decisive.

Scope of Model Specification: Limited.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Nothing explicit, but he indicates awareness of a variety of other models, including Jakeman's.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None indicated.



Sources:

Joseph E. Vincent. *Book of Mormon Lands*. GEMAC Corporation: Mentone, California, 1960. (One map and one page, duplicated). Joseph E. Vincent. Some Views on Book of Mormon Geography. *Papers of the Fourteenth Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures*, edited by Forrest R. Hauck, pages 61-69. Brigham Young University Department of Extension Publications: Provo, Utah, 1963.

Warren 1960 (External) Model

Originator: Bruce W. Warren.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Not clear, but probably the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Southward: Southern and eastern Mesoamerica.

Land Northward: Area of north and west of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec as far as the Valley of Mexico.

Nephi's Landing Place: Pacific coast near Izapa.

Hill Cumorah: In the Valley of Mexico.

Sidon River: Usumacinta River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Extreme western part of highland Guatemala.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Near the Chiapas border of Guatemala.

Land of Zarahemla: Not clear. While the Usumacinta is the Sidon and Manti is at its "head", the city of Zarahemla is shown on the Grijalva around the site of Santa Cruz.

City of Zarahemla: On the Grijalva River around the site of Santa Cruz.

Land of Bountiful: The city, at least, is the site of Aguacatal on the Laguna de Terminos.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: Around Coatzacoalcas.

Land of Moron: Either in the Mixteca Alta of Oaxaca (Yucuñudahui) or to the northeast of there in the mountains.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

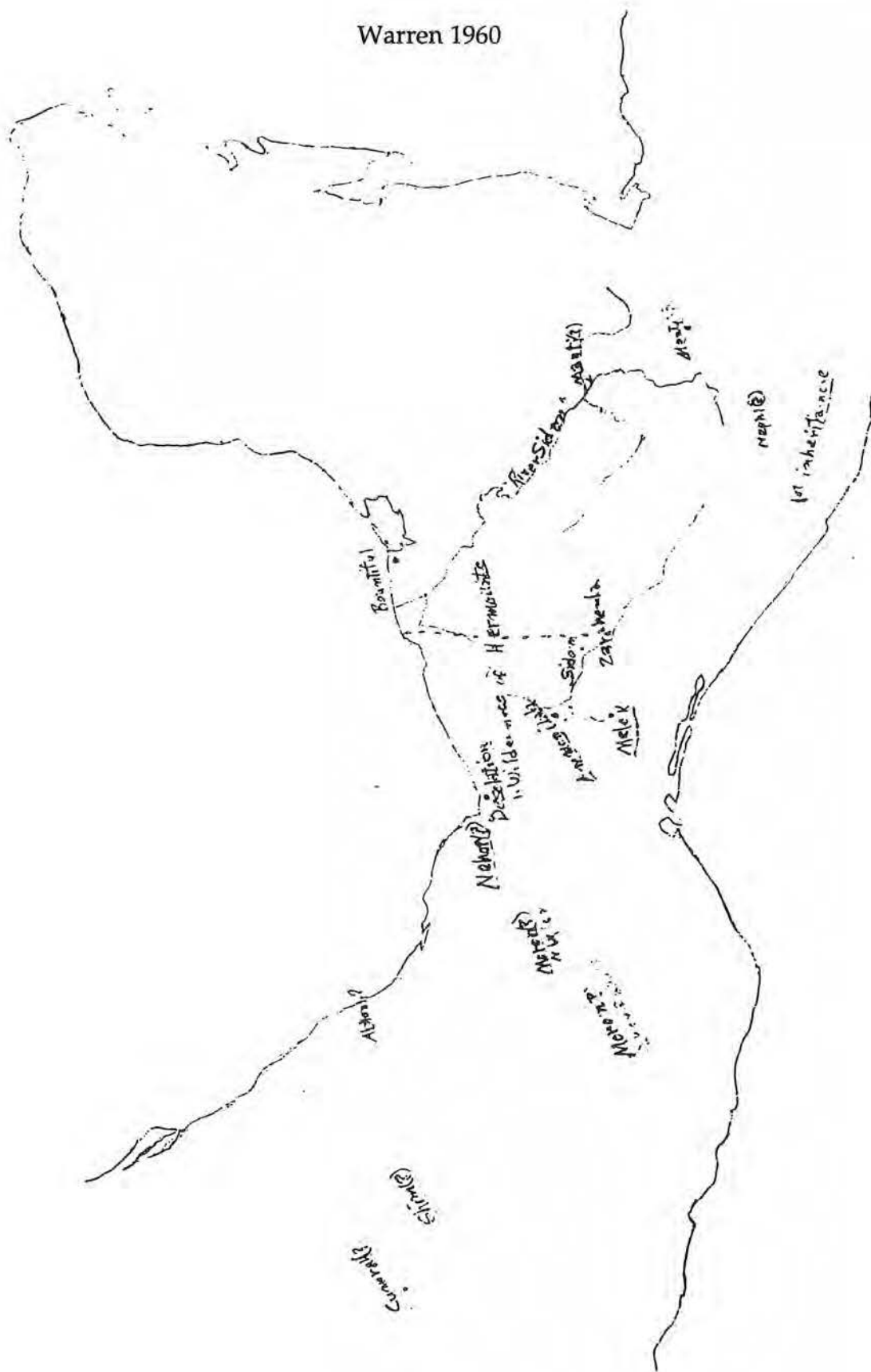
Other Cities or Areas Specified: Each specification is marked with a question mark. Sidom, around Chiapa de Corzo. Land of First Inheritance, the Soconusco coast and into coastal Guatemala. Ablom, near the city of Vera Cruz. Ammnonihah, in the Chiapas highlands just west of the Grijalva. Melek, in western Chiapas around Ocozocuahtla.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: No.

Scope of Model Specification: Single map.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None indicated, although obviously influenced in part by being a student under Jakeman. Also influenced by personal communication with Sorenson.

Warren 1960



Use of Current External Scholarship: Not indicated.

Source:

Personal communication by Warren to J. L. Sorenson sometime in 1960..

Warren 1961 (External) Model

Originator: Bruce W. Warren.

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Strip of coastal dunes facing Lagunas Carmen and Machona in Tabasco state.

Land Southward: Southern and eastern Mesoamerica.

Land Northward: Area of undetermined extent north and west of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Nephi's Landing Place: Pacific coast of Guatemala.

Hill Cumorah: In the western Tuxtla Mountains.

Sidon River: Usumacinta River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: West highlands of southern Guatemala.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Near the Chiapas border of Guatemala.

Land of Zarahemla: West of the middle Usumacinta River.

City of Zarahemla: Not specified.

Land of Bountiful: The Laguna de Terminos area.

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: The La Venta area of Tabasco.

Land of Moron: In the mountains east of the Valley of Oaxaca.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Each specification is marked with a question mark. City of Bountiful, the site of Aguacatal on the Laguna de Terminos. Sidom, around Chiapa de Corzo. Moroni, around the mouth of the Motagua River. Lehi, on the coast near Cozumel. Morianton and Omner, in northwestern Yucatan. Mulek, south of Aguacatal on the Laguna de Terminos. Ishmael, Pacific coastal Guatemala. Helam, on the Cuilco River (tributary of the upper Grijalva River). Jacobugath, near Panuco, the Huasteca.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: None indicated.

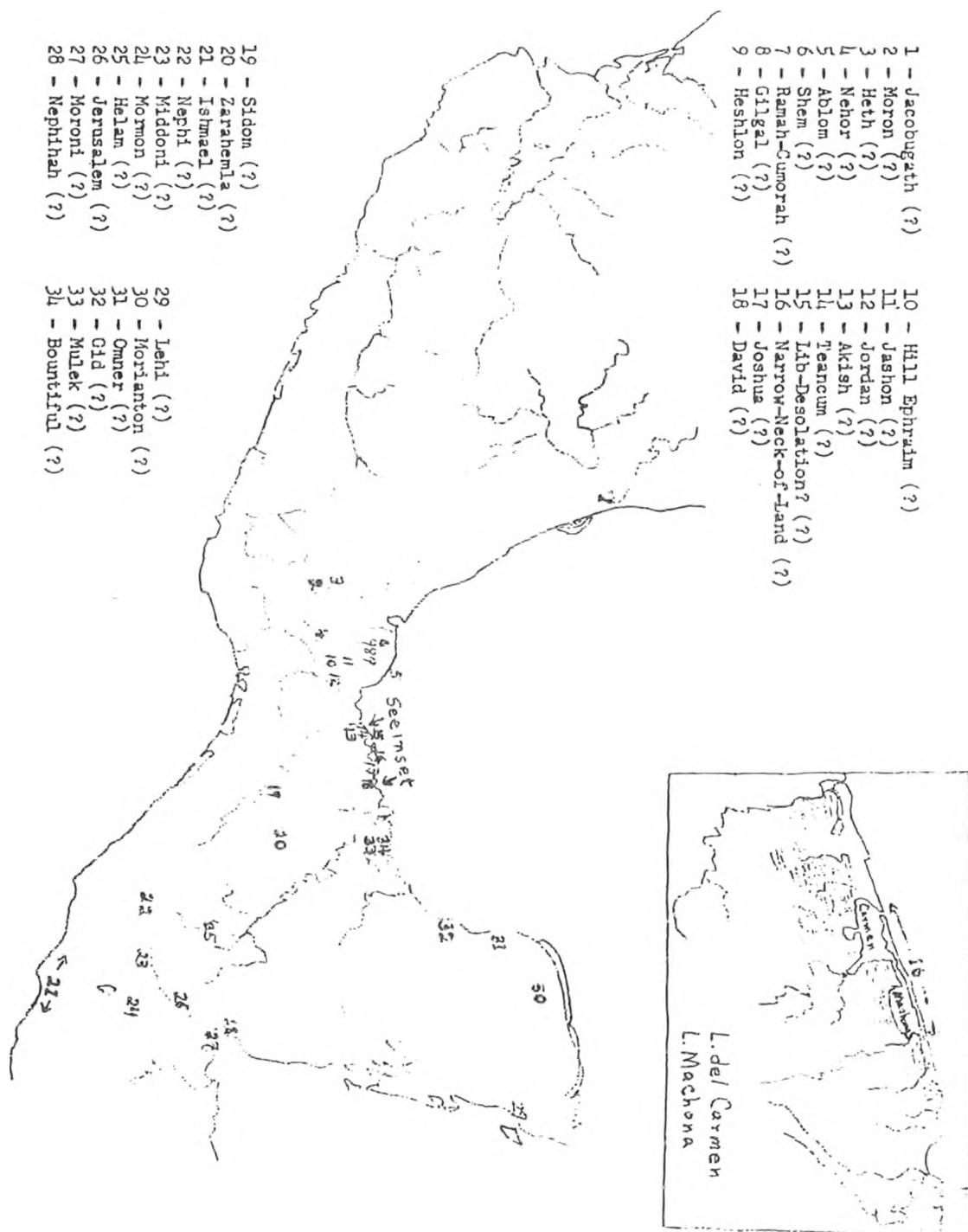
Scope of Model Specification: Seven-page single-spaced letter plus map.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: None indicated, although obviously influenced in part by being a student under Jakeman.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Substantial.

Source:

Personal communication by Warren to J. L. Sorenson, 17 Feb. 1961.



Warren 1963 (External) Model

In the 1963 symposium presentation which was later published as Vincent 1963, Vincent projected a map furnished him by Warren, which he does not reproduce in the printed account. Warren is said to have Yucatan as the land northward and the highlands to the south as Nephi.

Warren has now essentially adopted Sorenson's model (adding Nehor at Laguna de los Cerros), as seen in the end map in Bruce L. Warren and Thomas Stuart Ferguson, *The Messiah in Ancient America*, Provo, Utah: Book of Mormon Research Foundation, 1987.



Washburn/Washburn 1939 (Internal/Minimal External) Model

Originators: J. A. Washburn and J. N. Washburn

Area Focus: Mesoamerica.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: The Isthmus of Tehuantepec ("For want of something better, the writers tentatively accept the view that the Isthmus of Tehuantepec was the narrow neck." However, "it might perhaps as well have been the Isthmus of Honduras.")

Land Southward: In Central America south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Northward: From the Isthmus of Tehuantepec northward perhaps a few hundred miles.

Nephi's Landing Place: On the Pacific Coast in the Land Southward.

Hill Cumorah: Not specified although surely in Central America near the narrow neck.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Not specified.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: Not specified.

City of Zarahemla: Not specified.

Sidon River: Not specified.

Land of Bountiful: Not specified.

Narrow Pass: Not specified, but considered a feature within and part of the narrow neck, while not the same as the neck.

Land of Desolation: Implied to be the area immediately west of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land of Moron: Near the Gulf of Mexico coast and the narrow neck (the 1968 map alone details a "suggested setup of Jaredite homeland" while that of 1977 still shows Moron; all others show only Ablom of the Jaredite places).

Jaredite Landing Place: On the Gulf of Mexico.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: None.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Maybe.

Scope of Model Specification: Detailed exposition of internal geography but only scattered, diffident comments regarding an external correlation.

Washburn/Washburn



1984

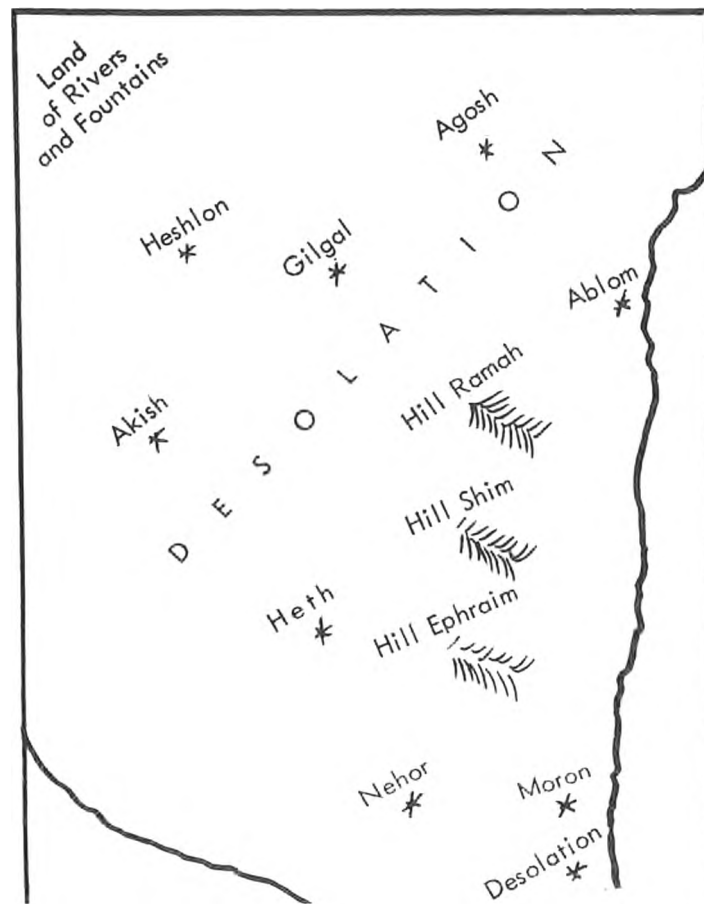
Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Some (vague, usually not documented). They make slight comments on W. Young and B. H. Roberts, but largely they consider their view original.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None.

Sources:

J. A. Washburn and J. N. Washburn. *An Approach to the Study of Book of Mormon Geography*. New Era: Provo, UT, 1939. Jesse A.'s master's thesis at BYU in 1940 (*A Study of the Geography of the Book of Mormon*) was, if anything, even less committal on external correlation.

J. Nile, the son, in later publications continued presenting the model without further external correlations, although with increasing internal detail. See his *Book-of-Mormon Guidebook (Where They Went and How They Got There—with Sundry Related Matters)*. Author: n.p., 1968; *Book of Mormon Lands and Times*, Horizon Publishers: Bountiful, Utah, c. 1974; and his last, *The Miracle of the Book of Mormon*. Author: Orem, Utah, 1984. If anything, he became even more vague about outside correlations as time went on.



Wilde 1947 (External) Model

Originator: Orrin G. Wilde.

Area Focus: Hemisphere.

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Panama.

Land Southward: South of Panama? [Impossible to define, as the author's language and logic defy my deciphering them—see pp. 12-14).]

Land Northward: From Panama northward, including the lands of Bountiful and Zarahemla (sic, p. 20).

Nephi's Landing Place: Chile implied.

Hill Cumorah: In New York.

Sidon River: Not specified (vaguely said to be in Central America, p. 26).

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: The Nephites may have called all South America the land of Nephi, or perhaps only the northern part.

City of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi): Not specified.

Land of Zarahemla: North of Bountiful. The Nephites may have called all North America the land of Zarahemla [sic].

City of Zarahemla: In Central America near the west coast.

Land of Bountiful: Panama. (But, page 8, also Panama was the wilderness between the land of Nephi and the land of Zarahemla.)

Narrow Pass: Not specified.

Land of Desolation: The same as the land of Zarahemla

Land of Moron: In Central America.

Jaredite Landing Place: Not specified.

Other Cities or Areas Specified: None clearly.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Not indicated.

Scope of Model Specification: Rambling and unsystematic through 26 pp.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Essentially none.

Use of Current External Scholarship: None.

Source:

Orrin G. Wilde. *Landmarks of Ancient American People*. Author: n. p., 1947.

Young Pre-1920? (External) Model

Originator: Willard Young.

Area Focus: Northern Central America. ["The whole story of the Book of Mormon is in the area of 9 and a half degrees west of Washington to 12 degrees west of Washington, and from 13 degrees to 16 degrees north"]

Features:

Key Features:

Narrow Neck: Implied, at the Bay of Honduras/Bay of Amatique.
"The line between the land northward and the land southward is a little west of the mountains" just west of the Chamelicon River.

Land Southward: Western Honduras.

Land Northward: From the Motagua River valley into "Lower Mexico".

Nephi's Landing Place: Bay of Fonseca, El Salvador/Honduras.

Hill Cumorah: In the upper part of the Motagua River valley, Guatemala, In the vicinity of Chiquimula.

Sidon River: Ulua River.

Other Features:

Land of Nephi: Upper Humuya River Valley, Honduras.

City of Nephi: Near the Hill Congoca of modern Honduras, near Tegucigalpa.

Land of Zarahemla: All of the land north of the city of Zarahemla to the Bay of Honduras and east of the mountains, from 11 to 10 degrees latitude and 15 - 16 degrees longitude.

City of Zarahemla: Near the junction of the rivers Blanco, Humuya and Santiago.

Land Bountiful: Immediately west of the River Chamelicon.

Narrow Pass: Along the coast near the Bay of Honduras.

Land of Desolation:

Land of Moron: "Lower Mexico" including Palenque and southward to Honduras.

Jaredite Landing Place:

Other Cities or Areas Specified: Land of Manti is the valley of the Sulaco River, Honduras. Jerusalem is adjacent to Lake Yojoa. East of the mouth of the River Sidon was called the sea east and west of the mouth was the sea west. Hagoth left from near the mouth of the Ulua River and sailed to Florida; his descendants were probably the mound builders of the Mississippi River valley. Temple in the land Bountiful where the Savior appeared was at Ouirigua. Waters of Ripliancum were the River Motague.

Belief in Major Geological/Physiographic Changes: Apparently none.

Scope of Model Specification: Extensive, in discursive format only.

Use of Past Book of Mormon Scholarship: Not explicit.

Use of Current External Scholarship: Appends a chart of civilizations from H. Spinden.⁰

Source:

Janne M. Sjodahl. *An Introduction to the Study of the Book of Mormon*. The author: Salt Lake City, 1927, pages 413-415. Sjodahl's summary indicates that the originator's "forcefully advocated" presentation of this view, apparently by lecture, is "of more recent date" than Ricks' model published in 1916. Young was among four persons who in 1921 presented their opinions at "what appears to be a quasi-official meeting at Church headquarters on the question of geography" (so Bruce Van Orden in an unpublished paper, "George Reynolds and Janne M. Sjodahl on Book of Mormon Geography"). This indicates that his views probably were well known by a few years before 1920.

Also, Willard Young, *Notes on Geographical References in the Book of Mormon*. Typescript, copy in LDS Church Historical Department. No date, but he refers to the 1920 edition of the *Book of Mormon*.

Part 3

The Resulting Problem
and How to Proceed

The Resulting Problem and How to Proceed

Parts 1 and 2 have shown that 160 years of ad hoc modeling or interpretation of the geography of Book of Mormon events have failed to settle much about the question of where were the lands in which Book of Mormon events took place. My reading of the models leaves me discouraged even while granting that some things of enduring value have been distilled through this haphazard historical process.

If we are serious about answering the question—and I at least am—what should we do that is different? Well, the question itself has two sides to it. Our goal has to be to construct an equation involving the two sides:

Nephite locations A, B, C, etc. = New World locations X, Y, Z, etc.

We cannot work on the whole equation without first attaining thorough definition of the variables on either side of the equal sign. Equipping ourselves with that thorough knowledge demands different capabilities on the one side and on the other. For the external world, we cannot substitute knowledge of scripture for knowledge of climate, topography, hydrography, etc. Unavoidably, we must have a profound grasp of the elements of the physical and cultural scene in its own terms—without any reference to the scripture. Most people offering models show that they have limited knowledge of that world. On the other side, we must know all there is to know about the statements in the Book of Mormon on the matters at hand—without any reference to external geography, archaeology, or history.

Everything done so far in studying the geography of Book of Mormon events has been inadequate by reason of incompleteness, if not of real errors. All the models reviewed in Part 2 have been partial and many are pitifully naive. On the textual side, examination reveals that every single model has failed to deal successfully with certain geographical data in the scripture. As for the external world, most of the models again have failed to provide convincing evidence that the model maker understands such things as actual rates of travel over several types of ancient American terrain, or medical, ecological, and economic factors involved in population growth and stasis. We have all simply not been careful enough, by far. So at this time there is no way convincingly to argue where the equal sign in the equation should be placed. That will continue so long as we are ignorant about either or both sides of the equation.

Of course it is truism that studies of an ancient text should begin with the text itself. Yet most studies in fact neither begin nor end so. For example, the Bible text. Works on this record typically begin with *assumptions* about the Bible (as well as about documents in general, the nature of humans, the cosmos, etc.). The text then becomes a source of fragments which are considered in the light of the initial assumptions, usually employed to justify

the assumptions. Was there ever a study which began assuming that the Old Testament text was composed by combining two, or three, or four ancient sources (traditions or manuscripts) which did not at the end conclude that indeed there were two, or three, or four such elements? Or, where is a Christian evangelical exegete who has failed to identify and support his own brand of theology through his writings about the Bible? Many purport to “let the text speak for itself,” but that is nonsense. For practically all of us, our anxiety to *hear* what we want to hear almost invariably overwhelms the other voice(s) the text conceivably may be directing toward our ears.

My own book cites Book of Mormon verses over 960 times. But even so many citations does not mean that the text is “speaking for itself.” For who can doubt that I *chose* those verses and the interpretations I provided for them while omitting others. Other people too have chosen their verses and their interpretations. We cannot get far if mere opinion determines which set of verses we rely on, whether it is 1000 or 10.

We need instead to use the *entire* scripture, without exception. Selectivity should be avoided like the plague. We must understand, interpret and deal successfully with *every* statement in the text, not just what is convenient or interesting to us. That can only be done, I believe, by doing our level best to approach the words of the Book of Mormon having to do with geography without preconceptions. I admit that my own (1955) model was tainted by preconceptions. So has everybody else’s been.

If we are to progress in this task, we must chop away and burn the conceptual underbrush that has afflicted the effort in the past. We must stop asking, as so many do, what have the Brethren said about this in the past? It is clear enough (see Appendix A) that none of them knew the answer (which is what some of them have said often enough). And equally we must stop asking, what civilization known to the archaeologists must the Nephites have participated in? This is completely irrelevant at the present stage of study. Where we must begin is with the words of Mormon and his associates who kept the original records. From their words we must derive every scrap of meaning; I assume that their knowledge of geography was so integral and holistic that meanings are tucked into their records at a level below intention. We must sift for these. We cannot omit any of them, for crucial clues may occur in or between words or lines where we had not seen them before.

To summarize, the following steps are necessary, and no other set of steps nor any other order for accomplishing them can solve our problem:

1. Purge our minds as far as possible of preconceptions about where the Book of Mormon lands were.
2. Analyze as freshly and completely as possible every geographical fact and sound inference which the texts require or make likely.
3. Realizing that in fact we cannot completely rid ourselves of preconceptions or make inferences without some factual or logical

errors, we should guard against hidden biases or errors by displaying for examination by other students as much of our mental processing as we are able. This requires writing out our work in detail; only written communication permits the careful examination by others that such work demands. (The resulting volume of writing may seem tedious to those not sufficiently motivated to the task.)

4. Mutual criticism (again ideally in writing) is essential to reveal points where different students can agree or where they need to improve their thinking or information. This criticism need not be uncharitable, although truth must be the ultimate standard.
5. By this repetitive process all should move toward consensus. However, the end result may be a conclusion that the text does not provide enough information, as read at this time, to come to full consensus on a single-text based model. That can only be learned by trying.
6. So far as a single model emerges from this effort, then one-half—the prerequisite half—of the equation has been prepared. Only after this has happened can a definitive search for external correlations be carried out. Until then anything said about external geography, archaeology, linguistics or the like for any location in America can only be prejudicial to the suspension of opinion that we ought to maintain.

In Part 4, I undertake to make my contribution to step 3 above. I provide a nearly exhaustive (to this moment) analysis and commentary on what the statements in the Book of Mormon text involving geography mean to me. My intent is to open up step 4. I look forward to careful, written critiques which will convince me where I have misinterpreted.

Part 8 consists of a map summarizing much of what I consider to have been learned in Part 4.

Parts 5 and 6 are simply helps—indexes and summary—for dealing with Part 4; however they do not do justice to the former because of their lack of detail.

Part 7 is another summary of the results from Part 4 put in the form of a “report card.” With this anyone interested could grade (in the manner of a teacher) any of the models in Part 2. I am personally not interested in rehashing the old models in this much detail. Most of them are manifestly inadequate; any grading of them at this point in time is of little value for future effort.

I emphasize that the question of external correlation is of no concern in this present work. We first have to get straight about the textual geography. That is my entire concern here. Someday, those who live long enough may engage in the test of external correlation, but now that is premature.

Part 4

The Text Verse by Verse: Geographical Relationships, Extents and Characteristics, with Commentary

The Text Verse by Verse: Geographical Relationships, Extents and Characteristics, with Commentary

Assumptions and Editorial Considerations:

1. The original text was produced by men who often had first-hand knowledge of the events and scenes of which they spoke. Other parts of the text they based on reports and records from others who were direct observers, even though their words have not always been passed on to us.

2. Thus I consider that, minor slips of the "pen" aside, all the information on geography will prove to be consistent.

3. When the text uses the expressions "up," "down," and "over" in a geographical context, these refer to elevation. Neither in the text itself nor in the Hebrew background of its authors do we find reason to expect idiomatic usage that would otherwise consistently explain these prepositions. For example, from the land of Nephi to the land of Zarahemla is always either "down" or else any indication of elevation is missing. We do not know enough about the process by which Joseph Smith translated the Book of Mormon into English from the original plates to be able to explain how these topographical prepositions in the English were arrived at. But they are there, and, like the consistencies which have been demonstrated in "word prints" within the writings of the various authors credited in the text, they are phenomena to be dealt with in any discussion of translation.

4. There will be terms in the translated text that cannot be straight-across equivalents of the original words. This is obviously true of any ancient, or other-cultural, text when translated. Such terms as *cumom* and *neas* which Joseph Smith left untranslated are obvious examples of one problem faced by the translator in dictating the English text. Yet it should be equally obvious that there are other words for which we draw meanings that remain ambiguous. They represent reasonable approximations in English of the concepts in the language of the original record. Joseph Smith was like other translators in being limited in the precision with which he could find equivalents (compare Doctrine and Covenants 1:24: revelations are "given unto my servants in their weakness, after the manner of *their* language"—emphasis added). Moroni himself was acutely aware of the difficulty of getting his words "right" in the original record (see Ether 12:23-25). All the more should we realize that every expression in the Nephite text has not been rendered to English with equal clarity (examples of imprecision, for us, are "sanctuary," "synagogue," "dragons," "flocks of herds" [Enos 1:21], "cimeter," "fountains," and "machinery").

5. The previous general point has particular relevance as we think about directional terms in the Book of Mormon. The matter is discussed at some length in Appendix C. We realize with a little thought that direction terminology in the text is not perfectly clear-cut. (Just as our own everyday discourse about directions is not obvious. Is Los Angeles south or west from Salt Lake City? What is "north" about the "North Sea" off England? Where does "the West" begin in the USA?) At the least we must realize that in the Nephite record "northward" is not the same concept as "north." The Book of Mormon English edition refers to "land north" five times but to "land northward" thirty-one ("land south" five and "land southward" fourteen). So, I must suppose that there is significant ambiguity in many of the translated directional terms.

6. I assume too that all the relations and phenomena known in present day nature prevailed in Book of Mormon times. That is, water ran from mountains to seas, the "headwaters" of the river Sidon had to be higher in elevation than any point downstream, and the river ultimately debouched into a sea, while a "continental" divide must have run through both the land southward and the land northward such that streams on one side of the divide flowed to the west sea on the one hand or the east sea on the other.

7. Logic governs in geographical analysis as much as in literary or theological analysis. So, if land A is indicated in the narrative to be northward from land B, then land C, which is later encountered enroute from A to B, must also be northward from A. Likewise, the river Sidon must have its own drainage basin, with elevated lands on its bounding sides. It may seem absurd to spell out such a basic assumption, yet sound logic has been absent from so many correlations in the past that we can not simply suppose that "anybody would know that." Evidently not.

8. Any discussion of the geography must be exhaustive; selective citation of the scriptures treating lands, elevations, etc., will not do, for each clue ultimately should fit with every other. (However, the text we now have available may be too short in terms of its geographical information to permit complete elucidation. But what there is should be consistent.)

9. The spelling and capitalization of place names is that used in recent LDS editions of the Book of Mormon

10. Reference numbers are provided below to facilitate reference and discussion of elements of the text.

<u>Reference #</u> <u>Chap./verse</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Relation/Extent/Characteristic—</u> <u>Commentary</u>
1 Nephi 1N1 18:23- 24	promised land	Extent—Weary sea-travelers, including aged Lehi and perhaps Sarai and Ishmael's wife, would not "go forth" on the land more than a few miles before settling and planting their seeds.
1N2 18:25	promised land	Extent—The handful of men in the company (there were no more than ten) would have felt uncomfortable about leaving their families alone in camp in a strange land in order to split off more than a tiny exploring party. Besides, they had crops to care for, so explorations would have been of very limited duration and distance (est.: one night away from base, a radius of ca. 25 miles?). Within this range they found interesting animals and ores.
2 Nephi 2N1 5:5-7	[land of] Nephi	To the first settlement site—Nephi's party fled into the wilderness "for the space of many days." How far was that? Nephi's party had only three adult males; the rival group left behind had only five to seven. So no distant flight would be required for safety. We know from later statements that where they settled was "up," which means up from the landfall. Still, "the place of their fathers' first inheritance" (Alma 22:28), surely the same place as the first landing spot or Lehi's "promised land," was later considered to be "in" the land of Nephi (22:28). Hence the "many days" does not indicate a great distance. Some of the days surely were consumed just getting bearings and learning to move through unfamiliar terrain, though near. It seems to me that a journey of about 100 miles on the ground

(airline distance half or less that much) is all that is called for. With no map knowledge and through strange vegetation, a journey of this distance would consume “many days” and at the same time would take them to a distance they considered safe.

2N2

5:11-15 land of Nephi

Characteristics—The area included native animal life such that they were enabled to “raise [native] flocks, and herds, and animals of every kind,” for they had brought no such with them. Minerals were “in great abundance” at least from the point of view of the handful of men looking at the resources (iron, copper, brass, steel, gold, silver and other “precious ores”). (Cf. Jacob 2:12)

2N3

5:13 land of Nephi

Extent—While they began “to multiply in the land,” obviously their absolute numbers remained tiny. [Nephi lived ca. 45 years after landing (i.e., to ca. 540 B.C.), but by then the three original couples in his party, plus four unmarried singles (all brothers and sisters), could not have done more than, say, double the adult population by the time of his death—hardly dramatic in an objective sense. We would consider their settlement still a mere hamlet.]

2N4

5:14 land of Nephi

To the first settlement site—Nephi expected that his brothers would soon be in contact with his new colony, hence he was aware that his journey of “many days” had not separated them by any great distance.

2N5

5:20-24 land of Nephi

To the Lamanite-inhabited area in the wilderness—Nephi had sufficient contacts with his brothers’ party to know of their change in skin color and their subsistence (hunting) and other activities (cf. also Jacob 2:35; 3:5). [The Lamanite party, if unmixed with “natives,” could not have numbered more than twice as many as the Nephites.]

2N6 5:34	land of Nephi	To the Lamanite area—The two groups had already had “wars and contentions” within 30 years of landing. With a combined adult male population of probably no more than 60 (not counting any possible “natives” attached), the groups must have been only scores of miles apart in order for “wars” even to be feasible.
Jacob Jb1 1:18; 2:11	land of Nephi	Extent—All the Nephites were being served by only two religious officeholders, and all met at one site.
Jb2 3:13	land of Nephi	Extent—Nephites “began to be numerous” in Jacob’s later days (ca. 530?). Wars went on. But the Nephite population still could not have exceeded 100 adults unless foreign people had been incorporated; they formed a single temple-centered prime village plus perhaps a few hamlets.
Jb3 7:1	land of Nephi	To Sherem’s home community—He “came. . . among the people of Nephi,” from where? He calls Jacob “brother” yet had not spoken to him previously (v. 6), although the community remains small. Meaning?
Jb4 7:24-26	land of Nephi	To the Lamanite area—Wars (“continually”) and fortifications against the Lamanites are mentioned, implying near adjacency?
Enos En1 1:20,24	land of Nephi	To the Lamanite area—Wars and intercultural communication continue through ca. 420 B.C., still implying adjacency.

Jarom			
Jm1			
1:6	land of Nephi		Extent—After 190 years (about nine biological generations) since landing, the Nephites “were scattered upon much of the face of the land.” This must mean the land (valley?) of their initial and primary settlement since no other is mentioned. [It is possible that their population could now be 3000 adults, but not 5000, and probably nearer 1500.]
Jm2			
1:6	Lamanite area		Extent—Lamanites were also “scattered upon much of the face of the [their?] land” and were “exceedingly more numerous” than the Nephites. No indication is given that they occupied much more than their original area—cf. vs. 6 and 13 with Alma 22:28 which refers to three centuries later. Still, it is likely that the Lamanites had shifted or drifted along the coastal/piedmont zone somewhat closer to the city of Nephi area, for the frequent warring by so few men implies quite close proximity; if they shifted, it could have been out of antagonistic pursuit of Nephi or, much more likely, in search of better living conditions than they found at the landing site.
Omni			
O1			
1:2-3, 5,7	land of Nephi		To the Lamanite area—Wars continue between the two groups; the descriptive language used makes the relationship between the two lands sound no different than in Nephi’s time.
O2			
1:12	land of Nephi		To the land of Zarahemla—Mosiah came “down into” Zarahemla.
O3			
1:24	land of Zarahemla		To the Lamanite area(s?)—War now reaches the land of Zarahemla; whether the attackers originated in Lamanite-occupied

		upland Nephi or came from the original Lamanite (low)lands is not indicated.
O4		
1:27-28	land of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—A party “went up” into the wilderness to return to the land of Nephi, “to [re]possess the land of their inheritance.”
O5		
1:27	land of Zarahemla	Characteristic—The desire to return from Zarahemla to Nephi could well reflect dissatisfaction with the very different climatic and ecological conditions they faced in Zarahemla.
Words of Mormon		
WM1		
1:13	land of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—Lamanite invaders now definitely occupied Nephi, in addition to their original lowland area, for they “came down” from Nephi to battle the Nephites under Benjamin.
Mosiah		
M1		
1:10	local land of Zarahemla	Extent—All Mosiah’s subjects gather on one day’s notice. The edge of the local land is unlikely to have exceeded twenty miles along the river from the center and probably was less.
M2		
7:4	city of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—Forty-days was a maximum journey, when wandering, i.e., without knowing the route well.
M3		
7:5	city of Zarahemla	To the city of Lehi-Nephi—Route ends at a “hill” immediately north of the land Shilom; from there one goes “down” direct to the city (see M17). The city is implied to be visible from the hill.
M4		
9:3,4	city of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—The party looking for the Zeniffites traveled “many days,” “wandering” in the wilderness and suffering “famine.”

M5 9:3	city of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—"Go up."
M6 7:17	local land of Lehi-Nephi (including Shilom)	Extent—Limhi's people gather on one day's notice. The territory would probably not have exceeded twenty miles in its maximum dimension.
M7 8:7-11	local land of Lehi-Nephi	To Zarahemla—Confusing route options must have existed, presumably in the intervening wilderness, so Limhi's exploring party bypassed Zarahemla.
M8 8:7-11	city of Lehi-Nephi	To the place where Shiz was slain [which was southward from the hill Ramah as per Ether 15:27-30, 33; I suppose the spot to be perhaps fifteen miles from the hill and that Ether left the plates there]—Total distance from Zarahemla is of the same order of magnitude as from the city of Lehi-Nephi to the city of Zarahemla [on the logic that had they gone much more than double that distance, the ("diligent") party would not have supposed upon their return that they had only reached Zarahemla; the maximum believable limit seems to me three times the distance to Zarahemla]. We can only conjecture without basis what route they might have taken to miss Zarahemla, but it almost certainly would have been to the city's east, in the wilderness.
M9 9:14	land of Shemlon	To a point "away on the south of the land of Shilom"—Lamanites attack there directly; no doubt their own land (Shemlon?) was adjacent, or almost.
M10 9:14	land of Shilom	To the city of Lehi-Nephi—Refugee farmers from south of Shilom fled directly to the capital for protection (not to the city Shilom).

M11 9:15-18	attack point	To the city of Lehi-Nephi—The city must be quite close because Zeniff's retaliatory force went straight to the scene and found the Lamanite marauders still present.
M12 10:7	land of Shemlon	To Zeniffite territory, probably the land of Shilom—Zeniffite watchmen were set "round about" the land of Shemlon to warn of invasion out of Shemlon, hence Shemlon was adjacent or near (cf. M9, M13, M16).
M13 10:8,10	land of Shemlon	To the city of Lehi-Nephi—One went "up" from Shemlon "upon the north of the land of Shilom," apparently to the same hilly area of M3 and M17.
M14 10:8,10	city of Lehi-Nephi	To the battleground of M13—The Zeniffite army also comes "up" to this spot, which was not so rugged that the Lamanites would not choose it for battle.
M15 10:9 cf. 19:6	city of Lehi-Nephi	To wilderness—The city was very near a wilderness area, for women and children were hidden there even while their men were mustering to go meet the Lamanite threat, which presumably was coming from a direction opposite to this wilderness.
M16 11:12	city of Lehi-Nephi	To Shilom and Shemlon—From the top of Noah's "very high tower" near the temple in the city from, he could "overlook" the lands of Shilom and Shemlon and "even look over all the land round about." [But of a second great tower that he built on the landmark hill north of the land Shilom nothing is said about the view from there.] So the distance implied from the viewing tower to, or even across, Shemlon could not be great. About twenty miles fits both this criterion and previous ones about Shilom and Shemlon. The order of elevation is: Shemlon lowest, Shilom higher, Lehi-Nephi higher still, and north of the land of Shilom

(M3, M25) highest. A sound inference is that Shemlon was nearest the coast, from whence Nephi had originally come.

M17

11:13 the hill north of Shilom

To the local land of Lehi-Nephi—The hill was “a place of resort” (staging point) for the people of Nephi (see Omni 1:12) at the time they fled, under Mosiah, to the land of Zarahemla. So the Zeniffites likely inhabited only the local land of Nephi (and perhaps also Shilom), for the hill was convenient only to those two localities.

M18

18:4 place of Mormon
cf. 18:30-32
cf. 23:1-2

To the local land of Lehi-Nephi—Mormon was “in the borders of the land,” in a northerly direction, and where wild beasts (had formerly?) dwelt. It was far enough from the capital that their activities were not known to the king for some time, nor were they close enough to hear incidentally that they had been discovered by the king’s men. When discovered, Noah sent a (necessarily small—due to their losses) army to destroy them. Apparently after the army was ready or en route, Alma’s group still had time to gather goods and depart hastily, barely outdistancing the pursuit. All this seems to me to call for a distance from the capital of more than one but less than three days normal travel, say between 20 and 40 miles afoot or two-thirds that on a straight line. It was near the main route to Zarahemla which probably was the least rugged route option.

M19

18:5,30 place of Mormon

Characteristic—“The waters of Mormon” was adjacent to the place (the mode of mention by name implies that no other body of water thereabouts was similarly notable). The “forest” or “thicket” of “small trees” had to be extensive enough for Alma to hide successfully from daytime searches (no less than a quarter mile in diameter?)

		yet a distinct copse in order to deserve being called " <i>the</i> forest of Mormon."
M20 18:24, 34	place of Mormon	Characteristic—The immediate area had to provide a living by agriculture for at least 450 adults plus children; yet it was compact because Alma's followers responded quickly when he warned them they must flee (23:1). [By Alma 5:3 "place" had become "land," no doubt with a sizable population.]
M21 19:6	land of Shemlon	To the city of Lehi-Nephi—Noah from the tower near the temple saw the Lamanites coming from Shemlon and already near, for the fleeing populace was soon overtaken. The Lamanites must have got within a few miles of the city without warning. Shemlon is again seen as only limited miles away.
M22 20:1, 4-5	land of Shemlon	To wilderness—The wilderness where the priests of Noah lurked (in broad terms likely also where the women and children of 10:9 were hidden?), was westerly (or southerly?) from the city Lehi-Nephi, because it was adjacent to the part of Shemlon where the daughters of the Lamanites assembled and Shemlon was down, i.e., likely on the way to the west sea.
M23 20:8-9	city of Lehi-Nephi	To Shemlon—Limhi could see into the land of Shemlon clearly enough that he could "see all their preparations for war," or at least their departure to attack. Distance implies some limited number of miles.
M24 20:8-9	local land of Lehi-Nephi	Characteristics—Fields and forest were intermixed on the one predictable route the Lamanites would take from Shemlon (probably through Shilom).
M25 20:7, 9,15	land of Shemlon	To the local land of Lehi-Nephi—"Up."

21:25-26

See M8

M26

22:6-11 city of Lehi-Nephi

To the route northward toward Zarahemla— A Lamanite military post guarded the obvious exit leading northward (implying that there was only one such route), called the “back pass.” This was no doubt the entry for Ammon. The “front” way would presumably have been straight down toward Shemlon. The “secret pass” seems a third route away from the city, an obscure alternative way to Shilom. But these refugees veered round Shilom, then “bent their course” to get on the main (“Ammon”) route to Zarahemla beyond the Lamanite guards. (See Map 8 in *An Ancient American Setting* for the Book of Mormon.)

M27

22:13 land of Lehi-Nephi

To the local land of Zarahemla—Limhi’s people traveled “many days” (cf. M4).

M28

22:15-16 land of Lehi-Nephi

To wilderness in the northward direction— The Lamanite army pursued Limhi’s party northward “into the wilderness,” but after two days (from when and where?) they could no longer follow the traces of the fleeing group and found themselves lost. Note: at a distance of two hard days pursuit (from the city Lehi-Nephi?), perhaps forty miles (?) northward, the territory was completely unfamiliar, at least to (lowland dwelling?) Lamanites. Hence Mormon (“in the borders of the land”) likely is within that range. (These Lamanites may have been unusually inept, since they could not even follow their own track backward!)

M29

23:1-3 place of Mormon

To the land of Helam—Eight days’ journey at a speedy pace (“fled”) but with flocks limiting the pace through broken country, headed northerly toward the narrow strip

		of wilderness headwaters of the Sidon. (Airline distance of perhaps 65 miles?) If Helam was (a segment of?) a small valley where mountain springs formed or fed a river, that could account for the "land of pure water."
M30		
23:1-3	place of Mormon	To the land of Lehi-Nephi—Mormon must have been on the northerly (Zarahemla) side of Lehi-Nephi, for Alma's people had a head start on their pursuers that could only be accounted for by such direction.
M31		
23:25-26	land of Helam	Characteristics—Cultivated fields were "in the land . . . yea, in the city," showing that the "land of Helam" was little extended beyond "the city." Its population was only about 450 adults (later supplemented by guards, supervisors and their families, totaling perhaps 700 adults). When the Lamanites appeared, the cultivators fled directly to the city center to find Alma.
M32		
23:30-1	land of Amulon	To the land of Lehi-Nephi—The Lamanite pursuers of Limhi's party, which was headed northward as directly as possible, stumbled into the land settled by the priests of Noah. Amulon had to be off to one side of the usual route to Zarahemla, for neither Alma's party nor Limhi's encountered it. It was not close to Lehi-Nephi, for neither the Amulonites nor Lamanites knew the way to the capital. But Amulon must have been in the northerly quadrant from the capital, for that was the direction taken by Limhi and the pursuing Lamanites.
M33		
23:30-1	land of Amulon	To the land of Lehi-Nephi—Since Amulon was discovered by the Lamanite army sometime after two days of pursuit of Limhi plus some wandering, and thereafter the combined party came across Helam (about ten days from Lehi-Nephi), Amulon

		was probably on the order of five to seven days from Lehi-Nephi.
M34		
23:30-1,	land of Helam	To the land of Lehi-Nephi—Being in the same general direction as Amulon (and on the way to Zarahemla), Helam also was northerly from the capital. (Plus it was only thirteen days from Zarahemla.)
35		
M35		
22:13;	land of Helam	To the usual route between Zarahemla and Lehi-Nephi—Limhi's party never encountered Alma's group, hence Helam was off to one side of the Limhi route.
23:30		
M36		
24:1-2	land of Amulon	To Shemlon and Shilom—The Amulonites' being appointed teachers over Shemlon and Shilom implies some geographical proximity of those two places to the Amulonites' own land. The logical connection is that while Amulon was northward from the other two, like Shemlon it was close to the Lamanite-inhabited west lowlands (M37, A50) which served as a routine way to reach Shemlon and Shilom.
M37		
24:1-2	land of Shemlon	To the Lamanite king's homeland—The fact that the Lamanites had "taken possession" of Shemlon, Shilom and Amulon and that these were ruled by sub-kings means that the supreme king of the Lamanites now lived in another land. [A safe presumption is that this would be nearer their homeland, if not in, then related to, the coastal land of first inheritance where they had dwelt when Nephi fled. This is supported by the fact that Lamanite attacks on Lehi-Nephi always came "up" through Shilom and apparently also via Shemlon.]
M38		
24:18-	valley of Alma	To the land of Helam—A single day's hard travel, with flocks, from Helam, obviously northward in the direction of Zarahemla. This would be through mountain
20		

		wilderness (above the “headwaters” of the Sidon). This valley was never permanently settled that we know of but was only a way station, not far from the halfway mark between Lehi- Nephi and Zarahemla, thus near the watershed.
M39 24:23	valley of Alma	To the land of Zarahemla—The Lamanites’ stopping in this valley may have been because of their unease at the prospect of pressing on into territory visibly of a different watershed.
M40 24:25	land of Zarahemla	To the local land of Nephi—From the valley of Alma, Alma’s group was twelve days “in the wilderness.” Add to this one day to the valley of Alma from Helam, eight days from Mormon and two or three days from Nephi to Mormon, we have a total of approximately twenty-two days between the two capitals. Assuming a well-documented rate for travel by such groups in broken (“wilderness”) country of ten to twelve miles per day, we arrive at a ground distance of 225-250. Part of their journey was in flight, however, so the distance might be slightly more, say, 240-260. However, neither Mormon nor Helam were on the main route between the two key lands (that taken by Limhi’s group?), which presumably was somewhat more direct and smoother. Thus the normal distance along the main (“Ammon”) trail likely was around 230. But the beeline distance would have been substantially less, on the order of 150-170.
M41 27:35	land of Zarahemla	Extent—The sons of Mosiah traveled “throughout all the land of Zarahemla, <i>and</i> among all the people who were under the reign of king Mosiah” (emphasis added); this wording could mean there were now subjects more widespread than in “all the

		land of Zarahemla" (including Bountiful, for example?)
M42 28:1, 5,9; 29:3	land of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—"Up."
M43 29:37, 39	land of Zarahemla	Extent—King Mosiah now did not try to assemble all the people but "sent these things forth" (in writing—v. 33); then the people "assembled themselves together in bodies throughout the land" to vote. It is apparent that the land is now too extensive for all to come to the capital (cf. vs. 41, 44).
Alma A1 1:15	hill Manti	To the city of Zarahemla—Nehor was condemned at the capital, then "they carried him upon the top" of this hill, an action which makes the place sound within a very few miles.
A2 2:9, 13,15	Amlicite zone	To the city of Zarahemla—They gathered in one area, then "came" to the hill Amnihu near Zarahemla. Thus they were not scattered at random among the population but occupied a distinct area. [This area quite surely was downstream along the river. Had it been upstream, the Amlicites could simply have joined the Lamanite army up there as it came down toward Zarahemla. There is no reason to think that serious settlement areas were east of the river, given A 4. Nor on the west away from the river is there mention of major settlement other than Melek. Most logically the Amlicites occupied the area down-river from Zarahemla called in H6 "the most capital parts of the land."]

A3 2:15, 17	hill Amnihu	To Zarahemla—East of the Sidon, implied (see vs. 18-27) to be near (just across from?) the city of Zarahemla. Since (v. 17) the battle occurred “on” the hill, it must have been more a butte or plateau than a steep-sided hill.
A4 2:15	river Sidon	To the land of Zarahemla—The river ran “by” the land of Zarahemla, which can only mean that the land lay essentially on one side of the river, i.e., the west (see vs. 25-27).
A5 2:19-20	valley of Gideon	To the hill Amnihu—Nephites engaged, then pursued, the Amlicites from the hill to the valley of Gideon from the beginning of the battle (8 AM?) to dark (but slowed by cleaning out stragglers en route and traveling uphill, for they went “in[to]” the valley, so the pace and distance was less than expectable for normal battle travel). Distance: about 20 miles.
A6 2:25-27	valley of Gideon	To the city of Zarahemla—The Nephite army departs “out” of the valley headed full tilt downhill to a precise point on the river upstream from the city, obviously a ford (probably <i>the</i> ford across that stretch, for they knew just where to head). If they left the valley in the morning (v. 23, “morrow”), headed on the shortest route to the river, they had time to fight at the crossing and then pursue the enemy to the wilderness of Hermounts all in the one day. So from the valley to the river would be a distance perhaps a bit less than the 20? miles of A5.
A7 2:24	land of Minon	To the valley of Gideon—The spies traveled in pursuit of the Amlicite army and returned to Alma’s camp in the valley, without rest and in the dark, in not more than about 12 hours. They had to go from the valley down to the river well upstream

from Zarahemla where they observed in the dark (how close did they get?) the enemy linking up with a Lamanite army, the combined force then advancing down the west bank. The men then returned to the valley by "the morrow," i.e., soon after light? The distance from the valley of Gideon to Minon could not have been more than 15 (?) miles to allow all this.

A8

2:24 land of Minon

To the city and land of Zarahemla and river Sidon—The spies said Minon was "above (upriver from) the (local) land of Zarahemla," Moreover, Minon must have been on the west bank of the river, down which the enemy was coming (the same side where the city of Zarahemla was located. [Nothing is said about the land of Manti, which must have been farther upstream than Minon.] The timing of the spies' observations—made downstream from Minon—and their return to the valley of Gideon, followed by the Nephite army's fast trip down to the river would not allow Minon to be more than 20-25 miles above Zarahemla.

A9

2:36-37 wilderness called
Hermounts

To the city of Zarahemla—Intercepted before they could reach the city, the enemy fled away from the river "towards the wilderness which was west and north, away beyond the borders of the (local) land (of Zarahemla)." Since this flight apparently took place in the later afternoon, the nearest edge of this wilderness, and thus the borders of the local land, must have been not more than 10-15 miles from the river ford battle site and essentially mainly west from the city. [The Lamanites would have wanted to head back to Nephi but veered north and west to gain the cover of "wilderness" before circling fully southward toward their homeland?]

A10			
2:36-7	wilderness called Hermounts		To the larger wilderness on the west—Hermounts was only a part of the whole, probably a salient or exclave of the larger wilderness (Alma 22:27-28) jutting to near the city/local land of Zarahemla on the west.
A11			
3:2;4:2	local land of Zarahemla		Characteristic—A zone (strip) adjacent to the river just upstream from the city was so highly productive of crops that the destruction caused by the battle there (2:35-36) seriously impacted the food supply of the entire local land during the following year. The total cultivated support area for the city of Zarahemla thus could not be very large (depended on the river for transport of food to the city?)
A12			
3:20-23	land of Zarahemla		To the upriver zone (including Minon)—A new Lamanite army comes in on the Nephites at the same place where the former army met the Amlicites; thus this Lamanite access route must have been obvious and regularized (largely the same as “the Ammon route?”) [Again there is no note of Manti (which is first mentioned six years later, hence it may not yet have been a Nephite site but may have been settled in part as an early warning trigger for Nephite defenses against these Lamanite thrusts). In any case, this entry point into the Sidon basin had to be above Minon.]
A13			
5:3	land of Mormon		To the local land of Nephi—Mormon was now termed a land and was in “the borders of Nephi.”
A14			
6:7	valley of Gideon		To Zarahemla—Alma went east across the river “over” “into” the mountain valley (which the Amlicite battle tells us was “up”). The route from Zarahemla seems to cross a distinct lip of the valley, judging by this phrase. Furthermore, he returned

directly to Zarahemla (8:1). Evidently there was no other place on the east of the river within the land of Zarahemla to which he felt it worthwhile to go. [This agrees with 2:15, at A 4, that the river ran "by" the local land of Zarahemla, i.e., on the land's east side]

A15

8:3 land of Melek

To the city of Zarahemla—Alma traveled "over into" Melek, indicating at least crossing an intervening elevation, thus it lay some distance from the river. The text also indicates that west, not some odd angle, was the primary direction of Alma's journey: Melek was "on the west by the borders of the wilderness." [Note that they did not go "over into" the wilderness of Hermounts, so 8:3 would refer to the main wilderness, that of Alma 22:28, "on the west of the borders of the land of Zarahemla."] Thus it appears that Melek was considered as far west as Nephite settlement extended in the basin of the Sidon, at least at that time.

A16

8:4-5 land of Melek

Extent—No city is mentioned (Alma does explicitly mention the city at Ammonihah where he next stopped), though there may have been one. Rather, Alma taught "throughout all the land," apparently going to certain villages, to which the most scattered inhabitants of the region came, from "throughout all the borders of the land which was by the wilderness side." This seems to refer to a considerable stretch of foothill country north and south, of, or in, Melek, along the basin's western mountain range.

A17

8:6 city and land of Ammonihah

To the land of Melek—Three days journey to the north brought Alma to Ammonihah, perhaps 35-40 miles. His route would have taken him parallel to the western arm of the wilderness (22:28-29), hence Ammonihah

ought also to be on or near the extreme west. Verse 7 refers to the “land” of Ammonihah, but verse 6 mentions his arrival at the city first; the land apparently was not extensive or at least not important as against the city (cf. also land and city in v. 18).

A18

8:13 city called Aaron

To the city of Ammonihah—No direction is indicated toward which Alma departed, but it would not have been south, considering verse 18: Alma was not to appear to the people to be returning after once leaving but to enter afresh, and his reentry was from the south. Further, since the west was apparently the wilderness side, he would not be likely to go there, so Aaron must have lain in either the northern or eastern quadrants from Ammonihah. But the nearer straight north it lay, the greater the problem in articulating it with Nephihah, as in Alma 50:14.

A19

15:1 city of Ammonihah

To the land of Sidom—Alma and Amulek departed from (“came out” of) the city/land of Ammonihah and “into” the land of Sidom. Other believers had preceded them; Sidom was an obvious gravitating point with established connections to Ammonihah—one expects an obvious route connecting them at no great distance. Clearly this was a logical destination from Ammonihah, yet no connection is indicated to Aaron, which must have been farther away and reached by another route (or the refugees would have gone there). “Came out” may imply that the land of Ammonihah was in a valley.

A20

15:1, 13-14 land of Sidom

Extent and characteristics—Coming “into” (rather than merely “to”) Sidom may hint that it is in a depression. That would be logical if the name Sidom relates to Sidon

(referring to the Phoenician port, analogizing to Sidom as a shipping point on the river?). The emphasis on baptisms at Sidom in v. 14 may reflect a riverine setting. Moreover, v. 14 (people came “in from all the region round about Sidom”) suggests that Sidom, like Melek, was more a district than only a city; in fact no city is explicitly mentioned, although v. 17’s statement “at Sidom,” rather than “in [the land of] Sidom,” may indicate that there was one.

A21
15:18 land of Sidom

To the city of Zarahemla—Upon concluding at Sidom, Alma and Amulek “came over” to the capital, indicating that they did not travel strictly along the river but by land across an intervening elevation.

A22
16:2-3 city of Ammonihah

To the west wilderness—Lamanite armies came “in upon the wilderness side, into the borders of the (general) land” of Zarahemla, “*even* into the city of Ammonihah.” Given the relation of the city to Melek (see A17), Ammonihah too must be on or near the extreme western side of the general land, hence the Lamanites can only have traveled from the land of Nephi via the west wilderness (coastal) strip (without contact with Melek). The wilderness must be a line of mountains, since it bounds the Sidon basin on the west (cf. 22:27-28); of course it would also then have a coastal strip paralleling the mountains on their west. The expression “even into the city” indicates that certain settled territory of the land of Ammonihah was first penetrated, after which finally the invaders reached the city.

A23
16:3 land of Noah

To Ammonihah—The Lamanite attack on Ammonihah spilled over to “the borders of Noah,” so the latter would be in the same general sector as the former. Noah would not be to the west, or else it rather than

Ammonihah would have been the prime target. The account of Alma's movements in the area never mentions Noah (although it might have lain between Ammonihah and Sidom and went unmentioned in the record because Alma and Amulek, anxious to get to Sidom to find their refugee associates, passed through it without making note). It is also not likely to have been on the north, for in that case the Lamanites would have taken their prisoners right back into the adjacent west wilderness, thence to Nephi. But they did not (see A24). Noah might be south of Ammonihah, but in that case Alma probably would have stopped there on his way from Melek to Ammonihah. But he didn't. The only option seems to be that Noah was generally eastward (inland) from Ammonihah.

A24

16:3-7 land of Noah

To the land of Zarahemla—There is lack of clarity about the course followed by the Lamanites from Noah. Holding prisoners from the Noah area (v. 3), the Lamanites did not retreat to the west wilderness whence they had come but plunged through some other part of Nephite territory termed wilderness where they were hard to track. In their course they "had many battles with the Nephites," apparently only local militia, for the central Nephite commanders had lost track of them (see 16:4-6 and 25:3, which gives another version of the same campaign). They emerged at a point east of the extreme upper Sidon, apparently going to cross westward (v. 6). They would not have been moving eastward, because they had originally moved down the west coastal wilderness, so from above Manti they must have been working back toward the west coast in Nephi. One possibility is that from Noah they crossed the Sidon, perhaps via

the Aaron route, and proceeded through the wilderness east of the central land of Zarahemla, skirting Gideon and thus up toward Manti, clashing along the way with small groups of Nephites in unnamed lands. [However, for another option, see A55.] The Nephites, alerted by Alma's seership, moved along a shorter track via Gideon, aided by knowing exactly where to go. Thus gaining ground on the Lamanites, they got into advance position above Manti at an obvious crossing point on the upper river (v. 7). The Lamanite-Amulonite group, surprised and defeated and their prisoners gone, scattered back into "the east wilderness" of the general land of Nephi (25:5). In relation to Noah, all this indicates that it was inland from Ammonihah. Once that far in, the Lamanites must have decided on a risky, unorthodox escape route as indicated rather than having to pass the defenders of Ammonihah on their way west should they try to get back to the west wilderness by which they had arrived.

A25
16:3-7 land of Manti

To the south wilderness and headwaters of the Sidon river—The Sidon existed as a named river "away up beyond the borders of the land of Manti" within the "narrow strip of wilderness" on the extreme south of the land of Zarahemla (22:27), here called merely "the south wilderness."

A26
17:1 land of Manti

To the city of Zarahemla—Alma was going from Gideon to Manti; as Alma's home was in Zarahemla, we may presume that he was taking a (likely the) regular route to Manti. Evidently that way rose from Zarahemla, at river level, up into the valley of Gideon, then through the valley, finally descending to Manti on the Sidon. The evidence is that this route via upland Gideon was normal, for the sons of Mosiah were moving along the same route. (If the Anti-Lehi-Nephies

followed the same route, it would explain how they bypassed Zarahemla to go straight down to Jershon—see A93.) We may also safely assume that the sons of Mosiah were returning via the same route they had used going up to the land of Nephi (Mosiah 28:9). These movements, with no others mentioned, attest that via Gideon was the normal road from the city of Zarahemla to Manti.

A27
17:7-9 land of Nephi

To the city of Zarahemla—The sons of Mosiah leave the land of Zarahemla into the wilderness strip, going up to Nephi, a journey of many days. No problems are mentioned; evidently they had information about the route.

A28
17:13 dispersal point

To Lamanite lands generally—The party arrives “in the borders of the land of the Lamanites” (cf. Mosiah 18:31). [Note that it is now called land of Nephi, not Lehi-Nephi as under the Zeniffites.] From this point they each went a separate direction (headed broadly southward). This can only be where a number of obvious trails diverged, for they had no personal knowledge of the local geography.

A29
17:19 land of Ishmael

To the dispersal point—Ammon went directly to the land of Ishmael. Nothing intervening is mentioned.

A30
17:20 land of Ishmael

Characteristic—“As he entered the land,” he was seized; this implies a fairly definite boundary, probably ecological, such as a pass or a valley lip.

A31
17:26 land of Ishmael

To the water(s) of Sebus—In the territory spoken of, presumably within a few miles of the king’s dwelling (cf. v. 39), only this specific watering place was consistently available (“*the place of water . . . and all the Lamanites drive their flocks hither,*”

emphasis added), suggesting a countryside perhaps grass-covered (v. 39) and lacking consistent stream drainage. Whether “the water” was in the form of a well, pond, or spring is unclear, but access to it was limited to a single spot.

A32
18:9l and of Ishmael

To the local land of Nephi—Lamoni had commanded his servants to “conduct him forth” to Nephi. Up, down or over is not used to relate the lands here, but compare 20:1-2 below.

A33
20:1-2 land of Ishmael

To the local land of Nephi—Lamoni headed “to” the land of Nephi, yet the voice of the Lord said to Ammon “go up to” there. Some elevation difference might exist, although it would appear not marked, given A32. Or just possibly “up” was in this one case in deference to the political eminence of the king’s capital.

A34
20:2 land of Ishmael

To the land of Middoni—The spirit said “go to” Middoni (cf. vs. 4, 15, 28).

A35
20:7 land of Ishmael

To the land of Middoni—Lamoni said “go . . . down” to Middoni. Again, the elevation difference is probably limited.

A36
20:8 land of Ishmael

To the local land of Nephi—The king, coming from Nephi to Ishmael, encounters Lamoni and Ammon while they are en route to Middoni. Thus the same route out of Ishmael led to both Nephi and Middoni, until reaching a fork where travelers chose one or the other destination. And since Ammon had come to Ishmael from the north, the king’s home in Nephi must have been southward from Ishmael, thus Middoni also must have been southward.

A37
21:1 land of Jerusalem

To the missionaries’ dispersal point—Aaron seems to have gone directly to Jerusalem. At least no intervening settlement is

		indicated (thereafter he mentioned even the “village” of Ani-Anti, so had there been one in this area, he probably would have noted it).
A38 21:1	land of Jerusalem	To Mormon—Jerusalem was “away joining the borders of Mormon.” The “away” suggests that Jerusalem was notably farther from Nephi, Mormon itself being only “in the borders of the land” of Nephi (see M18).
A39 21:2	land of Jerusalem	To the general land of Nephi—The involvement of Amalekites and Amulonites in building the city of Jerusalem links its geographical position to Helam and Amulon as one of the lands “round about” (i.e., some significant distance from the capital?) as mentioned in Alma 24:1.
A40 21:11	village called Ani-Anti	To Jerusalem—Leaving Jerusalem, Aaron “came over” to Ani-Anti, indicating an intervening elevation. For a mere village to deserve mention in the itinerary implies that there was no larger settlement near, hence the area was lightly populated.
A41 21:11	village called Ani-Anti	To the missionaries’ dispersal point—Aaron found at least four missionaries at Ani-Anti; they had arrived by one or more routes other than Aaron’s, drifting to this convergent point from initial individual (?) destinations.
A42 21:12	land of Middoni	To Ani-Anti—The missionaries “came over” from Ani-Anti “into” the land of Middoni. An intervening elevation is signaled.
A43 21:12	land of Middoni	Characteristic—“Into” may carry a sense of down into a depression or other fairly sharply marked area. Cf. A47.
A44 21:13	land of Middoni	To surrounding areas—Some missionaries fled “out” of Middoni “unto [not into] the

		[inhabited but unnamed and presumably minor] regions round about." [Other such unnamed areas are indicated in 20:30—Lamanites in the land of Mormon would be in position to be referred to here—and in 21:16.]
A45 21:21	land of Ishmael	Extent—Unnamed areas "round about" the formal land of Ishmael were included under Lamoni's rule, though not (conceptually) "in" that land.
A46 22:1	land of Middoni	To the local land of Nephi—Aaron and others were led from Middoni "to" Nephi, without the expectable "up." [Compare discussion at 20:1-7 as well as 22:3.]
A47 22:3	land of Middoni	To the local land of Nephi—The king at Nephi says "come up out of Middoni," qualifying 22:1 and clearly suggesting that Middoni was in a depression. Cf. A43.
A48 22:4	land of Ishmael	To Nephi and Middoni—From Middoni to Ishmael one went "another way" than through Nephi. (Compare 20:8.)
A49 22:27	greater land of Nephi	Extent—"All the regions round about" implies that there were more places than those named to this point.
A50 22:27- 28	greater land of Nephi	To the wilderness strip on the west—Three segments of the lowland west wilderness strip are distinguished: (1) that "in the land of Nephi;" (2) that "on the north by the land of Zarahemla"(v. 27), i.e., "on the west of the land of Zarahemla in the borders by the seashore;" and (3) "on the west in the land of Nephi in the place of their fathers' first inheritance." Note that (1) and (3) are both "in" the land of Nephi. (1) may be distinguished from (3) by (3)'s being more southerly, in light of Nephi's traveling "many days" from the initial landing site to the city of Nephi. Consequently, in order

for (1) and (3) to be “in” Nephi while (2) was definitely not in Zarahemla, we may infer that the distance from local Nephi to the west coast was less than the west coast was from Zarahemla (see A51).

A51

22:28 west wilderness strip

To the land of Zarahemla—This strip is “*on the west of the land of Zarahemla,*” not in that land, hence the greater land of Zarahemla was not conceptualized to reach the west coast, while the general land of Nephi was. No hint is ever given that Nephites settled or traveled in the strip between the west sea and the (obviously mountain) boundary of the (Sidon basin or) land of Zarahemla. In the fourth century A.D. the Nephites occupied Joshua at the north end of the strip (Mormon 2:6). In the first century B.C. to the south near Antiparah we have indicated a military clearing operation (Alma 50:11) and possible Nephite garrison at the coast (56:30-32). The Lamanites may have controlled this west strip formally from early on, as 22:28 suggests, or perhaps only Lamanite squatters occupied it. Either arrangement would explain how their armies could move to attack Ammonihah undetected by Nephites (16:2; 49:1). But possibly the territory was neutral, occupied primarily by a population unconnected politically with either Nephites nor Lamanites, the inhabitants not sufficiently strong to oppose a large Lamanite army if it determined to pass through, let alone to cause any problem for the Nephites on the other side of the wilderness mountain barrier (see A52).

A52

22:28; land of Melek
cf. 35:13

To the west coastal wilderness—the people of Ammon were later moved from Jershon, where they were vulnerable to Lamanite attack, to Melek for safety. Yet Melek bordered on the wilderness west of the land

of Zarahemla. Why were they safe from Lamanites in Melek, while Ammonihah, three days northward, was not (it was twice attacked)? An obvious reason is that the range of mountains constituting the west watershed for the Sidon (and probably the “continental divide”) was so nearly impassable at that point as to preclude Lamanite armies crossing it (they could cross farther north, when they got to Ammonihah, by a pass, likely the same one used and then defended by Mormon and his Nephites in their last retreat—Mormon 2:6). Note that in Alma 22:28 the Lamanites are specifically said to have dwelt “in the borders by the seashore,” to the apparent exclusion of the mountainous portion of the west wilderness.

- A53
22:28 general land of Nephi Extent—Lamanites now also occupied areas “bordering even to” the east sea, although only later do we get any details about their being in the extensive stretch between local Nephi and the east sea (Alma 25:5; 35:10; 43:4-5; 50:7,9).
- A54
22:27-28 narrow strip of wilderness To the greater lands of Nephi and Zarahemla—The statement is of course from a land of Nephi perspective, so the strip across is “north [of Nephi] by the land of Zarahemla, through the borders of Manti.” Connecting to it is continuous wilderness along the west coast, from the land of first inheritance on the south northward to near Bountiful (see A57). Given the overall size of the promised land, this west strip must be on the order of 300 or 400 miles long.
- A55
22:29 land of Zarahemla To the wilderness bordering the sea east of the land of Zarahemla—The Lamanites once occupied more of this territory, but the Nephites “had driven them” into a strip “east by the seashore.” (Later Moroni drove

them completely out; see 50:9.) When this took place is not specified, perhaps only shortly before the time of chapter 22. In fact the expulsion may have been triggered when the Nephites lost track of those Lamanites who took the prisoners around Noah (see A24).

A56			
22:29	land of Zarahemla		To wilderness areas—"Thus the Nephites were nearly surrounded by the Lamanites," with wilderness arms on two sides nearly pinched together near the isthmus; the transverse narrow strip made a third side. But the Nephites held the northern edge of each wilderness segment, so the Lamanites could not expand northward (v. 34).
A57			
22:29	land called Bountiful		To the land of Zarahemla—Bountiful was held by the Nephites and was the northerly cap on Lamanite expansion toward the crucial neck area via the wilderness strips on either coast.
A58			
22:30	land called Bountiful		To the land called Desolation—Bountiful bordered upon it, whether at one point only or all along their facing borders is not clear, nor is it clear here whether either or both lands reached completely across the neck.
A59			
22:30	land called Bountiful		To the land called Desolation—All three uses of "it" in the first half of this verse refer to Bountiful; any other reading requires special pleading. Thus Bountiful reached so far north as to abut the land northward—"it came <i>into</i> the land which had been peopled and been destroyed" (emphasis added). That implies either that Bountiful came right up against the ruins zone or perhaps that some of the ruins were within Bountiful.
A60			
22:30	land called Desolation		To the land northward—The "it" in the final clause refers to "the land which had been peopled and been destroyed." The

ancestors of the people of Zarahemla (“Mulekites”) had first landed in the area of destruction or desolation. In light of this verse, it seems likely that the area bearing the name land of Desolation was only the southernmost part, not the entirety, of the “land northward” (to which there is no explicit reference here).

A61

22:31 the south wilderness

To the “Mulekite’s” first landing place—It might be supposed that this statement refers to the people of Zarahemla coming “up” just to the area on the Sidon where Mosiah found them, but that is not specifically said. Probably it is intended, but a slim alternative is that “the south wilderness” referred to consisted of precisely the area so called by the Nephites, i.e., south (above) Manti, in the highlands on toward Nephi, and not just halfway “up” as the city of Zarahemla was. [Notice that Zeniff, a descendant of Zarahemla, called the land of Nephi “the land of *our* fathers’ first inheritance” (Mosiah 9:1), raising the possibility that some Zarahemlaite ancestors had actually moved way up to “the south wilderness” to settle, as per 22:31.]

A62

22:31 land called Bountiful

To Desolation—Speaking only of these two lands, Bountiful was “the land on the southward” (not the same as the land southward generally but only a part of it) and Desolation “the land on the northward” (not the same as the land northward generally but only a part of it).

A63

22:31 land called Bountiful

Characteristic—It qualified as wilderness at this time, it appears, in the same sense as the east wilderness along the coast to its south (v. 29), because largely unpopulated (but compare Alma 31:3; wilderness need not mean without any settlers).

A64		
22:32	narrow neck of land	To Bountiful and Desolation—Here called a “small neck of land, “the isthmus is still clearly being described. “The line Bountiful and the land Desolation” seems formed chiefly by a river, for, as unsettled as the area was at this time, the boundary must have been a natural not a mere political one, and a river comes to mind easily as providing a “line” (cf. 50:11?)
A65		
22:32	narrow neck of land	Extent—This language is unclear; opinions among Latter-day Saint readers of this text have differed widely. “From the east to the west sea” seems to me probably the equivalent of “from the east <i>sea</i> to the west sea,” particularly when we pay attention to the end of the sentence: “ <i>thus</i> the [greater] land of Nephi and the [greater] land of Zarahemla [together constituting the land southward] were nearly surrounded by water.” The day and a half’s “journey for a Nephite” then likely was effectively all the way across (although it would be silly to demand that it mean from salt-water to salt water; perhaps from garrison coastal settlement to a similar defense point on the other, which could be a number of miles from actual shore). However, without more information, such as explanation of “a journey for a Nephite,” we cannot specify the distance with confidence. [But logic allows us to bracket the distance. When we know on the one hand that Limhi’s exploring party passed through the isthmus without even realizing it (Mosiah 8:7-9; 21:25-26), we see that it was of substantial width. On the other hand, that the neck was <i>relatively</i> narrow was clear to knowledgeable Nephites.] A width as low as 50 miles seems too small; a more likely minimum is 75, while “a day and a half’s journey” could range up to 125 miles,

		depending on who traveled how (e.g., a messenger relay?)
A66 22:33	land of Bountiful	To lands to its south—See A57.
A67 22:33	land of Bountiful	Extent—"Even from the east unto the west sea" may indicate that Bountiful ran across the full isthmus (cf. A57), although some interpreters hold that "from the east" is not the same as "from the east sea." But the fact that the "borders of the land Bountiful" were very close to if not right at the east sea (51:32) largely settles, for me, the question of "east (sea)" in both vs. 32 and 33. Cf. A265.
A68 22:33-34	land of Bountiful	To the land northward—The Nephite view is clearly manifest here (as at 50:32; 52:14; and 53:3-5) that retention of Bountiful, the gateway to the land northward, was their most crucial strategic need.
A69 23:9	land of Ishmael	Characteristic—No city is mentioned; only the land, although 19:17-18 mentions a servant going "from house to house" near "the house [not palace] of the king," implying a substantial settlement.
A70 23:10	land of Middoni	Characteristic—No city is mentioned.
A71 23:11	local land of Nephi	Characteristic—Here the people converted were in the city only; perhaps there was no scattered population at this time? [V. 13 says, "these are the names of the cities of the Lamanites which were converted"; it is unclear whether "cities" refers only to Nephi, Lemuel and Shimnilom mentioned just previously, or whether the implication is that there were unmentioned cities in each land. The latter seems doubtful, for it

		would render the distinctions between land and city meaningless.]
A72		
23:12	land of Shilom	Characteristic—No city is mentioned, although Mosiah 7:21 and 9:8 assure us there was one (and see A70).
A73		
23:12	land of Shemlon	Characteristic—No city is mentioned (but see A70 and A72).
A74		
23:12	city of Lemuel	Characteristic—No land is mentioned. Since Lemuel is mentioned in connection with Shilom and Shemlon, both of which were close to Nephi, probably this city was too.
A75		
23:12	city of Shimnilom	Characteristic—No land is mentioned. Since Shimnilom is mentioned in connection with Shilom and Shemlon, both of which are close to Nephi, probably this city too was close. Cf. A87.
A76		
23:14 34	dwelling areas of Amulonites	To the lands of Nephi, Shemlon and Shilom—The Amalekites and Amulonites dwelt in a certain part of the land and controlled their own villages and cities inhabited by Lamanites.
A77		
24:1	land of Amulon	To the lands of Nephi, Shemlon and Shilom—Implies (cf. v. 20) that this land, with others unconverted, lay apart from the core area where the converts lived.
A78		
24:1	land of Amulon	Characteristic—Amalekites, Amulonites and Lamanites dwelt together here.
A79		
24:1	land of Helam	To the lands of Nephi, Shemlon and Shilom—Implies (cf. v. 20) that this land, with others unconverted, lay apart from the core area where the converts lived.
A80		
24:1	land of Helam	Characteristic—Amalekites, Amulonites and Lamanites dwelt together here.

A81 24:1	land of Jerusalem	To the lands of Nephi, Shemlon and Shilom—Implies (cf. v. 20) that this land, with others unconverted, lay apart from the core area where the converts lived.
A82 24:1	land of Jerusalem	Characteristic—Amalekites, Amulonites and Lamanites dwelt together here.
A83 24:1	lands round about	To the lands of Nephi, Shemlon and Shilom—Implies (cf. v. 20) that these lands, with others unconverted, lay apart from the core area where the converts lived. A reasonable conjecture is that this “lands round about” includes the core homeland of the Lamanites in the lowlands (including the land of first inheritance) near the land of Shemlon (also cf. 21:13 and 22:27).
A84 24:5	land of Midian	To Nephi and Ishmael—The missionaries gathered for a strategy conclave in the face of preparations for war by the unconverted against the people of God; those from all the areas (Nephi, Shilom, Shemlon, Lemuel, Shimnilom, Middoni—see 23:9-12) except Ishmael first gathered to Midian, a place nowhere else mentioned. From there they moved to Ishmael. We may presume that Midian was a convenient gathering point intermediate between the cluster mentioned and Ishmael. No up or down relations are indicated.
A85 24:20	lands of the unconverted Lamanites	To the lands of Nephi, Shemlon, Shilom and Middoni—The unconverted gathered themselves together and then “came up” as a body to the land of Nephi to destroy the king. [Having been warned (v. 5), presumably the converts in Shemlon, Shilom and Middoni had gathered together at Nephi. Probably the route followed by the aggressor Lamanites was the same as in 19:6 and 20:7-9, through Shemlon and Shilom.]

25:2	lands of the unconverted Lamanites	To the lands of Nephi and Zarahemla—The lands of these Amulonite-Amalekite-Lamanites, indicated in 24:20 as in the west sea lowlands and adjacent highland areas in the land of Nephi, fits logically there since they formed an expeditionary army that headed along the west wilderness coast to come in on Ammonihah (cf. A22).
A87 25:13	lands of the unconverted Lamanites	To the lands of Ishmael and Nephi—After their unsuccessful expedition to Ammonihah and being driven into the east wilderness (vs. 2-5), the Lamanite army returned to their own lands (cf. 24:1; 27:1), then many “came over” to live in the lands of Ishmael and Nephi. [In light of what happened in the east wilderness where many Amulonite overlords were killed, I surmise that the land from which these Lamanites came “over” most likely was the land of Amulon.
A88 27:14	general land of Nephi	To the lands of the Anti-Nephi-Lehies—The fact that all the Anti-Nephi-Lehies departed together as a body confirms the picture in Alma 23-24 that the converts were all from a fairly compact central area.
A89 27:14	narrow strip of wilderness	To the general land of Nephi and land of Zarahemla—The Anti-Nephi-Lehies departed “out of the land [of Nephi]” “into the wilderness which divided the land of Nephi from the land of Zarahemla” then “came over” near the borders of the general land of Zarahemla. [Clearly this separating wilderness is mountainous, hence “over.”]
A90 27:16	Anti-Nephi-Lehi camp	To the route to Gideon and Zarahemla—Ammon and his brethren met Alma “over in the place” on the way previously mentioned. [This “over” likely refers to the route’s going from the camp—perhaps not far from Manti—to Gideon, which we know

was up from the river, and then down to Zarahemla city.]

A91
27:21 greater land of
Zarahemla

Extent—The chief judge sent out to communities “throughout all the land” to approve where to settle Ammon’s group. To have reached the entire population, given them a chance to decide, then get the word back to the chief judge could have taken weeks. Meanwhile thousands of Anti-Nephi-Lehies were sitting in a temporary camp. That may be what happened, but the pressure would have been on to speed up the polling process, so perhaps the more distant places only belatedly gave their approval.

A92
27:22 land of Jershon

To the east sea—Jershon is said to be “on the east by the sea,” but nothing is said about “seashore” in relation to it. It must have been all but empty of Nephites for it to have been given up so easily. Probably they wanted it occupied as part of the “clear the east” strategy which Moroni later carried out fully (50:7-9). [Note differing terminology about this area which needs systematic examination: Antionum was “*nearly bordering upon the seashore*” (31:3); later Moroni sent colonists “into the east wilderness, *even to the borders by the seashore*” (50:9); the city Moroni was “*in the borders by the seashore*” (51:22; but cf. 50:13, “by the east sea”; see 62:32); Amalickiah attacked “*down by the seashore*” capturing a series of cities “all of which were *on the east borders by the seashore*” (51:25-26; cf. v. 32, 50:15, and 52:23); Nephihah, however, was not “down” by the seashore (50:14; 51:25).]

A93
27:23 land of Jershon

To the general land of Nephi—The Lamanite-occupied general land of Nephi at this time was conceived as reaching right to the border of Jershon, necessitating an army to protect it. Inasmuch as Jershon was the

		only named territory south of Bountiful at this point in time, it actually may have encompassed much that later was divided off to form Nephihah, Lehi, etc.
A94 27:25	Anti-Nephi-Lehi temporary camp	To general land of Zarahemla—Said in verse 14 to be in the borders of the land of Zarahemla, the camp is here said, consistently, to be in “the wilderness.”
A95 27:26	land of Jershon	To the Anti-Nephi-Lehi camp and land of Zarahemla—They went from the camp, no doubt via the valley of Gideon but probably past the local land of Zarahemla (not going down into it), and so “down” to Jershon.
A96 30:6	local land of Zarahemla	Extent—Korihor “came . . . into the land of Zarahemla.” This probably means the local land, for it is not evident where Korihor would have come from except some peripheral Nephite-controlled land.
A97 30:19	land of Jershon	To the local land of Zarahemla—Korihor “went over” an intervening elevation to Jershon from Zarahemla.
A98 30:21	land of Gideon	To the land of Jershon—Korihor “came over” from Jershon “into” the land of Gideon. [In v. 19 he had gone “to” Jershon. Cf. A14.]
A99 30:59	land of Antionum	To the general land of Zarahemla—The Zoramites “had separated themselves from the Nephites,” surely meaning moving outside the recognized land of Zarahemla.
A100 31:3	land of Antionum	To the land of Jershon—The Zoramites had settled “east of the land of Zarahemla, which [the land they settled] lay nearly bordering upon the seashore, which [i.e., Antionum] was south of the land of Jershon, which [again, Antionum] also bordered upon the wilderness south, which wilderness was full of the Lamanites.”

		Compare 27:23. [Jershon was obviously separated from the boundary of the formal land of Nephi by not only the territory which became the land of Antionum, which was under neither Nephite nor Lamanite rule at the time, but also by additional wilderness ("wilderness south") which was full of the Lamanites" who were squatters not under the Lamanite polity. Later, Antionum was annexed to the Lamanite kingdom—see 43:4-5; 35:10-11.]
A101		
31:3	land of Antionum	To the general land of Zarahemla—Antionum was specifically to the east, between, it seems, Nephite controlled territory and the east sea—that is, a part of the "east wilderness" of 22:29, for it was never said of Jershon, as it was of Antionum, that it lay "nearly bordering upon the seashore."
A102		
31:12	land of Antionum	Characteristics—Alma and companions had "come into" the land. This could imply some distinct boundary of unknown nature, perhaps a (the?) river. One hill is referred to, and just possibly also a valley.
A103		
32:4	land of Antionum	Characteristic—Alma preached "upon the hill Onidah." This must be a natural, not an artificial, hill ("tower"), for these were the poor people driven out of the conventional worship center. The elevation need only have been locally notable, not particularly high.
A104		
35:1	land of Antionum	To the land of Jershon—Alma and companions, finished in Antionum, "came over into" the land of Jershon. Since both are in the east sea lowlands, "over" likely means across a bounding river or perhaps across a low divide (watershed) into a different drainage. [Note: The difference between "came" and "went" points up the need for a comprehensive study of possible

		significance of those two expressions. It is reasonable that the usage depends upon the position of the writer, or of Mormon as editor, at the time the account was written; in 6:7 the original writer (Alma) was in Zarahemla city at the time he wrote, thus "went" applied to Gideon, and Mormon simply followed Alma's usage?]
A105		
35:6	land of Antionum	To the land of Jershon—Converted Zoramites were "cast out" of Antionum and "came over also into the land of Jershon." Cf. 35:1, 8, 9 re. over and 31:12 and 35:8 re. out/into.
A106		
35:10 & 11	land of Antionum	To the Lamanite area in the wilderness near Antionum (cf. 31:3)—"To mix with" implies no great original distance between the two, if not actual proximity.
A107		
35:13	land of Jershon	To the land of Melek—"Over."
A108		
35:13	land of Jershon	Characteristic—The location of "the camp of Moroni" (50:31), that is, his headquarters and base in the east lowlands, is only identified with a land here: "and gave place in the land of Jershon for the armies of the Nephites." [Note that camp was never threatened, it seems, either by the capture of the line of cities "down by the seashore" (51:25-26) or of Nephihah (59:5-11). This implies that Jershon was significantly inland from "down by the seashore," though not very far from Nephihah (A244).]
A109		
39:3	land of Siron	To the land of Antionum—Corianton had gone "over into" the land of Siron.
A110		
39:3	land of Siron	To the Lamanite area in the wilderness—Siron was "among the borders of the Lamanites," implying that it was closer to the Lamanite occupied area than Antionum.

		(What might “among” mean—that the “borders” constituted an irregular line?)
A111		
43:5	land of Antionum	Characteristic—Lamanites came “into.”
A112		
43:5, 18	land of Jershon	To the land of Antionum—Armies of the two opposing sides faced each other in these two lands; how much territory separated them is unclear, although apparently no then - named/occupied land lay between them. They met for battle “in the borders of Jershon.” Cf. A93
A113		
43:22	land of Antionum	To surrounding wilderness—Frustrated Lamanite forces “departed out of the land of Antionum into the wilderness,” presumably that of A100 and A117.
A114		
43:22	land of Antionum	To the land of Manti—The Lamanite armies “took their journey round about in the wilderness, away by the head of the river Sidon, that they might come into the land of Manti.” “Round about” indicates a curved route bowed away from Nephite territory. [They would probably have preferred to go via the straight, i.e., shortest, way, hence there must have been a compelling reason for going “round about.” That could have been logistical, because on the route they took they could requisition food from their own settlements? Or, the wilderness terrain on a straight route might have been impassable for an army.]
A115		
43:22-26	land of Antionum	To the land of Manti—A long distance is indicated by the elapsed time. While the Lamanites went “round about,” there was time for Moroni, (1) to have spies follow them to determine their course; (2) the spies return to Moroni’s camp in Jershon; (3) he sends from Jershon to Alma in Zarahemla to get guidance; (4) the messengers return to Jershon (v. 24); (5) Moroni and part of his

army travel “over” to the land of Manti (cf. 30:19) (but with no mention of going through Zarahemla); (6) then set an ambush and wait a certain period. This probably consumed one or two months. It is obvious that the Lamanite route was much longer than for Moroni to go from Jershon to Manti.

A116
43:22-26 land of Jershon

To the land of Manti—“Over.”

A117
43:24 land of Antionum
 and Lamanite
 wilderness

To the land of Manti—The Lamanite army moving between the two went “over into the land of Manti.” [Cf. vs. 31-32, 34 re. coming “down” into the Manti area from (presumably) the east. Note that Gideon was never threatened from the east nor received any defensive attention from the Nephites against the Lamanites. It must have been protected by a degree or scale of wilderness barrier on its east such that it was unquestionably safe.]

A118
43:25 camp of Moroni

To the land/city of Jershon—Moroni and a force went off “leaving a part of his army in the land of Jershon, lest . . . part of the Lamanites should . . . take possession of the city.” The camp must have been at or very near the city of Jershon.

A119
43:27 land of Manti

Characteristic—The route by which the Lamanites would approach from the east (cf. A114, A115 and A123) was predictable from practical knowledge, for Alma only told Moroni the general Lamanite aim, not tactical details (see v. 24), so likely only one way in existed.

A120
43:27 land of Manti

Characteristic—There was a valley (surely containing a tributary of the river) coming into the Sidon from the west in the wilderness above the city of Manti.

A121 43:31	land of Manti	Characteristic—On the east of the Sidon was another valley.
A122 43:31	land of Manti	Characteristic—The hill Riplah was south of “the valley” on the east of the river, and both were upstream from the land of Manti proper (cf. v. 32).
A123 43:34-35	land of Manti	Characteristic—The entry route of the Lamanites went up an elevation (across the foot of the hill?) just north of the hill Riplah, the latter hiding the Nephites on its south. Past that elevation and the hill, the route came (down) “into the valley” containing the river Sidon, then crossed it (v. 40). Apparently they intended to go down the west bank of the river in their attack on Manti.
A124 43:42	land of Manti	Characteristic—The valley on the west of the river (v. 27) must have reached the Sidon near the Lamanites’ crossing point but a little above it, for the Nephite force in that valley prevented the enemy from fleeing upstream toward the land of Nephi; instead they had to head down the stream valley toward the land of Manti proper.
A125 45:18	land of Melek	To the local land of Zarahemla—Alma’s final journey was “out of the land of Zarahemla, as if to go into the land of Melek,” clearly meaning “headed toward” Melek. There must have been space intervening between the lands to account for this language.
A126 45:18	land of Melek	Characteristic—One went “into” it. Cf. A19
A127 46:17	land southward	Extent—Terminated at the land of Desolation.

A128 46:31- 33	rebel base area	To the narrow strip of wilderness above Manti--presumably Moroni and his army were at Zarahemla. Amalickiah and his party, wherever they had been based, headed for Nephi without going through Zarahemla.
A129 46:31- 33	routes southward to and beyond Manti	To the local land of Zarahemla—Moroni, learning that Amalickiah's group was headed south (by a particular route which he could be sure of—via Gideon?), took another route to intercept them, which took place in the wilderness, apparently past Manti.
A130 47:1	general land of Nephi	To the land of Zarahemla—Amalickiah went "up in" the land of Nephi.
A131 47:5	place called Onidah	To the local land of Nephi—Amalickiah, to compel reluctant Lamanites to muster to battle the Nephites, "went forward [toward them] to the place which was called Onidah," "the place of arms" ["Went forward" might relate to the Hebrew word for east, which means literally "forward." Cf. 49:13?]
A132 47:7	mount Antipas	To the place Onidah—The mount was at or near the "place."
A133 47:7	mount Antipas	Characteristic—A valley where an army could camp was near the mount.
A134 47:7	mount Antipas	Characteristic—an army could be gathered "upon the top." An embassy went "into" the mountain to meet the leader (perhaps signifying a hollow, or crater, at the top?). (The word mount implies that it was taller than a "hill.")
A135 47:10- 14	mount Antipas	Characteristic—Height; between "when it was night" and "the dawn of the day," these journeys were taken up and down the

mountain: (1) embassy goes up and returns; (2) second embassy goes up; (3) third embassy goes up; (4) a fourth also climbs up, then brings Lehonti and his guards down to meet Amalickiah at the base; (5) Lehonti returns to the top and brings his whole army down. All this dictates a maximum height of no more than a couple of thousand feet (but probably no less than a thousand to qualify as a “mount”?)

A136
47:20 land of Nephi

To the place Onidah—Amalickiah’s force “marched . . . to the land of Nephi, to the city of Nephi,” apparently without any other land intervening. Hence the distance must have been significant (if very near, the king himself probably would have gone to Onidah?), but it does not sound great.

A137
47:29 land of Zarahemla

To the land of Nephi—The king’s servants fled “into the wilderness, and came over” to the general land of Zarahemla (specifically to Melek).

A138
48:6 general land of Nephi

To the land of Ammonihah—Amalickiah’s army “moved forth toward the land of Zarahemla in the wilderness” to attack Ammonihah (cf. 49:1). Unlike usual moves “over” the narrow strip of wilderness (as A137) and “down” to Zarahemla, this time they traveled via the west coastal wilderness (the only way to reach Ammonihah directly) and nothing is said about up or down. If they went through the Lamanite homeland, or were primarily from there, which was coastward from Shemlon, they would go northward along the coast. Then, 25:2 says, they went “over” into Ammonihah, a clear reference to passage over the mountain barrier that formed the western side of the Sidon basin (=land of Zarahemla, basically). (However cf. 49:10-11, for “down out” from where Amalickiah himself sat in the city of Nephi.)

A139 49:1	land of Ammonihah	Characteristic—Lamanites approaching from the west wilderness could be “seen” apparently at some distance from the city itself. This suggests relatively open terrain to the west of the city.
A140 49:12-13	land of Noah	To the west wilderness—The Lamanite army, frustrated by the fortifications at Ammonihah, retreated to the wilderness where they had left their “camp” (logistical base) then moved toward Noah.
A141 49:12, 13,25	land of Noah	To west wilderness and Ammonihah—The Lamanites marched (“forward”—eastward?, see A131) towards the land of Noah. As noted at A22, Noah must have been east (farther from the wilderness) from Ammonihah. Yet there had to be a route to Noah from the wilderness camp (which was at a point en route from the coast to Ammonihah) different than through Ammonihah, for obviously they would not go near (via) that city again and risk being cut off by the alerted defenders. Defeated at Noah, they retreated into the wilderness, back to the coast and to the general land of Nephi, reversing the route by which they came.
A142 50:2,6	land . . . possessed by the Nephites	Extent—Timber-picket fortifications were built “round about all the cities, throughout all the land which was possessed by the Nephites.” [Yet eight years later (53:3-4) Bountiful had no such work, although it was at that moment clearly a Nephite possession. Perhaps “round about” means on the margins exposed to possible Lamanite attack, not in rear areas.]
A143 50:7, 9,14	east wilderness	To the general land of Zarahemla—Lamanites were now driven out of the strip along the east sea (22:27) which the Nephites apparently claimed but had not

previously occupied. This clearance was “even to the borders by the seashore” (v. 9), meaning to the beach (?)

A144
50:8, 9,11 general land of Nephi

To the general land of Zarahemla—The land of Zarahemla is defined here as reaching to the east sea, including the east wilderness just cleared. Near the east sea greater Zarahemla and greater Nephi abut at a “line.” [Cf. 22:32 and 3 Nephi 3:23 re. the “line” between Bountiful and Desolation; this expression plausibly denotes a river.] The line of 50:8,11 could well be a river, for no arbitrary political line is likely to have been defensible as in v. 11. Cf. “the line” again in 50:13. [Note that 50:8 does not say from the east sea all the way to the west sea, although it might mean that.]

A145
50:11 west wilderness

To the general land of Zarahemla—Now the west sea area is definitely involved. This must mean that the strip of west wilderness, which Lamanites had twice used to attack Ammonihah, was now cut off to their access, at a line running between Antiparah and “the city beyond, in the borders by the seashore” (56:31).

A146
50:9 land round about

To the general land of Zarahemla—Nephite colonizers of the east wilderness lands were drawn from not only the land of Zarahemla but also “the land round about.” It seems unlikely that the record would suddenly shift from talking about the general land of Zarahemla (in v. 7) to here the local land of Zarahemla. Granted that, then this statement about the source of colonists seems to tell us that other lands were under Nephite control beyond the land of Zarahemla in the older sense (i.e., the Sidon basin). Cf. H18 and 3N6.

A147
50:9 land northward

Extent—Here it is made clear that the Nephites, as against any Lamanites,

		possessed all the land northward [i.e., what was of concern to them] northward from Bountiful. Cf. A142.
A148 50:13	city of Moroni	To the east sea—Moroni was “by” the sea, said of no other city. [Yet see A265.]
A149 50:13	city of Moroni	To the line of Lamanite possessions—The city was on the south “by the line of the possessions of the Lamanites” (see A144). [Together with A265 and A268, the intimation is that the city was essentially at the line itself, being its eastern anchor (on the northerly shore of a river?)]
A150 50:14	city/land of Nephihah	Extent—“City” is here specifically used as the equivalent of “land”; presumably the same applies to Aaron and Moroni. As recently settled garrison communities under war conditions, they probably had no subordinate nucleated settlements under their control yet. However, the territory officially under their control could have been substantial, only yet unsettled since the clearance of A143.
A151 50:14	land/city of Nephihah	To the land/city of Moroni—The city (=land) of Nephihah bordered the city (=land) of Moroni on the latter’s inland side with the land of Aaron on Nephihah’s other side. Cf. A170, A241, A259, and A266.
A152 50:15	land/city of Lehi	To the south line of Nephite possessions and to the east sea—Lehi was built “in a particular manner” (design?, type of construction?, type of material?) “on the north” [i.e., in relation to Moroni, which was “on the south by the line”—v. 13]. It was one of a series (51:26) of cities “by the borders of the seashore.”
A153 50:25- 26	land/city of Lehi	To the land/city of Morianton—Their borders joined, both being “on” the borders by the (east) seashore.

A154 50:25- 26	land of Lehi and land of Morianton	Extent—It is evident from their disputing over land almost as soon as they were founded that each land was small and could not spare any resources that they might lose to the other—probably a result of settlements made on the basis of military criteria that did not take ecological realities into account. [If a local “land” included a territory of a size that farmers could go to their fields and return the same day after work, as is the case in many horticulture based societies, then a radius of five miles is logical. In this case of overlapping land use, the cities probably were less than ten miles apart.]
A155 50:27- 28	land/city of Lehi	To the camp of Moroni and the city of Morianton—The Lehi people went straight to the camp to complain. The Morianton people found out of it only after the fact, which means that Lehi was in a position where the travel of its people to Jershon would not be observed by the Moriantonites. Cf. A118.
A156 50:29	land which was northward, which was covered with large bodies of water	Extent—The gratuitous comma after the word northward makes it appear that the whole land northward was covered with bodies of water, which is nonsense, of course. Rather, only a particular area could have been very wet, considering how many settlers later went to their land northward. The wet area was in a position to threaten the land Bountiful (v. 32), hence it must have been relatively near the narrow pass/neck.
A157 50:31	camp of Moroni in Jershon	To the land of Morianton—Morianton’s maid servant “came over to the camp of Moroni.” This could mean across an elevation (watershed only?), or perhaps a stream. Lack of any other references to up,

		down or over in this vicinity makes hills doubtful.
A158 50:31- 34	land of Morianton	To the camp of Moroni in Jershon—There had to have been a known route for Morianton's group to follow to the narrow pass, yet it bypassed the camp by a safe margin.
A159 50:29, 32	land of Bountiful	To the land northward—Moroni considered Bountiful and the land which was northward "covered with large bodies of water" to be strategically linked and that their possession by other than Nephites would block Nephite access northward.
A160 50:33- 34	camp of Moroni in Jershon	To the narrow pass—Moroni would not have sent an intercepting army off without knowing that Morianton was already on the way north; obviously his force had to travel by another route than Morianton's, and it must have been shorter, i.e., Jershon must have been nearer the pass, at least in travel time, than Morianton.
A161 50:33- 34	narrow pass	Characteristic—Its south entrance had to be one specific point, for Teancum knew precisely where to go to intercept. Morianton too had known exactly where to go by his party's separate route.
A162 50:33- 34	narrow pass	To approach routes—Three routes converge at the pass' entrance, Morianton's, Teancum's, and the one used by Lamanites, as in A191 and Mm19, which came from the west coast.
A163 50:33- 34	narrow pass	To seas—"By the sea, on the west and on the east" is so brief that it allows several interpretations, none of which is clearly superior on a textual basis. It may mean nothing more than that the narrow pass is within the narrow neck which neck is by the sea on the west and east. Whether

anything more specific is intended remains uncertain.

A164
50:34 narrow pass

To the land Desolation—The south entrance to the pass was at “the border of the land Desolation. This implies that the pass itself, whatever its length, lay *in* Desolation. This is consistent with Mm20 and Mm21.

A165
50:36 land of Lehi

To the land of Morianton—The two were close enough that the combined land could be administered satisfactorily from the city of Lehi.

A166
51:11 land of Nephi

To the land of Zarahemla—“Down.”

A167
51:10 & land of Nephi,
34 [on the] east sea

To the local land of Nephi—Amalickiah gathered together a large army and moved toward his attack point, the land of Moroni (v. 22). The distance for Amalickiah’s armies to travel must have been substantial (cf. 43:22-28), for between the time Moroni “saw that the Lamanites were coming into the borders of the land” and the actual attack, he had time to obtain the voice of the people to act against the king-men and to march forth against and defeat them, surely taking weeks(?)

A168
51:17- king-men area
18, & 20

To the general land of Zarahemla—They were concentrated in a particular area as shown by the statements that Moroni’s army “should go against” them and “did march forth.” More explicitly they were compelled to show the title of liberty “upon their towers, and in their cities.” Had their area been upriver, they would simply have collaborated with the Lamanites (cf. v. 13); that they did not do so indicates that they were downriver (cf. Helaman 1:27, “capital parts of the land” downriver?) Away from the river is doubtful for several reasons.

A169		
51:22	land of Moroni	To the east sea—Again, it was “in the borders by the seashore.”
A170		
51:24	city of Nephihah	To the city of Moroni—Refugees from Moroni fled to Nephihah, perhaps because it was more secure, or perhaps because it was nearer or more convenient than Lehi.
A171		
51:24	city of Lehi	To the city of Moroni and to the city of Morianton—The people at Lehi knew they were next in line to be attacked after Moroni fell, hence Lehi was somewhat more south than Morianton. Cf. A174.
A172		
51:25	city of Nephihah	To the east seashore—The clear intimation here is that Amalickiah would not send his army to attack Nephihah because it was inland (it was also nearer to Moroni’s base camp in Jershon) but “kept . . . down by the seashore.”
A173		
51:26	city of Nephihah	To the east seashore—Mention of the capture of Nephihah is a patent scribal error in light of v. 25 as well as 62:18-26.
A174		
51:26	city of Lehi	To the east seashore—the sequence of mention of cities must represent the order of their encounter going northward, at least on Morianton’s route. Lehi is northward, from Moroni and southward from Morianton. Cf A171.
A175		
51:26	city of Morianton	To the cities of Lehi and Morianton—Lehi was more southerly and Omner northerly. The uncommented listing suggests that the distance from Morianton to Omner was not dramatically different from that between Morianton and Lehi.
A176		
51:26	city of Omner	To the cities of Gid and Morianton—Morianton was southward and Gid northward. The uncommented listing suggests that the distance from Gid to

		Omner was not much different from that between Morianton and Omner.
A177 51:26	city of Omner	Characteristic and extent—No land is mentioned nor implied associated with this city. It could be that it was positioned with insufficient surrounding agricultural land to accommodate a significant population outside the city itself. Perhaps that is related to the record's omitting any mention of its recapture—it was a distinctly minor spot.
A178 51:26	city of Gid	To the cities of Mulek and Omner—Omner was southward and Mulek northward (but cf. H22 where the order of Mulek and Gid is reversed). The uncommented listing suggests that the distance from Gid to Omner was not much different from that between Mulek and Gid.
A179 51:26	city of Gid	Characteristic and extent—No land is mentioned or implied associated with this city. Like Mulek and Omner, it may have been positioned with insufficient surrounding agricultural land to accommodate a significant population outside the city itself.
A180 51:26	city of Mulek	To the city of Gid—See A178.
A181 51:26	city of Mulek	Characteristic and extent—compare A188.
A182 51:28	city of Mulek	To the land Bountiful—no cities intervened between Mulek and “the borders of the [greater?] land of Bountiful.”
A183 51:29	camp of Moroni in Jershon	To the city of Mulek and the land of Bountiful—Teancum's army apparently was at the camp (cf. 50:35) when Moroni dispatched them to intercept Amalickiah's force. The fact that they did not (have time

to?) head for and meet the enemy at, say, Omner, Gid or Mulek suggests (1) that the distance traveled by the Lamanite army from Lehi to Mulek was limited so that the campaign to that point was over before there was time for Teancum to react, or (2) route limitations such as terrain prevented movement from the camp directly to, say, Omner, or (3) both of the above.

A184
51:29 city of Morianton

To the narrow pass—It is evident in 50:33 that Morianton and Teancum used different routes to reach the narrow pass. Plausibly Amalickiah's men followed the route - nearer the sea - that Morianton had taken from what had been his city northward to reach almost to the narrow neck of land (v. 30). Then Teancum plausibly used the same route northward this time as he did against Morianton, reaching Bountiful, then returning on the reverse of the Morianton route the short distance to the point to intercept Amalickiah.

A185
51:30 land of Bountiful

To the land northward—Clearly Moroni considered possession of the land of Bountiful (and the city too, because he fortified it so strongly) key to access to that part of the land northward of interest to the Nephites.

A186
51:32 land of Bountiful

To Mulek—the approach of Amalickiah to Bountiful out of Mulek was via “the beach by the seashore.” It is very likely that the city (=local land—53:3) of Bountiful was not far from the beach.

A187
51:33 narrow neck of land

Characteristic—Reference to the “heat of the day” (at new year's) causing fatigue indicates that this area was oppressively tropical during at least part of the year

A188
52:2 land northward

To the narrow pass—Lamanite strategy was not merely to seize the pass/neck in order

		to confine the Nephites but went further; it was “marching into the land northward.”
A189		
52:2	city of Mulek	To the land Bountiful—From the beach site on the borders of the land of Bountiful where Amalickiah was slain, the Lamanites retreated into the city of Mulek.
A190		
52:2	city of Mulek	Characteristic and extent—No land associated with this city is mentioned nor implied. Rather, emphasis is on its absolute protection from attack, in this verse and 16, 17, 20, 21 plus 53:6. The expression “into the city” may confirm the idea of physical isolation.
A191A		
52:9	land of Bountiful	To the narrow pass—Moroni felt that fortifying the land of Bountiful would secure the narrow pass. Cf. 53:3-5 and 52:2. The land/city Bountiful was the key that blocked access via the east coast, at least by way of the “beach route” taken by Amalickiah. [Note that in the final Nephite wars, neither Bountiful nor the east coast enter the story at all. Did Mormon write the first clause in 53:5, that is, was Bountiful still a stronghold in his day?]
A191B		
52:9	narrow pass	To the land northward—The pass led to the land northward. Control of the pass was required to get into the land northward (at least that part of interest to the Nephites then).
A192		
52:10	quarter of the land	Characteristic—This is the second use of this term. The first was 43:26 in reference to an area from Manti to the west sea south; cf. 56:14 and 58:30, also 53:8, “on the west sea, south,” i.e., “that part of the land.” Moroni’s charge to Teancum implies that at a minimum Bountiful, Mulek and Gid would be included in this “quarter.”

A193		
52:11, 12, 15	borders by the west sea	Extent—It becomes apparent in chapters 56-57 that this area consists of the southern periphery of the land of Zarahemla, adjacent to the (east-west) narrow strip of wilderness from Manti to Antiparah and on to the west coast.
A194		
52:15- 18	city of Bountiful	To the land of Bountiful—This passage supports 53:3 to the effect that the city Bountiful is part of and integral to the land Bountiful [some readers of the Book of Mormon have speculated that there were two Bountifuls]. Moroni marches toward the land of Bountiful to assist Teancum; Teancum waits for him in the city of Bountiful; Moroni arrives in the land of Bountiful to meet Teancum; ergo, the city is in the land.
A195		
52:15, 18	land of Bountiful	To the city of Zarahemla—The entry beginning, “in the twenty-seventh year” has Moroni start his march (leaving, it is implied, from Zarahemla) toward Bountiful. V. 18 says that he arrived in Bountiful “in the latter end” of that year. This journey between Zarahemla and Bountiful seems to consume a lengthy period—perhaps months. The route taken was likely hundreds of miles in length. [Since nothing is said about Jershon and Moroni’s camp being involved, it is unlikely that the route was via Jershon. Another way would have been via the west coast (cf. Mormon 2:6, 16ff.) which could account for how long it took Moroni to reach Teancum.
A196		
52:17	city of Mulek	To the city Bountiful—Teancum makes a feint at Mulek, but returns to Bountiful; it is implied that no recognized land/city lies between.

A197 52:22	city of Mulek	Characteristic—There was wilderness on the west of the city (since the entire zone is evidently coastal lowland—no up or down is ever mentioned here—this wilderness must consist of forest, perhaps swampy).
A198 52:22	city of Mulek	Characteristic—When Teancum’s men march near Mulek “down near [meaning toward?] the seashore” (which is east of Mulek), they can be seen from within the fortress city.
A199 52:23	city of Mulek	To the seashore—“Down by the seashore” is here considered “northward,” i.e., toward Bountiful.
A200 52:27- 39	city of Bountiful	To the city of Mulek—The Lamanites pursuing Teancum vigorously come “near the city Bountiful.” They turn to flee, “lest perhaps they should not obtain the city Mulek before them; for they were wearied because of their march.” Now the maximum plausible distance they could travel in one day under hot, fatiguing conditions (v. 31 and 51:33) would be about 20 miles; the account implies that half that would be the distance from Mulek to the point they reached near the city Bountiful, for they felt concern that they might not return (the same distance) to safety. After some miles backpedaling, they were defeated, then prisoners were marched “into the land Bountiful” (still the same day). It seems Mulek and the city Bountiful, then, could not be much more than fifteen miles apart by trail (how near is “near”?) and somewhat less (ten?) on a beeline.
A201 53:2	city of Mulek	Characteristic—This time Moroni goes “to” the city, where the Lamanites had gone “into” it (with emphasis on protection).

A202			
53:3-4	land/city of Bountiful	Extent—Prisoners dig a ditch “round about the land, or the city, Bountiful. “This cannot mean the general land Bountiful of 22:33, which reached to or near the west sea, but only the local land near the city, as confirmed in v. 4 where it is the city that is referred to as enclosed.	
A203			
53:6	city of Mulek	To the “land of Nephi”—This reference is an evident error (mental slip) by the original scribe or Mormon (for “land of the Nephites”?). Nothing else in the entire record supports the idea that the city of Mulek was considered part of an entity known as the land of Nephi.	
A204			
53:8	west sea, south area	Extent—From Manti to the sea via Antiparah and including Judea; see 43:26; 56:1; and 52:10-15.	
A205			
53:10, 12	land of Nephi	To the land of Zarahemla—“Down.”	
A206			
53:22	land of Melek	To the west sea, south quarter of the land—That the young Ammonites were sent there suggests that Melek may have been considered in that quarter, though not necessarily.	
A207			
54:1-55:1	Lamanite headquarters	To the city of Gid—the exchange of epistles between Ammoron and Moroni surely took place at fairly close quarters, yet when Gid was taken (55:23), Ammoron was not there. Morianton seems a possible headquarters site, given 55:33, yet later (62:33) he was at the city of Moroni and may have been all along. [If so, then this supports the argument in A267 that the entire east coast was of limited length.]	

A208			
54:1-	city of Gid		To Mulek (?), or Moroni's base camp (?), or a bivouac in the field (?)—From evening to dawn (vs. 4-22): (1) Moroni's wine-carrying party went from where Moroni was to Gid; (2) waited to observe the guards get drunk and go to sleep; (3) returned to report; (4) then the Nephite army came quietly to Gid, (5) lowered weapons over the wall to the prisoners, and (6) surrounded the city. Five miles seems to me the maximum distance involved to manage this. (Were the army waiting too near to Gid, the Lamanites might have discovered them and spoiled the ruse.) I think most likely Moroni was at Mulek at this time, not in Jershon, in which case this distance would be from Mulek to Gid, although such a short distance may be unlikely for two "cities."
55:1			
A209			
55:33	city of Omner		To the city of Morianton—Omner had been captured by the Lamanites between Morianton and Gid. Now in the recapture sequence, nothing is said of Omner. Perhaps the Lamanites had abandoned it, which suggests that it was unimportant, perhaps small.
A210			
55:33	city of Morianton		characteristic—Since the Lamanites possessed both cities, Morianton and Lehi, one wonders what made them decide to make Morianton primary—perhaps its defensive position (a stream on one side?)
A211			
56:1,2,9	west sea, south quarter		Characteristic (terminology)—V. 1 refers to "that quarter of the land" where Helaman was; v. 2, Helaman writing, says "this part of the land," and, v. 9, "part . . ."
A212			
56:3,25	land of Nephi		To the land of Zarahemla—"Down out of the land of Nephi."

A213 56:9	land of Melek	To the city of Judea—Helaman and his 2000 march “to the city of Judea,” apparently directly. No elevation clue is given.
A214 56:13-14	west sea, south quarter	Extent—Cities captured by the Lamanites (mentioned in 53:8) are listed, from Manti to Antiparah; all belong in this quarter.
A215 56:13-14	west sea, south quarter	To the city of Judea— It too is part of this quarter. See A213.
A216 56:13-14	west sea, south quarter	Extent—Manti is on the Sidon, while Antiparah is near the west sea; it is likely that these two plus the intervening two cities lay in a line parallel to the narrow strip of wilderness (v. 25 says they are all “up”); such a line would plausibly be defined by a river (valley) flowing down from Antiparah toward and into the Sidon in the vicinity of Manti. If so, then the lack of mention of “lands” could mean that they were only garrison cities with little agricultural land about them (see A231).
A217 56:14	land of Manti	To other cities in the west sea, south quarter—“The land of Manti, or the city of Manti,” is here conjoined with (in order of distance) Zeezrom, Cumeni and Antiparah.
A218 56:14, & 25	Manti-to-Antiparah cities	To Zarahemla—From all, “down against Zarahemla.”
A219 56:14	city of Zeezrom	To adjacent cities—The list has Manti on the east side and Cumeni on the west. No city of Zeezrom is now mentioned.
A220 56:14	city of Cumeni	To adjacent cities—the list has Zeezrom on the east side and Antiparah on the other. No city of Cumeni is mentioned.

A221 56:14	city of Antiparah	To adjacent cities—the list has Cumeni on its east side and on the other “the city beyond in the borders by the [west] seashore” (see A224). No city of Antiparah is mentioned.
A222 56:18, 22, & 24	city of Judea	To Manti, Zeezrom, Cumeni and Antiparah—Judea was clearly the next city northward from these four cities on the west side of Sidon; it served as a stopper in a bottleneck (tributaries of the Sidon ran down from the narrow strip mountains to converge at Judea?) protecting cities farther north from Lamanite approach. No land of Judea is mentioned, which may mean that the city was in mountainous country.
A223 56:25	city of Nephihah	To Manti—Lamanites dare not “cross the head of Sidon, over to the city of Nephihah,” clearly their next possible strategic target on the east; this reverses 43:22, keeping the “over” consistent.
A224 56:30- 32	city of Antiparah	To “the city . . . in the borders by the seashore”—the latter city, apparently the next one “beyond,” would be “down,” although not stated (cf. the “down” of v. 25, which tells us that Antiparah was “up”). Cf. A145. The fact that the Lamanites fell for the ruse indicates that the normal Nephite route to the city was via Antiparah. “The” city indicates that there was only one obvious one, probably the only one the Nephites held in that coastal sector.
A225 56:36- 38	west wilderness	To Antiparah—Helaman’s group came from Judea, which lay eastward from Antiparah, and headed toward the west sea. Their flight was at right angles to their first course, thus northward along the strip of wilderness. Since they headed northward from near Antiparah (the highest “up” spot) from the point where

they were discovered by the enemy, as they had planned, the wilderness through which they fled must have consisted of mountains (the edge of the Sidon basin).

A226
56:38-41 west wilderness

Characteristics—The more than two days full-tilt flight must have been more or less along the mountain crest, which would make sense of the statement “durst not turn to the right nor to the left lest they should be surrounded.” Also, the fact that Helaman could detect when their pursuers stopped means that sight-lines were open, at least at points, agreeable to such a route.

A227
56:57 west wilderness

To the local land of Zarahemla—The headlong flight/pursuit northward into the wilderness would have gone on the order of thirty or forty miles (the going would be rugged enough). Sending their prisoners straight to Zarahemla then made sense geographically as well as logistically, for the capital would have been downhill and more or less east from the battle spot.

A228
56:57 west wilderness

To the city of Judea—Helaman went “back” to the city of Judea, probably over the track they had come on, or perhaps downhill by a shorter way.

A229
57:4 city of Antiparah

To other cities held by the Lamanites—They “fled to their other cities, which they had possession of, to fortify them.” That these could have included unnamed Lamanite cities is very unlikely considering “had possession of” and “to fortify them,” so it probably refers to Zeezrom, Cumeni and Manti.

A230
57:4 city of Antiparah

To other cities held by the Lamanites—Antiparah was evidently the most remote, most difficult to defend city of the Manti-Zeezrom-Cumeni-Antiparah string [the Lamanite base “camp” was apparently in

		Manti (v. 30), probably because that was most accessible logistically to the land of Nephil, while Antiparah was farthest from Manti. Hence Antiparah's abandonment made sense to the Lamanites in cost terms.
A231		
57:8-11,	city of Cumeni	
& 17		Characteristic—The obvious dependence of the Lamanite garrison on imported provisions, and the same for Judea and Helaman's army (56:27-30; 58:3-8; 60:9), confirms that in this presumably mountainous area up near the narrow wilderness strip little agriculture was feasible, at least during wartime (see A216).
A232		
57:11	land of Judea	To the city of Cumeni and to the local land of Zarahemla—It is understandable in logistical terms why the prisoners taken at Cumeni were sent to Zarahemla but the provisions to Judea; there was not enough food at Judea to support the prisoners. Note that it appears (though not certain) in the phrasing that the route now used to Zarahemla was not through Judea.
A233		
57:15-	city of Cumeni	
17, & 30		To the local land of Zarahemla—"Down."
A234		
57:30-	city of Cumeni	
31		To Manti—Most logically (i.e., most directly) in this mountainous country the route followed by Gid and the prisoners from Cumeni "down to the land of Zarahemla" would have been down a stream valley tributary to the Sidon; this would not have gone directly to Manti but to some point downstream from there, otherwise the prisoners would have been at risk of escaping to or being intercepted by the Lamanites still at Manti.
A235		
57:30-	city of Cumeni	
31, & 34		To Manti—The surprise Lamanite army going against Helaman at Cumeni came from Manti (v. 22 says they were driven

"back" there) by a different route than that taken by Gid, for the spies' words show that they would not have encountered the Lamanite army had they continued the way they were going. So the enemy was on a partially parallel route from Manti to Cumeni, confirmed by the fact that Gid's men "took our march with speed" directly to Cumeni.

A236
58:13-19 city of Manti

Characteristic—The wilderness side (one side, implied) was near the city. This wilderness was large enough that the Nephites could be divided into three bodies, the two extremes allowing room for the Lamanites to go through the middle in pursuit without seeing the two ambush groups (a minimum of a mile wide?)

A237
58:18-24 city of Manti

To Zarahemla—Helaman's luring party drew the Lamanites either to the east or west of Manti, then turned northward toward which Zarahemla, then worried the pursuers. [The feint would not have been toward the south, for then the veering would have had to be 180 degrees, and the Lamanites would have backed off sooner.]

A238
58:18-24 city of Manti

Extent—Nothing is said about the land, only the city, of Manti in this operation. The journeying in the wilderness had to have taken from, say, mid-morning to dark (v. 14ff) at full speed, on a curving path, so the distance traveled must have been at least 20 miles. Hence that wilderness that was near the city extended unbroken either east or west and then northward for that distance. So the (settled) land of Manti may have been smallish in view of this much wilderness being so close.

A239
58:31 city of Zeezrom

Characteristic—Zeezrom was in the initial list of cities captured, falling between Manti and Cumeni, but it is nowhere mentioned

		as recaptured until in this verse it is indicated as in Nephite hands. It may have been a secondary city which the Lamanites abandoned without a battle.
A240 58:35	quarter of the land	Characteristic—Helaman refers to Moroni's area, around Mulek and Gid, as a quarter. Cf. 59:2,3.
A241 59:5	city of Nephihah	To the cities of Moroni, Lehi and Morianton—Nephihah had been something of a refuge hub to which people had fled from all those three cities.
A242 59:6	land of Manti	To Nephihah—Lamanites who left the Manti area "and from the land round about" there, had "come over" and joined the Lamanites at Nephihah.
A243 59:6	part of the land	Extent—The Nephihah-Moroni-Lehi-Morianton area is referred to as "this part of the land." It is not clear whether that was a "quarter" and whether it differed from Moroni's quarter (cf. 58:35). It might constitute a third quarter. V. 9 indicates that commander Moroni was out of operational touch with Nephihah, suggesting that indeed there was a difference in "quarter," or at least some notable communication (distance?) problem between his place and there (cf. v. 10. [The northwest area including Ammonihah and Noah could be the fourth quarter?])
A244 59:8	city of Nephihah	To Gid and Mulek—Refugees from Nephihah "came even and joined the army of Moroni," which presumably was in the vicinity of Gid. The expression "even" might signify an unusual distance. [Note that nothing is said of Moroni's old "camp" in Jershon; might he have been there by this time instead of near Gid?]

A245		
60:19	land of Zarahemla	Extent—With regard primarily to the local land of Zarahemla (cf. v. 30), Moroni refers to it here as “in the heart of our country” and “surrounded by security.” [Perhaps the heart was conceived of as a fifth section along with the four peripheral quarters—cf. v. 22, “in the borders of the land.”][The city is in the “center” of the greater land of Zarahemla. I argued above that the airline distance from Nephi to Zarahemla was ca. 180 miles beeline. From the middle of the narrow strip of wilderness to the city Zarahemla would have been on the order of 80. For Zarahemla city to be in “the center,” greater Zarahemla toward the north ought to be roughly the same. However, there is reason for thinking that the capital was slightly off-“center” toward Nephi (especially the abrupt arrival of dissenter Coriantumr at the city, Hel. 1:19). Thus I assume that from the capital to the northern edge of greater Zarahemla was about 80 miles. Beyond that point was at least one “land between” (3 Ne. 3:23) Zarahemla and Bountiful, plus Bountiful itself, before reaching the land Desolation and thus the land northward. We have no reason to think that the land between or Bountiful were extensive; they might add 80 more miles. Thus the total length from Zarahemla to Desolation would be approximately 160 miles and from the city of Nephi to Desolation was around 360.]
A246		
60:33	Moroni’s quarter (east sea borders)	To the local land of Zarahemla—“Up.”
A247		
61:5	land of Gideon	To Zarahemla—Pahoran was driven out of Zarahemla to Gideon “before them” (his enemies). [The “before” possibly relates to the Hebrew word for east, meaning, to the

		fore—cf. A131). Gideon was generally east from Zarahemla.]
A248 61:6	part of the land	Extent—Pahoran in Gideon refers to “this part of the land.” It is left unclear whether this expression refers to a “quarter” or only to the area in general. (In v. 15, he speaks of “that part of the land” where Moroni is, which elsewhere is called a “quarter.”)
A249 61:7	land of Gideon	To Zarahemla—Pahoran in Gideon says that the rebels, who possess Zarahemla, dare not “come out” against him to battle. The city was fortified with a wall (Hel. 1:21), and the expression may refer to that. Or perhaps it is a more general expression anent coming out of the “urban area” to a field of combat (cf. 2:17).
A250 61:8	land of Zarahemla	Extent—Reference to “the land, or the city, of Zarahemla” indicates that the local land of Zarahemla still has meaning.
A251 62:3-6	various lands between Gid and Gideon	To Moroni’s quarter and Gideon—The lands are not named (none hitherto mentioned would qualify geographically), but the area traversed must have been substantial (cf. v. 4, “whatsoever place,” and vs. 4 and 6, “in all his march”) and the population significant.
A252 62:7	local land of Zarahemla	To the land of Gideon—The loyalist armies went “down” “into the land of Zarahemla”(cf. 61:7, reverse phrasing).
A253 62:12	part of the land	Extent—Helaman’s part. Cf. A211.
A254 62:13- 14	Bountiful quarter	To the land of Zarahemla—Comparison of these two verses shows that reinforcements for Lehi and Teancum, who were based in the Bountiful-Mulek-Gid sector, went by a different route than Moroni took to reach Nephihah (or Moroni would simply have

		had the reinforcements for Teancum go with him, then onward from Nephihah).
A255		
62:14,	land of Nephihah	To the land of Zarahemla—One might have expected “down” or “over” to Nephihah, but we have only “towards.” The reason may be that the intermediate action of v. 15 interrupts the sense of “down/over.” [Cf. vs. 3-4, where Gideon might have been “up” but we again have “towards,” also perhaps because of the intermediate action.]
18		
A256		
62:15	land of Nephihah	To the land of Nephi—The two forces were using the same route, for part of the way, from Nephi to Nephihah and Zarahemla to Nephihah. The Nephite force easily “took” the smaller Lamanite bunch, who numbered but 4000+. Likely the few Lamanites were moving faster and blundered into the Nephites. [The Lamanites could hardly have been on the route Moroni had taken coming up to Gideon (A251), for he had touched significant Nephite populations, which the small Lamanite group would have avoided? There must have been largely parallel routes for the latter part of the journey and they happened to coincide at this point.]
A257		
62:18-	city of Nephihah	To the plains of Nephihah—“Near the city.” But the singling out of “ <i>the</i> plains” suggests that areas other than plain (which likely means flat, unforested grassland?) also were around the city.
19		
A258		
62:20-	city of Nephihah	Characteristic—The area inside the wall was large enough that only part (the east, near the exit toward Lehi and Moroni) was occupied. Furthermore, the west part was remote enough from the east for many men to sneak in over the wall in the night without being heard.
23		

A259		
62:25	city of Moroni	To the city of Nephihah and the city of Lehi—The fleeing Lamanites went to Moroni, not Lehi, suggesting that Moroni was closer, or at least no farther away (in travel time anyway), than Lehi (?).
A260		
62:25	city of Moroni	To the east sea—It was “in the borders by the seashore.”
A261		
62:30	land/city of Lehi	To the land/city of Nephihah—After capturing Nephihah, Moroni “went forth” to Lehi (easterly?—cf. A131).
A262		
62:32	city to city	To the city of Lehi—The Lamanites were pursued “from city to city, until they were met by Lehi and Teancum.” Only two mentioned cities are possibly involved, Morianton and Omner. But the latter hardly fits. The phrase may imply that there were other (no doubt minor) garrison cities in the area. [Lehi and Teancum were last known to have taken the city of Gid, “northward.” Why the Lamanites would have moved in the direction they did is unclear; an alternative is that Moroni had correlated in advance with his forces at Gid by messenger, and they were attacking from the north the same day as Moroni attacked.]
A263		
62:32	land/city of Lehi	To “even down upon the borders by the seashore, until they came to the land of Moroni”—From Nephihah to Lehi was seaward (eastward), and Lehi to Morianton may have been also. This verse implies that the end result of the Lamanite flight was their arrival very near the shore, then movement along it to the land of Moroni.
A264		
62:34	land of Moroni	Extent—It must have been of limited area for the Nephites to be able to surround the land (not just the city) on two sides.

A265		
62:34	land of Moroni	Characteristics—There was wilderness on both the east and south sides of the land. That on the east was between the land/city and the sea. This east wilderness is not likely to have been extensive; since the city was “sunk in the depths of the sea” (3 Nephi 9:4), it seems likely to have been very close to the shore (cf. 50:13: “by the east sea”). [Possibly it lay on an estuary with a peninsula of wilderness land to its east?]
A266		
62:35	city of Nephihah	To the land/city of Moroni—The statements, “thus they did encamp for the night,” and they “were weary because of the greatness of the march” clearly imply that the entire operation since Moroni attacked Nephihah took place in a single day. [It might be argued that he paused for a day or so before attacking at Lehi, but that makes little tactical sense, for his troops were virtually unharmed at Nephihah, and again at Lehi, so logically he would press his advantage over the demoralized Lamanites.] If but a single day is indeed indicated, then the total distance from Nephihah “from city to city” to “down by the seashore” (beach?) to Moroni could hardly exceed twenty-five miles; the part of that distance parallel to the coast from Moroni to include Morianton and Lehi cannot have been more than fifteen miles, it appears to me.
A267		
62:35	east sea borders	Extent—[We can now estimate the total distance from Moroni to Bountiful along the coast of the east sea. We have seen that projected on the coastline Bountiful to Mulek was on the order of ten miles direct (and that not parallel to the coast), and here the distance from Moroni to include Morianton and Lehi, again projected on the coast, is unlikely to exceed fifteen. The only other cities said taken by Amalickiah were

Omner and Gid. Gid proves to be offset (inland?) from Mulek (see H24), so the north-south distance between them is slight. In the Omner area there might be some unusual distance, but it is unlikely that sector (from Gid/Mulek to Morianton) would be longer than twenty miles, based on the intervals between the other cities. Thus the whole east coast area from Bountiful to Moroni that we can account for seems only about 60 miles. But for the sake of uncertainties, let us put it at 65-70. From the city of Bountiful to the line with Desolation might add another ten or so, but even then, the entire Nephite east coast cannot plausibly exceed 80 miles long. This calculation makes immediately evident why Amalickiah attacked here and why Moroni was fixated on defending this sector above all others.]

A268
62:38 land of Moroni

To the lands of the Nephites—The Lamanites were driven into the wilderness “out of the land [of the Nephites].”

A269
63:4 land of Zarahemla

To the land which was northward— Presumably the greater land of Zarahemla was the source of the large body of migrants. [No hint is given of which part of the land northward was the destination, but why would they go farther than necessary to find suitable lands? The Morianton affair showed that such land was not distant.]

A270
63:5 narrow neck of land

To the lands Bountiful and Desolation— Hagoth built his ship “on the borders of the land Bountiful” which spot was also “by the land Desolation.” That means that his spot was considered not quite “in” either land but near where the two join at the west sea. (Bountiful is indicated in 22:32 to adjoin Desolation and to reach the west sea.) [The prepositions used in relation to the two lands and the shipbuilding site

(“on the borders” and “by”) suggest hesitation to include the west side of the narrow neck in Bountiful, which is understandable given that the city Bountiful was clear over near the east sea—52:32; 53:3-4. One may also wonder why ships at all?, since they were not used on the east side. One possible answer is that overland communication along the west was difficult or impossible because of mountains reaching the sea, aridity (cf. the timber shipping), or whatever.]

A271
63:7, land northward
& 10

To Hagoth’s port—[The fact that provisions were the prime cargo suggests that the distance involved was not great; “newfangled” ships would have been unreliable enough that people would have been foolish to depend upon them as a major source of subsistence support, which would be riskier the farther away the colony.]

A272
63:15 land of Nephi

To the land of Zarahemla—Once more, “down.”

Helaman
H1
1:15,17 land of Nephi

To the land of Zarahemla—“Down.”

H2
1:18 city of Zarahemla

To Nephite lands in general—The city and local land is “the heart of their lands.” Cf. A245.

H3
1:19 land of Zarahemla

To the narrow strip of wilderness—Coriantumr came with such great speed that there was no time to gather a defense except “the watch by the entrance of the city.” [This implies a certain limit to the distance from the borders of the land, above Manti, to the capital city. A sighting 75 miles above the capital ought to have given

		a day's warning. Or was the alarm, as at Pearl Harbor, ignored at headquarters?]
H4		
1:23	land of Bountiful	To the land of Zarahemla—Coriantumr followed the classic Lamanite strategy (e.g., Alma 50:32) of gaining control of the narrow neck of land ("the north parts of the land"); here the key was "the city of Bountiful" (cf. Alma 53:4-5).
H5		
1:24-26	center of the land	To the land of Zarahemla—The capital city and the areas nearby downriver from it are considered "the center of the land" and, apparently, have the greatest population. [From the lowland periphery, the capital city looked like part of this center—see A245— but closer at hand, downstream from Zarahemla was the "center of the center."]
H6		
1:27	"the most capital parts of the land"	To Zarahemla—The downriver area is termed "the most capital parts of the land, "containing many (unnamed) cities.
H7		
1:28-29	land of Bountiful	To the location of Lehi and his army—Lehi had last been heard of at the city of Moroni (probably most of the Nephite armies were thereabouts, facing the most likely spot for a new attack (see Helaman 1:26), where Amalickiah had begun his campaign (cf. Alma 62:32,42). Moronihah had to be nearby also to permit his giving Lehi the command in haste. So Lehi headed northward through the east lowlands toward a point calculated to meet Coriantumr before he reached Bountiful.
H8		
1:29-31	land of Bountiful	To the city of Zarahemla—The route taken by Coriantumr (battling some as he went) was slower (longer?) than Lehi's, for it would have taken time for Moronihah/Lehi even to get word by messenger about Coriantumr's intention and route. So Lehi's

route had to be shorter in order for him to "intercept."

H9

1:29-31 land of Bountiful

To the city of Zarahemla—The route used by Coriantumr to Bountiful is not specified, but in retreat ("back") he got himself caught in the middle of the Nephites, thus he had to have gone from some point on the Sidon through the middle of the land southward. His target, the city Bountiful, suggests that Coriantumr headed from the Sidon toward the east sea lowlands. [Lamanites in Mormon's day ignored Bountiful when they reached the narrow pass via the west sea (Joshua).]

H10

2:11 wilderness

To the city of Zarahemla—Gadianton and band flee into the wilderness by a secret way.

H11

3:3 land northward

To the greater land of Zarahemla—A large number migrated. (Nothing is said if by sea; probably it was not, for ship travel is presented as clearly exceptional).

H12

3:4-5 land of waters

To the land northward—No statement occurs elsewhere quite like this "travel to an exceeding great distance" (actually it is a vague, relative expression). Third Nephi 7:12 has dissenters go to the "northernmost" part of the land, but nothing is then said of waters. The waters sound like Morianton's destination—Alma 50:29—but in his case nothing was said of distance. Thus no basis exists for an estimate of distance. "Spread forth" and "desolation" (cf. v. 8) imply gradual filling in from the neck northward rather than grand leapfrogging

H13

3:8 sea north, sea south

To the inhabited lands—The fourfold labeling of seas applies specifically to the land northward. With movement in force into the land northward, the terminology

		for seas may have changed from what had sufficed in reference to the land southward.
H14		
3:10-11	land northward	To the land southward—The economics of shipping with these new vessels to haul the timber would limit exports to relatively short distances, a couple of hundred miles, probably only to settlements along the coast and a very short distance inland. Surely basic timber could be obtained in most localities easier than to carry it on voyages of many hundreds of miles. Comparison with modern ships and exporting would be absurd, of course.)
H15		
3:31	lands of the Nephites	Extent—The land of Zarahemla and all the regions round about (including settled portions of the land northward).
H16		
4:4	land of Zarahemla	To the land of Nephi—"Up."
H17		
4:5	land of Nephi	To the land of Zarahemla—"Down."
H18		
4:5-6	land of Zarahemla	To neighboring lands—Lamanites and dissenters gained control of the land of Zarahemla "and also all the lands, even unto the land which was near the land Bountiful" (v. 13, "almost all their lands"). "And the Nephites were driven even into the land of Bountiful." Thus unnamed (local?) lands intervened between the [local?] land of Zarahemla and the land of Bountiful, particularly on the west. [Cf. A245]
H19		
4:7	fortified line	To the land Bountiful—The line was from the west sea "even unto the east." [Not the same as to the east <i>sea</i> . Likely the line was more or less in the same sector centuries later called the land of Joshua—Mormon 2:6. Cf. Alma 22:32, where a line from the east sea is mentioned. The difference in

times indicated between these two—day vs. day and a half—shows that they are not the same.]

H20
4:9-10 land southward

Extent—The lands regained by the Nephites (“many cities”) constituted half their original possessions [by implication, in the land southward only]. Cf. vs. 8 and 16 and 5:14-16.

H21
5:14-16 city of Bountiful

To Gid—Whereas in Amalickiah’s war and the subsequent Lamanite retreat Mulek is indicated as next to Bountiful, here Gid is. Evidently Gid and Mulek were approximately the same distance from Bountiful, depending on the route chosen.

H22
5:14-16 city of Gid

To the city of Mulek—Evidently Gid and Mulek were approximately the same distance from Bountiful, depending on the route chosen. On the basis of A186, I suppose Mulek to have been seaward and Gid inland.

H23
5:14-16 eastern lowlands

Extent—The half of their former possessions held at this time by the Nephites obviously constituted the eastern lowlands where the named cities lay. This indicates that the “possessions” of the Nephites in the east lowlands were extensive, roughly equivalent in area to those in the land of Zarahemla proper.

H24
6:10 land south

Characteristic—Called “Lehi” . . . for the Lord did bring . . . Lehi into the land south.” [Likely this name was a recent innovation, only since heavy settlement of Nephites began in the land north.]

H25
6:10 land north

Characteristic—Called “Mulek . . . for the Lord did bring Mulek into the land north.” [Likely this name was a recent innovation—see H24.]

H26 11:20	land northward and land southward	To the seas—People spread anew until they covered the whole face of the land, both on the northward and on the southward, from the sea west to the sea east. [This statement concerns <i>both</i> the lands southward and northward; reference is not made to the seas north and south inasmuch as those apparently relate only to the land northward (see H13).]
H27 11:28, 31-32	robbers' areas	To settled areas—Unnamed wilderness areas now contain large bands of robbers able to defeat Nephite and also Lamanite (?) armies.
3 Nephi 3N1 2:17; 1:27	robbers' areas	To settled areas—Same as H27.
3N2 3:6-8	robbers' areas	To settled areas—The epistle from Giddianhi, the robber leader, to the Nephite governor demands surrender of their cities and lands. This makes it sound as if the robbers are a threat primarily to the Nephites, not to Lamanite lands.
3N3 3:17	robbers' areas	To settled areas—Lachoneus prepared for the time when the robbers would come "down" out of the wilderness." [But (v. 14) the armies included both Nephites and "Lamanites, or of all them who were numbered among the Nephites," so it remains unclear where the two groups were located in terms of named lands; but see 3N13.]
3N4 3:20	robbers' areas	To settled areas—Unnamed wilderness areas now contained large bands of robbers; they are said to be "up upon the mountains" and also "in(to) the wilderness."

3N5

3:21 refuge area

To the lands of the Nephites—Lachoneus proposes gathering “in the center of our lands,” clearly now counting in the land northward possessions. If his expression “center” is descriptive, then the farthest northward Nephite colonies could have extended from the refuge area was roughly the same distance—approximately 160 miles—that separated that refuge from Manti, the southward limit of the Nephites.

3N6

3:23 refuge area

To the lands of Zarahemla and Bountiful—“The land which was appointed was the land of Zarahemla, and the land which was between the land Zarahemla and the land Bountiful . . . to the line which was between the land Bountiful and the land Desolation.” [“Was the land of Zarahemla” sounds as if part of the designated area was in the general land of Zarahemla, for it was surely not all of Zarahemla; another part was “the land which was between;” and a third part was in Bountiful (cf. “to the line . . . Desolation”). Yet, puzzlingly, this was “one land,” v. 25, and cf. 3N10 on the small operational size of the land actually utilized for refuge.]

3N7

4:1 robbers’ areas

To settled areas—Robbers came “down” from the hills and out of the mountains and wilderness.

3N8

4:4-7 refuge area

To settled areas (i.e., former settled areas, now occupied by robbers)—Robbers come “up” against the Nephite refuge. [Since the Nephites had gathered from the land northward also, where presumably they too were being afflicted with robber attacks, there is a possibility that the “up” refers to robbers from all directions, although that is not necessarily so]

3N9 4:13	robbers' area	To refuge area and settled areas—The robbers flee, pursued by Nephites, to the borders of "the wilderness" (evidently a quite specific boundary).
3N10 4:16,21	refuge area	To settled areas (i.e., former settled areas, now occupied by robbers)—Robbers come "up" on all sides to lay siege against what must have been a very favorable defensive position, from which defenders could "march out" to harass the robber armies. So this specific refuge area was small enough to be besieged, yet it was within a larger zone which they had apparently been using for some subsistence, because the robbers thought they could hurt them by cutting them off from those lands.
3N11 4:23	furthermost parts of the land northward	To the land southward—The robbers lift the siege to go north. [The motive being similar, it seems that the area indicated could be the same as the destination of dissident "king" Jacob in 3N14.]
3N12 6:1-2	refuge area	To the lands southward and northward—This is the reverse or dispersion of those who had gathered (3N5).
3N13 6:3	robber resettlement area	To Nephite and Lamanite settled areas—Those robbers who agreed to peaceful resettlement, i.e., those "who were desirous to remain Lamanites," were allotted lands for cultivation. [This implies that the robbers had been primarily Lamanites and that the areas they had previously exploited had been chiefly up in the land of Nephi (cf. 3N3).]
3N14 7:12	king Jacob's destination in the northernmost part of the land	To Nephite lands—[Inasmuch as Jacob's intent was political autonomy, he would have headed for an area "out of the reach of the people" yet no farther than necessary, for he probably harbored the idea of later

becoming king over the combined peoples. In objective terms we do not know how far away he went. Perhaps 300 miles from Zarahemla would have made sense. Cf. 3N5. In any case, this may be the farthest point north settled by any group mentioned in the Book of Mormon.]

3N15

8:9 city of Moroni

To the sea—It “did sink into the depths of the sea.”

3N16

8:8-11 city of Moronihah

To the land southward—The cities of Zarahemla and Moroni are mentioned, then Moronihah, followed by v. 11: “And there was a great and terrible destruction in the land southward.” Verse 12 then refers to the land northward. The implication is that Moronihah was in the land southward. [In the light of Helaman 4 concerning military operations by the commander Moronihah, which focused on the area toward Bountiful and the east sea zone, the city bearing his name could reasonably be expected to have been north of Zarahemla, at least.]

3N17

8:11-18 entire land

Characteristics—Some interpreters of these verses have supposed that the entire configuration of the lands was changed, a conclusion not justified by the text. It is said that “the *face* of the whole earth became deformed” (v. 17, emphasis added) and “the whole *face* of the land was changed” (v. 12). There is no hint that any land rose out of the sea, and Moroni was the only place mentioned which sank beneath the sea. [Mormon, writing after the events, gives no hint that the essentials of the former geography had changed. True, Moronihah was buried (a landslide resulting from the earthquake?) Some cities were burned, others were “sunk” (cf. 4N2), buildings were destroyed and strata of the earth were “broken up” by the quakes. However, the forces mentioned are

		conventional—tempest, whirlwind, thunder, lightning, and earthquake—which could change “the face of the land” without being unprecedented except in scale.]
3N18 9:4	city of Moroni	To the sea—Sunk in the depths of the sea.
3N19 9:7	city of Jerusalem	To the waters of Mormon—Said earlier to be located “away joining the borders of Mormon” (A38), it is plausible that when we learn here that “waters have ... come up in the stead” of the city, those waters would be from the body constituting “the waters of Mormon,” probably a lake (it was up in the land of Nephi, not by the sea).
3N20 9:3-7	cities of Onihah, Gilgal, Mocum, and Moronihah	To the land southward—In this first half of the list of destroyed cities as recited by the Lord, the only three whose locations are known (Zarahemla, Moroni and Jerusalem) were in the land southward. It seems very likely that the other four in the group were likewise. [Note that in Mormon’s preliminary report (8:8-12) he proceeds from land southward to land northward, likely mirroring the sequence in 9:3-10.]
3N21 9:8	cities of Jacob, Gadiandi, Gadiomnah, and Gimgimnoand	To the land northward—The list of cities in vs. 3-7 begins and ends with land southward places. Verses 8-10 seem set off, among the nine named cities there listed, the only one for which we know the location (Jacobugath) is in the land northward. This leads to the suggestion, although without strong confidence, that the set of four in v. 8 also was in the north.
3N22 9:9	city of Jacobugath	To the land northward—We know this city was in the extreme north of the lands mentioned by the Nephite record.

3N23 9:10	cities of Laman, Josh, Gad, and Kishkumen	To the land northward—See the logic in 3N21, which indicates that these four cities belong in the north
3N24 11:1	land of Bountiful	To the city of Bountiful—The temple where the Savior appeared is said to have been “in the land Bountiful” without reference to a (the) city.
3N25 19:10- 13	land of Bountiful	To a body of water—“Water’s edge” was immediately adjacent to where the multitude heard the Savior at the temple in the land Bountiful. [This is so obvious and uncommented upon that it is reasonable that water was a major feature of the landscape, probably a river, considering the lowland, near-coastal setting.]
3N26 Chs. 11, 19, & 20	land of Bountiful	Characteristic—The temple was standing, any breaking up of regular routes did not prevent people from traveling in the dark to spread the word, and bread and wine were in adequate supply for the considerable multitude attending. These may indicate that the destruction in the narrow neck area was limited compared with some other areas, though notable. (Of course, these conditions refer to a time months after the destruction—see 3 Ne. 10:18.)
4 Nephi 4N1 1:1-2	land of Bountiful	To all the lands round about and all the face of the land—V. 1 has the establishment of “a church” by “the disciples of Jesus” in “all the lands round about” [“round about” Bountiful, obviously]. V. 2, a year later, reports the same “upon all the face of the land, both Nephites and Lamanites.” This indicates that every local land which Nephites and Lamanites were known to inhabit (known, that is, to the writer), had been preached to and organized. The entire

process took but three years. Given travel and communication conditions known earlier in the text and the limited number of authorized preachers, this could not have comprised an area more than hundreds of miles in any direction from Bountiful.

4N2

1:7-10 all the land

Characteristics—Burned cities, including Zarahemla, were rebuilt, indicating that terrain and resources had not been fatally disrupted by the catastrophe. Also “many cities” had sunk and “waters came up in the stead thereof” (not necessarily in a sea; some perhaps flooded by dammed streams) so these could not be rebuilt. Furthermore, the rapid rebound in population and prosperity within 25 years confirms the general stability of the scene even after the destruction.

4N3

1:20 Lamanite lands

To the land in general—The revolt of a small part of the people who took upon them the name Lamanites would be, of course, by the descendants of former Lamanites, now reclaiming their name and heritage. Obviously they would be inhabitants of their ancestors’ lands, almost certainly in the land of Nephi. Compare v. 39.

4N4

1:35-39 divided lands

To the land in general—It is perfectly clear here that descendants took up the new tribal labels while continuing to occupy their ancestral lands (compare Mormon 1:8).

Mormon

Mm1

1:3 hill Shim

To the land Antum—The hill is in the land; it was near enough to young Mormon’s home that he was somewhat familiar with it.

Mm2		
1:6	land Antum	To the land southward—Young Mormon, though taken by his father to the land of Zarahemla, could expect to come back to or near Antum, implying a certain amount of social interchange between the two.
Mm3		
1:10	borders of Zarahemla	To the waters of Sidon—War began when the Lamanites attacked the Nephites “by the waters of Sidon” “in the borders of Zarahemla.” [This is clearly the traditional attack route via the general Manti area.]
Mm4		
1:18	robber area	To the land in general—These Gadianton robbers, “who were among the Lamanites, did infest the land.” Yet 4 Nephi 1:46 said the robbers were spread “over all the face of the land.” It is unclear, then, what Mormon means here by “among the Lamanites.”
Mm5		
2:2-3	land of Zarahemla	To the Lamanite attack point—No “up” is mentioned as Mormon did “go forth” to lead the Nephite armies against the Lamanites. Nor is there a “down,” for the Lamanites “did [merely] come upon us.” [In general, Mormon uses elevational prepositions only sparingly in his own story.]
Mm6		
2:3	land of Zarahemla	“Towards the north countries”—The frightened Nephites retreat. There is no reason to think that this expression is not broadly a synonym for “the land northward.”
Mm7		
2:4	city of Angola	To the local land of Zarahemla—Nephites “did come to” this place (no land mentioned) as they moved northward. [Since soon afterward they reach the west sea (v.6), presumably this is somewhere within the greater land of Zarahemla northwestward from the capital. [It could be in the area of earlier Ammonihah or Noah if those were among the unnamed

		cities destroyed at the time of the crucifixion.]
Mm8		
2:5	land of David	To the local land of Zarahemla—The same logic concerning direction applies as in Mm7. No city is mentioned. [It could be in the area of earlier Ammonihah or Noah if those were the renamed after their chief cities were destroyed at the time of the crucifixion.]
Mm9		
2:5	city of Angola	To the land of David—There is no evident reason why the city could not be within the land of David, although it need not be.
Mm10		
2:6	land of Joshua	To the land of Zarahemla—The Nephites were on their way to the “north countries” (vs. 3 and 16-17) and here reached the west sea area on their way to the narrow neck. Joshua is obviously northwestward from Zarahemla and on a (probably, the) major route northwestward.
Mm11		
2:6	land of Joshua	To the borders west by the seashore—It was on the west sea’s coastal plain.
Mm12		
2:9	land of Joshua	Characteristic—Mormon’s armies were successful in fortifying against the Lamanites here (for 14 years—vs. 9 and 16), whereas at Angola and David they could not hold. This suggests that Joshua was in a more defensible position. It being in the west coastal lowland, the Nephites obviously had crossed over the mountains that formed the western rim of the Sidon basin (cf. A22). The Nephites’ success probably owed to their defense of the mountain pass.
Mm13		
2:16-17	city of Jashon	To the land of Antum—The city was near the land Antum where Ammaron had deposited the Nephite archive in the hill Shim, i.e., it was in the land northward. [The fleeing Nephites had gone from Joshua

through the narrow neck into the land northward without Mormon's specifically noting the neck or the narrow pass, but we know from Mm31 and preceding verses that Antum, and thus Jashon, was indeed in the land northward, beyond the pass.]

Mm14
2:16-17 land of Jashon

Characteristic—Perhaps a populous place, because there was a city there and also because the scared Nephites felt that they could safely stop there.

Mm15
2:17 land of Joshua

To Antum and the land northward—Mormon "had gone" to the land Antum, no doubt when Ammaron had told him to; the thirteen year interval since Ammaron's instructions had elapsed during the Nephites' sojourn in Joshua. Mormon then had safe access to the narrow neck and the land Antum while his men in the relative safety of Joshua blocked any immediate Lamanite threat.

Mm16
2:20-21 land of Shem

To the land of Jashon—From Jashon they "had come northward" to Shem. [As the account is very cryptic here, we cannot guess a distance with confidence, but it was only a single retreat sequence away from Jashon, so probably consisted of tens or scores of miles. Cf. 3N5 and Mm36.]

Mm17
2:20-21 land of Shem

Characteristic—A fortifiable city here, suggests a substantial population. Furthermore, they "did gather in our people" to here, suggesting that it was a center of considerable importance in relation to surrounding lands.

Mm18
2:27 land of Shem

To the land of Zarahemla—Without any geographical details, Mormon says only that from Shem they pursued the defeated Lamanites and regained possession of "the lands of our inheritance," that is, the land of

		Zarahemla (in addition to their territories in the land northward).
Mm19		
2:28-29	narrow passage	
3:5-6	narrow pass	To the narrow neck of land—The reference is to what had earlier been termed the “narrow pass” (so it still existed regardless of the destruction at the time of the crucifixion. In 3:5, Mormon reverts to “narrow pass.” It is as crucial to Mormon as it had been in the eyes of Moroni centuries earlier (see A159)—the strategic hinge point between the land southward and the land northward. The cruciality is seen in v. 6 (cf. 4:4) where Mormon says that by his people holding the city of Desolation and the narrow pass, the Lamanites could have no access to the lands the Nephites cared about to the north.
Mm20		
3:5,7	narrow pass	To the city of Desolation—The city of Desolation (v. 7) was “by” the narrow pass.
Mm21		
3:5	city of Desolation	To the land Desolation—The city was “in the borders” of the land. In the light of Mm19 and Mm20, the city has to be at the southward extremity of the land Desolation and so of the land northward.
Mm22		
3:7-8	city of Desolation	To Lamanite lands—Mormon uses “down” in relation to the Lamanite approach to the city/pass. [This probably means from Nephi, which must still have been the homeland of their primary population and thus armies (cf. “their own lands” in v. 7). Just possibly it here has a more immediate or localized referent, in relation, say, to descending from the “continental” divide within the narrow neck of land. Mormon has not used a single “up,” “down,” or “over” in his own account to this point, so this use of “down” must be meaningful.] Cf. Mm24 and 4:17,19.

Mm23 3:8	city of Desolation	To the sea—Lamanite dead are “cast into the sea.” This implies that the battle site was near the sea or to an estuary or river considered the equivalent. But see Mm27.
Mm24 3:10, 14, & 16	city of Desolation	To Lamanite lands—Three times mention is made that the Nephites mean to “go up” against the Lamanites and robbers. I infer that this refers to the land of Nephi. Cf. Mm22 and 4:4.
Mm25 4:1-2	land Desolation	To Lamanite lands—The Nephites go “up” to battle [to Nephi] out of the land Desolation but are driven back again to Desolation.
Mm26 4:2-3	city Teancum	To the city Desolation—Nephite refugees from Desolation fled to Teancum, which “was also near the city Desolation.” (Cf. also Mm27 and vs. 7-8 and 13-14.) Teancum clearly was in the land northward and only accessible from the south via the pass and the city Desolation, so it must be easterly in relation to the city Desolation, for, despite the indirect indication in Mm23, nothing is said directly of the city Desolation being “in the borders of the seashore” as in the case of Teancum.
Mm27 4:3	city Teancum	To the sea—It “lay in the borders by the seashore” [i.e., the east sea shore, for the narrow pass was on the east side of the neck, as seen in Alma 50:13-34 (the interception of Morianton) and Alma 51:22-32 (Amalickiah’s attack) and regardless of whatever might be meant by “on the west” in 50:34].
Mm28 4:15	Nephite lands	To the narrow pass—That the Nephites did “drive them out of their lands” surely means only that the Lamanites were forced back south of the narrow pass, not that the

		Nephites again regained all Zarahemla (cf. 2:28-29) (?).
Mm29		
4:20-21	city Boaz	To the city Desolation—Nephites fleeing, obviously northward, from Desolation came to the city Boaz and made a stand which was temporarily successful. No land of Boaz is mentioned.
Mm30		
4:21-23	city Boaz	To areas to its north—When the Nephites lost Boaz, it was apparent to all that no strategic stand could stop the Lamanites. [Probably the land opened out from Boaz northward so that many route options were available to the attackers and they could expand at will, i.e., Boaz should mark the end of whatever remained of the route constriction that had hitherto been a strategic plus for the defenders.]
Mm31		
4:23	hill Shim	To the city Boaz—Shim was northward, still in Nephite hands, but near enough that it was clear to Mormon that the land Antum which contained it could fall soon. [A distance of only scores of miles seems indicated.]
Mm32		
5:3	city of Jordan	To the city Boaz—The Nephites retreat to Jordan, which must be still farther north than Boaz.
Mm33		
5:4	other cities	To “the country which lay before us” — [“Before us” seems strange if applied to the country into which they thought they might have to retreat; “behind us” would seem more apt (although see 6:1). But if this is one of the places where “before” means “east,” as in the Semitic conceptual scheme of directions, this could sensibly mean that certain cities protected the eastern sector of remaining Nephite territory.]
Mm34		
5:5	other lands	To Jordan and Boaz—“Whatsoever lands” as referred to here, with their towns,

		villages and cities, means that unnamed places were also involved in the Nephite retreat. Thus a heavy population might have intervened between Jordan and Boaz.
Mm35		
5:7	more lands	To Jordan—A further precipitous retreat means that still more local lands intervened between Jordan and whatever unnamed stopping point or line was next found.
Mm36		
5:7	stopping point	To the land of Cumorah—They could hardly have retreated farther northward than approximately on a line with Cumorah in that direction, for the Lamanites would not themselves have given up much ground and retreated southward just to accommodate Mormon's desire for a battle rendezvous at Cumorah.
6:1	of the retreat	
Mm37		
6:2,4	land of Cumorah	To the hill Cumorah—The land was "by" "a hill which was called Cumorah." But also the land was at least partially "round about" the hill. [No city is mentioned. It appears that the hill was a dominant feature of the area and large in size (to accommodate the camps of upwards of a million Nephites "round about" it. The hill may have given its name to the land. Its prominence is also suggested by the fact that the Lamanites seem to have had knowledge of it already (due to legends or superstition about the Jaredite destruction there?). At least enough to be satisfied with the arrangement. Moreover, the phrase "a hill" could indicate that other hills were about, otherwise would Mormon not have referred to " <i>the</i> hill"? Cf. the presence of the hill Shim an unknown distance away southward.)]
Mm38		
6:4	hill Cumorah and land of Cumorah	Characteristic—The hill "was in a land of many waters, rivers, and fountains." That apparently means that the land of Cumorah generally was wet, but it may also mean

that a broader territory of which the land of Cumorah was a part was characterized by lakes/sloughs/lagoons/rivers/springs. The advantage hoped for may have been tactical—due to the fact that some of the Nephites had been born there and were intimately familiar with the intricacies of movement in and through the moist area, while they supposed the Lamanites would be deterred due to their ignorance of the same.

Mm39

6:2,5-6 land of Cumorah

Characteristic—The number of Nephites gathered was between a quarter million and a million, based on the casualty figures in vs. 10-15. Some or all had lived here through four years so had to have cultivated crops. To provision so many, the land must have been sizable and also extremely fertile. [An ambitious person could calculate how many bushels of grain would be required per year for this population and about how many cultivated acres might be entailed.]

Mm40

6:11 hill Cumorah

Characteristics—By sometime in the morning after the battle (“on the morrow”), Mormon, Moroni and 22 other survivors had made their way to the top of the hill (probably their defensive positions had been on the lower flanks of the hill, to give them the advantage of elevation over the attackers). Surely some or all had been wounded, consequently their climbing to the top, mainly in the dark, would set a limit on the hill’s height. On the other hand, the top would have been sufficiently high so that enemy stragglers/looters would not see nor hear them up there. [From 1000 to 3000 feet from the base seem to me the limits.]

Mm41

8:2 land of Cumorah

To “the country southward”—For the survivors to have reached the land

southward they would have had to go through at least scores and perhaps hundreds of miles of territory occupied by Lamanites or those they had conquered, then they would have had to filter through the narrow pass. This seems futile. Probably “the country southward” simply refers to those lands (perhaps in isolated hill country) toward Jordan, Boaz or Desolation with which they were familiar and where they hoped to find surviving pockets of subjugated Nephites among whom they might disappear from sight.

Mm42

8:2 land of Cumorah

To the country northward—That none of the survivors tried to go north suggests that they knew that no Nephites were likely to be found in that direction. The gathering to Cumorah must have brought in all their folks who once had lived in that direction or to the west.

Mm43

8:8-9 the face of the land,
this land

Extent—Moroni must be referring to the land near where he was staying, for he gives no indication that his knowledge of the war conditions was other than from his own observation (cf. v. 10—even the three special disciples were not now visiting him).

Ether

[Data on purely Jaredite geography—whatever cannot be related to Nephite geography—is omitted here.]

E1

1:1 “this north country”

Extent—Seems to be Moroni’s unique phrase denoting the land northward.

E2

6:12 the promised land

Extent—Moroni here considers the Jaredite landing point, which has to have been in the land northward, part of the same promised land considered “promised” by the Nephites. The same phrase is in v. 16 and 7:27.

E3			
6:13,18	the face of the land		Extent—Their population being only in the hundreds, the territory denoted by this expression would have been very small—a few villages. Yet by 7:5 the king dwells in the land of Moron, which is “up.” The only mention of how the main families reached there must be in the general statements in either v. 13 or 18.
E4			
7:1,5	land of Moron		Extent—“The land” of v. 1 is “the land of Moron” of v. 5; only a single land is indicated.
E5			
7:4,5	land of Nehor		To the land of Moron—Nehor was “over” from Moron, but also at lower elevation, for v. 5 has Corihor coming “up” from Nehor to Moron. [I cannot relate Nehor to Nephite geography except via Moron, but that might yet be done. There is no indication whatever of previous settlement by the Jared group at Nehor. It seems likely to be in lowlands on the same sea side as the initial landing, for the group was still very small—Corihor was only a great grandson of Jared the founder—to have gone far from either the landing point or Moron. It is possible that Corihor went among a “native” population to recruit this first army.]
E6			
7:6	land of Moron		To the land of Desolation—In a key geographical statement, Moroni informs us that Moron was “near” the land of Desolation.
E7			
7:16-17	land of Moron		To the land of their first inheritance—Moron is called “the land of their first inheritance.” It is unclear how this expression relates to the first Jaredite landing point (see E3 and E4). [No city of Moron is ever mentioned, only, at 7:6, “where the king dwelt.”]

E8 8:2	land of Heth	To the land of Moron—[Exhaustive study may reveal a pattern in the language of Moroni as he abstracted Ether’s account; in 7:4 he said “went over” in relation to Nehor but here it reads “came” to Heth. Presumably Moroni was located in the general area of Cumorah as he wrote, and in E9 he consistently uses “came over” in relation to Omer’s move specifically toward that vicinity.]
E9 9:3	land of Moron	To the hill of Shim—Omer departed out of the land of Moron with his family and traveled many days, during which he “came over and passed by the hill of Shim. . . .” [The “over” is in clear reference to the terrain between Moron and the hill of Shim. The direction, as seen in E10, is eastward. The distance is unclear; “many days” is vague, and the presence of “family” further complicates making an estimate of the distance traveled, but see E14.]
E10 9:3	hill of Shim	To the place where the Nephites were destroyed, that is the hill/land of Cumorah—“Came over” occurs twice, first referring to passage between Moron and Shim, and the second time “came over by” refers to the place of the Nephite extinction. I take the second to mean that Omer’s route crossed elevated terrain which included the hill Cumorah, Omer’s route passing immediately by the hill. The text is unclear how the hills Shim and Cumorah related in terms of terrain, whether they belong to the same elevated piece of country or whether there is significant flatter land between them. But Mm1 and Mm31 favor the view that the two hills are not far apart and probably are in the same upland geological zone.]

E11 9:3	place called Ablom	To the hill Cumorah—From the hill, Omer traveled “from thence eastward, and came to” Ablom. [Evidence elsewhere (e.g., A186) indicates that the hill was in the easterly part of the land northward, so the distance to Ablom, on the coast, should not have been very great, and the wording here does not disagree.]
E12 9:3	place called Ablom	Characteristic—“Pitched his tent” and “place” indicate that this was not a land previously settled by the Jaredites, which agrees with E15.
E13 9:3	place called Ablom	To the sea on the east of the land northward—Omer’s general direction had been easterly; the shore where Ablom lay had to be that on the east sea, although Moroni gives no name for it here, perhaps because, from E11, it is obvious.
E14 9:3,9, 12, & 13	land of Moron	To the place called Ablom—The total distance must not be very great, for Nimrah came and joined Omer, apparently having no trouble locating him. He then used Ablom as a base from which to launch war against Akish in Moron. [The population was still relatively minor; Omer was only the great-great grandson of the founder of the colony, so he would not have had to flee a great distance to be safe.] The many days of Omer’s journey plausibly took him 100-200 ground miles maximum.
E15 9:9	land of Moron	To Ablom—Nimrah’s group fled out of the land of Moron and “came over” to Omer. Cf. E9 and E10.
E16 9:31-33	Jaredite lands	To “the land southward, which was called by the Nephites Zarahemla”—Flocks flee southward toward the land southward, and some reached there, but at a certain point the serpents hedged up the way that the

		people could not pass. [This sounds like the narrow pass of other references, for only if a particular point was involved does the event make sense. If this is true, then the area referred to is on the east side of the isthmus, where we know the pass was.]
E17		
10:19	Jaredite lands	To “the land southward”—The serpents are finally destroyed, “wherefore they did go into the land southward, to hunt food.” [The implication continues that the serpents were at a single specific point, i.e., the narrow pass.]
E18		
10:19	land southward	Characteristic—The land southward [obviously referring to that no doubt limited portion of interest to them for this purpose] was covered with animals of the forest; they preserved it for a wilderness to get game.
E19		
10:20	Lib’s great city	To the narrow neck of land—This place was built “by the narrow neck of land, by the place where the sea divides the land.” The city is implied to have been founded in connection with handling game, so presumably it was as close to the entry point to the land southward as possible—impliededly adjacent to the narrow pass. [Moroni, who knew the location of what the Nephites called the city of Desolation (Mormon 5) had a chance here to indicate that Lib’s city was at that same site; since he did not, perhaps it was at some other, though nearby, location.]
E20		
10:20	Lib’s great city	Characteristics—The picture given is that settlers did not (at least in his time) move into the land southward [although of course there could have been other, “native” inhabitants there], so this city would not then have been either a major trading hub (except for game) nor a large population center. [The logistics of preserving and

carrying game animals in the tropics being highly problematical, that obtained here could only have served the food needs of settlements fairly near and likely primarily for the elite.]

E21

13:2-8 this land

To the site of the New Jerusalem—"This land" should be where the New Jerusalem will be built. [Were "this land" taken in a narrow ("literal") sense as that where the Nephites and Jaredites of the record lived, the New Jerusalem would have to be near the narrow neck of land, but there is no LDS expectation of anything like that. The alternative is that Moroni, or Ether, is here speaking in general terms of the whole continent, which accommodates the prophecies in the Doctrine and Covenants.]

E22

13:13- land of Moron
14 &
13:20-22

To Ether's refuge in the cavity of a rock—The prophet fled from the king, who was located in Moron (14:6).

E23

13:14 all Jaredite lands
15:12, 33

Extent—Ether made the remainder of the record, including that of the last wars, using the cave as a base and viewing events "by night." [Even construing that statement broadly, the phrasing puts a severe limit on the extent of territory involved. This underlines Moroni's explicit statement: "Moron ... was near ... Desolation."]

E24

14:3-7, wilderness of Akish
& 11

To the land of Moron—From the wilderness to Moron is "up." Cf. E28.

E25

14:4-5 wilderness of Akish

Extent—It was big enough that two armies could battle inside it yet small enough that it could be besieged. [Partially swampy terrain would permit its defense.]

E26 14:11- 13	land of Moron	To the [east] seashore—Coriantumr pursues Lib from Moron to the seashore where they battle. [East is not specified, but it is clear in the remainder of this chapter, especially v. 26 (and see also E35), that the remaining battles took place in the eastern lowlands eventually to culminate at the hill Ramah.]
E27 14:13- 16	plains of Agosh	To the [east] seashore—This area is also in the eastern lowlands one remove from the wilderness of Akish. Cf. E26.
E28 14:13- 14	wilderness of Akish	To the [east] seashore—Two armies reach the wilderness from the seashore in a single movement. [Perhaps just a single day's travel is implied.]
E29 14:17	plains of Agosh	Characteristic—Many cities are nearby.
E30 14:26	borders of the [east] seashore	To previous battle zones (v. 17)—Consistently, the distance is not great from the cities of v. 17 to the seashore.
E31 14:26- 27	land of Corihor	To the borders of the seashore—One remove separates them [perhaps one day].
E32 14:28	land of Corihor	Characteristic—The land contains (implied) a valley, while the pursuing army is camped in another valley (Shurr) which must be immediately adjacent. The hill Comnor is near (apparently overlooking) the valley of Shurr. [This area can only be in hilly terrain, though still near the sea.]
E33 15:7-8	waters of Ripliancum	To the land of Corihor—The two armies were so exhausted (14:31), that they must have remained in this land recuperating (15:1) until fighting resumed, which carried them (surely northward) to these waters.

E34 15:8	waters of Ripliancum	Characteristics—This must be a system of lagoons or large rivers that appeared to be more or less continuous with the sea. [They have never been far from the east seashore since 14:13.] The phrasing of this verse suggests that there was no way past or around these waters, at least in the part they had got into.
E35 15:10- 11	waters of Ripliancum	To the hill Ramah (Cumorah)—They fled southward to the Ramah area, which included or had very nearby “a place which was called Ogath.”
E36 15:28- 29	Shiz’ death site	To the hill Ramah—Coriantumr’s men fled at least one day before Shiz’s group caught them and all but Coriantumr perished. [Coriantumr had been fleeing southward from Ripliancum, so no doubt this final flight also was that direction. Wounded but desperate, how far would they have got? Fifteen miles?]
E37 15:33	Shiz’ death site	To the city of Lehi-Nephi—Limhi’s party knew by tradition the approximate route and distance to Zarahemla from the city. Upon their return from their expedition, they supposed that they had discovered Zarahemla (see M8). Since they were “diligent,” they would not have traveled indefinitely more than the anticipated distance and yet suppose that they had only been to Zarahemla. That they went twice the distance from Nephi to Zarahemla (180 miles beeline?) before they turned back is believable, since they realized that they were lost. But three times that distance seems incredible. I suppose two and one-half times (450 miles) as the maximum distance acceptable (a good deal more on the ground) to reach the point where Ether hid the plates (15:33). The hill Cumorah/Ramah was, then, no more than

100 miles from the line Bountiful-Desolation. Nothing in Mm29-Mm43 contradicts this.]

Moroni

Mi1

9:7,16- Sherrizah
17, & 19

To the Nephite lands in the land northward—The tone here recalls Mormon 2:16-18; 4:14-15; or, most likely, 4:20-23. In any of these cases, Sherrizah would seem to be in the land northward in the Boaz-Jashon sector. I suppose the tower to be a pyramid temple platform that existed at a city named Sherrizah.

Mi2

9:9 Moriantum

To the Nephite lands in the land northward—This may be either a city or a land. Mentioned in direct connection with Sherrizah, it must be geographically and chronologically linked to that place (see Mi1). The Lamanite women there were probably associated with the Lamanite army camp located at the site after the former Nephite city/land had been captured by the Lamanites, the Nephites referred to in verse 9 having recaptured it in a counterattack and taken the women prisoners.

Part 5

Index to the Analysis, by Feature

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Part 6

Summary of the Criteria
for an Acceptable Model
from the Text, by Feature

Summary of Criteria

1-2 land southward

It was nearly surrounded by water. The southernmost point noted was probably either the local land of Nephi or the land of first inheritance (Lehi's landing point).

In relation to this land the only seas definitely mentioned are east sea (sea east) and west sea (sea west). The only river mentioned is the Sidon.

The overall length referred to was on the order of 400 miles. The width is uncertain but apparently less than the length.

1.1 general land of Nephi

In the early first century B.C. this entity reached from the west sea through the local land of Nephi to the east sea adjacent to Antionum and Moroni. Earlier there the term had no doubt been applied to an intermediate extent of territory in the general highland area which the city of Nephi would have controlled but not extending to the east sea.

Nothing is definitely known about lands to the south of the local land of Nephi, although there might have been such. The land of first inheritance on the coast probably was the farthest south point referred to.

1.11 local land of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi)

At one level, this consists of the city of Nephi (known at one point in time as Lehi-Nephi) plus surrounding cultivated lands and perhaps villages or hamlets directly dependent on the capital in economy and administration. At another level (first extended sense), it included the land (and city) of Shilom, which was adjacent to the local land of Nephi and which extended perhaps no more than fifteen miles from the capital.

Local Nephi was higher in elevation than Zarahemla or, of course, the coasts; no other regularly settled land or city is said or implied to have been at a higher elevation, although elevated terrain (the narrow strip of wilderness at least) lay in its northward quadrant and probably was higher. Toward the west sea from local Nephi, the lands in order of increasing distance and descending elevation were Shilom, Shemlon, and the west wilderness (coastal lowlands). Shemlon was within sight of the city of Nephi; the distance from Nephi to the beginning of the coastal plain probably did not exceed twenty five miles. From Nephi to the west sea itself would not likely have exceeded fifty miles .

1.111 city of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi)

A local administrative, ritual and no doubt economic center of modest size in the middle of the first millennium B.C., then apparently abandoned for at least a generation before being repaired and reoccupied ca. 200 B.C. (by the Zeniffites). It had considerable political stature through at least the next

century and a half, part of that time being the key settlement and primary reference point in the greater land of Nephi.

1.112 land and city of Shilom

A minor land and city administratively dependent on Nephi and within a dozen miles of the latter.

To its north lay a hill that was a landmark for parties going to or coming from Zarahemla. From its top the local lands of both Nephi and Shilom could be scanned.

Lamanite armies came up through it to reach Nephi. Limhi's party went around it when traveling toward Zarahemla by an unusual route (the description of the route taken likely means that their way first was toward Shilom (i.e., westward), then veered northerly short of going into Shilom as such.

On the south of Shilom Nephi lands were directly exposed to Lamanite attack, probably out of Shemlon which was adjacent. This vulnerable area was still within a small number of miles from the city of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi) itself).

1.113 hill north of Shilom

This hill was not precipitous, for atop it a pyramid tower was built, and its top also served as a rendezvous point for a large party or hundreds or more. The normal route from Nephi toward Zarahemla went past it.

1.114 place called Onidah

Defiant Lamanites, unwilling to be drafted into the king's service against the Nephites, resorted to this point because it was the "place of arms." Plausibly this consisted of an obsidian outcrop as nothing else seems to qualify; by controlling it, these defiant commoners could arm themselves (and perhaps also disadvantage the king's army by denying them the arms resource). No named place is indicated to intervene between it and the capital, Nephi; the army marched directly to and from it. There is reason to think that it lay to the east, or possibly south, of Nephi.

1.115 mount Antipas

At or near the place called Onidah, this mountain likely was upwards of a thousand feet high from the base (and not much more). It had a configuration at the top (crater or declivity?) where thousands of Lamanites camped (one went "into" it).

1.116 city of Shimnilom

A city (no land is mentioned) associated with the Nephi-Shilom core. As its people gathered at the hill north of Nephi and Shilom when they fled,

Shimnilom must have been south of that hill and perhaps south of Nephi (but only a few miles or tens of miles).

1.117 city of Lemuel

Everything said of Shimnilom also applies to Lemuel.

1.12 land of Shemlon

Westward (i.e., downslope toward the west sea) from Shilom.

Lamanites came from the west wilderness (lowlands) to occupy Shemlon, and they attacked Nephi by passing up through Shemlon and Shilom. From an elevation at Nephi Shemlon could be seen.

1.13 place (land, forest, waters) of Mormon

Northward from Nephi, on the order of thirty or forty miles from Nephi. Initially it was called a "place" in the borders of the land of Nephi where wild animals were normal. It was adjacent to "the waters of Mormon" and featured a "forest" or copse. The "waters" most likely was a sizable lake. (Apparently the same waters rose at the time of the crucifixion to submerge Jerusalem; at least part of the land of Mormon may also have been submerged at that time.) The area of Mormon had agricultural lands sufficient to support hundreds of families and eventually came to be termed a land.

1.14 land of Helam

At a distance of eight days (about sixty or sixty-five miles on a direct line through broken country) for Alma's party from Mormon. In general it lay northward from Nephi and Mormon and was near the narrow strip highland band. But it was off the main route from Nephi to Zarahemla. Notable for beauty and "pure water," it may have been a mountain valley of limited size.

1.141 valley of Alma

One day's hard travel from Helam toward or into the narrow strip of wilderness, approximately half way between local Nephi and local Zarahemla.

1.15 land of Amulon

Off to one side, but not much, from both the route to Helam and the main route to Zarahemla, in a northerly direction from Nephi. It was on the order of fifty or sixty miles from the city of Nephi (Lehi-Nephi). The territory around Amulon and Helam must have been mountainous, to account for the Lamanite army's getting lost.

Amulon was politically peripheral to the main Lamanite nucleus in and near Nephi, rather being associated with Helam, Jerusalem (but northward beyond Jerusalem), and the west wilderness Lamanite zone.

Because of the last relationship, it probably was in fairly close proximity to the lowlands (i.e., toward the west) while still “up” like Nephi. From Amulon to Ishmael and Nephi may have been “over.”

1.151 dwelling place of the Amalekites

No specific land is identified, but they were associated with Amulonites in certain enterprises, so likely their prime area of inhabitation was associated with Amulon and Jerusalem.

1.16 land and city of Jerusalem

Farther from Nephi than Mormon (“away joining the borders of Mormon”) and perhaps not directly accessible from Mormon. Covered by rising waters at the time of the crucifixion, it apparently lay adjacent to the waters of Mormon. It lay generally northward from Nephi, for it was reached by Aaron on a direct journey from the dispersion point of the missionaries in the borders of the lands of the Lamanites as they approached from Zarahemla. It was connected politically/culturally with the west Lamanite lowlands and Amulon and Helam. Since it was laid out from the beginning to be a “great city” and later was covered by rising water, it probably lay on then lightly inhabited, flat terrain near a sizable body of water (likely the same as the waters of Mormon).

1.161 village of Ani-Anti

Apparently the only significant settlement on a transect from Jerusalem southward to Middoni. An elevation separated Ani-Anti from Jerusalem and another from Middoni. Missionaries had converged on it separately from the dispersion point by way of Jerusalem and by some other route (through Mormon?) For a mere “village” to be singled out as a stopping point from two directions, we must suppose that the general vicinity had a low population density.

1.17 land of Middoni

It lay across an elevation from Ani-Anti. Middoni was at a lower elevation than Nephi (a valley?) and thus probably coastward from Nephi, although not as far down as the west wilderness lowland, for Middoni remained linked politically with the Nephi-Shilom core. From Ani-Anti to Middoni did not go through Ishmael but crossed an elevation.

From Ishmael, going to Middoni took travelers part way along the route to Nephi, then turned another way. The use of a “chariot” from Ishmael toward Middoni suggests that the route was moderately smooth. No city of Middoni is mentioned.

1.18 land of Midian

A land, intermediate in location between the core and Ishmael, and mentioned but once, hence small(?) It was convenient for people to reach it separately from Middoni and the Nephi-Shilom core. No specific elevation information is communicated.

1.19 land of Ishmael

From the missionaries' dispersion point, Ammon went straight to Ishmael, apparently without stopping at and perhaps not passing through any other significant settled area. One entered the land from the Zarahemla (northward) side across a definite boundary (pass, valley lip?). Minor lands nearby were ruled from Ishmael while not being construed as part of it. The route to Nephi also led part way to Middoni, the two diverging beyond a certain point.

Surface water was scarce. No city is mentioned; population may have been limited because of the water situation or because the land had only recently been settled.

1.191 waters of Sebus

A small body of water in the land of Ishmael (at least there was only a single access point to it for "flocks," hence it could not be a conventional river or lake), not many miles from the king's residence. No other water seems to have been available for the needs of "flocks."

1.2 wilderness strip along the west borders of the sea

This lowland extended from the land of first inheritance (Lehi's landing point) on the extreme south past that portion of the west wilderness considered to be "in" the land of Nephi. It continued northward past the "city by the sea" "on the west" of the land of Zarahemla to near the general land of Bountiful, a total distance of at least 350 miles in all.

It sheltered abundant game; Lamanite non-agriculturists at one time lived in the area in enough numbers to constitute a subversive danger for the Nephites on the north as well as the Zeniffites and later Lamanites in Nephi. Nephi's traveling "many days" from the landing point to reach the local land of Nephi would have been partly through this wilderness.

Access to the land of Zarahemla from that portion of the strip on the west of Zarahemla was possible, though difficult, via a pass at Antiparah across the west mountain border of the Sidon basin. The only other access was way north, over the basin edge to Ammonihah. Melek, on the interior side of the basin westerly from Zarahemla, was safe from attack by groups passing along the coast, apparently due to the ruggedness of the mountains. Lamanites who at one time inhabited the strip west of Zarahemla lived down on the coast, not in these mountains. Yet the top (?) of the mountain chain

north of Antiparah allowed armies to pursue each other and fight, hence the summit may have been fairly flattish and continuous. (See also Joshua.)

1.21 land of their fathers' first inheritance

Around the first landing point of Lehi's party located in the west wilderness lowland. Likely the southernmost point mentioned in the land of promise. It contained surface deposits of several types of ores.

1.22 Lamanite king's unnamed homeland

The king sent armies up out of Shemlon through or around Shilom to local Nephi, yet Shemlon itself had been "taken possession" of by the Lamanites. The only place they could have come from was the west wilderness, their early and traditional homeland. Logically the most favorable settlement zone within this area would have been the foothill (piedmont) area below Shemlon but above the flattest portion of the lowland (poorer drainage, hotter). This foothill zone could have connected culturally and politically with Jerusalem and Amulon as well as with Shemlon.

1.3 land of Siron

A land through the east sea borders of the land of Zarahemla and then Antionum, from which one went "over" to Siron.

2-1. narrow strip of wilderness between Nephi and Zarahemla (south wilderness)

Sometimes this was also called the south wilderness, which I take to be synonymous with the narrow strip.

It consists primarily of rugged mountains constituting the watershed from which the Sidon river flows northward. Attempting to pass through it without adequate knowledge of routes and landmarks could result in aimless wandering and suffering hunger, thirst and extreme fatigue. From Manti, the southernmost settled area of the land of Zarahemla, one ascended past the head of the river into undescribed country nowhere indicated to be settled. Nephi was on the order of ten days through further wilderness (past Helam, Amulon and Mormon) from the narrow strip proper.

In an extended sense the strip stretched from the sea east to the sea west. From Manti westward, garrison cities at Zeezrom, Cumeni, Antiparah and perhaps a coastal city fronted this narrow strip.

2. general land of Zarahemla

During the reign of Mosiah, Benjamin's son, the territory ruled from the city of Zarahemla increased from a very localized area on the river until it encompassed Melek, Ammonihah, probably Aaron, Gideon and Manti, probably constituting the basin of the Sidon river. Some later references suggest that the name may have applied at times even to the borders by the

east sea. It was considered the Nephite heartland, a place of security against external attack, and also a breadbasket and population center.

The Zarahemla area is characterized as the center or heart of the land, clearly to some extent in a geographical sense but also possibly in some symbolic sense.

2.01 quarter(s) of the land

Presumably four were conceptualized by the Nephites. One was explicitly on the south by the west sea (Manti-Judea-Antiparah and on to the west sea). Another probably included the land of Moroni. Logically the others would encompass respectively the Mulek-Bountiful zone (at least called a distinct "part of the land") and the Ammonihah-Noah sector, but the language of the text on these two is not definite.

2.11 local land of Zarahemla

In Benjamin's time a population of some thousands occupied only the territory within a day's travel of the royal city. That same space continued as a functional entity to Mormon's day. Life was distinctly oriented to the river, which ran "by" the land.

Immediately across the river, to the east of the populated area, lay the extensive hill Amnihu, and the uplands including the valley of Gideon lay nearby eastward. The limited flat land east of the river was of little population and economic significance to Zarahemla. Rather, a strip near and on the west side of the river upstream from the city contained the crucial subsistence land.

A piece of wilderness (Hermounts, a salient of "the west wilderness") lay only some miles west of the city, although it was a more considerable journey "over" some intervening elevated terrain before reaching Melek and the west wilderness proper.

2.111 city of Zarahemla

Lying on the west bank of the Sidon river, it was called a "great city," but we do not know if that greatness was due to its population, its administrative and economic centrality, or its religious and political fame. At quite a late date, the presence of Nephi's "garden" within the city suggests that the place may not have been densely populated, although it could have occupied substantial space, logically stretched along the river. From the time of captain Moroni and the Amalickiahite war Zarahemla was surrounded by a "wall" fortification with at least one "gate." While it was burned at the time of the crucifixion, the area through which Mormon approached the city in the early fourth century A.D. was covered with buildings.

From the city, regular routes led "over" via Gideon (about twenty miles away) thence to Manti and on up to Nephi, "over" westward to Melek, "over" to Sidom (downstream but the route evidently not following the

river), and along the river's west bank from upstream Minon. It lay on the order of 180 miles on a straight line from Nephi, and around 100 from the middle of the narrow strip of wilderness.

2.112 cultivated strip along the river

When Lamanite/Amlicite and Nephite armies battled and chased through lands on the west side of the river and near to it, the result was to destroy so many crops that a famine resulted in the local land of Zarahemla before the next crop could be harvested. Clearly this strip of land was quite flat and likely of alluvial soil.

2.113 river ford above the city

When the combined Lamanite/Amlicite army approached the city from upstream along the west bank, Alma and his men went straight to one particular point to intercept them. There they waded across the river and came ashore fighting. Since the river is the only one mentioned in the record, it may well have been a sizable one, requiring a ford (or a boat) to cross. Nowhere else is a body of men represented as crossing this stream afoot.

2.114 hill Amnihu

It lay across the river east of the city of Zarahemla and was extensive enough that two large armies could intentionally meet thereon for battle. The valley of Gideon was within ten or fifteen miles, eastward and southward.

2.115 hill Manti

Where Nehor underwent ritual execution. Since he was "carried" there from the city of Zarahemla, the hill probably lay only a few miles distant. The symbolism of the top's being "between the heavens and the earth" was involved in the execution, so it is reasonable that it was a pointed, though not necessarily high, hill.

The direction is not clear, but plausibly it lay to the north and west, in the direction of the nearby wilderness of Hermounts.

2.12 wilderness of Hermounts

A section of the west wilderness occupied by wild beasts and to which remnants of the Lamanite-Amlicite army fled. It began not more than about ten miles from the occupied area of the local land of Zarahemla. The fact that their bones were later found and heaped up suggests that the wilderness area later was settled by Nephites.

2.2 river Sidon

The only stream mentioned by name in the record, we are certain of its course only from its origin up in the narrow strip of mountain wilderness above Manti down to Zarahemla. It must have had a sizable flow, because

bodies of the dead cast into it up even up above Manti in the dry season (when fighting went on) were assumed to have gone down to the depths of the sea. One ford, a little upstream from the city of Zarahemla, is mentioned.

The “head of the river Sidon,” referred to several times, may or may not have been a particular point (perhaps a confluence of two or more tributary streams) but was the highest part of the flow conceptualized by the Nephites as the river .

Its course northward from Zarahemla is not clear. If Sidom received its name in remembrance of the Phoenician port of Sidon, a position along the river may be indicated for that land; the pointed mention of people coming in to be baptized at Sidom could confirm this.

The relatively large area of the “borders by the east sea” vs. near silence about the west borders hints that the river debauched to the east and that the east lowlands in part constituted its delta. That nothing was said about crossing the river during the Amalickiahite wars may indicate that the mouth was south of the Nephite possessions. Possibly the “line” which they fortified to defend their east sea lands was the lower course of the river.

Statements and hints about topography combine to form a picture of the land of Zarahemla as mainly occupying the basin of this river.

2.21 most capital parts of the land

After capturing the city of Zarahemla, dissenter Coriantumr proceeded northward with his army “through the most capital parts of the land” in “the center of the land” (i.e., not notably toward either the east or west sea sides but apparently downstream along the river). Logically, this area was the same as where the Amlicites, and later the king men, lived.

2.221 Amlicite zone

A distinct area down the Sidon from the city of Zarahemla. It was sufficiently large and populous (quite certainly with “the people of Zarahemla”) that their numbers were comparable to the main Nephite force based at Zarahemla. Probably the area was near the river and primarily on its west. Plausibly this is the same area as later constituted the king-men area.

2.222 king-men area

A distinct area, with “cities,” resistant to conventional Nephite power based at Zarahemla. The area was near the river and primarily on its west, robbers’ areas. Plausibly this is the same area as earlier constituted the Amlicite zone.

2.3 valley, land, and city of Gideon

First mentioned around 90 B.C., this place was named for Zeniffite military leader Gideon, who had arrived in Zarahemla with Limhi’s group

only a few years previously, so we can assume that the valley had not been seriously settled earlier.

It was located about 15 miles east of the river just upstream from Zarahemla and an equal distance easterly from Minon. The approach to Gideon from the hill Amnihu (and Zarahemla) was apparently not steep, for fighting continued all the way between the two. The normal route from Zarahemla to Manti and thus to Nephi ran through Gideon. Travelers went over into and out of the valley, suggesting a marked depression.

2.4 land and city of Manti

The southernmost named portion of the general land of Zarahemla. Immediately above the city of Manti, which lay on the Sidon river, the land ascended to the narrow strip of wilderness containing the head of the river. This was always the preferred entry area into the land of Zarahemla from the land of Nephi. Zarahemla was approximately forty to sixty miles away on a beeline, but travel along the river apparently was not usual.

No large populated area is indicated; extensive wilderness reached very close to the city itself. The land may have been more a trade center and early warning spot against invasion than a major settlement zone.

A few miles above the city of Manti, the river Sidon has a small valley (tributary?) entering from the east direction, down which a known route came which an army predictably moved on its way into the area from the distant east and south. The hill Riplah lay immediately south of this small valley. A bit farther upstream on the Sidon a small valley (tributary?) entered from the west.

2.41 land of Minon

People from here fled toward Zarahemla ahead of the Lamanite-Amlicite army coming down the west bank of the Sidon river. It lay twenty five or thirty miles upriver from Zarahemla. Mentioned but once, it probably was small.

2.42 hill Riplah

A modest hill immediately east of the Sidon above Manti and south of a known route into the land from the distant east and south.

2.43 city of Judea

This is mentioned only in connection with the defense of the west sea, south quarter. Helaman and his 2000 young warriors went southward (directly?) from their homeland in Melek to Judea, the Nephite base for that quarter. Judea was in a position, down-drainage from Amalickiah, Cumeni and Zeezrom, that Nephites holding it blocked Lamanite movement down toward Zarahemla. No land is mentioned and food had to be imported; probably this was mainly a garrison town.

2.44 city of Zeezrom

A garrison city west of Manti near the narrow strip of wilderness, with Cumeni farther west. No mention is made of Zeezrom's recapture, hence it probably was of minor importance. No land is mentioned.

2.45 city of Cumeni

Between Zeezrom and Antiparah in the defensive string of cities near the narrow strip of wilderness toward the west sea. Separate, but partially parallel routes led from it toward Judea and toward Manti. Upon losing this spot, the Lamanites were obliged to retreat to Manti, their base.

2.46 city of Antiparah

The farthest west and most elevated garrison city of the series on the west sea, south sector that began with Manti. Like the others, it was adjacent to the narrow strip of wilderness. From here to Judea and Zarahemla was down; and on the other side the way led down to the west sea coast. Apparently this city was at the upper west and south limit of the Sidon basin/land of Zarahemla.

Helaman's tactical ploy at Antiparah involved a party of his men from Judea moving to and near Antiparah, only to be pursued into the wilderness northward. Eventually they returned to Judea. The distance on the ground from Judea to Antiparah is probably no more than forty or fifty miles.

The fact that Helaman's party was seen by the Lamanites as credibly passing near Antiparah toward the west sea city shows that there was no alternative route, that is, Antiparah was in a pass.

2.47 city "in the borders by the (west) seashore"

Mentioned only incidentally in relation to action near Antiparah, it was apparently the next (final) garrison city westward from Antiparah. Since this is the sole mention of a Nephite settlement near the west sea, this site likely originated from Moroni's effort to cut off the wilderness area to the north near the sea from Lamanite infiltration.

2.48 land of Melek

It lay in a general west direction from Zarahemla, "over" some intervening elevation and at a distance of scores of miles. Melek was the westernmost settled area within the greater land of Zarahemla, adjacent to the west wilderness (mountain) strip which constituted the edge of the Sidon basin. While no city is mentioned in this land, people gathered in from a substantial territory along the wilderness border to (villages?) where Alma preached. The area was agriculturally productive to a notable degree thus perhaps fairly extensive. Since a traveler went "into" the land, it had some

definite physical boundedness, perhaps being nearly surrounded by higher land (although it would have been drained by a tributary of the Sidon).

The vulnerable Anti-Nephi-Lehies were settled here, in part because of its safety from Lamanite attack; the mountain portion of wilderness along here was rugged and seemingly impassable by an army for there was never a threat of their being attacked. Melek's young soldiers went directly from home to Judea.

Melek may have been counted generally in the same general west sea, south quarter of the land, yet on the north of Melek lay Ammonihah at a distance on the order of fifty miles; Alma's journey from the former to the latter may indicate that Melek's nominal affiliation was with the presumed Ammonihah quarter.

2.51 land and city of Ammonihah

Something like fifty to fifty-five miles north of Melek, Ammonihah too lay generally near the west wilderness (mountain) strip, across which Lamanite armies came to attack Ammonihah as their first target. The land of Ammonihah, at least on the west of the city, was open enough that approaching Lamanites were sighted at a distance.

Emphasis on the city rather than the land may mean that the land was not very extensive, or at least not heavily populated in Alma's day. From the city itself, refugees "came out," while travelers went "into" the area, which suggests some sort of depression.

Noah was a relatively nearby place, probably easterly from Ammonihah. Also, from Ammonihah to Aaron seems to have been a direct trip, with east or northeast the most likely direction (distance cannot be determined directly). The land of Sidom was also in rather direct connection with Ammonihah (distance uncertain), quite surely to the east.

2.52 land and city of Noah

Adjacent to Ammonihah, generally on the east (or southeast?), at a distance not likely to exceed twenty or thirty miles.

2.53 land and city of Aaron

A direct trip from Ammonihah, clearly inland, that is, eastward or northeastward, at an unknown distance. Inasmuch as the next major land beyond Aaron was Nephihah, which was in the borders of the east sea, Aaron must be approximately in the middle of the land and could have lain on the Sidon River which ran generally through the middle of the land southward.

2.54 land of Sidom

In an easterly direction from Ammonihah and Noah. Refugees from the former city came directly to Sidom, implying a normalized social and economic link and some measure of adjacency between the two. No city is

mentioned, although one is possible. A substantial population looked to this district, however. There is some likelihood that it was on the Sidon River thus in a depression relative to the approach from Ammonihah.

2.55 land of David

Mentioned only in the final Nephite retreat in the fourth century A.D., it must lie between local Zarahemla and the west sea to the north and west. It could have been in the same general area as Noah or Ammonihah of earlier date. No city is mentioned; the city of Angola, spoken of almost simultaneously, could have been in the land of David or nearby. Since the Nephites could not defend here successfully, it likely consisted of more open country than Joshua, at the coast, where they held a line for years.

2.56 city of Angola

Mention is made of this place only in the final Nephite retreat, together with the land of David, which see.

2.60 east wilderness

In general this refers to uninhabited areas near the east sea. A continuous strip of wilderness at one time extended from Lamanite lands northward to near Bountiful, but Lamanite squatters therein were first compressed along the east seashore then were driven southward out of the whole area as a strategic military measure. Still a remnant east wilderness could be found next to the city of Moroni.

The distance from Bountiful to Moroni, and thus the maximum length of this wilderness (from the Nephite viewpoint) is subject to some inferences. We can be reasonably certain about the portions from Bountiful to Mulek or Gid and from Lehi or Morianton to Moroni. On a line parallel to the coast, these distances are each on the order of ten to fifteen miles based on the military movements reported. The middle part, involving Omner, is less clear. The mileage from Omner to Mulek/Gid and from Omner to Morianton/Lehi should be approximately the same—twenty to twenty-five miles is plausible. Thus the total length of the coastline from Bountiful to Moroni would be unlikely to exceed 75 miles and could have been less.

2.61 land and city of Moroni

The city was on the coastal plain “by” the east sea (which is said of no other city), and it finally sank beneath the waters of the sea, yet there was some wilderness area immediately east of the city. The language could still fit if it lay on a river, lagoon or estuary separated from the actual seacoast by a strip of wilderness a mile or so wide. Since the place was founded as a garrison city to anchor the east end of a Nephite line of defense, the land area around the city and its economic importance may have been limited.

Nephihah, northwestward, was the nearest major administrative center and land, to which refugees from Moroni fled. The two lands bordered each other. The direct distance between the two is not likely to exceed twenty-five miles and could be less. Northward from Moroni, along the east sea littoral toward the narrow neck, were Lehi and Morianton. Lehi seems to have been nearer Moroni, but perhaps not by much. The distance from Morianton to Moroni probably was fifteen miles at most.

2.611 land of Antionum

A distinct area south beyond the conventional borders of Nephite lands in the east sea sector “nearly bordering upon the seashore,” yet it contained at least one named “hill” (Onidah) upon which Alma preached to a considerable group. Antionum was adjacent to the south wilderness; in time it came under Lamanite rule. It was also south of Jershon, probably with considerable territory intervening, some of which later came to be called the lands of Nephihah, Moroni, etc. From Antionum to Jershon Alma “came over,” crossing an elevation or other natural dividing feature (watershed, river?). From Antionum one also went over to the land of Siron, which was closer to the conventional Lamanite administrative realm, hence southward. To go from Antionum to Manti the Lamanite army traveled “round about,” probably through Siron and other unnamed Lamanite lands a long circuitous distance (weeks of travel).

2.6111 hill Onidah

An elevation within the land of Antionum near the capital settlement. Its height is unknown, but a sizable group met atop it to be preached to.

2.62 land and city of Nephihah

A regional administrative and perhaps economic center located in the borders by the east sea somewhat inland from Morianton, Lehi and Moroni. The sector including all four cities was termed “this part of the land,” perhaps constituting a unified ecological area of some kind. Near Nephihah were plains.

Nephihah was probably on the order of twenty to twenty-five miles from Moroni and ten to fifteen from Lehi and Morianton. One route from Nephihah to Moroni went through Lehi and Morianton then down by the shore (beach?); there must have been others.

Nephihah was approached from the land of Zarahemla by a route shared part of the way by Lamanite support forces headed from Nephi to Morianton. From Nephihah to Manti was “over” (presumably over the east elevation bounding the basin of the Sidon). No lands of strategic interest to the Lamanites intervened between the Jershon-Nephihah-Antionum sector and Manti. The land of Nephihah bordered on the land of Aaron, which is nearer the center of the land southward. (This was said of it immediately

upon its founding as a garrison center, at a time when Jershon and Antionum were also considered neighbors, but in the latter case considerable distance actually intervened, for additional lands were later carved out between them; the same might be true of the stretch between Aaron and Nephihah).

2.63 land and city of Lehi

(See also land and city of Nephihah and land and city of Moroni.) In the general borders by the east sea but “down by the seashore” in comparison with Nephihah. Lehi was built “in a special manner,” which could refer to siting, plan or material. It was only a few miles (eight?) from the city of Morianton, with which Lehi’s people had a quarrel over the limited lands available to them. Lehi was nearer the camp of Moroni in Jershon than Morianton. Morianton had access to a route northward to the narrow pass different than the route from Moroni’s camp (presumably Morianton’s was the route, “down by the seashore,” followed by Amalickiah).

2.64 land and city of Morianton

See land and city of Lehi and land and city of Nephihah.

2.65 city of Omner

In the borders by the east sea, down by the seashore northward a distance of around fifteen to twenty-five miles from Morianton and southward from Mulek and Gid about the same. It may have been a relatively small place (no land is mentioned) not worth the Lamanites’ defending nor the Nephites’ attacking, for its recapture is not mentioned.

2.66 city of Gid

In the borders by the east sea northward from Omner. In the order of Amalickiah’s conquest, Gid appears south of Mulek, yet the order of the two is reversed in Helaman 5:15, so they are offset, Gid being farther inland than Mulek. No land is mentioned, so Gid may have been little more than a garrison at first, although later it was a Nephite city on its own. No mention of its settling is made—so it may have been in existence for some time.

2.67 city of Mulek

It is not reported as founded by the Nephites as were other east sea border cities, so likely it was an old site that was traditionally connected to the landing of Mulek’s party. This hints that it is near (but not by) the sea, as confirmed in the account of Amalickiah’s attack. Not far north lay the city/land of Bountiful. The favored route to there ran from Mulek via “the beach by the seashore.” Emphasis on Mulek’s impregnability suggests that it may have been in a special setting that discouraged conventional attack. See also city of Gid.

2.68 land and city of Jershon

When first mentioned in connection with the resettlement of the Anti-Nephi-Lehies, this land was said to be south of the land of Bountiful. In it Nephite armies were based to protect the east coast and the south defense line. Moroni's headquarters remained there throughout the conflict with Amalickiah and his successor. The first threat in that area, from the Zoramites and Lamanites based in Antionum on the south, confronted the Nephites in the borders between Jershon and Antionum. This "borders" may have been sizable, for out of it was divided off Nephihah, Moroni, Lehi and Morianton, it appears. A city of Jershon existed at or near the camp of captain Moroni. Jershon was inland some distance and so not exposed to Amalickiah's initial sweep northward "down by the seashore."

2.681 camp of Moroni

See land of Jershon. From Lehi this place was reached by going "over," perhaps across a low watershed (or a river?) since both areas were in the borders by the sea. From here to the narrow pass one traveled on a different and shorter route than used by the people from Morianton in reaching the pass.

2.7 wilderness strip on the west of Zarahemla

Basically this is the lowlands along the west sea which stretched from the land of first inheritance on the extreme south past (through) the land of Nephi to near the narrow neck of land. The early, (relatively) quick occupation of the whole strip by the culturally unsophisticated (non-agricultural) Lamanites suggests that the entire strip was broadly similar in ecological terms. On the west of the land of Zarahemla this wilderness consisted of both the lowlands and the mountain strip which separated it from the Sidon basin. The wilderness of Hermounts was one local portion of the west wilderness which extended to a point very near the city of Zarahemla on its west.

2.71 land of Joshua

On a, or the, major route north and west from Zarahemla when traveling to the land northward via the borders by the west sea. Nephite military occupancy for years constituted a complete block against Lamanite expansion northward in that direction, hence it must be in a highly strategic position, logically controlling a key pass or passes out of the Sidon basin/land of Zarahemla headed northward

2.72 land between Zarahemla and Bountiful (refuge area)

This was considered in the center of the lands occupied by the Nephites around the time of Christ, in both the land southward and land northward. It was elevated (people came up to it from both south and north)

and lay “between” the lands Zarahemla and Bountiful. The description is ambiguous however. The phrasing suggests at one point that the designated area included parts of both Bountiful and Zarahemla and had room for many thousands, yet it also turns out to be so small that it (a part of it?) could be surrounded by the robbers.

2.721 fortified line near the west sea border of Bountiful

This line was prepared to block Lamanite expansion into the land northward; it seems to have served as a “cork” in much the same way as the land of Joshua later did for the Nephite armies. This line is specified as being at the very boundary of what was considered the land of Bountiful in its extension to the west side of the narrow neck. One supposes that the line ran from the sea inland (“unto the east”) to impassable terrain, for the distance all the way to the east sea was greater than the one day indicated.

2.8 general land of Bountiful

The northernmost portion of the land southward. It is connected to the land Desolation, the southernmost part of the land northward, by a small or narrow neck of land. Bountiful and Desolation abut along a line, plausibly a river. At the time of Alma 22 Bountiful was considered wilderness. Soon its strategic value led to its being occupied and heavily defended by Nephite forces. Most statements about Bountiful refer to the area of the narrow neck toward the east sea. It is unclear whether Bountiful was thought to reach all the way to the west sea; Hagoth’s west sea shipbuilding scene was “on (just beyond?) the borders” of the general land Bountiful; according to Hel. 4:7, it is possible that the general land Bountiful then did reach the west sea.

2.801 narrow neck of land

An isthmus connecting the lands northward and southward, plausibly between 75 and 125 miles in width, between the east and west seas. Within it the lands of Desolation and Bountiful abutted on each other along a line, possibly a river.

2.802 narrow pass, narrow passage

Both terms are used, apparently interchangeably. This is a specific feature within the narrow neck. Apparently only here was there an assured route into that portion of the land northward considered of strategic interest to the Nephites. Presumably it lay somewhere along the line separating Bountiful and Desolation. One precise spot constituted the south entrance, control of which denied northward passage to all whom the possessors wished to block. Approach to it via the east seacoast went through Bountiful, but other approaches that avoided Bountiful also existed. This was not just the preferred route northward but apparently the only feasible one, at least for large groups.

2.81 local land Bountiful

Called both land Bountiful and land of Bountiful, this land was only the immediate area around the city Bountiful. The city/land must be close to the narrow pass (twenty miles?) Yet in the final battles, Bountiful was ignored, confirming that it was not immediately *at* the pass (in this case the Lamanite attackers came via the west coast rather than the east coast).

2.811 city of Bountiful

Southward from it lay Mulek and Gid; to its north the only specific place noted was the south entrance to the narrow pass. One approached from Mulek via the east sea beach (there was another route, followed by Teancum, farther inland). Bountiful was near or on the coast and probably not more than fifteen miles from Mulek on foot (ten on a beeline?). Nothing indicates it was founded by Nephites. See also local land of Bountiful.

2.812 Hagoth's ship construction site

On the west sea at the narrow neck of land, not quite counted in either Desolation or Bountiful but near both in their general sense. The precise location was no doubt a cove or lagoon rather than sheer open beach.

2.91 city of Onihah

Destroyed at the time of the crucifixion and very likely in the land southward, but more detail is lacking.

2.92 city of Gilgal

Same as Onihah.

2.93 city of Mocum

Same as Onihah.

2.94 city of Moronihah

Same as Onihah.

3.1 east sea, sea east

The two word orders seem used indiscriminately. It formed the coast of the land southward all along its eastward side from Lamanite lands past those controlled by the Nephites, as well as being adjacent to the narrow neck and also the land northward at least past Jaredite Ablom, i.e., ca. 200 miles. Waters from the Sidon River carried corpses to "the depths of the sea" (probably the east sea), implying an ocean.

3.2 west sea, sea west

The voyage of the Nephites across the (Pacific) ocean landed on this shore. Both terms are used interchangeably. It stretched for over 450 miles, between the land of first inheritance and Hagoth's destination(s); unquestionably it was ocean, not a lake.

3.3 sea south

Used but a single time, in reference to the land northward.

3.4 sea north

Used but a single time, in reference to the land northward.

4. land northward

The land northward of essential concern to the Nephites lay toward the east sea and was reached exclusively via the narrow pass. The maximum distance of Nephite penetration was on the order of a couple of hundred miles, all of it (except the Cumorah area and thereabouts) without mention of elevated terrain. Nothing concrete is said of the width of this territory, except that it was obviously wider than the narrow neck; it is a safe presumption that its scale was roughly similar to the land southward referred to. Coastal voyages were also made to the land northward via the west sea and colonies were planted there. No hint is given in the Nephite record that they occupied the highland area toward the west side, which had included the Jaredite land of Moron.

4.1 land Desolation

Also known as the land of Desolation. It was the rather localized, southernmost portion of the land northward of direct concern to the Nephites and adjoined the land of Bountiful along a line. The narrow pass lay within the land Desolation. It is uncertain whether this land was conceived as reaching to the west sea. Its relative lack of trees was interpreted by the Nephites as due to Jaredite deforestation.

4.11 city Desolation

Known also as the city of Desolation. Approached from the south only via the narrow pass, it was the first city encountered in the land northward. As long as Nephite armies controlled it, their foes could have no access to any of the land northward of concern to the Nephites, while losing possession of it opened up opportunities for Lamanite expansion. It was close (twenty? miles) to Teancum and the east sea. In a battle at or near Desolation the dead were cast "into the sea," probably via a river or estuary.

4.12 city Teancum

It was near the city of Desolation, the next major place lying nearer the east sea. Access to it from the south was solely through the city of Desolation.

4.13 city Boaz

No land is indicated for this place, but it may have been within the land Desolation. It lay northward from the city of Desolation and probably was the next major population center in that direction. The distance from Desolation is uncertain but likely no more than twenty or thirty miles. Since its loss opened up the entire Nephite land northward to Lamanite assault, it probably lay at the northern limit of the route constriction between the two major lands which at its narrowest constituted the narrow pass.

4.21 land covered with large bodies of water

This area was in the land northward but sufficiently near the land Bountiful that it could have combined politically with it to form a bloc whose existence would have been a strategic threat to the Nephites. Absolute distances cannot be inferred, but it is reasonable to suppose that it was the same territory which earlier had included the Ripliancum of the Jaredites and later the lands of waters, rivers and fountains around Cumorah, which would place it on the order of a hundred miles from the narrow neck. The text is not clear on whether the land of waters of H12 is the same as that of A156. The two may be distinct, that referred to in Helaman being more distant to the north than the former one.

4.22 furthermost parts of the land northward

The statement does not allow us to relate this area to better known territories to the south.

4.23 land of Cumorah

A land of many waters, rivers and fountains, the territory in which the armies settled was "by" the hill; they camped around the hill. It was large enough not only to contain hundreds of thousands of encamped people but also to provide their subsistence for four years.

4.231 hill Cumorah (same as 5.3 hill Ramah)

It was "by" the land of this name, which may mean that adjacent, skirting foothills and plains were a primary characteristic of the land. From base to top, the hill was between 1000 and 3000 feet high and not so precipitous that wounded, fatigued men could not ascend it in the dark.

4.311 land Antum

The hill Shim was in the land Antum, which was relatively near to Mormon's homeland. The hill and land were in the same general area, not far from the east sea, as Cumorah.

4.311 hill Shim

Also called "a hill which shall be called Shim" and "the hill of Shim." Going from Moron (inland), Omer passed first Shim then Ramah/Cumorah to reach Ablom by the east sea. The order of Mormon's retreat suggests that Shim is farther south than Cumorah by an unknown, but not necessarily large, distance.

4.32 land and city of Jashon

Near the land Antum and hill Shim. Since the latter was southward from Cumorah, Antum and Jashon would have been less than a hundred miles northward from the narrow pass. It may have had a sizable population since both land and city are mentioned, unlike the case of some other land northward cities.

4.41 land and city of Shem

A fortifiable city where the Nephites gathered in their people, suggesting that the population was substantial and this was a regional center. Its relationships to Jashon, Antum and other areas cannot be determined from the text, although it was generally northward from the narrow pass. It was northward from Jashon at an indeterminate distance.

4.42 city of Jordan

Still farther north than Boaz, this is the northernmost named place in the Nephite land northward. One major retreat farther on, they made the deal with the Lamanites to meet at Cumorah, which must have been at about the same distance northward.

4.5 Sherrizah

A place, perhaps a city, where Nephites fought Lamanites during the final battles in the land northward, possibly in the Boaz-Jashon sector.

4.6 Moriantum

Either a city or land in the land northward where Lamanites and Nephites fought and committed atrocities. No inference can be made about its position in relation to other places except that it is mentioned at the same time as Sherrizah.

4.91 city of Jacobugath

No details are provided about this place destroyed at the time of the crucifixion, but it was in the northernmost part of the land northward.

4.92 city of Laman

No details are provided about this place destroyed at the time of the crucifixion, but it is more likely to have been in the land northward than in the land southward because its fate was related along with that of Jacobugath.

4.93 city of Josh

See city of Laman.

4.94 city of Gad

See city of Laman.

4.95 city of Kishkumen

See city of Laman.

4.96 city of Jacob

See city of Laman.

4.97 city of Gadiandi

See city of Laman.

4.98 city of Gadiomnah

See city of Laman.

4.99 city of Gimgimno

See city of Laman.

5.1 land of Moron

The land where Jaredite rulers lived by preference from beginning to near the end of that people's existence. No city is mentioned, although there may have been one. It was westerly and at a higher elevation than the final battle area. In specific relation to Nephite geography, Moron is said to have been "near" (beeline distance?) the land of Desolation. The prophet Ether's having dwelt in a cave no great distance from Moron while observing most of the final wars of the Jaredites, later to appear on the battlefield at Ramah to observe the last scenes, confirms that this distance was limited. (Omer took "many days" to reach Ablom from Moron, yet Moron was "near" Desolation. Resolution: Omer, with family along, took an indirect but easier route than was considered in making the statement "near.")

- 5.3 hill Ramah (same as 4.231 hill Cumorah)
Omer passed by the hill Shim and then by this hill on his way from Moron to the east sea at Ablom.
- 5.31 place called Ablom
In Omer's day, an un- or lightly settled location on the east sea, easterly from Cumorah, Shim and Moron.
- 5.32 place called Ogath
Located southward from the waters of Ripliancum and very close to the hill Ramah.
- 5.33 land of Corihor
One retreat from the borders of the east seashore, this land includes a valley (Shurr), and the hill Comnor is near, perhaps overlooking the land. It is reasonable that this is in the same hilly area in general as Ramah/Cumorah.
- 5.331 hill Comnor
See land of Corihor.
- 5.332 valley of Shurr
See land of Corihor.
- 5.5 Lib's great city
At or near the narrow pass.
- 5.7 waters of Ripliancum
An impassable body or system of bodies of water (probably estuaries, lagoons and river[s] since the sea was near) less than a hundred miles northward from Ramah/Cumorah.

Generalized Criteria

- 0.1 The dimensions of the New World lands where Book of Mormon events took place can hardly exceed several hundred miles in length and fewer in width.
- 0.11 The promised land was quite surely located in the tropics since no indication of cold or snow is given in the text, while heat is. This is confirmed by the fact that the season for warfare and that for agriculture were different (in a temperate place, they would coincide).

0.2 At the time of the catastrophe accompanying the crucifixion, “the face of the whole earth became deformed, because of the tempests, and the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the quaking of the earth.” These familiar phenomena, though of remarkable intensity, changed only the face of the land, not its topography nor its configuration or outline. Mormon and Moroni never evidence uncertainty about the scenes where the pre-Christian events of their forefathers took place. The hill Ramah was the hill Cumorah, without a hint of difference in their forms; Zarahemla was rebuilt after its burning; the Lamanites in the fourth century came out of the same highlands (Nephi) and along the same river Sidon as had their ancestors hundreds of years earlier; the narrow pass in Alma 50 was identical to the narrow pass in Mormon 3; and so on. Thus the text does not justify the view that fundamental geological changes or other changes in nature took place which involved the rise or fall in elevation of large areas. Certainly the known facts of natural history rule out any assumption that continental changes took place.

0.3 The civilizations of Lehi’s people and the Jaredites were both literate; they would have left evidence of that behind. Areas that lack (in archaeology or history) evidence of writing are quite certainly not where the text’s Nephites dwelt.

0.4 Naive linguistic comparisons have sometimes been made by Latter-day Saints—to site names, names of divinities, the names of peoples, etc. All those comparisons are methodologically unreliable, hence any model depending seriously on them gains nothing thereby.

0.5 The record being replete with reference to large populations and “cities,” we must suppose that the core promised land area will manifest evidence of such through archaeology, and they need to date correctly. It will not do to propose a location where such evidence is lacking.

0.51 Assumptions (there are no demonstrations) that a particular people mentioned in tradition must be a particular Book of Mormon group, or that a particular culture or site represents a given Book of Mormon place, mislead, for methodologies to give confidence in such relationships do not exist.

0.6 Assumptions of arbitrary, unrealistic population increase adds nothing to a geographical model, rather misleading.

0.7 The Book of Mormon never tells us where, nor when, the plates of Nephi were buried by Moroni. Strong arguments can be adduced to suggest that he did not place them in the hill Cumorah of the final battle. (He would have had to hang around in the midst of the Lamanite-controlled hill territory for

at least 35 years to do that, something most unlikely.) Hence that Joseph Smith obtained the plates from the hill in New York tells us nothing, either way, about where the battleground was.

0.8 The text we have of the Book of Mormon being a translation from a drastically different language and culture, we must not suppose that our current ethnocentric readings of the English terms having geographical significance can misleadingly control our interpretation. We need to discover, if possible, what the original terms meant to the writers (e.g., "elephants," "great city," "north," "dragons"), realizing that the author's meanings are not be obvious from the English as we naively construe it. Thus models must not depend crucially on culturally uninformed interpretations of terms in the text.

0.9 It has often been supposed that the Church authorities (particularly Joseph Smith) must have had accurate, and by implication revealed, knowledge about Book of Mormon geography. The evidence is against that view; too many statements from those authorities are in contradiction to the text and to each other to allow us to suppose that anybody knew for sure the answers to the crucial geographical questions. Furthermore, later Church authorities have asserted that definite knowledge about geography has never been revealed to the Church. Hence, statements about geography made by historical figures deserve to be assessed critically in the same terms as do modern statements; those of early date are no more likely to be correct because they were early and none are authoritative.

Part 7
A “Report Card”
for Evaluating Models

“Report Card”

“Grade”

(A-D, as in academics;
F, failed; ?, unknown;
NA, not applicable)

Criteria	A	B	C	D	F	?	NA
0.1 Tropical climate							
0.2 No drastic changes in nature required							
0.3 Writing evidence							
0.4 Not based on naive linguistic comparisons							
0.5 Archaeological evidence for cities and large population							
Of the proper dates							
0.51 Not based on assumptions about particular archaeological sites/cultures being particular Book of Mormon groups							
0.6 Not based on unrealistic population increases							
0.7 Not based on assumption that Moroni buried his plates in the hill of the final battle							
0.8 Not dependent on “literal” modern English reading of geographical terms in text							
0.9 Not dependent on statements by Church authorities							
1. Land southward nearly surrounded w. water South extremity Nephi of First Inherit. Length on the order of 300 miles Max. width considerably less than 300 miles							
1.1 Most general Nephi from west sea to east sea General Nephi for most purposes highland							
1.11 Local land Nephi less than 20 mi. diameter Descending elevation: Nephi, Shilom, Shemlon Shemlon clearly visible from city Nephi West sea under 50 miles from city Nephi							
1.111 Nephi—the major regional center for centuries Walled, during 2nd-3d cent. B.C.							

Criteria	A	B	C	D	F	?	NA
1.112 Shilom a minor, administ. dependent land Lay seaward and at lower elevation than N. Directly exposed to land Shemlon							
1.113 A hill north of Shilom overlooks it and N. Landmark hill, a rendezvous on route north							
1.114 "Place of arms" ca. 20(?) mi. east(?) of Nephi							
1.115 Near it a mount; top could shelter small army							
1.116 City near (south of?) local Nephi but autonomous							
1.117 Same as 1.116							
1.12 West of Shemlon lay west wilderness At lower (coastal) elevation							
1.13 Waters of Mormon a sizable body Prob. the waters that rose to cover Jerusalem Beyond north edge of local Nephi (25-40? mi.) Distinct body of forest near the water							
1.14 50(?) mi. direct from Mormon Northerly route Through broken mtn. country (Lamanites lost)							
1.15 Amulon northerly from Mormon and Nephi 60-80 (?) mi. from city Nephi But off main route to Zarahemla, on west (?)							
1.151 Associated with Amulon, Jerusalem (?)							
1.16 Joins borders of Mormon, but not adjacent Waters rose, covered city (on flat ground?) Toward Zarahemla from Ani-Anti Toward Zarahemla from Nephi Geograph. related to Amulon, Helam, west wilderness.							
1.161 Ani-Anti a short distance from Jerusalem Across an intervening elevation Accessible from missionary dispersion point by a route other than via Jerusalem							
1.17 Elevation between Middoni and Ani-Anti Down (i.e., coastward?) from Nephi Reachable directly from Ishmael Route from Ishmael partly the same as that from Ishmael to Nephi							
1.18 A minor land intermediate between Ishmael and Nephi and its neighbors							
1.19 Ishmael northernmost part of gen. Nephi (then) Minor unnamed lands nearby Surface water uncommon							

Criteria	A	B	C	D	F	?	NA
1.191 Sebus body of water, single access point							
1.2 Continuous lowland strip ca. 300 mi. N-S Part close enough to Nephi to be "in" N. Separated from Sidon basin by mtn. chain							
1.21 Southernmost part of west wilderness							
1.22 Part of west wilderness near Shemlon							
1.3 Toward east sea borders where N. met Z. Across elevation from Antionum							
2-1. Consists of watershed; Sidon flows northerly Off one or more established routes, travelers suffered hunger, thirst, extreme fatigue Center ca. 10(?) days (100 mi.?) from city Nephi Continuous with lowland wildernesses, E. and W.							
2. Basically the Sidon river basin Largely on west of the river Sometime also included borders by east sea area Evident as heart/center of general land of Z.							
2.11 Local land mainly up/down river ca. 20 mi. total							
2.111 Conceived as a "great city" 1st cent. B.C. Earth-walled 1st cent. B.C. On west bank of river Sidon							
2.112 Crucial crop area on west bank upstream of city							
2.113 Ford over river few miles upstream of city							
2.114 Hill east of river withn few miles of city Flatish top, battle fought there and continuously from there up to Gideon							
2.115 Hill, within a few miles, scene of ritual execution							
2.12 Part (salient or exclave) of west wilderness Reached within ten miles of local Zarahemla							
2.21 Downstream from Z., well beyond local land of Z., heavy population dwelt							
2.22 Only stream mentioned in land of Z., stood out Head was up in narrow strip (south wilderness) Probably debouched via deltaic borders/east sea							
2.221 An area downriver from Zarahemla Populous (prob. same as "most capital parts" Prob. chiefly on west side of the Sidon river							
2.222 Distinct area with cities Prob. downriver from Zarahemla Prob. same as 2.221							

Criteria

A B C D F ? NA

- 2.3 Mountain basin/valley
Probably fairly smooth as route to Manti through
Ca. 15 mi. southeasterly from city Zarahemla
Ca. 15 mi. northeasterly from Minon
- 2.4 Southernmost settled land on river
Narrow strip rose directly above Manti
Usual route to Zar. was over via Gideon valley
40-60 miles from Zarahemla
Predictable entry route from east out of wilder.
- 2.41 On river between Manti and Zarahemla
Ca. 20-25 mi. upriver from city of Zarahemla
- 2.42 Hill immediately south of route/tributary coming
in from east to the Sidon a bit above Manti
- 2.43 West of Sidon in general Manti sector
Controlled routes down from Antiparah, Cumeni
blocking access to Zarahemla and Melek
Small area, garrison city only, not a signif. land
- 2.44 West of Manti facing narrow strip of wilderness
Higher elevation than Judea and Manti
Lower than Antiparah and Cumeni
Minor area, garrison city only
- 2.45 Garrison city only
Faced narrow strip of wilderness
Between Antiparah and Zeezrom
Separate routes from it to Manti and Judea
- 2.46 Garrison city, little or no land about
Faced narrow strip of wilderness
Highest elevation, probably in or near a pass
Beyond, to west, was a city in borders/west sea
Judea to Antiparah only scores of miles
- 2.47 From Antiparah to city in borders/west sea only
limited (20-40?) mileage
- 2.48 Westerly from Zara.
Near, along base of mountain edge of Sidon basin
Inaccessible from lowland west wilderness
Route from Zara. went across some elevation
Judea directly accessible from Melek
No city but productive region
- 2.51 Along west mountain edge of Sidon basin
Ca. 40-50 miles northerly from Melek
City in some depression (?)
From here routes led to Noah, Sidom, Aaron
All those farther inland than Ammonihah

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Criteria	A	B	C	D	F	?	NA
2.52 Ca. 20-40 miles from Ammonihah Easterly or southeasterly (?) from A.							
2.53 A direct trip from Ammonihah inland Easterly or northeasterly (?) Nephihah farther east than Aaron Prob. in about the middle of the land E-W							
2.54 Populous (relatively extensive lands?) Prob. adjacent to river Sidon							
2.55 Generally NW of Zarahemla, unknown distance But short of the west coastal lowland Poor defensive position (no city mentioned)							
2.56 Same sector as land of David, maybe in it							
2.60 Originally (i.e., ecologically) extended to near narrow neck Distance from narrow pass to Moroni ca. 70 mi.							
2.61 On coastal plain by east sea Sank beneath sea waters Small area with wilderness on east, south Anchor of Ne. defensive line on southeast Adjacent (20? mi.) to Nephihah Near (15? mi.) Morianton and Lehi							
2.611 Nearly bordering upon the seashore South beyond Moroni and the later-defended south boundary line with the Lamanites Staging ground for Lam. attack on Moroni At least one hill One crossed an elevation to reach Jereshon area Farther southward was Siron To go there required crossing a further elevation From here to head of the Sidon was round about And weeks of travel							
2.6111 Hill near Antionum's city Of unknown elevation but a crowd could be atop							
2.62 General borders/east sea area Regional center Inland from Moroni, Morianton, Lehi Ca. 10-15(?) mi. from Morianton, Lehi Route from Zara. shared part way by Lam. from Nephi to Morianton Nephihah to Manti over an elevation Nearer midpoint of land southward was Aaron Farther southward and inland than Omner							

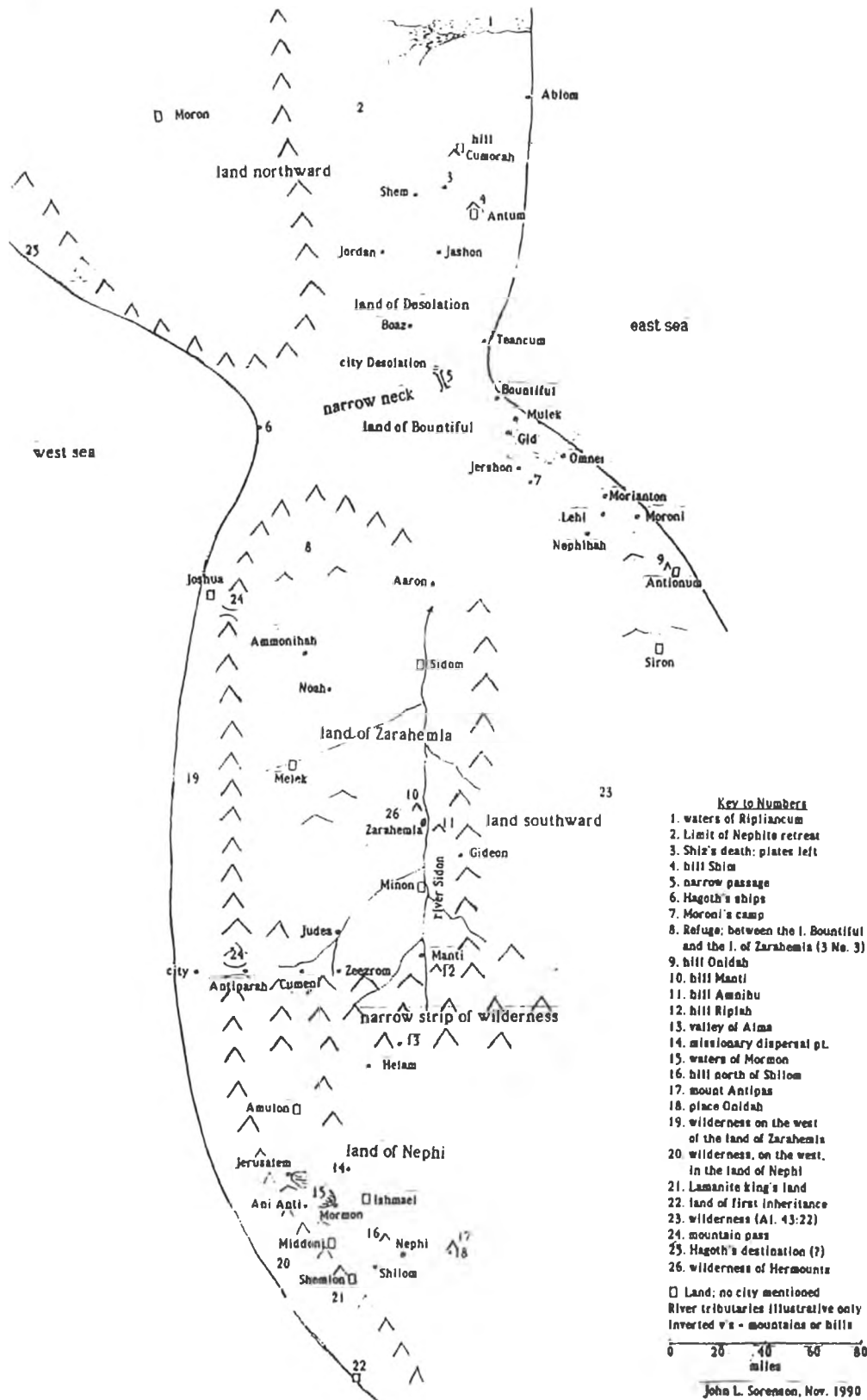
Criteria	A	B	C	D	F	?	NA
2.63 Settled as a garrison city In east sea borders, down by the seashore in comparison with Nephihah Built "in a special manner" Ca. 8(?) mi. from Morianton Lehi nearer camp of Moroni than Morianton							
2.64 Settled as a garrison city Route "down by the seashore" ran fairly straight from here to Bountiful to narrow pass							
2.65 Down by the east seashore Northward from Morianton Unknown distance, prob. 15-30 mi. from Morian. Small garrison city, prob. limited land							
2.66 Northward from Omner Unknown distance, prob. 15-30 mi. from Omner Down by the east seashore Inland from Mulek, so Bountiful to Omner trip could go via either city equally Garrison city, no land mentioned							
2.67 Prob. Mulekites' first settlement Down by the east seashore, within a few miles Perhaps particularly isolated, defensible Less than 15 mi. direct line to Bountiful Northward from Omner							
2.68 South of Bountiful Moroni's base for activity all way to border of Antionum (50-100? mi.) Inland from Omner, Morianton, Gid							
2.681 "Over" from Lehi On different route to narrow pass than seashore							
2.7 North extension of coastal lowlands of land of Ne. Accessible at few points from land of Zarahemla							
2.71 Northerly portion of west coastal wilderness Northwestward from Zarahemla, David, Angola Strongly defensible							
2.72 In center of then-occupied Nephite lands Elevated Isolated, besiegable Large enough to hold many thousand people							
2.721 At south boundary of greater Bountiful Highly defensible, constricted zone by west sea?							

Criteria	A	B	C	D	F	?	NA
2.8 Abuts land of Desol. on a line (river?) The two connect by narrow pass/passage Primary Nephite concern toward east sea side But general land B. came near crossing n. neck							
2.801 Isthmus between east sea and west sea And connecting l. southward with l. northward							
2.802 Within narrow neck Toward east sea side South entrance is at Bountiful-Desolation line A single, known, defensible point Pass as such is within the land of Desolation No group access whatever by land to Nephite land northward except via the narrow pass							
2.81 Land=area immed. around the city, fortif. round it Strategic for defense of neck from east sea attack Not strategic against attack via west sea side Which may mean city is at least 15 mi. from pass							
2.811 Close to east sea beach Nearest city on the south, Mulek Gid also near, directly on the south							
2.812 West sea side of narrow neck Near (not in?) both/either Bountiful or Desolation More sheltered than mere beach							
3.1 Minimum 200 miles long, surely part of an ocean Adjacent to lands southward, northward and neck							
3.2 Nephites quite surely crossed Pacific=west sea Minimum 400 miles long							
3.3 Used only in reference to land northward							
3.4 Used only in reference to land northward							
4. Nephite land northward primarily toward east Final wars concerned only toward east side West sea voyages also to land northward No indication Nephites settled (Jaredite) uplands Width unknown but neck constriction notable							
4.1 Localized southern part, adjacent to Bountiful Deforested, Neph. believed, by Jaredite populat. Narrow pass per se lay within Desolation Uncertain if Desolation reached the west sea							
4.11 In the pass; only approached from south via it Ca. 10-20 mi. easterly was Teancum, by sea							

Criteria	A	B	C	D	F	?	NA
4.12 East of city Desolation Ca. 10-20 mi. distant Near east sea shore Accessible from south only via city Desolation							
4.13 No land mentioned, it may be in Desolation Northward from city Desolation Probably the next major city northward L. northward open to Lam. once this captured							
4.21 Northward near, beyond Desolation Close enough to Bountiful to ally with it Possibly within 100 mi. of Bountiful							
4.22 Distance undeterminable							
4.23 Wet land Sizable inhabitation land, supporting hundreds of thousands							
4.231 Plains skirting the hill Height from base 1000-3000 feet Not unduly precipitous							
4.31 Not far from east sea Same general area as Cumorah							
4.311 Hill of unknown size In land Antum Farther from east sea than Cumorah Probably no farther north than Cumorah							
4.32 Near land Antum and hill Shim Regional center (?); both a city and a land							
4.41 A fortifiable city Northward from the narrow pass							
4.42 Northward from Boaz Prob. the next to northernmost point in final wars							
4.5 Undeterminable location							
4.6 Undeterminable location							
4.91 Unknown distance northward							
5.1 Home of Jaredite ruling dynasty most of the time Highland area "Near" land of Desolation, distance undetermined							
5.31 On the sea easterly from Cumorah, Shim, Moron							
5.5 At or very near the narrow pass							
5.7 Northward some score miles from Ramah							
Number of grades by columns:							

Part 8
A Trial Map
Incorporating the Criteria
from the Text

**Map of Book of Mormon Places
Based Wholly on the Text**



Appendix A
Statements, by Date,
Relevant to the Geography of
Book of Mormon Events,
by LDS Leaders or Others
Reflecting Views Current in the Church

Statements, by Date, Relevant to the Geography of Book of Mormon Events, by LDS Leaders or Others Reflecting Views Current in the Church

[1827]

See [1845] Lucy Mack Smith.

[1829]

See [1878] David Whitmer.

[1830]

Doctrine and Covenants 28:8-9.

. . . You shall go unto the Lamanites and preach my gospel The city of Zion shall be built on the borders by the Lamanites.

Doctrine and Covenants 32:2.

. . . Into the wilderness among the Lamanites.

[1831]

Doctrine and Covenants 54:8.

A group of the saints in Ohio are commanded to flee the land and "take your journey into the regions westward, unto the land of Missouri, unto the borders of the Lamanites."

[1832]

Phelps, W. W. *Evening and Morning Star*, October 1832; *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, July 1836, p. 341:

. . . These vast prairies of the far west . . . the Book of Mormon terms them the land of desolation."

(Compare Levi Ward Hancock, *The Life of Levi W. Hancock*, typescript, BYU Library, who reported that Joseph Smith called North America the "land of desolation.")

[1834]

For a complete treatment of all known statements on the Zelph incident which took place during the Zion's Camp journey, see Kenneth A. Godfrey, *The Zelph Story, F.A.R.M.S. Paper* GDF-89, 1989; a shorter version of the same, without the copies of the original sources, can be seen in *BYU Studies* 29 (Spring 1989), pages 31-56.

[1835]

Oliver Cowdery. *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, July 1835, p. 158-159. (Reprinted in *The Times and Seasons* 2, 1841, page 379, and again in *The Improvement Era* 2, 1899, pages 729-734.)

Re. the New York hill Cumorah: "At about one mile west rises another ridge of less height, running parallel with the former . . . between these hills, the entire power and national strength of both the Jaredites and Nephites were destroyed.

. . . . By turning to the 529th and 530th pages of the Book of Mormon you will read Mormon's account of the last great struggle as they were encamped round this hill cumorah. In this valley fell the remaining strength and pride of a once powerful people, the Nephites—once so highly favored of the Lord, but at that time in darkness, doomed to suffer extermination by the hand of their barbarous and uncivilized brethren. From the top of this hill, Mormon, with a few others, after the battle, gazed with horror upon the mangled remains of those who, the day before, were filled with anxiety, hope, or doubt. A few had fled to the south, who were hunted down by the victorious party.

. . . .
This hill, by the Jaredites, was called Ramah; by it, or around it, pitched the famous army of Coriantumr their tents. Coriantumr was the last king of the Jaredites. The opposing army were to the west, and in this same valley, and near by, from day to day, did that mighty race spill their blood In this same spot, in full view from the top of this same hill, one may gaze with astonishment upon the ground which was twice covered with the dead and dying . . .

[1836?]

Frederick G. Williams may have written down a statement about Lehi's party landing at 30 degrees south latitude, in Chile. See the material about J. M. Bernhisel under [1845].

[1838]

Joseph Smith, Jr. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* 3:34-35.

Regarding "Tower Hill," north of Far West, Missouri: "He (L. Wight) lives at the foot of Tower Hill (a name I gave the place in consequence of the remains of an old Nephite altar or tower that stood there) . . . "

[1838]

Samuel D. Tyler. Journal. In, *Manuscript History*, Sept. 25, 1838, page 829, Book B-1.

Sept. 25, 1838. We [the Kirtland camp] passed through Huntsville, Co. seat of Randolph Co. Pop. 450, and three miles further we bought 32 bu. of

corn off one of the brethren who resides in this place. There are several of the brethren round about here and this is the ancient site of the City of Manti, which is spoken of in the Book of Mormon and this is appointed one of the Stakes of Zion. . . .

A. Jenson, Historical Record, Book 1, page 601 (also in *Millennial Star* 16:296):

The camp passed through Huntsville, in Randolph County, which has been appointed as one of the stakes of Zion, and is the ancient site of the City of Manti [No origin of the statement about Manti is credited in either record. It has been inferred, plausibly, to have come from Joseph Smith. According to the Book of Mormon, of course, the Nephite city of Manti was south of the city of Zarahemla and obviously south of the narrow neck of land; its location was not far from the headwaters of the north-flowing Sidon River. It is obvious that no place in Missouri, nor in North America, could qualify in these terms, hence there had to be an error in the original assertion or in its transmission.]

[1840]

Orson Pratt, *An Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions, and of the Late Discovery of Ancient Records*, 1840. Third American edition, New York, 1842, page 18.

Mentions "the western coast of South America" as the site of Lehi's landing.

[1841]

Joseph Smith Junior. Letter to John Bernhisel dated 16 November 1841, in, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, Dean C. Jessee, ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), page 502:

Bernhisel had sent a copy of John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan* to Joseph. In this letter the prophet thanks the donor and observes of the book, "of all histories that had been written pertaining to the antiquities of this country it is the most correct, luminous & Comprehensive—" and it "supports the testimony of the Book of Mormon." (Compare *The Times and Seasons* excerpts below.)

[1842]

Charles [Blancher] Thompson. *Evidence in Proof of the Book of Mormon*. Batavia, New York, 1841. *Times and Seasons*, 1 Jan. 1842, pages 640-644.

Gives a positive review of Thompson's book wherein he states (p. 101) ". . . the people whose history is contained in the Book of Mormon, are the authors of these works" (i.e., antiquities of the eastern U.S.)

[1842]

Joseph Smith, Jr. (The Wentworth Letter) *The Times and Seasons*, 3 (1 March 1842), pages 707-708. And in *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4:537-538. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1932-51.

In this important and interesting book the history of ancient America is unfolded, from its first settlement . . . to the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era. We are informed by these records that America in ancient times has been inhabited by two distinct races of people. . . . The principal nation of the second race fell in battle towards the close of the fourth century. The remnant are the Indians that now inhabit this country.

[1842]

[September 6] *Doctrine and Covenants* 128:19-20:

And again, what do we hear? Glad tidings from Cumorah! Moroni, an angel from heaven, declaring the fulfillment of the prophets— the book to be revealed. [It is clear that by the date of this revelation, Joseph Smith, and seemingly his readers generally, commonly recognized the term Cumorah to refer to the hill in New York.]

[1842]

John Taylor or Joseph Smith. *The Times and Seasons* 3(22) (15 Sept. 1842), pages 914-915:

[Regarding the authorship of the following, see *The Times and Seasons* 3(15 March 1842), page 710, where Joseph Smith announced the commencement of his career as editor of *The Times and Seasons* and stated, "I alone stand responsible for it" The actual (managing) editor was John Taylor]

Mr. Stephens' great developments of antiquities are made bare to the eyes of all the people by reading the history of the Nephites in the Book of Mormon. They lived about the narrow neck of land, which now embraces Central America, with all the cities that can be found. . . . Read the destruction of cities at the crucifixion of Christ, pages 459-60. Who could have dreamed that twelve years could have developed such incontrovertible testimony to the Book of Mormon?

From an extract from 'Stephens' Incidents of Travel in Central America,' it will be seen that the proof of the Nephites and Lamanites dwelling on this continent, according to the account in the Book of Mormon, is developing itself in a more satisfactory way than the most sanguine believer in that revelation could have anticipated.

Pages 921-922: . . . Lehi went down by the Red Sea to the great Southern Ocean, and crossed over to this land, and landed a little south of the Isthmus of Darien, and improved the country

[1842]

The Times and Seasons, 3(23) (1 October 1842), page 927:

Zarahemla. Since our 'Extract' was published from Mr. Stephens' 'Incidents of Travel,' &c., we have found another important fact relating to the truth of the Book of Mormon. Central America, or Guatemala is situated north of the Isthmus of Darien and once embraced several hundred miles of territory from north to south—The city of Zarahemla, burnt at the crucifixion of the Savior, and rebuilt afterwards, stood upon this land as will be seen from the following words in the book of Alma:

And now it was only the distance of a day and a half's journey for a Nephite, on the line Bountiful and the land Desolation, from the east to the west sea; and thus the land of Nephi, and the land of Zarahemla was nearly surrounded by water: there being a small neck of land between the land northward and the land southward [See Book of Mormon 3d edition, page 280-81 {Alma 22:32}].

It is certainly a good thing for the excellency and veracity, of the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon, that the ruins of Zarahemla have been found where the Nephites left them: and that a large stone with engravings upon it, as Mosiah said; and a 'large round stone, with the sides sculptured in hieroglyphics,' as Mr. Stephens has published, is also among the left remembrances of the, (to him,) *lost and unknown*. We are not going to declare positively that the ruins of Quirigua are those of Zarahemla, but when the land and the stones and the books tell the story so plain, we are of the opinion, that it would require more proof than the Jews could bring to prove the disciples stole the body of Jesus from the tomb, to prove that the ruins of the city in question, are not one of those referred to in the Book of Mormon.

. . . . It will not be a bad plan to compare Mr. Stephens' ruined cities with those of the Book of Mormon: light cleaves to light, and facts are supported by facts. The truth injures no one, and so we make another Extract . . . [followed by a page of material from the book].

[1843]

The Times and Seasons 4 (1 October 1843)(Facts are Stubborn Things), pages 346-347:

A comment is made on John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*, volume 2 (1843): "It will be seen that the proof of the Nephites and Lamanites dwelling on this continent, according to the account in the Book of Mormon, is developing itself in a more satisfactory way than the most sanguine believer in that revelation, could have anticipated

This is a work that ought to be in the hands of every Latter-day Saint; corroborating, as it does the history of the Book of Mormon. There is no stronger circumstantial evidence of the authenticity of the latter book, can be given, [sic] than that contained in Mr. Stephens' works.

. . . It has fallen to his lot to explore the ruins of this once mighty people, but the 'Book of Mormon' unfolds their history . . . accounts of a people, and of cities that bear a striking resemblance to those mentioned by Mr. Stephens, both in regard to magnificence and location, it affords the most indubitable testimony of the historical truth of that book . . .

[1844]

Mosiah Lyman Hancock, *Autobiography*, mimeographed volume, page 28 (in BYU Library):

Hancock says that while he was a ten-year-old boy in Nauvoo in 1844 "... The Prophet came to our home and . . . I . . . got my map for him. 'Now,' he said, 'I will show you the travels of this people.' He then showed our travels through Iowa, and said, 'Here you will make a place for the winter; and here you will travel west until you come to the valley of the Great Salt Lake! . . . But, the United States will not receive you with the laws which God desires you to live, and you will have to go to where the Nephites lost their power . . . Those who are desirous to live the laws of God will have to go South,'" indicating at the same time on the map with his finger the direction of Mexico.

[1845]

Lucy Mack Smith. *History of Joseph Smith*. First ed., Liverpool, 1853 [written in 1845]. First Utah ed., 1901, Salt Lake City, page 100.

A short time after the marriage of Joseph [1827], his mother reported eighteen years later, that after a visit to the hill, he referred to "the hill of Cumorah." [But see the 1878 statement of David Whitmer, which seems contradictory.]

[1845]

In regard to "LEHI'S TRAVELS.—Revelation to Joseph the Seer," first published in 1882 (in James A. Little and Franklin D. Richards, *A Compendium of the Doctrines of the Gospel*. Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1882, p. 289), see the comprehensive treatment of materials on this statement, which was attributed to Joseph Smith by Little and Richards, that can be found in Frederick G. Williams III, *Did Lehi Land in Chile? An Assessment of the Frederick G. Williams Statement*, *F.A.R.M.S. Paper* WIL-88. A date of 1845 (or earlier) is here attributed to the statement (rather than the 1882 of its first publication) because of its occurrence in a J. M. Bernhisel manuscript of 1845, as told in Williams' paper and in Robert J. Matthews, *Notes on "Lehi's Travels," BYU Studies* 12(3), 1972, pages 312-14. The original date may have been 1836; compare the entry under date [1836?] above.

[1848]

Orson Pratt. *Divine Authenticity—or was Joseph Smith Sent of God?* Liverpool, 1848. Reprinted in, *Orson Pratt's Works on the Doctrines of the Gospel* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1945), page 22:

In the Book of Mormon are given the names and locations of numerous cities of great magnitude, which once flourished among the ancient nations of America. The northern portions of South America, and also Central America, were the most densely population.

. . . . A careful reader of that interesting book, can trace the relative bearings, and distances of many of these cities from each other; and if acquainted with the present geographical features of the country, he can, by the descriptions given in that book, determine, very nearly, the precise spot of ground they once occupied. . . . The mouldering ruins of many splendid edifices and towers, and magnificent cities of great extent, have been discovered by Catherwood and Stephens in the interior wilds of Central America, in the very region where the ancient cities described in the Book of Mormon were said to exist.

[1848]

Orson Pratt. *Millennial Star* 10(22, 15 November 1848)("Editorial"—O. P. was editor), page 346-347:

The first great nation that anciently inhabited Yucatan, passed away about 2,400 years ago; but their prophets left a history, an abridgment of which has been translated into the English language, called the 'Book of Ether'. . . . The last great nation that inhabited that country and passed away, have also left their history, which was discovered, translated, and published in the English language nearly 20 years ago by Mr. Joseph Smith.

. . . . "Mr. Mormon says, that in the 367th year after Christ, "the Lamanites"—the forefathers of the American Indian—"took possession of the city of Desolation"—which was in Central America, near to or in Yucatan—"and this because their number did exceed the number of the Nephites"—the Nephites being the Nation who inhabited the cities of Yucatan—"and they"—the Lamanites—"did also march forward against the city of Teancum

. . . .
In the 384th year, the occupants of Yucatan and Central America, having been driven from their great and magnificent cities, were pursued by the Lamanites to the hill Cumorah . . . where the whole nation perished in battle.

[1849]

Orson Pratt, Reply to a Pamphlet Printed in Glasgow, Entitled "Remarks on Mormonism," [Part III]. *Millennial Star* 11(8)(15 April 1849), pages 115-116:

In my remarks upon the evidence in favor of Joseph Smith's divine mission, ('Divine Authority,' page 13) I have, among numerous other

evidences adduced, referred to the late discoveries of Catherwood and Stephens in Central America, as confirmatory evidence of the truth of the Book of Mormon. Mr. Paton considers this as no evidence at all, and refers to the discoveries of Baron Humboldt and many other antiquarians, long before Mr. Smith translated that book. No one will dispute the fact that the existence of antique remains in different parts of America was known long before Mr. Smith was born. But every well informed person knows that the most of the discoveries made by Catherwood and Stephens were original—that the most of the forty-four cities described by him had not been described by previous travelers. Now the Book of Mormon gives us the names and locations of great numbers of cities in the very region where Catherwood and Stephens afterwards discovered them.

[1851]

Parley P. Pratt. *Proclamation! to the People of the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific*. Pamphlet, 1851:

Arriving at the sea coast they built a ship, put on board the necessary provisions and the seeds brought with them from Jerusalem; and setting sail they crossed the great ocean, and landed on the western coast of America, within the bounds of what is now called 'Chili.'

[1855]

Parley P. Pratt. *Key to the Science of Theology*. F. D. Richards: Liverpool, 1855, pages 22-23:

By this science the Prophets Lehi and Nephi came out with a colony from Jerusalem, in the days of Jeremiah the prophet, and after wandering for eight years in the wilderness of Arabia, came to the seacoast, built a vessel, obtained from the Lord a compass to guide them on the way, and finally landed in safety on the coast of what is now called Chile, in South America.

[1866]

Orson Pratt. *Millennial Star* 28 (16 June 1866), page 370:

In an article on the differential hour of the reports for the crucifixion as between the Bible and the Book of Mormon, the editor, Orson Pratt, refers to that Nephi who wrote the New World account of the crucifixion time:

... we have the strongest reasons for believing that he, at the time, resided in the northwestern portions of South America, near a temple which they had built in the land Bountiful, which the record informs us was not far south of the narrow neck of land, connecting the land south with the land north; but which we, in these days, call the Isthmus of Darien.

Pages 390-394:

The Hill Cumorah is situated in western New York

It . . . is distinguished as the great battlefield on which, and near which, two powerful nations were concentrated with all their forces, men, women

and children, and fought till hundreds of thousands on both sides were hewn down, and left to molder upon the ground. . . .

The Hill Cumorah is remarkable also as being the hill on which and around which, a still more ancient nation perished, called Jaredites Millions fought millions, until the Hill Ramah, and the land round about, was soaked with blood

Page 801 (Sacred Metallic Plates):

. . . After [Lehi's] arrival on the coast of Chili The Hebrew mound builders

[1868]

Orson Pratt. *Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool)1869. vol. 12, pages 340-342:

. . . By the command of the Lord they [the Jaredites] collected seeds and grain of every kind, and animals of almost every description, among which, no doubt, were the elephant and the curelom and the cumom, very huge animals that existed in those days they eventually came to the great Pacific ocean, on the eastern borders of China or somewhere in that region

But the most wonderful thing concerning the first colonization of this country after the flood was the way that they navigated the great Pacific ocean. Only think for a few moments of the Lord our God taking eight barges, launched on the eastern coast of China, and bringing them a voyage of three hundred and forty four days and landing them all in the same neighborhood and vicinity at the same time

They landed to the south of this, just below the Gulf of California, on the western coast. They inhabited North America, and spread forth on this Continent, and in the course of some sixteen hundred years residence here, they became a mighty and powerful nation. . . .

On a certain occasion there were a very few individuals, Omer and his family and some few of his friends, that were righteous enough to be spared out of a whole nation. The Lord warned them by a dream to depart from the land of Moran [sic], and led them forth in an easterly direction beyond the hill Cumorah, down into the eastern countries upon the sea shore. By this means a few families were saved, while all the balance, consisting of millions of people, were overthrown because of their wickedness. But after they were destroyed, the Omerites, who dwelt in the New England States, returned again and dwelt in the land of their fathers on the western coast.

. . . Their greatest and last struggles were in the State of New York, near where the plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated were found. . . . Coriantumr, King of a certain portion of the Jaredites, after the destruction of his nation, wandered, solitary and alone, down towards the Isthmus of Darien, and there he became acquainted with a colony of people brought from the land of Jerusalem, called the people of Zarahemla

After the destruction of the Jaredites, the Lord brought two other colonies to people this land. One colony landed a few hundred miles north of the isthmus on the western coast: the other landed on the coast of Chili, upwards of two thousand miles south of them. The latter were called the Nephites and Lamanites. . . . A little over one century before Christ, the Nephites united with the Zarahemlaites in the northern portions of South America, and were called Nephites and became a powerful nation. The country was called the land Bountiful, and included within the land of Zarahemla [sic] Shortly after the Nephite colony was brought by the power of God, and landed on the western coast of South America, in the country we call Chili, there was a great division among them. . . . Nephi and the righteous separated themselves from the Lamanites and traveled about eighteen hundred miles north until they came to the head waters of what we term the Amazon river. There Nephi located his little colony in the country supposed to be Ecuador. . . .

Here the Nephites flourished for some length of time. The Lamanites followed them up and they had many wars and contentions, and finally the Lamanites succeeded in taking away their settlements, and the Nephites fled again some twenty days journey to the northward and united themselves with the people of Zarahemla.

. . . Numerous hosts of the Jaredites once spread over all the face of North America.

[1870]

Orson Pratt. *Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool 1871)14 (27 Nov. 1870), page 298:

On what part of this continent did Jesus appear? He appeared in what is now termed the northern part of South America, where they had a temple built, at which place the people were gathered together, some twenty-five hundred in number, marveling and wondering at the great earthquake that had taken place on this land

[1872]

Orson Pratt. *Journal of Discourses* 14 (11 Feb. 1872), page 324-30, 333:

When I contemplate the vast number of millions that must have swarmed over this great western hemisphere in times of old, building large cities, towns and villages, and spreading themselves forth from shore to shore from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the frozen regions of the north to the uttermost extremity of South America This book . . . (the Book of Mormon) . . . (was) . . . delivered by divine inspiration in ancient times to prophets, revelators and inspired men who dwelt upon this continent, both in North and South America.

. . . They (Lehi's party) were guided by the Almighty across the great Indian Ocean. Passing among the islands, how far south of Japan I do not know, they came round our globe, crossing not only the Indian Ocean, but

what we term the great Pacific Ocean, landing on the western coast of what is now called South America. As near as we can judge from the description of the country contained in this record the first landing place was in Chili, not far from where the city of Valparaiso now stands.

. . . The Nephites were commanded of the Lord to depart from their midst, that is to leave the first place of colonization in the country which the Spanish now call Chili. They came northward from their first landing place traveling, according to the record, as near as I can judge, some two thousand miles. The Lamanites remained in possession of the country on the South. The Nephites formed a colony not far from the headwaters of the river Amazon, and they dwelt there some four centuries The Lamanites in the South and in the middle portions of South America, also spread forth and multiplied, and became a very strong and powerful nation. . . . [Later] a certain portion of them (the Nephites) who still believed were commanded of the Lord to leave their brethren . . . and . . . under the guidance of prophets and revelators, came still further northward, emigrating from the head waters of what we now term the river Amazon, upon the western coast, or not far from the western coast, until they came on the waters of the river which we call the Magdalena. On this river, not a great distance from the mouth thereof, in what is now termed the United States of Columbia [sic], they built their great capital city. They also discovered another nation that already possessed that country, called the people of Zarahemla.

. . . The Nephites and the people of Zarahemla united together and formed a great and powerful nation, occupying the lands south of the Isthmus for many hundreds of miles, and also from the Pacific on the west to the Atlantic on the east, spreading all through the country. The Lamanites about this time also occupied South America, the middle or southern portion of it, and were exceedingly numerous

About fifty-four years before Christ, five thousand four hundred men, with their wives and children, left the northern portion of South America, passed through the Isthmus, came into this north country, the north wing of the continent, and began to settle up North America [The] Nephite nation about this time commenced the art of shipbuilding. They built many ships, launching them forth into the western ocean. The place of the building of these ships was near the Isthmus of Darien. Scores of thousands entered these ships year after year, and passed along on the western coast northward, and began to settle the western coast on the north wing of the continent I will observe another thing—when they came into North America they found all this country covered with the ruins of cities, villages and towns, the inhabitants having been cut off and destroyed. The timber had also been cut off, insomuch that in many places there was no timber. . . . Forty-five years before the coming of Christ there was a vast colony came out of South America, and it is said in the Book of Mormon that they went an exceeding great distance, until they came to large bodies of water and to many rivers

and fountains, and when we come to read more fully the description of the country it answers to the great Mississippi Valley. There they formed a colony. We know that to be the region of country from the fact that these plates were taken from a hill in the interior of the State of New York, being the descendants of those same colonists that settled in the valley of the Mississippi. . . . In process of time they spread forth on the right and on the left, and the whole face of the North American continent was covered by cities, towns and villages and population.

. . . twelve Nephites who were called by the personal ministry of Jesus, were commanded to go forth and preach the Gospel on all the face of the North and South American continent

. . . .

At the time of the crucifixion the Nephites dwelt in North America and also occupied a portion of South America

About three hundred and seventy-five years after the birth of Christ, the Nephites occupying North America, the Lamanites South America . . . , the Lamanites began to overpower the Nephites, and they drove them northward from the narrow neck of land which we call the Isthmus of Darien, burning, destroying and desolating every city, town and village through which they passed. The Nephites continued to flee before their conquerors until they came into the interior of the State of New York. . . , the whole Nephite nation (gathering) into that one region, and the Lamanites gathering the whole Lamanite nation into the same region of country. . . . The great and last battle . . . was on the hill Cumorah, the same hill from which the plates were taken by Joseph Smith

[1874?]

Brigham Young. E. C. McGavin, *Mormonism and Masonry*, p. 156:

When the site was selected for the St. George Temple, B. Young "explained that the Temple must be built at that place because the Nephites had previously dedicated that very site for the erection of a Temple, but had been unable to bring their hopes to a full fruition."

[1876]

Orson Pratt, *Millennial Star* (1876) 38, page 693:

The [Jaredite] colony, . . . landed on the western coast of Mexico, and extended their settlements over all the North American portion of the continent, where they dwelt until about six centuries before Christ

Page 691-2: Lehi's landing place, "as is believed, (was) not far from the 30th degree south latitude."

[1877]

Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool, 1878), vol.19:36-39:

(The) treasures that are in the earth are carefully watched, they can be moved from place to place according to the good pleasure of Him who made them and owns them. . . . Oliver Cowdery went with the Prophet Joseph when he deposited [i.e., returned] these plates. Joseph did not translate all of the plates. There was a portion of them sealed, which you can learn from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. When Joseph got the plates, the angel instructed him to carry them back to the hill Cumorah, which he did. Oliver says that when Joseph and Oliver went there the hill opened and they walked into a cave, in which there was a large and spacious room. He says he did not think, at the time, whether they had the sunlight or artificial light; but that it was just as light as day. They laid the plates on a table; it was a large table that stood in the room. Under this table there was a pile of plates as much as two feet high, and there were altogether in this room more plates probably than many wagon loads; they were piled up in the corners and along the walls. The first time they went there the sword of Laban hung upon the wall; but when they went again it had been taken down and laid upon the table across the gold plates; it was unsheathed, and on it was written these words: 'This sword will never be sheathed again until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ.' I tell you this as coming not only from Oliver Cowdery, but others who were familiar with it.

[1877]

Brigham Young. Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, (Salt Lake City, 3d edition, 1967) p. 477.

On April 25, 1877, B. Young, accompanied by Warren S. Snow, went to the place where the Manti Temple was to be built and said, according to Snow:

Here is the spot where the Prophet Moroni stood and dedicated this piece of land for a Temple site, and that is the reason why the location is made here, and we can't move it from this spot

[1878]

David Whitmer. *Millennial Star* 40 (1870), page 722:

When I was returning to Fayette, with Joseph and Oliver, all of us riding in the wagon, Oliver and I on an old-fashioned, wooden spring seat, and Joseph behind us—when traveling along in a clear open space, a very pleasant, nice-looking, old man suddenly appeared by the side of the wagon, and saluted us with, 'Good morning, it is very warm,' at the same time wiping his face or forehead with his hand. We returned the salutation, and, by a sign from Joseph, I invited him to ride, if he was going our way; but he said very pleasantly, 'No, I am going to Cumorah.' This name was something new to me. I did not know what Cumorah meant. We all gazed at him and at

each other, and as I looked around inquiringly at Joseph, the old man instantly disappeared, so that I did not see him again.

[If his mother's biography of Joseph is correct, the name Cumorah would not have been new to Joseph at this time. The two sources contradict each other enough that one wonders about the soundness of this detailed recollection after fifty years had passed and given Whitmer's advanced age. Of course, Lucy Mack Smith's statement was itself a recollection after eighteen years.]

[1880]

George Reynolds. The Lands of the Nephites. The Land of Nephi, *Juvenile Instructor* 15 (1 December 1880), page 274.

Regarding the landing place of Lehi's party:

. . . It is generally believed among the Latter-day Saints to have been on the coast of Chili. In fact it is widely understood that the Lord so informed the Prophet Joseph Smith.

[1886]

A. H. Cannon, *Questions and Answers on the Book of Mormon. Designed and Prepared Especially for the Use of the Sunday Schools in Zion.* Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1886. Page 24:

"19 Q. Where does the Prophet Joseph Smith tell us they landed? A. On the coast of Chili in South America."

[1888]

B. H. Roberts, *A New Witness for God*, Compiled and published by Lynn Pulsipher, n. p., 1986. A compilation of ten pieces by Roberts first published in 1888 in the *Millennial Star*; they became the basis upon which he published (1909) his three volumes entitled *New Witnesses for God*:

[Lehi and party in Arabia] constructed a vessel by command of God, and sailing in a south easterly direction landed on the west coast of South America, 30 degrees south latitude. (50:377)

In the second century B.C., a company of Nephites [Limhi's exploring party] wandered into North America, and there discovered evidences of that land having been formerly inhabited by a numerous people . . . (50:409)

[The Book of Mormon] locates the chief centers of civilization in those parts of the American Continent where the subsequent researches of the American antiquarians prove them to have existed." (50:428)

[1890]

George Q. Cannon, Editorial, *Juvenile Instructor*, Jan. 1, 1890. Reprinted in *The Instructor* 73, 4 (April), pages 159-160:

There is a tendency, strongly manifested at the present time among some of the brethren, to study the geography of the Book of Mormon. We have

heard of numerous lectures, illustrated by suggestive maps, being delivered on this subject during the present winter, generally under the auspices of the Improvement Societies and Sunday Schools. We are greatly pleased to notice the increasing interest taken by the Saints in this holy book It also unravels many mysteries connected with the history of the ancient world, more particularly of this western continent

We have been led to these thoughts from the fact that the brethren who lecture on the lands of the Nephites of the geography of the Book of Mormon are not united in their conclusions. No two of them, so far as we have learned, are agreed on all points, and in many cases the variations amount to thousands of miles. These differences of views lead to discussion, contention, and perplexity, and we believe more confusion is caused by these divergences than good is done by the truths elicited.

How is it that there is such a variety of ideas on this subject? Simply because the Book of Mormon is not a geographical primer. It was not written to teach geographical truths. What is told us of the situation of the various lands or cities of the ancient Jaredites, Nephites, and Lamanites is usually simply an incidental remark connected with the doctrinal or historical portions of the work; and almost invariably only extends to a statement of the relative position of some land or city contiguous to or surrounding places, and nowhere gives us the exact situation or boundaries so that it can be definitely located without fear of error.

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The First Presidency have often been asked to prepare some suggestive map illustrative of Nephite geography, but have never consented to do so. Nor are we acquainted with any of the Twelve Apostles who would undertake such a task. The reason is, that without further information they are not prepared even to suggest. The word of the Lord or the translation of other ancient records is required to clear up many points now so obscure that, as we have said, no two original investigators agree with regard to them. When, as is the case, one student places a certain city at the Isthmus of Panama, a second in Venezuela, and a third in Guiana or northern Brazil, it is obvious that suggestive maps prepared by these brethren would confuse instead of enlighten; and they cannot be thus far apart on this one important point without relative positions being also widely separate.

For these reasons we have strong objections to the introduction of maps and their circulation among our people which profess to give the location of the Nephite cities and settlements. As we have said, they have a tendency to mislead, instead of enlighten, and they give rise to discussions which will lead to division of sentiment and be very unprofitable. We see no necessity for maps of this character, because, at least, much would be left to the imagination of those who prepare them; and we hope that there will be no attempt made to introduce them or give them general circulation. Of course, there can be no harm result from the study of the geography of this continent

at the time it was settled by the Nephites, drawing all the information possible from the record which has been translated for our benefit. But beyond this we do not think it necessary, at the present time, to go, because it is plain to be seen, we think, that evils may result therefrom."

[1899]

James E. Talmage, *'The Book of Mormon,' an Account of its Origin, with Evidences of its Genuineness and Authenticity*. (A pamphlet consisting of two lectures.) 1899. Pages 9-10:

Lehi's voyage was across the "South Pacific Ocean to the western coast of South America, whereon they landed. . . . They spread northward, occupying the northern part of South America, then, crossing the Isthmus [Panama], they extended their domain over the southern, central, and eastern portions of what is now the United States of America."

[1909]

B. H. Roberts. *New Witnesses for God. II. The Book of Mormon*, Vol. III. Deseret News: Salt Lake City, 1909. Pages 501-502:

The only reason so far discovered for regarding the [Lehi's Travels statement] as a revelation is that it is found written on a loose sheet of paper in the hand writing of Frederick G. Williams, for some years second Counselor in the First Presidency of the Church in the Kirtland period of its history; and follows the body of the revelation contained in Doctrine and Covenants, section vii., relating to John the beloved disciple, remaining on earth, until the glorious coming of Jesus to reign with his Saints. The handwriting is certified to be that of Frederick G. Williams, by his son, Ezra G. Williams, of Ogden, and endorsed on the back of the sheet of paper containing the . . . passage and the revelation pertaining to John But there is no heading to the passage . . . about Lehi's travels. The words "Lehi's Travels' and the "Revelation to Joseph the Seer,' are added by the publishers, justified as they supposed But the one relating to Lehi's travels was never published in the life-time of the Prophet, and was published no where else until published in the Richards-Little's *Compendium* Now, if no more evidence can be found to establish this passage in Richards and Little's *Compendium* as a "revelation to Joseph the Seer,' than the fact that it is found in the hand writing of Frederick G. Williams, and on the same sheet of paper with the body of the revelation about John . . . , the evidence of its being a 'revelation to Joseph, the Seer,' rests on a very unsatisfactory basis."

Pages 503-504:

And let me here say a word in relation to new discoveries in our knowledge of the Book of Mormon, and for matter of that in relation to all subjects connected with the work of the Lord in the earth. We need not follow our researches in any spirit of fear and trembling. We desire only to ascertain the truth; nothing but the truth will endure; and the ascertainment

of the truth and the proclamation of the truth in any given case, or upon any subject, will do no harm to the work of the Lord which is itself truth. Nor need we be surprised if now and then we find our predecessors, many of whom bear honored names and deserve our respect and gratitude for what they achieved in making clear the truth, as they conceived it to be—we need not be surprised if we sometimes find them mistaken in their conceptions and deductions; just as the generations who succeed us in unfolding in a larger way some of the yet unlearned truths of the Gospel, will find that we have had some misconceptions and made some wrong deductions in our day and time All which is submitted, especially to the membership of the Church, that they may be prepared to find and receive new truths both in the Book of Mormon itself and about it.

[1918 or earlier]

Frederick J. Pack and George D. Pyper, *The Instructor* 73, no. 4, April 1938, page 160:

Following a reprinting of the 1890 statement by George Q. Cannon, a letter is printed which is signed, "Frederick J. Pack, Chairman, Gospel Doctrine Committee." It concerns the statement in the Richards and Little *Compendium* supposedly revealing the route followed by Lehi. Pack notes that the 1857 English edition of the *Compendium* lacked the statement, but American editions beginning with 1882 have included it. Then, "Its authenticity, however, is subject to grave doubt, as witness the following: The only known source of authority is a single sheet of manuscript presented to the Church Historian's office, in 1864, by Ezra G. Williams, son of Frederick G. Williams . . ." But the *Compendium* caption is not on this sheet, although the writing "bears a good deal of evidence of having been written in the hand" of F. G. Williams. "The Church has issued no information concerning the route followed by Lehi Until this is done, teachers of the Gospel Doctrine department should refrain from expressing definite opinions.

Immediately following the Pack letter is this:

(Note. The present associate editor [George D. Pyper] of *The Instructor* was one day in the office of the late President Joseph F. Smith [who died in 1918] when some brethren were asking him to approve a map showing the exact landing place of Lehi and his company. President Smith declined to officially approve of the map, saying that the Lord had not yet revealed it, and that if it were officially approved and afterwards found to be in error, it would affect the faith of the people. — Asst. Editor.)

[1928]

B. H. Roberts, *The Deseret News*, 3 March 1928.

In an article citing Book of Mormon verses and Church history statements, he concludes that the New York Hill Cumorah was the final battle site of the

Nephites. In his opinion, the facts he cites “eliminate all doubt about the hill recently purchased for the Church” being that battleground.

[1928]

Anthony W. Ivins, *Improvement Era* 31, 1928, pages 674-681:

“Reference has been made by the President of the acquisition of the Church of the spot of ground in the state of New York known as the hill Cumorah. . . . There have been some differences of opinion in regard to it That it was around this hill that the armies of both the Jaredites and Nephites fought their great last battles.

[1938]

Joseph Fielding Smith, Where is the Hill Cumorah? *The Church News*, September 10, 1938. Reprinted (and expanded?) in *Doctrines of Salvation* (Salt Lake City, 196), vol. 3, pages 232-243:

Speculation about Book of Mormon Geography. Within recent years there has arisen among certain students of the Book of Mormon a *theory* to the effect that within the period covered by the Book of Mormon, the Nephites and Lamanites were confined almost entirely within the borders of the territory comprising Central America and the southern portion of Mexico—the isthmus of Tehautepec [sic] probably being the ‘narrow neck’ of land spoken of in the Book of Mormon rather than the isthmus of Panama.

This theory is founded upon the assumption that it was impossible for the colony of Lehi’s to multiply and fill the hemisphere within the limits of 1,000 years Moreover, they claim that the story in the Book of Mormon of the migrations, building of cities, and the wars and contentions, preclude the possibility of the people spreading over great distances such as we find within the borders of North and South America.

* * * *

Locale of Cumorah, Ramah, and Ripliancum. This modernistic theory of necessity, in order to be consistent, must place the waters of Ripliancum and the Hill Cumorah some place within the restricted territory of Central America, notwithstanding the teachings of the Church to the contrary for upwards of 100 years. Because of this *theory* some members of the Church have become confused and greatly disturbed in their faith in the Book of Mormon. It is for this reason that evidence is here presented to show that it is not only possible that these places could be located as the Church has held during the past century, but that in very deed *such is the case*.

Early Brethren Locate Cumorah in Western New York. . . . The Prophet Joseph Smith himself is on record, definitely declaring the present hill called Cumorah to be the exact hill spoken of in the Book of Mormon.

Further, the fact that all of his associates from the beginning down have spoken of it as the identical hill where Mormon and Moroni hid the records, must carry some weight. It is difficult for a reasonable person to believe that

such men as Oliver Cowdery, Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, David Whitmer, and many others, could speak frequently of the spot where the Prophet Joseph Smith obtained the plates as the Hill Cumorah, and not be corrected by the Prophet, if that were not the fact. . . ."

Doctrines of Salvation, volume 3, pages 203-204:

It makes no difference what is written or what anyone has said, if what has been said is in conflict with what the Lord has revealed, we can set it aside. My words, and the teachings of any other member of the Church, high or low, if they do not square with the revelations, we need not accept them. Let us have this matter clear. We have accepted the four standard works as the measuring yardsticks or balances, by which we measure every man's doctrine. You cannot accept the books written by the authorities of the Church as standards in doctrine, only in so far as they accord with the revealed word in the standard works.

[1947]

John A. Widtsoe, Preface, to Thomas Stuart Ferguson, *Cumorah, Where?* (The Author: Oakland, California):

Out of the studies of faithful Latter-day Saints may yet come a unity of opinion concerning Book of Mormon geography.

[1950]

John A. Widtsoe, Is Book of Mormon Geography Known? *Improvement Era*, 53, 7 (July), 1950, pages 547, 596-597:

As far as can be learned, the Prophet Joseph Smith, translator of the book, did not say where, on the American continent, Book of Mormon activities occurred. Perhaps he did not know. However, certain facts and traditions of varying reliability are used as foundation guides by students of Book of Mormon geography.

. . . .
. . . There is a controversy, however, about the Hill Cumorah—not about the location where the Book of Mormon plates were found, but whether it is the hill under that name near which Nephite events took place. A name, says one, may be applied to more than one hill; and plates containing the records of a people, sacred things, could be moved from place to place by divine help.

[An article in the *Times and Seasons* in 1842 reviewing the book on the Mayan ruins, by Stephens and Catherwood,] . . . seems to place many Book of Mormon activities in that region.. The interesting fact in this connection is that the Prophet Joseph Smith at this time was editor of the *Times and Seasons*, and had announced his full editorial responsibility for the paper. This seems to give the subjoined article an authority it might not otherwise possess [and, added in the reprinting of this article in his book, *Evidences and Reconciliations*,] and offers the only solid Church authoritative base upon which one may pursue a study of Book of Mormon geography.

Out of diligent, prayerful study, we may be led to a better understanding of times and places in the history of the people who move across the pages of the divinely given Book of Mormon.

[1959]

Harold B. Lee. Quarterly Historical Report for the Andes Mission, Nov. 11, 1959:

. . . from the writings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and of other inspired men, it seems all are in agreement that the followers of Lehi came to the western shores of South America I believe we are (today) not far from the place where the history of the people of Lehi commenced in western America.

Appendix B

The Problem of Establishing Distances

The Problem of Establishing Distances

In the Book of Mormon no mention is made of any formal unit measure of distance traveled, equivalent to our "miles." Yet in order to construct a map, we must utilize some unit of distance in order to separate locations by proportionate intervals. The only unit available in the text is "a day's journey." How can we determine the mileage represented by such a journey in Nephite terms?

The only way is to suppose that Book of Mormon peoples moved at rates similar to what other technologically pre-modern peoples did. We are required, then, to examine the historical and ethnographic literature on rates of travel. From that examination we can hope to establish at least a range of rates to help us arrive at estimates of some controlling distances between at least some Book of Mormon lands and cities.

A little thought tells us that variations in travel speed will occur according to several classes of considerations:

- Make-up of the party (a designated messenger vs. a large company, a party of soldiers vs. a set of families, etc.)
- Environment (as, forested mountains vs. grassy plains, known trails vs. unguided wandering, stormy weather vs. dry, oppressive heat vs. benign temperature, intervals between spots where overnighting was obligatory due to water limitations or the like)
- Burdens (whether herds, provisions, arms, and so on are carried—as with a small reconnaissance party vs. colonists)
- Psychology (e.g., fleeing pursuers vs. routine deployment of an army)

Realizing that variations in rates will occur due to these factors, let us see what we can learn about the upper and lower limits in rate of travel from a wide variety of actual cases. (Unless otherwise indicated, numbers represent trail miles, not straight line distances.)

Individuals:

Mohave Indians of California. About 75 years ago one of them made a trip of 100 miles, then returned after a short rest (as calculated by Heizer, 8.3 miles per hour). Another Mohave, hired to make a journey, traveled 21 miles in 3.5 hours (6.0 miles per hour), yet this feat was considered unexceptional. (Robert F. Heizer, *Physical Capabilities of the California Indians*, *Masterkey* 45, July-Sept. 1971, pages 109-113.)

The following are all from Tom Osler and Ed Dodd, *Ultra-Marathonning, the Next Challenge. The Authoritative History and Training Guide for Races Beyond the Marathon*. World Publications: Mountain View, Calif., 1979):

In 1788 Foster Powell covered 100 miles in 22 hours and in 1806 Captain Barclay went 100 miles in 19 hours (5.3 miles per hour). In 1813 Jonas Cattel,

aged 55, won a wager by running from Woodbury, New Jersey, to Cape May, New Jersey, 80 miles, in one day. He then returned to Woodbury the same day (page xvi).

Edward Weston, age 35, traveled 400 miles in four days and 23 hours in New York City in 1871 (3.4 miles per hour). The same year he became the first man in modern times to walk 500 miles in six days (page 7), then on December 14 he covered 115 miles, the next day 75, and the next 80 (3.8 miles per hour) (pages 8-10).

In 1888 G. Littlewood went over 623 miles in six days (144 hours) at Madison Square Garden, an average of 108 miles per day (4.4 miles per hour) (page 290).

As of 1979 the record for 100 miles was held by Don Ritchie who covered the distance in 11 hours and 30 minutes in 1977 (8.7 miles per hour). The record for the greatest distance covered in 24 hours was set in 1973 by Ron Bentley. He went 161 miles in 24 hours (6.7 miles per hour) (page 282).

An old man in lowland Tabasco took three days to go 60 miles, rested a day, then returned to his home in three more days (20 miles per day). (Miguel Covarrubias, *Mexico South: The Isthmus of Tehuantepec*, New York: Knopf, 1947, page 89.)

The running lamas of Tibet could pace in a kind of trance for as much as 24 hours without stopping. (A. David Neel, in Margaret Mead and N. Lamas, *Primitive Heritage*, New York, 1953, pages 407-412.) This gives us no distance independently, but a modest estimate of even three miles per hour would yield a total of 72 miles.

The same logic applies in another case. Sahagun wrote of a people of prehispanic Mexico that, "The Toltecs were tall, of larger body than those who now live . . . which means they could run an entire day without tiring." (Bernardino de Sahagun, *Historia de Las Cosas de Nueva España*, Vol. II, México, 1946, page 281, Book X, Chap. XXIX.) (E. Anderson and C. Dibble translate this as "those who walked the whole day without tiring." *Florentine Codex*, Book 3, University of Utah Press: Salt Lake City, 1952, page 13.) The implication is that the distance would be unusual compared with the normal case.

Small Groups:

Small groups of Mohave Indian could cover nearly 100 miles per day. (Heizer, cited above.)

A Balinese family including two wives and two children walked 50 miles in ten hours (part way through steep hills) (five miles per hour). (Jane Belo, *The Balinese Temper, Character and Personality* 4, 1935, pages 122-123.)

The following two paragraphs are from Richard E. W. Adams, *Routes of Communication in Mesoamerica: The Northern Guatemalan Highlands and the Peten*. In, Thomas A. Lee, Jr., and Carlos Navarrete, eds. *Mesoamerican*

Communication Routes and Cultural Contacts. *Brigham Young University New World Archaeological Foundation Papers*, No. 40, 1978, pages 27-35:

In highland Guatemala, crossing mountain ranges and broken terrain, merchants carrying a load of goods on their back can travel up to 1.9 miles per hour. In lowland rain forest on unimproved trail full of obstacles, they can go 1.9 to 2.2 miles per hour or up to twice that with no load. If ridges and swamps intervene, the rate is cut to two-thirds (pages 27-32).

On a river with no portages, a canoe can go downstream at five or six miles per hour or upstream at two (page 30).

Traveler "Kamar Al-Shimas" reported from the Coatzacoalcos river in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec that canoes could go downstream 50 miles between daylight and sunset. Upstream the rate for poling a canoe was 15 miles per day for a freight-loaded large vessel or 30 for a small one. (*The Mexican Southland*, Benton Review Shop: Benton, Indiana, 1922, page 149.)

In the Alta Verapaz (mountainous Guatemala) a man alone, on foot, takes six hours for a trip that requires seven hours on a horse, and with additional animals along, ten hours. (Richard E. W. Adams, *The Ceramic Chronology of the Southern Maya*. Second Preliminary Report, duplicated, National Science Foundation Grant GS 610, 1966.)

In central (mountainous) Guatemala, Feldman arrived at these times and distances for merchant travel:

The average rate from Chichicastenango to various destinations was 14 miles per day. From Coban and two other places to seven different destinations averaged ten and one-half miles per day. (Lawrence H. Feldman, *Moving Merchandise in Protohistoric Central Quauhtemallan*. In Thomas A. Lee, Jr. and Carlos Navarrete, eds., 1978, cited above, page 12.)

In Chiapas, travelers crossing the mountains above Tapachula in the 1940's, afoot or riding on animals over bad road, did about 19 miles per day. (Leo Waibel, *La Sierra Madre de Chiapas*, Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística de México: México, 1946, page 216.)

Two men driving a herd of pigs through mountainous Guatemala traveled 70 rugged trail miles in eight days—less than nine miles per day (the animals were equipped with rawhide sandals to protect their feet!) (Felix Webster McBryde, *Cultural and Historical Geography of Southwest Guatemala*, *Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology*, Publication No. 4, 1945, page 39.)

Moderate sized groups:

Across the water-logged base of the Yucatan peninsula, Cortez and his troops averaged a little more than ten miles per day (having to construct many bridges). (R. E. W. Adams, 1978, cited above, page 33).

The Tulteca people under Hueman, retreating from their enemies as described by Ixtlilxochitl, made dawn-to-dusk marches of between 15 and 24

miles. (Fernando de Alba Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras Historicas*, México, 1952, Vol. 1, page 24.)

FAR rebel guerrillas in the Sierra de Las Minas of eastern Guatemala in 1967 took 20 days to go 51 (beeline) miles along the most rugged mountain range in Guatemala, walking for ten or eleven hours per day (fear of government air attacks may have held them under cover to a degree). That comes to two and a half direct miles per day, although the ground miles must have been several times that. (Uruguayan Interviews Guatemalan Rebel Leaders, in *Political and Sociological Translations on Latin America*, No. 198, 12 Oct. 1967, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, Joint Publications Research Service, Washington, D.C.)

Emmanuel Anati (summarizing in *Biblical Archaeology Review* 12, May-June 1986, page 22; at length in his book *Har Karkom*, Jaca Book: Milan, 1984, in Italian) justifies his conclusion that the eleven day journey of the Israelites from Mount Horeb (Sinai) to Kadesh-Barnea (Deut. 1:2) traveled a total of less than 19 miles on a straight line, according to his correlation of the Exodus. He points out that only certain camps offered water for the travelers, at intervals of 7, 15, 13, 7, etc., kilometers. Supposing that the Israelites had no choice but to camp at those spots, he calculates their total ground distance as 77 miles—seven per day.

Mormon pioneers in 1847 averaged around eleven miles per day across the Great Plains.

Conclusion: Multiplying examples would probably not change the picture noticeably. My conclusion is that the cited examples yield these plausible ranges for a day's travel:

Individual: 9 to 100 miles

Small group: 9 to 70 miles

Moderate-sized group: 9 to 25 miles

And under extreme conditions (e.g., fear, flowing adrenaline) the upper limits could be raised. Obviously the lower limits could also be brought down if a leisurely pace is indicated. (Again, keep in mind that these are ground miles; their relation to beeline mileage is very much dependent upon the nature of the terrain.)

Under particular Book of Mormon conditions, I consider these to be sensible examples:

- Alma and his group of families with herds, fleeing from pursuers, go from Mormon through mountainous country to Helam, slowing down after two days en route: 20 trail miles per day at first, then 15 per day; on the order of 70 miles on a straight-line .
- Ammon's group seeking the Zeniffites travels 40 days from Zarahemla up to Nephi through mountainous wilderness, wandering due to lack of route knowledge: four or five trail miles per day.

- It was a day and a half's travel for "a (presumably lone) Nephite" across the narrow neck of land which they fortified: up to five miles per hour, that is, up to 180 miles, on the basis of rate alone. [But on the additional basis of use of the word "narrow," a figure approaching 180 miles is absurd; 100 seems not absurd.]

Obviously, other people might reach different mileages based on their judgment about where within the allowable ranges they think the text-reported rate falls, but the order of magnitude, if not the details, of my examples must be right. That is, for example, it would be completely unreasonable to suppose that Alma's people moved herds and children through the mountains at as much as 15 miles per day *on a straight line*, thus Helam could not possibly be as much as 120 miles from Mormon, we can be absolutely sure. Nor could the distance be as slight as 40 miles, or the hot-footing pursuers would likely have caught up with them.

By this kind of handling of text examples, we can establish very reasonable estimates for key distances on a map of Book of Mormon events. The analyses in Part 3 and the map in Part 8 are based on such estimates, made as consistent with each other as possible.

Appendix C

The Problem of Directions

The Problem of Directions

Directions and how they are referred to are cultural products, not givens in nature. Both the conceptual frameworks which define directions and the languages of reference for them differ dramatically from culture to culture and throughout history.

This point seems counter-intuitive to many people who do not have exposure to the literature of astronomy, anthropology or history which makes this clear. It may be thought, for example, that "everybody" knows about "the North Star." Actually even today a large majority of people could not point out Polaris, let alone base their everyday orientation upon its position. Furthermore, between 1500 B.C. and A.D. 1000, due to the astronomical phenomenon of precession, there was no clear-cut north polar star; the possible stars were all significantly off "true north" so as not to recommend themselves "obviously" to human viewers as fixed (see Hollis R. Johnson, "The Pole Star and North," 1977, draft paper accompanying a personal communication from Johnson to David A. Paller, copy in the possession of John Sorenson; or see most astronomy handbooks.)

Or a person may say that "east is obvious," it is "where the sun comes up." But as I write, in Utah in December, the sun is rising in the southeast. In northern winter the sun "comes up" on an observer in, say, Norway or northern Canada only in what we call the south, not the east. Even in the tropics, sunrise is at astronomical "east" on only two mornings per year. On every other day its rising point at the horizon is either to the north or south of astronomical "east," for much of the year by many degrees of arc.

A series of examples may be required to make clear that the labeling of directions is not obvious nor intuitive but really highly cultural, that is, arbitrary and that ultimately we can only determine empirically what the ancients meant by their direction terms.

Some General Ethnographic Models of Directions

Linguist Cecil Brown, asking the general question, where do the names for cardinal points come from in the evolutionary history of language?, concludes that the lexical coding of cardinal directions is a relatively recent development; recognition of local natural features (mountains, winds, river, sun, ocean) is primary, and names for the cardinal points "transparently" derive from natural features that are locally significant. There is no principle such as "where the sun comes up" that is at all general (Cecil H. Brown, *Where Do Cardinal Direction Terms Come from?* *Anthropological Linguistics* 25, 1983, pages 121-161).

Sanderson's historical information fits with Brown's. He says that before the thirteenth century A.D. adoption of the magnetic compass in Europe, the

concept of "north" was quite different from what it is today. The ancient world looked primarily east or west (the obvious directions in the Mediterranean which itself stretches along that axis). "The world appeared different to every group of people in those days, depending upon where they lived. . . . Straight ahead and left and right were much more important to early navigators than north, south, east, and west." For example, "to a Roman in Calabria, Egypt lay ahead (fore-ward), with Arabia and India beyond, while Greece was half left and North Africa right." When a medieval whaler, especially one of the Basque mariners out of the Bay of Biscay, set out on the Atlantic after his quarry (going as far as Newfoundland), he did not set up his chart with "'north' straight ahead; rather, he skews the chart around so that it points to where he wants to go. . . ." (Ivan Sanderson, *Follow the Whale*, Little Brown: Boston, 1956, page xvi).

Kirk and colleagues experimented to see how people distinguish directions in colloquial language, regardless of what technical models might be referred in their cultures. They would put down a cardboard arrow then ask an informant "what direction is that?" Done hundreds of times these results provided statistical information. Samoans, for example, came up with eight different words which sort out into three historical "layers" or "domains": (1) the European ESNW system (learned in school and now used partially or inconsistently in everyday speech), (2) crossing axes based mainly on the sea-inland contrast at a given spot, and (3) a system involving the prevailing winds, which come from three directions. (Incidentally, triangular coordinate systems are known from China and Tibet in the first millennium B.C.) In North Carolina a common answer to their query was "left" or "right," while in California the contrast frequently was "you-me." A proportion of U.S. informants also use a clock-face system with three o'clock to the right. (See Jerome Kirk, P. J. Epling, Paul A. Bick, and John Paul Boyd, Captain Cook's Problem: An Experiment in Geographical Semantics, in M. Dale Kindade, Kenneth L. Hale, and Oswald Werner, eds., *Linguistics and Anthropology*. In Honor of C. F. Voegelin, Peter de Ridder Press: Lisse, Belgium, 1975, pages 445-464.)

The "starpath" system of navigation used by Polynesians did not use cardinal points at all but depended on the horizon sighting points of certain rising stars. In this system "there may be no terms at all for north and south, while there is a great proliferation of directions in the quarters, none of which fall comfortably on southeast, northwest, etc." (See Charlotte O. Kursh and Theodora C. Kreps, Starpaths: Linear Constellations in Tropical Navigation, *Current Anthropology* 15, September 1974, pages 334-337.)

The everyday system of directions throughout Polynesia is based on the coast-inland contrast, often combined with "fore-back," without giving particular thought to ESNW (see Phil DeVita, A Partial Investigation of the Spatial Forms of some Tuamotuan Dialects, *Anthropological Linguistics* 13, 1971, pages 401-420; cf. Adrienne Kaeppler and H. A. Nimmo, Directions in

Pacific Traditional Literature: Essays in Honor of Katherine Luomala, B. P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 62, 1972, Honolulu).

Peoples in high latitudes may have some special problems in regard to directions because of the lack of winter sun but their models usually are quite similar to those of other groups. The Eskimo of the Labrador coast use two axes, above-below and "inside-outside" (this distinction is as far from logical as the feminine-masculine distinction in Romance languages). Where they live, down-river (below) happens to be east in our terms, so Bourquin, who wrote a grammar of the language a century ago, put "east" in his lexicon as the meaning for "kanna." But across the narrow sea in western Greenland, the same Eskimo term has to be translated "west" because lower elevation—the sea—there happens to coincide with our west (see Louis-Jacques Dorais, Some Notes on the Semantics of Eastern Eskimo Localizers, *Anthropological Linguistics* 13, 1971, page 92).

Other Arctic peoples have very complex systems. Ahtna, an Athapaskan language along the Copper River in Alaska, emphasizes stream drainages in its directionals. When the nine relevant roots, suffixes and prefixes are combined, a total of 216 directional words occur! And systems change over time and with environment. Navaho, a language related to Ahtna, in its dry environment thousands of miles to the south, has lost all the river-oriented roots. (See James Kari, A Note on Athapaskan Directionals, *International Journal of American Linguistics* 51, 1985, pages 471-473.)

In Icelandic four basic directional terms commonly translated as east, south, north and west occur but do not simply mean the cardinal directions; they also mean "in the direction leading ultimately to the east (etc.);" (See Einar Haugen, The Semantics of Icelandic Orientation, *Word* 13, 1957, pages 447-459).

A classic case of an "odd" (to us) direction system is described by a pair of linguists at two New Mexico Indian pueblos. They begin by warning that commonly when an investigator deals with directions while interviewing an American Indian informant, he or she may be given five or seven terms, some of them "obligingly supplied translations for English concepts." Being alert to the pitfalls, in research at Taos Pueblo they still obtained five different expressions for east, five for north, three for west and three for south. At Picuris Pueblo they were given four terms in counterclockwise sequence, followed by a fifth—"where the sun rises, what you would call the east; it really means east"—although analytically the meaning is "in the middle." Even then the regularly-used terms of reference for directions are skewed in terms of European cardinals; when the investigators asked informants to point "east," the direction they indicated was actually east-northeast, "north" is north-northwest, and so on. (See George L. and Felicia Harben Trager, The Cardinal Directions at Taos and Picuris, *Anthropological Linguistics* 12, February 1970, pages 31-37.)

Directions in the Ancient Old World

If it is granted that many different models for directions have existed among “natives,” what about the situation among the “civilized” peoples in the Old World from whom the Book of Mormon groups came? They too held models for directions at odds with our norms, so the documents tell us. Some Greek temples were oriented to the rising or setting points of certain stars; these had later to be repositioned as the points on the horizon changed due to precession. Many other Greek structures faced the rising sun at a solstice day, and still others had their corners to the cardinal points, that is, the walls themselves faced the intercardinals. (See A. L. Lewis, *Orientation, Memoirs, International Congress of Anthropology*, ed. C. S. Wake, Schulte: Chicago, 1894, page 114.) At no time did the Greeks follow an unbroken rule; certainly the simple-minded view that they always oriented “east” “to the sun,” which is often said of them, is not true (see Sharon C. Herbert, *The Orientation of Greek Temples, Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 116, January-June 1984, pages 31-34).

As with so much that is Greek, we need to look at possible Asiatic and Egyptian influences upon them. Sumerian directions were based on the prevailing winds of Mesopotamia which were considered to blow from the northwest, northeast, southeast and southwest. Consequently Babylonian maps had their top to the northwest. (Actually, a “direction” consisted of a quadrant rather than a point; the Persian Gulf, to the southeast, was considered “the sea of the rising sun,” although astronomically that was stretching.) (See Eckhard Unger, *Ancient Babylonian Maps and Plans, Antiquity* 9, 1935, pages 311-322; S. H. Hooke, *Babylonian and Assyrian Religion*, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1963, page 42; H. L. F. Lutz, *Plaga Septentrionalis in Sumer-Akkadian Mythology*, in Walter J. Fischel, ed. *Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to William Popp, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology* 11, 1951, pages 297-309.) In the terminology used in the Nuzi tablets of western Mesopotamia, meanwhile, elevation was also involved; west was “above,” thus Syria was “the upper land,” and east was below, so the Persian Gulf was “the lower sea” (see Cyrus H. Gordon, *Points of the Compass in the Nuzi Tablets, Revue d'Assyriologie* 31, 1934, page 101).

The Egyptians aligned some temples on stars (e.g., the temple of Akhenaton at El Amarna on the setting point of Spica) (see letters by J. J. Jacobson and L. B. Borst, under the heading “Egypt to Canterbury,” *Science* 167, 23 January 1970, page 333). Others were oriented to the solstices (see A. L. Lewis, cited above; also his *Some Notes on Orientation, Man*, 1903, pages 88-91; and J. N. Lockyer, *The Dawn of Astronomy*, MIT Press: Cambridge, 1964, originally 1894).

Direction could also be deeply involved in cosmology and myth. According to Polish anthropologist Andrzej Wiercinski, for example, directions in ancient sacred architecture were not merely guides to one's

location but an integral part of an “astrobiological model of the world and man” in which the cardinal points organized “the time-spatial order of rhythmically repeating” cosmic, biological and socio-cultural processes. He found this model “vivified, personificated and deified” in the dimensions of representations of the cosmic mountain in Mesopotamia (Etemenanki ziggurat), Egypt (in 28 pyramids), and Teotihuacan (Pyramid of the Sun) (see his *Pyramids and Ziggurats as the Architectonic Representations of the Archetype of the Cosmic Mountain*, *Katunob* 10, September 1977, pages 69-111; reprinted from *Almogaren*, volume 7; cf. in part with Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, Meridian: New York, 1974, pages 374-379).

The Egyptian model for naming directions was based on a person facing upstream toward the head of the Nile, south in our terms. That direction was denominated by terms signifying “face,” “fore,” or “sedge,” among others. Our north was labeled by words with meanings “delta,” “papyrus,” “inundation,” “downstream,” “flow,” “back,” “aft or stern,” or “hindquarters.” Of the terms for our east and west, the most salient senses were, respectively, “left” and “right,” but there were others. (See a map in Sorenson’s possession drawn and annotated in 1986 by Robert F. Smith from many scholarly sources; in general terms, see Henri Frankfort *et al.*, *Before Philosophy: The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, Penguin Books: Baltimore, 1972, page 51.)

Hamblin points out that ancient peoples did not typically have the capacity to switch mental frameworks when confronted with strange situations, because only a tiny proportion ever left their homeland. Hamblin’s prime example is the Egyptians. They used circumlocutions to handle directions when outside their own land rather than to switch to an unfamiliar model. “When the Egyptians met another river [than the Nile, i.e.], the Euphrates, which flowed south instead of north, they had to express the . . . contrast by calling it ‘that circling water which goes downstream in going upstream’ . . . which could also be translated as ‘the river which flows ‘north’ by going ‘south’” (see William Hamblin, “Which Way Did He Go?” Some Notes on Book of Mormon Geography, unpublished manuscript in possession of John Sorenson; summarized in the *F.A.R.M.S. Update* for May 1990).

The Egyptian notion that the direction a person faces is key in a directional model is also found among virtually all speakers of Semitic languages. In Hebrew the terminology had one facing east, which was then called “fore” or “rising,” while west was signified by words meaning “sea,” “behind,” or “setting.” South was “right” or “desert” or the purely directional expression *darom*. North was signified by words meaning “mountains,” “lefthand,” or the directional word *sapon*. Jerusalem was “the center of the land,” and the Dead Sea was the “east sea” (although in modern terms we would say that it lies south-southeast of Jerusalem). (See S. H. Weingarten, *Yam Suf—Yam Ha’adom*, *Beth Mikra* 48, October-December 1971, pages 100-104, in Hebrew;

M. Dahood, *The Four Cardinal Points in Psalm 75,7 and Joel 2,2, Biblica* 52, 1971, page 397; also maps in Sorenson's possession prepared by Robert F. Smith).

It should also be pointed out that while the Hebrew terms for "rising" or "fore" are glossed in English as "east," that probably obscures the precise meaning. We have seen that in the parallel (Semitic) Babylonian case, "east" was actually "northeast." There is a good chance that Hebrew "rising," concerning the sun, refers to the sunrise point on the horizon at new year's day (see Morgenstern, below), but that would not have been cardinal east.

The use of several overlaid conceptual schemes (reminding us, as in the Samoan case, of the complexity of history) seems indicated by the multiple terms employed in Hebrew. For instance, the terms "desert," "mountains," and "sea" suggest a very old environmentally-derived scheme of thought, while the words "rising" and "setting" are clearly solar. Morgenstern maintained that the first and second temples at Jerusalem were aligned so that the first rays of the sun on the morning of the fall equinox (new year's day) shone directly in through the eastern gate and down the long axis of the court and building into the holy of holies. (See Julian Morgenstern, *Biblical Theophanies*, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 25, 1911, 139-193; and his *The Fire Upon the Altar*, Quadrangle Books: Chicago, 1963, page 7.) The sun chariots referred to in 2 Kings 23:11 were probably related by syncretism to this new year's rising direction, and note Ezekiel 8:16 where apostate worshippers were seen to face "the east," worshipping the sun. Hellenized Judaism of the centuries just before the Christian era re-emphasized the solar connection, identifying Yahweh with Helios, the divine sun charioteer of the Greeks, thus sun-associated directional terms were emphasized at that time (see Edwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1968, volume 7, pages 73-81, and volume 8, page 215). Further research probably would permit separating at least these two models for directions and perhaps others, all being compounded in usage and later Israelite thought.

During the Christian era, the dispersed Jews argued much about directions in relation to prayer; some believed all prayer, and thus synagogues, should be aligned toward Jerusalem, while others simply faced east. Early Christians also prayed facing the east, although that eventually changed (see John Wilkinson, *Orientation, Jewish and Christian, Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 116, 1984, pages 16-30). St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome is oriented to the spring equinoctial sunrise (probably built on a pagan Roman foundation), and many churches were aligned so that at sunrise the light fell on the altar on the birth or name day of their patron saint (see Jacobson letter cited above).

Later, Islamic religionists disagreed equally about the direction of prayer. Early mosques from Spain to India were established facing Mecca, but between the eighth and fourteenth centuries differences of opinions arose and

Muslim mathematicians and astronomers devoted much attention to determining the direction of prayer. Some took their lead from the words of the prophet, Mohammed, who, while visiting in Medina, said that the direction of prayer should be due south (Mecca is south of Medina), but based literally on those words, mosques in many other places were built facing south even though Mecca was not southward from those spots (see *Differences among Muslim Mathematicians, Cycles*, August 1982, page 199).

Clearly, Old World civilizations held many ideas about how directions were to be determined, assigned significance, and labeled. The cardinal points were only a relatively late, technical answer to the question "what directions are there?" From a survey of ideas such as these that were known in the part of the world where Book of Mormon peoples originated we see some possibilities that enlighten us about how the Nephites may have oriented themselves, but by no means do exclusive answers to what their conceptions actually were leap out at us.

In America

The prospect that any other part of America than Mesoamerica was the scene of Book of Mormon events is so slight that only this obvious candidate area will be considered here.

Modern ethnographic studies are very important for understanding this matter of directions, because they permit learning directly from informants the concepts involved in their thinking. One result of a number of such studies is that we know that local variations existed in concepts of direction, even though certain generally underlying ideas can also be detected.

In highland Chiapas, Mexico, Vogt found that the path of the sun provides the basic directions in use by the people of Zinacantan, Chiapas. "There is no abstract way of saying North, South, East, or West in [their] Tzotzil [language]. Instead our concept of East is approximated by words that translate as 'place where the Sun rises,' and West by 'place where the Sun sets.' What we regard as South and North are 'the sides of the path of the Sun;'" Zinacantecos differentiate the two [sides] by facing the 'place where the Sun rises' and distinguishing between the right hand and the left hand." (Evan Z. Vogt, *The Zinacantecos of Mexico: A Modern Maya Way of Life*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston: New York, 1970, page 4; treated more fully in his *Zinacantan. A Maya Community in the Highlands of Chiapas*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1969, pages 602-603.) June Nash got basically the same picture in Tzo'ontahal, Chiapas (see *In the Eyes of the Ancestors. Belief and Behavior in a Maya Community*: Yale University Press: New Haven, 1970, page 293). (Differences in native terminology for the two "sides" may confuse us if we fail to realize that sometimes reference is to the right or left of an observer, who faces east, and at other times to the Sun's own perspective, as he advances across the sky facing west.)

At one time Vogt summarized the ethnographic information this way: "Maya spatial orientation to the four corners of their universe is not based upon our cardinal directions of N, S, E, W, but probably either upon inter-cardinal points (i.e. NE, NW, SW, SE) or upon two directions in the East and two directions in the West (i.e. sunrise at winter solstice, sunrise at summer solstice, sunset at winter solstice, and sunset at summer solstice)." (See Evon Z. Vogt, Summary and Appraisal, in *Desarrollo Cultural de los Mayas*, editado por Evon Z. Vogt y Alberto Ruz L., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México: México, 1964, page 390.)

Helen Neuenswander found in Cubulco Achi, Guatemala, that the moon, not the sun, is primary; the Maya Indians there speak of west as "here," *hewa*, and east as "there," *hela*, while north is "my right" and south "my left," apparently based upon watching the moon set in the west. But the sun does the reverse; it comes up *hewa*, "here," and goes down *hela*, "there," so that *hewa* then must be read as east and *hela* as west! (See her Vestiges of Early Maya Time Concepts in a Contemporary Maya Community: Implications for Epigraphy, *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 13, 1981, page 143.) Clearly, local frameworks vary in detail from locality to locality.

There is also substantial evidence that the four horizontal directions are linked conceptually with vertical ones in ways hard for us to understand. For example Gary Gossen found at Chamula, Chiapas, that the surface north-south axis was construed to be somehow equivalent to a vertical axis, hence north = up and south = down. The sixteenth century documents in Spanish reporting native beliefs say the same thing, and Coggins postulates the same for both the classic Maya and for Izapa—she considers that east/north/zenith signified rulership, heat, rising, goodness, and maleness, west/south/nadir connoted darkness, cold, evil and femaleness (see Clemency Coggins, The Zenith, the Mountain, the Center, and the Sea, pages 111-123 in A. F. Aveni and Gary Urton, editors, *Ethnoastronomy and Archaeoastronomy in the American Tropics*, *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 385, 1982). For the Aztecs Klein tells us that "The north . . . shared with the east the connotations of the sky and the 'above,' while the south, like the west, represented the earth and the 'below.'" (See Cecilia F. Klein, Post-Classic Mexican Death Imagery as a Sign of Cyclic Completion, in *Death and the Afterlife in Pre-Columbian America*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson, Dumbarton Oaks: Washington, 1975, page 81. See also note 35 to chapter one in my *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon*, Deseret Book and F.A.R.M.S.: Salt Lake City, 1985, page 358.)

Something else we learn from contemporary sources is the problem for mental constructs caused by the fact that the land in this area lies at an angle to the cardinal points. Directional references are just not neat. For example, in Carter Wilson's ethnographically accurate novel about the Indians of Chamula (*Crazy February: Death and Life in the Mayan Highlands of Mexico*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 1974; originally J. B. Lippincott, 1965,

page 49), the municipal officer asks the schoolteacher if he knows about the Lacandon Indians. No. "They live south of here. Many days away, in hot country," he says "pointing south." But we see on a map of Chiapas that the Lacandon Indians actually live east-southeast, not "south," from Chamula. (Incidentally, the "many days" is about 75 miles, through jungle.) Archaeologist Kenneth Hirth falls easily into the same pattern in stating, "north of the Maya region . . . at Monte Alban in Oaxaca." Actually Monte Alban lies directly west, yet indeed northward (see Transportation Architecture at Xochicalco, Morelos, Mexico, *Current Anthropology* 23, 1982, page 322). But the prime example of seeming confusion comes from the account of Padre Thomas Gage who traveled between Mexico City and Guatemala City about 350 years ago. After going from Tehuantepec through Chiapas headed "south," he refers to Pacific coastal Chiapas (the Tonala-Arriaga area) more or less accurately as "northwest" from Guatemala City, but Chiapa de Corzo seemed to him "northeast," whereas our maps show it northwest. Equally interesting, he says that they go "westward to the South Sea" of the Spaniards. (See *Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World*, edited by J. Eric S. Thompson, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1958.)

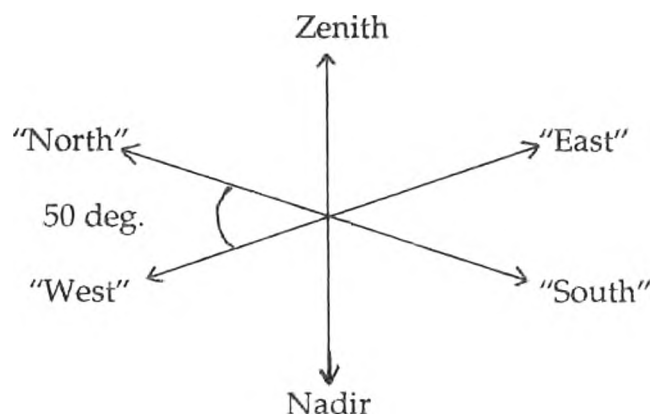
While pragmatic travelers, let alone the mass of "natives," may have used some frames of directional reference that can only be called off-handedly pragmatic, sophisticated observers, in ancient times as well as among today's "natives," have exhibited a great deal of technical knowledge that assures us their terminologies do not reflect ignorance but different views of the cosmos. Astronomy was developed significantly in Mesoamerica. For example, at the site of Ihuatzio in north-central Mexico are three truncated pyramids oriented perfectly with the cardinal points. An observer who stands at those structures at noon on June 21, the summer solstice, discovers that the sun is precisely overhead; the builders erected these structures to mark the northernmost point at which the sun could be observed directly overhead (see James Cornell, *The First Stargazers. An Introduction to the Origins of Astronomy*, Athlone: London, 1981, chapter one). At Monte Alban Aveni found that the perpendicular from Structure J points close to the position of the star Capella, which would have appeared above the horizon just before dawn on about the same date as the passage of the sun through zenith, thus the star "announced" the sun's imminent zenith (see Horst Hartung, Monte Alban in the Valley of Oaxaca, in, *Mesoamerican Sites and World-Views*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson, Dumbarton Oaks: Washington, 1981, pages 60-63). Structure J even had a built in hole into which the sun sheds perfectly vertical light on the zenith day. Terry Stocker has established that Building C at Tula aligns with Venus as evening star, as well as with the major mountain it faces in that direction (personal communication). At Teotihuacan, the builders could lay out lines miles long with great accuracy, so when crossing angles are consistently off by a degree or so, it is obvious that this was intentional and quite surely based on astronomical sightings (see Rene Millon, *The*

Teotihuacan Map, University of Texas Press: Austin, 1973, page 38; James W. Dow, Astronomical Orientations at Teotihuacan, *American Antiquity* 32, 1967, pages 326-334).

The most widely recognized basis for site orientation is the position of sunrise or sunset at the solstices; Vogt, Girard, Villa Rojas and other ethnographers have found abundant evidence for this among living groups in southern Mesoamerica. Vincent Malmström has shown that whole strings of ancient ceremonial sites, occasionally stretched over scores, and perhaps hundreds, of miles in Mesoamerica are lined up with each other and ultimately with some prominent, presumably sacred, mountain across which the sun rises at a solstice. For example, apparently three major sites line up with each other so that the view from (or over) them would, under ideal conditions, see the sun come up over Cerro El Vigia on the morning of winter solstice (see A Reconstruction of the Chronology of Mesoamerican Calendrical Systems, *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 9, 1978, pages 105-116). (As El Vigia is in the minds of many a strong candidate to have been the original hill Cumorah, it is of interest that one of the most careful analyses of the possible meaning of "Cumorah" has it as "Arise-O-Light; Arise-Revelation!" or perhaps "Mound-of-Light; Hill-of-Revelation"—so Robert F. Smith, 1975 personal communication.) V. Garth Norman has established similar phenomena of great complexity at the site of Izapa; several structures and alignments of mounds are oriented at 114 degrees on the winter solstice rising point of the sun (or the summer solstice setting point in the "west"). (See Izapa Sculpture, Part 2: Text, *Papers, BYU New World Archaeological Foundation*, No. 30, 1976, page 3.)

It is well known that very few Mesoamerican sites or structures are oriented to the cardinal points. Aveni found that at about 95% of all sites studied, the primary axis is skewed slightly east of north (see Hartung cited above). Some sites follow more than one axis, whether simultaneously or representing historical change by reconstruction is uncertain. The most comprehensive studies of the orientation systems employed have been done by Franz Tichy. He concludes that our cardinal directions "appear to have little meaning in Mesoamerica." "The times of sunrise and sunset on the horizon on the days of the solstices define, with zenith and nadir points, the six cardinal directions of Mesoamerica." Each of the solstitial directions forms an angle toward east and west which is approximately 50 degrees in Central Mexico, as shown on the Aztec Calendar Stone. (See Order and Relationship of Space and Time in Mesoamerica: Myth or Reality? in, *Mesoamerican Sites and World-Views*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson, Dumbarton Oaks: Washington, 1981, 217-245; expanded, in German, in *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* 2, 1976, pages 113-154; also *Space and Time in the Cosmivision of Mesoamerica*, edited by Tichy, Lateinamerika Studien 10, Wilhelm Fink: Munich, 1982.) Closs comes close to the same point from his studies of the stars and zodiac: Maya directional glyphs probably have been oversimplified

by western scholars who have read them too simply as referring to the cardinal directions. "Now, it should be noted that in the Maya languages 'East' signifies 'where the sun rises' and not necessarily the cardinal direction;" rather his work "implies that the East glyph may mark direction of sunrise and is not restricted to cardinal direction east" (see Michael P. Closs, *Venus Dates Revisited*, *Archaeoastronomy* 4, 1981, pages 38-41). These new findings mean that what Tichy calls the "Mesoamerican cardinal directions" in three dimensions would look like this:



Still, many complications mar the deceptive simplicity of this scheme. The literature is now large, but for example Tichy studied hundreds of sites in Puebla and Tlaxcala, Mexico, and found that three different orientation schemes prevailed (7, 16 and 25 degrees off north), and they did not differ consistently over history but were present simultaneously in certain periods. Meanwhile, as already seen above, other orientation systems besides a solstitial one were at work—but none of them were based on the cardinal points *per se*. For example, at Copan in the extreme south of Mesoamerica, orientation was to sunrise points on midyear days, not the solstices (Tichy 1981 cited above, page 235). Vogt has suggested that both cardinal and intercardinal directions may have been used among the highland Maya, that is, there was an eight-point system of directions (see Vogt, *Zinacantan*, 1969, page 603). Vincent Malmström further points out that certain orientation angles for sites do not fit any known local solar or astronomical facts. Explaining what was going on in these cases is beyond us at this stage, unless they represent local systems hallowed at some key ceremonial center or other, such as Izapa, then exported to other localities independent of physical conditions there (see *Architecture, Astronomy, and Calendrics in Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica*, in *Archaeoastronomy in the Americas*, edited by Ray A. Williamson, pages 249-261, Anthropological Papers 22, Ballena Press: Los Altos, CA, 1981). So at this point in time we cannot be confident about any single explanation of Mesoamerican direction usage.

Historical or regional variations are also visible in direction-associated colors and their meanings. Specific colors were symbolically associated with the directions both at the time of the conquest in Yucatan and earlier among the classic Maya (see Heinrich Berlin and David H. Kelley, *The 819-day Count and Color-direction Symbolism among the Classic Maya*, Tulane University, *Middle American Research Institute Publication* 26, 1970, pages 9-17). But the Quiche Maya in highland Guatemala had a different set (Munro S. Edmonson, *The Book of Counsel: The Popol Vuh of the Quiche Maya of Guatemala*, Tulane University, *Middle American Research Institute, Publication* 35, 1971, page 69), and other groups had still other arrangements (see Carroll L. Riley, *Color-direction Symbolism: An Example of Mexican-Southwestern Contacts*, *America Indigena* 23, 1963, pages 49-60). (Color-direction associations also were well known in the Old World, thus the "Red" and "Black" Seas. See, for example, J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary*, Rome, 1966, pages 136-137.)

Interestingly, the Quiche called the lowland area along the Gulf coast in Tabasco and Campeche states of Mexico "the East." We would now think of that zone as "the north." (See Adrian Recinos, Delia Goetz, and S. G. Morley, trans., *Popol Vuh*, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1950, pages 68-69, 207.)

One completely different basis has been suggested for the orientation of Mesoamerican sites, that is, magnetism. John B. Carlson, based on a find and suggestion by Michael Coe, concluded that the Olmec culture may have known and used a lodestone magnetic compass (see *Lodestone Compass: Chinese or Olmec Primacy?* *Science* 189, 1975, pages 753-760). Malmström added an observation on a monument at Izapa that led him to suggest that magnetism was known there (see *Izapa: Cultural Hearth of the Olmecs?* *Proceedings, Association of American Geographers* 8, 1976, pages 32-35, and *Knowledge of Magnetism in Pre-Columbian Meso-America*, *Nature* 259, 1976, page 390). Angel Garcia Cook had earlier found at Tlalancaleca, Puebla, Mexico, "a great block of stone," polished all over and forming a sort of vertical plate in the site center. It gave a metallic sound when struck and had strong magnetism. The date assigned is about 800 B.C. Garcia Cook believed that it served anciently to orient the site in relation to magnetism. While no demonstration has been made that establishes this idea definitely, it remains an interesting possibility (see *Algunos Descubrimientos en Tlalancaleca*, Edo. de Puebla, *Comunicaciones, Proyecto Puebla-Tlaxcala* 9, 1973; reprinted in *Katunob* 8 (3), February 1973, pages 25-34).

Our survey of some data on the question of directions in Mesoamerican cultures shows that a number of bases existed, that multiple models co-existed, that none of models were clearly coordinate with the cardinal points, and that insufficient information exists at this time to make the picture very clear.

Book of Mormon Directions

No complete analysis will be attempted here of the language of the text. But even a few observations should convince us that the subject is complex, if anybody doubted that. Here are some numbers for the use of several expressions (from Reynolds' *Concordance*, omitting Old World terms):

"north"	26 times	"south"	25 times*
"land north"	5	"land south"	5
"land northward"	31	"land southward"	14
"northward"	14	"southward"	6
"west and north"	2		
"west"	28	"east"	36
		"eastward"	2

(* not counting "south wilderness")

It is not obvious what one is to make of these numbers except that the Nephite terminological system for directions is less than straightforward. Clearly enough, "east" and "west" were much less significant than "north" - "south" axis. The use of the "-ward" suffix in relation to north is tremendously disproportionate. A careful analysis needs to be made of all uses of these and every other directional term (including "forward" as well as "came" vs. "went").

I conclude this appendix by drawing attention to two scenarios that have been proposed as possibilities to help explain Nephite direction references as they seem to have been developed to fit a physical land (Mesoamerica, in general the only reasonable correlation evident at this time) which is basically not oriented to the cardinal points.

Hamblin's contribution goes this way:

How would Nephi and his descendants, utilizing the 'learning of the Jews and the language of the Egyptians' (1 Ne. 1.2), have written the words north, south, east and west? The Hebrews, like most Semitic peoples, oriented themselves by facing east, toward the rising sun Thus east in Hebrew was simply 'front' (*qedem*) with south as 'right' (*yamin*), north as 'left' (*semol*), and west as 'behind' (*achor*) or 'sea' (*yam*).

But Nephi and his descendants actually wrote in the 'language of the Egyptians' (1 Ne. 1.2, Mos. 1.4, Morm. 9.32). How did the Egyptians name the four cardinal directions . . . ? [See earlier data.]

If you adjust the Hebrew way of thinking to match the Egyptian. . . , you find in fact that Hebrew west (behind) has basically the same semantic meaning as Egyptian north (back of the head); Hebrew east (front) equals Egyptian south (face); Hebrew north (left) matches Egyptian east (left); with Hebrew south (right) being Egyptian west (right).

Now let us suppose that Nephi, or any of his descendants, sat down at the gold plates and began to write in 'the language of the Egyptians.' He wants to write the word 'land westward' and naturally thinks to himself in Hebrew 'back.' But as he writes the Hebrew word 'land backward' in Egyptian characters, he realizes that in the Egyptian language he is actually writing the word for 'land northward.' So what does Nephi do? Write the Egyptian word, with Hebrew meaning in mind, or the Egyptian word, with the Egyptian meaning in mind?

If Nephi used the Egyptian terms with Hebrew meanings in mind, and if Joseph Smith translated these terms literally, you end up with a remarkable coincidence. The conceptual Hebrew (and modern) 'land westward' (Heb. behind) would be written in Egypto-Nephite characters as 'land northward,' (Eg. behind) while the conceptual Hebrew (and modern) 'land eastward' (Heb. front) would have been written in Egypto-Nephite as 'land southward' (Eg. front) In other words, you find the conceptual geography of the Hebrew universe must be 'distorted' in relation to the Egyptian vocabulary in precisely the same way that Nephite geography is 'distorted' in relation to Mesoamerica. (See Hamblin, cited above.)

Meanwhile I once made the following suggestion:

Suppose, for a moment, that you were with Lehi's party as it arrived on the Pacific coast of Central America. By western civilization's general present-day terminology, the shore would be oriented approximately northwest-southeast. When you said yamah, intending 'westward,' the term would mean literally 'seaward,' although the water would actually be behind your back to today's southwest. Further, the first step you took inland, away from the sea, would be 'eastward' ('to the fore,' literally) in Hebrew; but we today would say the motion had been northeast. In the absence of a conscious group decision to shift the sense of their Hebrew direction terms by 45 degrees or more (something almost impossible linguistically), the little group of colonists would have fallen into a new directional language pattern, skewed from the cardinal points, as their Semitic-language model encountered the new setting.

Out of the materials presented in this appendix, plus more not here mentioned and even yet to be discovered, diligent, inspired students may bring order and rationality to our understanding of how Israelite, Nephite and American terminological systems for directions were articulated and are represented in our present text. While we do not know the answers at this time (and perhaps not even the questions), we should at least be warned against the trap of ethnocentric naivete or inadequate scholarship manifest when someone insists that "north must mean where the north star lies" or that "rotating the Nephite directions" is something that interpreters now do

in violation of the text. The Book of Mormon is the authority on the Book of Mormon. Our problem is to discover what it is saying to us.