"Made Stronger Than Many Waters": The Purported Sacred Names of Moses as a Series of Keywords

Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and Matthew L. Bowen

Figure 1. Arnold Friberg (1913–2010), Eight Faces of Moses, *1953. The series shows portraits of Moses at different stages in his life.*

Temple Names as Signposts on the Covenant Pathway

Temple symbolism among the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints reflects the idea that the nature of progress on the covenant pathway is incremental. It employs an invariable succession of names,[1] relationships,[2] roles,[3] virtues,[4] ordinances and priesthoods,[5] and types of clothing[6] as signposts[7] corresponding to different stages of existence and their associated glories. Symbolism of this sort is not modern in origin but was once employed in a range of religious settings throughout the ancient Near East and in early Christianity.[8]

With specific respect to names, we see this pattern reflected in the second-century account of the early Christian theologian,

Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–215 CE). His account is drawn from a group of "initiates" (= Greek *mystai*) who described the three successive names that they understood to have been given to Moses at different junctures of his life: "'Joachim,' given him by his mother at circumcision; 'Moses,' given him by Pharaoh's daughter; and 'Melchi,'[9] a name he had in heaven which was given him, apparently by God, after his ascension."[10] Though interpretations of the name "Melchi" vary, the eminent scholar of Second Temple Judaism, Erwin Goodenough, saw it as representing the "eternal priesthood of Melchizedek,"[11] reported in Genesis as being a "king" and "the priest of the Most High God."[12] Going beyond these three names reported in Clement's account, Moses 1:25 can be seen as the bestowal of a final, fourth name, implied in the divine declaration that Moses is to be "made stronger than many waters."

Who were the "initiates" from whom Clement received this information? It is possible that he received it as part of his own initiation into the mysteries of Christ, an event to which he seems to allude in his own writings.[13] Among other things, such mysteries seem to have included unwritten temple teachings not to be shared with new Christian converts or with the world at large.[14] A controversial letter, purportedly written by Clement and discovered by Morton Smith, mentions certain "secret" doings and writings that were part of the "hierophantic teaching of the Lord [that would] lead the hearers into the innermost sanctuary of that truth" but that were "most carefully guarded, being read only to those who are being initiated into the great mysteries."[15] Other alternatives for the source of Clement's information have also been advanced. For example, although Clement "names as his immediate informants a circle of religious savants," some scholars conclude that "the ultimate source" for this reference "was presumably a written document."[16]

In support of the idea that the practice of applying a series of sacred names to individuals was known not only by some early Christians but also hundreds of years earlier in some strands of Second Temple Judaism, we turn to a non-sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls manuscript entitled the *Visions of Amram*. Texts such as this one might have attracted the attention of groups of Jewish initiates that outsiders called Essenes and Therapeutai, about whom Philo

Judaeus of Alexandria (ca. 15 BCE–45 CE) wrote in treatises with which Clement was familiar.[17] In one of three examples of this naming pattern that appear in the *Visions of Amram*, an angel identifies his three names as being Michael, Prince of Light, and Melchizedek—the latter being interpreted as a title that means "Ruler of Righteousness."[18] In further support of the idea that Michael's third name of Melchizedek is meant as a title rather than as a unique individual name, note that it corresponds to the third name of Moses as reported by Clement. Intriguingly, a later passage in the *Visions of Amram* seems to portend the bestowal of Moses' own sacred names.[19] The relevant line begins with the words "I will tell you your(?) names," but unfortunately the text breaks off there and the names are not mentioned elsewhere in the fragments.[20]

In the present chapter, we will argue that the elegantly reflective, multilingual nuances of the series of names and titles ascribed to Moses by Clement's initiates can be seen as various enriched likenesses of himself, interpreted and amplified to reveal the latent character and identity of the prophet as a "God in embryo."[21] Although we cannot know whether the report that a particular series of names was given to Moses is historically authentic, the suggestions remain of interest because the meanings of the names are so remarkably apropos. A series of names of this sort would have helped Moses to discover aspects of his past, present, and future destiny while also enabling him to accomplish his heavenly ascent. It is not impossible that initiates who reported these names would have understood that such names were meant to be used as "keywords" in heavenly or ritual ascent.

Below, we will argue that each one of the three "ciphered" names for Moses reported by Clement is rich in meaning when "deciphered" in light of Moses' premortal and mortal mission. And, remarkably, when the fourth title ("stronger than many waters," foreshadowing Moses' eternal destiny) is appended to the rest, each member of the complete set of four names is arguably "present" in Moses 1.

We will begin with a brief overview of the function of names as "keywords" in temple contexts. We will then show how the four names he was purportedly given serve to illuminate Moses' life and

mission. Finally, we offer concluding thoughts about patterns of ritual and heavenly ascent.

When discussing temple-related matters, we will follow the model of Hugh W. Nibley, who was, according to his biographer Boyd Jay Petersen, "respectful of the covenants of secrecy safeguarding specific portions of the Latter-day Saint endowment, usually describing parallels from other cultures without talking specifically about the [Latter-day Saint] ceremony."[22]

Figure 2. J. James Tissot (1836–1902), Reconstruction of Jerusalem and the Temple of Herod seen from the East, ca. 1886–1894.

Temple Names as "Keywords"

The idea of names as "keywords" has been associated with temples since very early times. In a temple context, the meaning of the term "keyword" can be taken quite literally: the use of the appropriate keyword or keywords by a qualified worshipper "unlocks" each one of a successive series of gates, thus providing access to specific, secured areas of the sacred space.[23] From his study of the matter, John Gee concludes: "The presence of gatekeepers, stronger in some texts than others, indicates a temple initiation in the Egyptian texts and therefore suggests an initiation in the Jewish and Christian texts." "To say that the system represented in the texts was [merely] some form of 'magic' seems dubious and problematic."[24]

In temples throughout the ancient Near East, including Jerusalem, "different temple gates had names indicating the blessing received when entering: 'the gate of grace,' 'the gate of

salvation,' 'the gate of life,' and so on,"[25] as well as signifying "the fitness, through due preparation, which entrants should have in order to pass through [each one of] the gates."[26] In Jerusalem, the final "gate of the Lord, into which the righteous shall enter,"[27] very likely referred to "the innermost temple gate"[28] where those seeking the face of the God of Jacob[29] would find the fulfillment of their temple pilgrimage—the place in Nephi's conception where if one "asks" and "knocks," one is "brought into the light."[30] One might compare this to the symbolism of modern temple worship, where those who "endure to the end" of the covenant pathway that leads through the temple symbolically receive, in an anticipatory way, the ultimate gift of "eternal life."[31]

Referring to Egyptian ritual, Hugh Nibley observes:

> The importance of knowing the names of things and giving those names when challenged is more than the mere idea of the password; it is, according to Derchain, nothing less than the logical source of "the entire mechanism of Egyptian mythology and liturgy"—namely, "the law which makes of the name a veritable attribute of the thing named."[32]

As Nibley's statement makes clear, what matters in such tests for knowledge is not merely the requirement to continually remember the name itself, but, in addition, the expectation that the one who bears the name has also taken upon himself the identity and attributes that go with it. In this regard, it is important to understand that in each stage of that passage one was expected not only to *know* something but also to *be* something. Elder Dallin H. Oaks taught that, in the day of final judgment, it will not be enough to merely have gone through the outward motions of keeping the commandments and receiving the ordinances—the essential question will be what individuals have *become* during their period of probation on earth.[33] Nibley further elaborates, explaining that, for the same reason, the saving ordinances, as necessary as they are, in and of themselves "are mere forms. They do not exalt us; they merely prepare us to be ready in case we ever become eligible."[34]

The fact that the ultimate efficacy of the saving ordinances depends as much on what one has *become* as what one *knows* explains why names are so closely associated with keywords.

Indeed, Joseph Smith taught that "The new name *is* the key word."[35] Some ancient exegetes went so far as to assert "that the true name of a living thing reflects precisely its nature or its very essence."[36] For example, as René Guénon illustrates this particular view:[37] "It is because Adam had received from God an understanding of the *nature* of all living things that he was able to give them their names" in the Garden of Eden.[38] Others, such as Basil of Caesarea in the 4th century, held, less radically, that each name had a distinct primary meaning, or notion, as well as signifying, secondarily, certain properties, but not essence itself.[39] In any event, the idea of a strong connection between names and personal attributes is evident in Old Testament examples of figures such as Abram/Abraham, Sarai/Sarah, and Jacob/Israel, who were given new names only after they had been sufficiently tested and found worthy of them.[40]

Joachim

The first name, Joachim, meaning "Yahweh has raised up,"[41] occurs, with slight variations, in connection with a descendant of Jeshua the priest in the book of Nehemiah[42] (Joiakim), and with one of the kings of Judah, a son of Josiah[43] (Jehoiakim, originally Eliakim[44]).[45] More importantly, the meaning of the name is closely associated with the well-known prophecy of Moses in Deuteronomy 18:15 that speaks of a prophet "like unto" himself that the Lord will later "raise up."

This prophecy is understood in the New Testament[46] and the Book of Mormon[47] to refer to Jesus Christ,[48] but the Doctrine and Covenants and Pearl of Great Price make it clear that it additionally anticipates the eventual mission of Joseph Smith.[49] In Moses 1:41, the promised figure of whom the Lord spoke when he said "I will raise up [Hebrew ʾāqîm] another like unto thee [Moses]" would be responsible in the last days for adding back words that had been "taken" from the book that Moses would write: "and they shall be had again among the children of men." The latter phrase distinctly echoes the name Joseph: "may he add" or "may he do something again" (*yôsēp*).[50]

However, more pertinent to the present discussion than references to later prophets that the Lord would "raise up" is the question of how the meaning of the name "Joachim"—"may

Figure 3. Harold I. Hopkinson (1918–2000), The Commissioned.

Yahweh raise up" or "Yahweh has raised up" (from the fuller form, *yĕhôyāqîm = yô/yĕhô*)—might be shown as being relevant to Moses *himself*, he being the one to whom these subsequent figures were likened. While no relevant passages justifying the application of the name to Moses are given in the Bible, these allusions to the meaning of the name appear in Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith Translation passages containing the prophecies of Joseph, son of Israel, long prior to Moses' birth. In one of these passages, the Lord declared that he would surely "*raise up*" Moses "to deliver [Israel] out of the land of Egypt."[51]

Thus, it is apparent that Joachim, the first name said to have been given to Moses—and which would have been consistent with the premortal foreordination he received in anticipation of his earthly mission—would have been completely at home if it had been explicitly included in Moses 1:41. There, the Lord, in subtle wordplay that functions by omission, refers directly to the meaning of the most important element of Moses' first purported sacred name ("raise up") without explicitly mentioning the name itself in the English text.

Moses

The Hebrew explanation for Moses' name is given in Exodus 2:10: "And she called his name *Moses* [*mōšeh*]: and she said, Because *I drew*

Figure 4. Arnold Friberg (1913–2010), The Finding of Moses by the Daughter of Pharaoh, *1953.*

him out [*mĕšîtihû*] of the water." On the other hand, the commonly accepted Egyptian origin of the name Moses means "begotten" or "born" (from the Egyptian verb *ms[i]* "beget"). Significantly, the Egyptian form of the name Moses is typically paired with the name of a god, e.g., Ramesses (*rꜥ-ms-sw*, "Rēꜥ is begotten"), Thutmose (*ḏḥwty-ms*, "Thoth is begotten"), Ahmose (*iꜥḥ-ms* "the moon[-god] is begotten"), and so forth.

Despite the surface level differences between the Hebrew and Egyptian etymologies, it can be shown that the two derivations function very well together. To be "drawn" (Hebrew *mšy/mšh*) from evokes "birth" imagery (Egyptian *ms[i]*)—i.e., "drawn" from amniotic waters.[52] In fact, it represents the birth image *par excellence*. One can virtually substitute the meaning of the Egyptian verb *ms(i)* for the meaning of the Hebrew verb *mšy/mšh* in the explanation for Moses' name in translation: "And she called his name Moses: and she said, 'Because I *birthed* him from the water.'"[53] The homonymy between Hebrew *ms(i)* and *mšy/mšh* is key and causes the Hebrew verb to function almost like a Janus pun.

Significantly, the words of Joseph in JST Genesis 50:29 further illuminate the dual derivation of 'Moses': "For a seer will I raise up to deliver my people out of the land of Egypt; and he shall be called *Moses*. And *by this name he shall know that he is of thy*

house; for he shall be *nursed by the king's daughter*, and *shall be called her son*."

Note that the JST Genesis phrase "and shall be called her son" corresponds neatly to the "adoption" or "rebirth" formula, or notice in Exodus [2:10]: "and he became her son." The JST Genesis prophecy also points to the double meaning of Moses across two different languages. The expression "her son" constitutes a pun on the Egyptian meaning of Moses in terms of *ms* (or *mesu*), "child"/"son," as Nathan Arp has noted.[54] Nevertheless, the prophecy indicates that the name Moses would be a sign by which he would know that he belonged to the house of Israel (and the house of Joseph[?]). In other words, the phrase "by this name he shall know that he is of thy house" seems to indicate that the name Moses would mark him as an Israelite, thus implying the intelligibility of the Moses/*mose*/*mōšeh* in Hebrew also. Moses would have a "double-identity" as an Egyptian and an Israelite.

Finally, it should be observed that Moses' second name, the name he was given by his adoptive mother in Egypt and by which he was known throughout his mortal life, appears a remarkable twenty-five times within the forty-two verses of Moses 1. As we will see later on, the initial Hebrew and Egyptian meanings of the name "Moses" that can be seen in Exodus 2:10 anticipate the richer significance of the name that will unfold in Moses 1:25.

Melchi

Erwin Goodenough comments as follows with respect to "Melchi," the third name of Moses that was reported by Clement's initiates: "The significance of 'Melchi' is not explained, but it at least suggests the eternal priesthood of Melchizedek."[55] In this context, while admitting that ancient traditions differ on the subject, we concur not only with Goodenough but also with Margaret Barker, who goes on to say that Melchizedek (*Melchi-zedek*[56]) might be regarded as a title as much as a name.[57] According to Barker, the title Melchizedek[58]

> was associated with the original temple priesthood in Jerusalem, and it was a title that the first Christians gave to Jesus. . . . The account of Solomon's enthronement in 1 Chronicles 29 originally described how he became the human
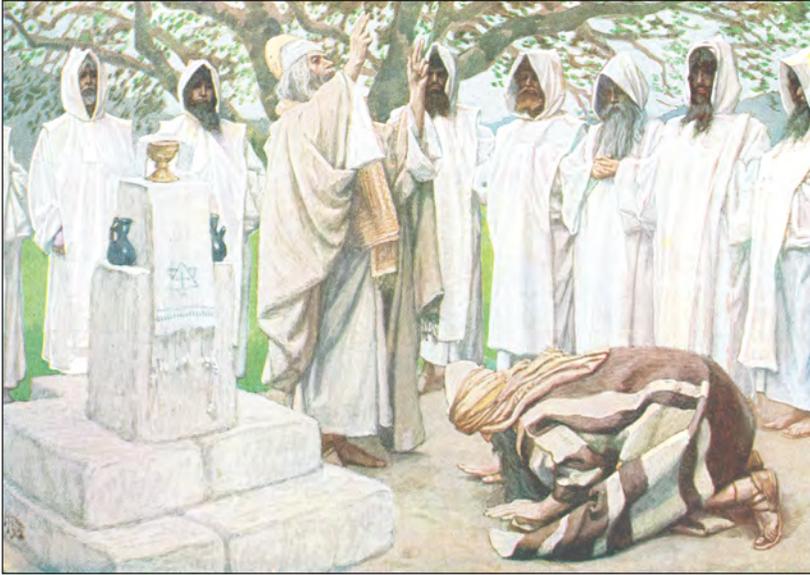
Figure 5. J. James Tissot (1836–1902), Offerings of Melchizedek, *ca. 1886–1894.*

presence of the Lord, the king ("I have begotten you with[59] dew" [i.e., with a confirmatory anointing[60]], Psalm 110:3) and also the high priest ("a priest for eternity," Psalm 110:4). He became Melchi (king) - Zedek (righteous one).

In this connection it should be remembered that the blessings of the fulness of the Holy Priesthood,[61] given to Moses and representing the roles of a king and priest, were originally connected not with the name of Melchizedek but rather, as Doctrine and Covenants 107:2–4 tells us, with the "Son of God."[62] Only later was the name of "Melchizedek Priesthood" substituted as a description of this priesthood order, "out of respect or reverence" to the sacred name of the "Son of God," so as "to avoid [its] too frequent repetition."[63]

Thus, there is no inconsistency in the fact that Moses 6:68 describes an individual who has received the fulness of the priesthood as having become, when divinely ratified, *"a son of God."*[64] The Lord declared to Moses as if to a royal heir, "Thou art *my son.*"[65] These descriptions resonate with the royal rebirth formula of Psalm 2:7: "Thou art *my Son*; this day have I begotten thee," spoken on the occasion of the Davidic king's enthronement. Thus, we should not be surprised that God's description of Moses

Figure 6. Moses enthroned and Holding stone tablets, the Tetragrammaton in top center (detail), ca. 1616.

as "*my son*" appears three additional times in Moses 1[66]—which we take, for the reasons just mentioned, as being equivalent to his being called "Melchizedek." The importance of Moses' status as "a son of God" is highlighted by Satan himself when the legitimacy of that title is the subject of the opening controversy in his challenge to the prophet.[67]

We further note that the declaration that Moses is "a son of God" hints at one possible reason why previously, in Exodus 2:10, he was given only "half a name." Remember that the name "Moses" is lacking the theophoric prefix that is often present in the names of royal Egyptian figures with similar names, names like Ra-messes, Thut-mose, Ah-mose, and so forth. Remember that the names of these figures declared them to have been begotten as one or another of the Egyptian gods. Only now, in the account of Moses 1, is it revealed that Moses has been begotten with the name of the God of Israel, the heretofore missing theophoric prefix.

Exodus 7:1 And the Lord said unto Moses, See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh: and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet.				
Message to Egyptians: *Jehovah is superior to Amenra, Moses is superior to Pharaoh*, and *Aaron is superior to the Egyptian Priests*. [Note: Egyptian gods fluctuate]				
Pantheon	**Original Perspective**		**Change After Exodus 7:1**	
	Israel	**Egypt**	**Israel**	**Egypt**
Supreme God	Jehovah	Amenra	Jehovah	
Good god	Exalted Beings	Pharaoh [Horus]	⬆Moses [Horus]	⬇Amenra
Evil god	Lucifer	Seth	Lucifer	⬇Pharaoh [Seth]
Prophet	Moses		⬆Aaron	
Priest	Aaron	Priests		Priests

Figure 7. Stephen T. Whitlock (1952–), Moses as a god to Pharaoh.

"Stronger than Many Waters . . . as If Thou Wert God"

The closest statement in the Bible to the Book of Moses phrase "as if thou wert God"[68] is found in Exodus 7:1. Surprisingly, the verse does not say that Moses was to be "*like* a god" to Pharaoh. Rather, the Lord's words to the prophet in Hebrew read literally: "I have made you God/god to Pharaoh."[69]

Moses as god to Pharaoh

To make sense of this statement, it must be remembered that Pharaoh was considered to be a god by his people, "the living embodiment of the god Horus, god of kingship, represented by the falcon."[70] Thus, to prepare Moses for his summit meeting with the leader of Egypt, the Lord made him not only Pharaoh's "equal" in rank but in addition also enabled him to demonstrate the greater potency of the true and living God whom he served. Because Pharaoh was divine in the eyes of the Egyptians, "he should have been the one to function as a god to Moses."[71] However, in a display of power whose symbolism would have been understood both by the Egyptians and the people of Moses, Jehovah, the God of Israel, turned the tables against Ra, the supreme sun-god of Pharaoh.

In brief, the message to the Egyptians was: Jehovah is the superior of Ra, Moses is the superior of Pharaoh, and Aaron is the superior of the Egyptian priests.

That the Lord's declaration to Moses was to be taken literally, rather than just as a metaphorical flourish to enhance Moses' rhetoric in addressing Pharaoh, has been difficult for some scholars to accept. For example, Gary Rendsburg sees "Moses' [temporary] elevation to the divine plane" as violating "a basic tenet of the ancient Israelites" in order to respond to "the exigency of the moment."[72] However, there are both ancient and modern sources that argue that Moses' divine status was neither exceptional nor provisional.

Moses as god and king

Drawing on Jewish sources, Wayne Meeks has written a classic chapter citing sources that portray Moses as "God and King."[73] In some accounts, Moses' divine status is associated with that of Yahweh. For example, the promise to Moses of power over the waters resembles that given to David in Psalm 89:25.[74] Like Moses, David is there depicted as a god—a "lesser YHWH"—on earth,[75] consistent with the extended discussion by David J. Larsen of the enthronement of Moses and other figures in the literature of the ancient Near East.[76]

Wayne Meeks cites sources that seem to compare Moses' ultimate divine status to Elohim rather than Yahweh. For example, he finds instances in the Samaritan literature where "the name with which Moses was 'crowned' or 'clothed' is . . . Elohim."[77] He further reports that the final name of Elohim that was eventually conferred on Moses, was "distinguished from YHWH, 'the name which god revealed to him'"[78] earlier on Mount Sinai. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that Jarl Fossum argues strongly against Meeks' reading, arguing that in the instances cited by Meeks, the name "Elohim" is "a secondary notion, derived from the original idea of his investiture with the Tetragrammaton."[79]

The theme of God's personal disclosure of his own name to those who approach the final gate to enter his presence is reminiscent of the explanation of Figure 7, Facsimile 2 from the Book of Abraham. In the Prophet's interpretation of that figure, God is described as "sitting upon his throne, revealing through the heavens the grand Key-words of the Priesthood." The same concept was operative elsewhere in the ancient Near East. For example, in

Figure 8. Arnold Friberg (1913–2010), The Lord Speaks to Moses
from the Burning Bush*, 1953.*

the old Babylonian investiture liturgy, we might see in the account of the fifty names[80] given to Marduk at the end of *Enuma Elish* a description of his procession through the ritual complex in which he took upon himself the divine attributes represented by those names one by one.[81] Ultimately, it seems, he would have passed the guardians of the sanctuary gate to reach the throne of Ea where, as also related in the account, he finally received the god's *own* name and a consequent fusion of identity with the declaration: "He is indeed even as I."[82]

In any event, the unquestionable gist of all these statements is that Moses has become a god. Erwin R. Goodenough summarizes Philo's view on the deification of Moses in ancient Jewish tradition as follows:[83]

> Philo is so carried away by the exalted Moses that he frequently speaks of him as having been deified, or being [a god].[84] "For when he had left all mortal categories behind he was changed into the divine, so that he might be made akin to God and truly divine."[85]

Given that the Genesis account portrays God as creating the universe through speech, it is not surprising that the authority of God's law, given through Moses, was seen in Jewish tradition resting

Figure 9. Arnold Friberg (1913–2010), Moses Subdues the Shepherds at Jethro's Well, *1953.*

on the argument that it came "from the mouth of the all-powerful, Almighty."[86] This also recalls the power over the elements promised to Enoch and Melchizedek in the Book of Moses[87] and JST Genesis 14:26–40. In the same vein, Clement of Alexandria recounts—again, significantly relying on the word of the "initiates" that rather than physically striking the taskmaster who "wrongfully attacked" the Hebrew slave,[88] Moses "slew the Egyptian by a word only."[89]

The "rod" and "word" of Moses as symbols of his authority

Of interest in this context is that the "rod" and the "word" of Moses are associated with the authority of God through multilingual Egyptian and Hebrew puns. Significantly, these puns are woven throughout both ancient and modern accounts of the life of Moses—for example, the slaying of the Egyptian, the crossing of the sea, and the smiting of the rock at Meribah.

In connection with this idea, Nephi's multilingual puns on "rod" and "word" revolve around the polysemy of Egyptian *mdw* ("rod, staff"; "word") and the homonymy of *mdw* with the Hebrew *maṭṭeh* ("rod," "staff"), the latter Hebrew term perhaps being derived from the Egyptian former.[90] Moses' repeated use of "word" and "rod" in close proximity brings together the "word of God" as creative act ("word of my power") with power of command over

Figure 10. Arnold Friberg (1913–2010), Crossing of the Red Sea *(detail), 1953.*

the "many waters"[91] and the "word of God" as scripture: "and he shall smite the waters of the Red Sea *with his rod*. And he shall have judgment, and shall write *the word of the Lord*";[92] "I will raise up a *Moses*; and I will give power unto him *in a rod*; and I will give judgment unto him *in writing*. Yet I will not loose his tongue, that he shall *speak* much."[93]

Moses the deliverer

Remarkably, the Hebrew derivation of Moses' name is invoked in another elegant literary twist. Moses, who was said in Exodus 2:10 to have been delivered from the water as a weak and helpless infant, is told in Moses 1:25 that he is to be "made *stronger* than many waters."[94] The most obvious allusion here is to the power Moses will be given to divide the Red Sea.[95] However, the phrase also recalls God's subduing of the waters at Creation, particularly in light of the phrase that follows: "as if thou wert God." Moreover, as God himself explains the significance of Moses' name, he links it with one of his own titles: "Almighty."[96] Fittingly, the divine name of "Almighty"[97] in Moses 1:4, 25 is closely tied to the demonstration of God's power over the waters of chaos as the first act of Creation[98] as well as the divine destruction of the Egyptian army.[99]

Consistent with this idea, ancient sources universally witness that the name Moses, rather than suggesting the "passive" meaning

of one who is "drawn" or "pulled" out of the water as one would expect in the context of the naming scene in Exodus, is instead vowelled as a "pseudo-active" participle suggesting his future as one who will "draw" or "pull" *others* out of the water.[100] The "many waters" or "great waters" ultimately obeyed Moses' "command even as if [he] wer[e] God"[101] as he provided temporal deliverance to the Israelites at the time of the Exodus. According to Latter-day Saint scripture and teachings, Moses also used the same divine priesthood authority—the authority with which one "draws" or "pulls" (*mōšeh*) from the water—to deliver the Israelites spiritually through baptism and other essential ordinances.[102] Elder Bruce R. McConkie commented on this idea as follows:[103]

> Moses—mighty, mighty Moses—acting in the power and authority of the holy order, gathered Israel once. What is more fitting than for him to confer upon mortals in this final dispensation the power and authority to lead latter-day Israel out of Egyptian darkness, through a baptismal Red Sea, into their promised Zion?
>
> Moses, who mediated the cause of his erring brethren in ancient times, and to whom the Lord revealed the doctrine of the scattering and the doctrine of the gathering, is the very one who came in resurrected glory to give the needed authorization and keys to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery.[104]

In summary, speaking of Christ as the premortal prototype not only for Moses but also for all those who were foreordained to priestly offices and subsequently ordained in mortal life, the *Gospel of Philip* suggests that the general meaning, symbolism, and sequence of the ordinances has always been the same: "He who . . . [was begotten] before everything was begotten anew. He [who was] once [anointed] was anointed anew. He who was redeemed in turn redeemed (others)."[105] Thus, in the declaration that Moses is to be "made stronger than many waters,"[106] God is saying that Moses, the *delivered*, will now become Moses, the *deliverer*.[107]

Conclusion

We have seen how the four names that were said to have been given to Moses fittingly summarize the whole of his divinely appointed

mission. "Joachim," a personal name that is first in sequence, anticipated the mission he was "raised up" to fulfill in the premortal world. The second, "Moses," also a personal name, reflected the dual role he played during his mortal life as an Egyptian prince and a Hebrew prophet. The title "Melchi" was bestowed upon Moses "after his ascension" when he became "a son of God," holding the fulness of the higher priesthood and, in likeness of Melchizedek, becoming a king and a priest forever in the holy order. And his final, fourth name was a title that represented the name of God the Father himself. Philo Judaeus likewise argued that Moses was not only as a prophet, priest, and king, but also (like Jesus) a god, having been "changed into the divine" through his initiation into the "mysteries."[108]

Elsewhere it has been argued that the narrative of Moses' visions in chapter 1 of the Book of Moses fits squarely into the ancient literary genre of "heavenly ascent."[109] But there is evidence that the symbolism of this journey may also have been enacted in various forms of *ritual* ascent among Jews and early Christians. For example, in his discussion of late Second Temple Jewish mysticism, Erwin Goodenough summarized Philo's descriptions of "two successive initiations within a single Mystery," constituting "a 'Lesser' Mystery in contrast with a 'Greater,'" as follows:

> For general convenience we may distinguish them as the Mystery of Aaron and the Mystery of Moses. The Mystery of Aaron got its symbolism from the great Jerusalem *cultus*. . . . The Mystery of Moses . . . led the worshipper above all material association; he died to the flesh, and in becoming reclothed in a spiritual body moved progressively upwards . . . and at last ideally to God himself. . . . The objective symbolism of the Higher Mystery was the holy of holies with the ark, a level of spiritual experience which was no normal part of even the high-priesthood. Only once a year could the high priest enter there, and then only . . . when so blinded by incense that he could see nothing of the sacred objects within. The Mystery of Aaron was restricted to the symbolism of the Aaronic high priest.[110]

According to Goodenough "Philo had himself been 'initiated under Moses' [i.e., received the mysteries of the higher priesthood],

and it seems to me quite likely that the Elder Samuel [who built the synagogue of Dura Europos] may have been so 'initiated' also.[111] Hinting at the possibility of such ritual in the synagogue at Dura Europos, Goodenough noted: "In [a] side room were benches and decorations that mark the room as probably one of cult, perhaps an inner room, where special rites were celebrated by a select company. . . . So far as structure goes, it might have been the room for people especially 'initiated' in some way."[112] Bradshaw has written at length how the Ezekiel mural at the synagogue might be seen as a witness of ancient Jewish mysteries of the sort that Philo described.[113]

The somewhat controversial idea of initiation rites at the Dura synagogue receives support from Crispin Fletcher-Louis' subsequent findings on what he calls the "angelomorphic priesthood" of the Qumran community.[114] Of equal significance is David Calabro's research hinting that the Christian Church at Dura Europos, just down the road from the synagogue, may have likewise participated in at least one ordinance attested in scripture and teachings of early Christians[115] but not heretofore linked to plausible places of performance, specifically baptism for the dead.[116]

In all this, Moses was not only the model disciple but the model leader. Observes Old Testament scholar C. T. R. Hayward: "Philo saw nothing improper . . . in describing Moses as a hierophant: like the holder of that office in the mystery cults of Philo's day, Moses was responsible for inducting initiates into the mysteries, leading them from darkness to light, to a point where *they are enabled to see* [God]."[117] Hayward's view echoes the teachings of Doctrine and Covenants 84:21–23:

> 21 And without the ordinances thereof, and the authority of the priesthood, the power of godliness is not manifest unto men in the flesh;
>
> 22 For without this no man can see the face of God, even the Father, and live.
>
> 23 Now this Moses plainly taught to the children of Israel in the wilderness, and sought diligently to sanctify his people that they might behold the face of God.

Acknowledgments

Jeffrey M. Bradshaw received his PhD in cognitive science at the University of Washington. He is a senior research scientist at the Florida Institute for Human and Machine Cognition (IHMC) in Pensacola, Florida (www.ihmc.us/groups/jbradshaw; en.wikipedia. org/wiki/Jeffrey_M._Bradshaw). His professional writings have explored a wide range of topics in human and machine intelligence (www.JeffreyMBradshaw.net). Jeff has been the recipient of several awards and patents and has been an adviser for initiatives in science, defense, space, industry, and academia worldwide. Jeff has written detailed commentaries on the Book of Moses and Genesis 1–11 and on temple themes in the scriptures. For Church-related publications, see www.TempleThemes.net. Jeff was a missionary in France and Belgium from 1975 to 1977, and his family has returned twice to live in France. He has served twice as a bishop and twice as a counselor in the stake presidency of the Pensacola Florida Stake. Jeff is currently a temple worker at the Meridian Idaho Temple and is a service missionary for the Church History Department assigned to the history of the Church in Africa. Jeff and his wife, Kathleen, are the parents of four children and have fifteen grandchildren. From July 2016 to September 2019, Jeff and Kathleen served missions in the Democratic Republic of Congo Kinshasa Mission office and the Kinshasa Democratic Republic of the Congo Temple. They currently live in Nampa, Idaho.

Matthew L. Bowen is an associate professor of Religious Education at BYU–Hawaii. He was raised in Orem, Utah, and graduated from Orem High School. He served for two years in the California Roseville Mission (1994-1996) and graduated from BYU in 2000 with a BA in English and a minor in classical Greek (with post-Baccalaureate studies in Egyptian and Semitic languages, 2001-2003). He earned an MA and PhD in Biblical Studies from the Catholic University of America in Washington, DC. He is married to the former Suzanne Blattberg. They are the parents of three children: Zachariah, Nathan, and Adele. He is the author of numerous peer-reviewed articles and book chapters, as well as the recent book Name as Key-Word: Collected Essays on Onomastic Wordplay and the Temple in Mormon Scripture *(Salt Lake City: Interpreter Foundation and Eborn Books, 2018).*

Bibliography

Adler, William. "Introduction," in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity,* edited by James C. VanderKam and William Adler, 1–31. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996.

Alexander, Philip S. "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Vol. 1, 223–315. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983.

Alter, Robert, ed. *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary.* New York City: W. W. Norton, 2019.

Arp, Nathan J. "Joseph Knew First: Moses the Egyptian Son," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 32 (2019): 187–98. SAcessed July 11, 2020. https://journal. interpreterfoundation.org/joseph-knew-first-moses-the -egyptian-son/.

Assman, Jan. *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt.* Translated by David Lorton. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Baker, LeGrand L., and Stephen D. Ricks. *Who Shall Ascend into the Hill of the Lord? The Psalms in Israel's Temple Worship in the Old Testament and in the Book of Mormon.* Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 2009.

Barker, Margaret. "Who Was Melchizedek and Who Was His God?" Presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the Society of

Biblical Literature, Session S19-72 on 'Latter-day Saints and the Bible,' San Diego, CA, November 17–20, 2007.

———. *King of the Jews: Temple Theology in John's Gospel*. London, England: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2014.

Barney, Kevin L. "Baptized for the Dead," in *"To Seek the Law of the Lord"*: *Essays in Honor of John W. Welch,* edited by Paul Y. Hoskisson and Daniel C. Peterson, 9–57. Orem, UT: Interpreter Foundation, 2017. https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/baptized-for-the-dead/.

Bednar, David A. "Honorably Hold a Name and Standing." *Ensign* 39, May 2009, 97–100.

———. *Power to Become: Spiritual Patterns for Pressing Forward with a Steadfastness in Christ*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2014.

Berlin, Adele, and Marc Zvi Brettler, eds. *The Jewish Study Bible, Featuring the Jewish Publication Society TANAKH Translation*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Biale, David. "The God with Breasts: El Shaddai in the Bible." *History of Religions* 21, no. 3 (February 1982): 240–56. Accessed November 23, 2020. https://www.academia.edu/35615351/David_Biale_The_God_with_Breasts_El_Shaddai_in_the_Bible_History_of_Religions_21_3_February_1982_240_256.

Bowen, Matthew L. "'What Meaneth the Rod of Iron?'" *FARMS Insights* 25, no. 2 (2005): 2–3. Accessed July 11, 2020. https://archive.bookofmormoncentral.org/sites/default/files/archive-files/pdf/farms-staff/2019-10-07/insights_25-2.pdf.

———. "'And They Shall Be Had Again': Onomastic Allusions to Joseph in Moses 1:41 in View of the So-called Canon Formula," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 32 (2019): 297–304. Accessed July 20, 2020. https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/and-they-shall-be-had-again-onomastic-allusions-to-joseph-in-moses-141-in-view-of-the-so-called-canon-formula/.

Bowen, Matthew L., and Jared Riddick. "Of Kings, King-men, and Priestly Orders: Thematic Paronomasia on the Names Amlici and Amalickiah in Terms of *MLK and Melchizedek." forthcoming.

Bradshaw, Jeffrey M. *Creation, Fall, and the Story of Adam and Eve. In God's Image and Likeness* 1. Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 2014. https://archive.org/details/140123IGIL12014ReadingS.

———. "The Ezekiel Mural at Dura Europos: A Tangible Witness of Philo's Jewish Mysteries?" *BYU Studies* 49, no. 1 (2010): 4–49. https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/byusq/vol49/iss1/2/.

———. "Faith, Hope, and Charity: The 'Three Principal Rounds' of the Ladder of Heavenly Ascent," in *"To Seek the Law of the Lord": Essays in Honor of John W. Welch,* edited by Paul Y. Hoskisson and Daniel C. Peterson, 59–112. Orem, UT: Interpreter Foundation, 2017. https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org /faith-hope-and-charity-the-three-principal-rounds-of-the -ladder-of-heavenly-ascent/.

———. Foreword to *Name as Key-Word: Collected Essays on Onomastic Wordplay and the Temple in Mormon Scripture,* edited by Matthew L. Bowen, ix–xliv. Orem, UT: Interpreter Foundation; Salt Lake City: Eborn, 2018. http:// www.templethemes.net/publications/180603-Bradshaw -Foreword%20to%20Bowen-Pages%20from%20180524 -Bowen%20Book%2020180524-2.pdf.

———. "The LDS Book of Enoch as the Culminating Story of a Temple Text." *BYU Studies* 53, no. 1 (2014): 39–73. Accessed November 29, 2020. https://byustudies.byu.edu /article/the-lds-story-of-enoch-as-the-culminating-episode -of-a-temple-text/; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DjU ToZa-e8U. Updated version in "The Book of Enoch As a Temple Text," in this proceedings.

———. *Temple Themes in the Oath and Covenant of the Priesthood.* Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 2014. Accessed November 29, 2020. https://archive.org/details/151128TempleThemesInThe OathAndCovenantOfThePriesthood2014Update; https:// archive.org/details140910TemasDelTemploEnElJuramentoYEl ConvenioDelSacerdocio2014UpdateSReading.

———. "What Did Joseph Smith Know about Modern Temple Ordinances by 1836?" In *The Temple: Ancient and Restored. Proceedings of the 2014 Temple on Mount Zion Symposium,* edited by Stephen D. Ricks and Donald W. Parry. *Temple on Mount Zion* 3, 1–144. Orem, UT: Interpreter Foundation; Salt

Lake City: Eborn, 2016. http://www.jeffreymbradshaw.net/templethemes/publications/01-Bradshaw-TMZ%203.pdf.

———. "What Did the Lord Mean When He Said Moses Would Become 'God to Pharaoh' During the Plagues of Egypt?" (Old Testament KnoWhy JBOTL013A, 26 March 2018). *Interpreter Foundation*. Accessed July 4, 2020. https://interpreterfoundation.org/knowhy-otl13a-what-did-the-lord-mean-when-he-said-moses-would-become-god-to-pharaoh-during-the-plagues-of-egypt-2/.

Bradshaw, Jeffrey M., and Matthew L. Bowen. "'By the Blood Ye Are Sanctified': The Symbolic, Salvific, Interrelated, Additive, Retrospective, and Anticipatory Nature of the Ordinances of Spiritual Rebirth in John 3 and Moses 6," in *Sacred Time, Sacred Space, and Sacred Meaning (Proceedings of the Third Interpreter Foundation Matthew B. Brown Memorial Conference, 5 November 2016),* edited by Stephen D. Ricks and Jeffrey M. Bradshaw. *Temple on Mount Zion* 4, 43–237. Orem, UT: Interpreter Foundation; Salt Lake City: Eborn, 2020; http://www.templethemes.net/publications/Bradshaw%20and%20Bowen-By%20the%20Blood-from%20TMZ4%20(2016).pdf.

Bradshaw, Jeffrey M., and Ronan J. Head. "The Investiture Panel at Mari and Rituals of Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East." *Studies in the Bible and Antiquity* 4 (2012): 1–42. https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sba/vol4/iss1/1/.

Bradshaw, Jeffrey M., David J. Larsen, and Stephen T. Whitlock. "Moses 1 and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*: Twin Sons of Different Mothers?," in this proceedings. An earlier version was published in *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 38 (2020): 179–290. Accessed July 29, 2020. https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/moses-1-and-the-apocalypse-of-abraham-twin-sons-of-different-mothers/.

Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. 1906. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005.

Brown, Samuel Morris. "William Phelps's *Paracletes*, an Early Witness to Joseph Smith's Divine Anthropology," *international Journal of Mormon Studies* 2 (Spring 2009): 62–82.

Calabro, David. "From Temple to Church: Defining Sacred Space in the Near East," in this proceedings.

Clement of Alexandria. "The Stromata, or Miscellanies," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers (The Writings of the Fathers Down to AD 325),* edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 10 vols. 2:299–568. Buffalo, NY: The Christian Literature Company, 1885. Reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004. Page references are to the 2004 edition.

Cumming, Sam. Names. *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.* 2019. Accessed November 3, 2020. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/names/.

Dalgaard, Kasper. "A Priest for All Generations: An Investigation into the Use of the Melchizedek Figure from Genesis to the Cave of Treasures (Volume 48, Det Teologiske Fakultet). " *University of Copenhagen Department of Theology.* 2013. Accessed August 10, 2020. https://static-curis.ku.dk/portal/files/188645800/48_Kasper_Dalgaard_A_Priest_for_All_Generations_e_bog.pdf.

Day, John. "Some Aspects of Monarchy in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honor of Hans M. Barstad," in *New Perspectives on Old Testament Prophecy and History,* edited by Rannfrid I. Thelle, Terje Stordalen and Mervyn E. J. Richardson. Vetus Testamentum Supplements 168, ed. Christl M. Maier, 161–74. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015. Accessed November 3, 2020. https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789004293274/B9789004293274_013.xml.

de Hoyos, Arturo, and David Bernard. *Light on Masonry: The History and Rituals of America's Most Important Masonic Exposé.* Washington, DC: Scottish Rite Research Society, 2008.

DelCogliano, Mark. *Basil of Caesarea's Anti-Eunomian Theory of Names: Christian Theology and Late-Antique Philo-sophy in the Fourth Century Trinitarian Controversy. Supple-ments to Vigiliae Christianae* 103. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2010. https://brill.com/view/title/17416; https://www.google.com/books/edition/Basil_of_Caesarea_s_Anti_Eunomian_Theory/Td95DwAAQBAJ. PDF of Emory University Doctoral Dissertation: https://etd.library.emory.edu/concern/etds/qr46r085k?locale=en.

Dolkart, Judith F., ed. *James Tissot, The Life of Christ: The Complete Set of 350 Watercolors*. New York City: Merrell Publishers and the Brooklyn Museum, 2009.

Drawnel, Henryk. "The Initial Narrative of the 'Visions of Amram' and Its Literary Characteristics." *Revue de Qumran* 24, no. 4 (October 2010): 517–54. Accessed August 10, 2020. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24663124.

———. "Priestly Education in the 'Aramaic Levi Document (Visions of Levi)' and 'Aramaic Astronomical Book' (4Q208-211)." *Revue de Qumran* 22, no. 4 (December 2006): 547–74. Accessed August 10, 2020. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24640827.

Duke, Robert R. *The Social Location of the 'Visions of Amram' (4Q543-547)*. New York City: Peter Lang, 2010. Accessed July 3, 2020. https://books.google.com/books?id=knLh2SnxQ0AC.

Eaton, John H. *The Psalms: A Historical and Spiritual Commentary with an Introduction and New Translation*. London, England: T&T Clark, 2003.

Eccles, Robert S. *Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough: A Personal Pilgrimage. Society of Biblical Literature, Biblical Scholarship in North America*. Edited by Kent Harold Richards. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985.

Ehrman, Bart D. *Lost Christianities: The Battles for Scripture and the Faiths We Never Knew*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Esplin, Ronald K. "Joseph, Brigham and the Twelve: A Succession of Continuity." *BYU Studies* 21, no. 3 (1981): 301–41.

Etheridge, J. W., ed. *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch, with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum from the Chaldee*. 2 vols. London, England: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862, 1865. Reprint, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2005. Accessed August 10, 2007. http://www.targum.info/pj/psjon.htm.

Faulconer, James E. "Self-Image, Self-Love, and Salvation." *Latter-day Digest 2*, June 1993, 7–26. Accessed August 10, 2007. http://jamesfaulconer.byu.edu/selfimag.htm.

Ferguson, John. "The Achievement of Clement of Alexandria." *Religious Studies* 12, no. 1 (1976): 59–80. Accessed December 7, 2020. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20005313.

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. "'Now this Melchizedek . . .' (Heb 7,1)." *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (1963): 305–21. Accessed November 3, 2020. https://www.jstor.org/stable/43712272.

Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. T. *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2002.

Fossum, Jarl E. *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 36. Tübingen, Germany: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1985.

Foster, Benjamin R. "Epic of Creation," in *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature,* edited by Benjamin R. Foster. 3rd ed, 436–86. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2005.

Gee, John. "The Keeper of the Gate," in *The Temple in Time and Eternity,* edited by Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks. *Temples throughout the Ages* 2, 233–73. Provo, UT: FARMS at Brigham Young University, 1999.

Goodenough, Erwin Ramsdell. *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1935.

———. *Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue*. 3 vols. *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* 9–11, Bollingen Series 37. New York City: Pantheon Books, 1964.

———. *Summary and Conclusions. Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* 12, Bollingen Series 37. New York City: Pantheon Books, 1965.

———. *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*. 2nd Revised ed. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, 1962.

Gross, Andrew D. "Visions of Amram [4Q543-549]," in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture,* edited by Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman. 3 vols. 2:1507–10. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2013.

Grow, Matthew J., Ronald K. Esplin, Mark Ashhurst-McGee, Jeffrey D. Mahas, and Gerrit Dirkmaat, eds. *Council of Fifty, Minutes, March 1844–January 1846. The Joseph Smith Papers, Administrative Records* 1, edited by Ronald K. Esplin and

Matthew J. Grow. Salt Lake City: The Church Historian's Press, 2016.

Guénon, René. *Symboles fondamentaux de la Science sacrée*. Paris, France: Gallimard, 1962.

Hafen, Bruce C., and Marie K. Hafen. *The Contrite Spirit: How the Temple Helps Us Apply Christ's Atonement*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2015.

Hamilton, Victor P. *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1–17*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990.

Hayward, C. T. R. *Interpretations of the Name Israel in Ancient Judaism and Some Early Christian Writings: From Victorious Athlete to Heavenly Champion*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Hedges, Andrew H., Alex D. Smith, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, eds. *Journals: December 1841–April 1843. The Joseph Smith Papers, Journals* 2, edited by Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin and Richard Lyman Bushman. Salt Lake City: The Church Historian's Press, 2011.

Hedges, Andrew H., Alex D. Smith, and Brent M. Rogers, eds. *Journals: May 1843–June 1844. The Joseph Smith Papers, Journals* 3, edited by Ronald K. Esplin and Matthew J. Grow. Salt Lake City: The Church Historian's Press, 2015.

Hyde, Orson. "A Diagram of the Kingdom of God." Liverpool, England: *Millennial Star* 9:2, January 15, 1847, 23–24. Reprinted in Smith, J., Jr. *The Words of Joseph Smith*. Edited by A. F. Ehat and L. W. Cook. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980, 297–299n8. Accessed January 3, 2008. http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cgi-bin/showfile. exe?CISOROOT=/MStar&CISOPTR=562&filename=563.pdf.

Isenberg, Wesley W. "The Gospel of Philip (II, 3)," in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, edited by James M. Robinson. 3rd, Completely Revised ed., 139–60. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990.

Jacobson, Howard, ed. *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, with Latin Text and English Translation*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishers, 1996.

———. "Pseudo-Philo, Book of Biblical Antiquities," in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, edited by

Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel, and Lawrence H. Schiffman. 3 vols. 1:470–613. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2013.

Johnson, Mark J. "The Lost Prologue: Reading Moses Chapter One as an Ancient Text," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 36 (2020): 145–86. Accessed June 5, 2020. https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/the-lost-prologue-reading-moses-chapter-one-as-an-ancient-text/.

Jones, Robert. "Priesthood and Cult in the Visions of Amram: A Critical Evaluation of Its Attitudes toward the Contemporary Temple Establishment in Jerusalem." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 27, no. 1 (2020): 1–30. Accessed August 10, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1163/15685179-12341504.

Jurgens, Blake Alan. "Reassessing the Dream-Vision of the *Vision of Amram* (4Q543–547)." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 24, no. 1 (2014): 3–42.

Knohl, Israel. "Sacred Architecture: The Numerical Dimensions of Biblical Poems." *Vetus Testamentum* 62 (2012): 189–97. Accessed December 12, 2020. https://www.academia.edu/1565388/Sacred_Architecture_The_Numerical_Dimensions_of_Biblical_Poems.

Kobelski, Paul J. *Melchizedek and Melchireša'. The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series* 10. Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981.

Kugel, James L. *The God of Old: Inside the Lost World of the Bible.* New York City: The Free Press, 2003.

Larsen, David J. "And He Departed From the Throne: The Enthronement of Moses in Place of the Noble Man in Exagoge of Ezekiel the Tragedian (originally prepared as a term paper for a Master's Degree, Theology 228, Dr. Andrei A. Orlov, Marquette University, Fall 2008)." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Session on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism, November 23, 2009, New Orleans, Louisiana. Accessed August 3, 2019. https://www.academia.edu/385529/_And_He_Departed_from_the_Throne_The_Enthronement_of_Moses_in_Place_of_the_Noble_Man_in_Exagoge_of_Ezekiel_the_Tragedian.

———. "Psalm 24 and the Two YHWHs at the Gate of the Temple," in *The Temple: Ancient and Restored. Proceedings of the 2014 Temple on Mount Zion Symposium,* edited by Stephen D. Ricks and Donald W. Parry. *Temple on Mount Zion* 3, 201–23. Orem, UT: Interpreter Foundation; Salt Lake City: Eborn, 2016.

Leonard, Glen M. *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002.

Lewis, C. S. *The Screwtape Letters.* New York City: Touchstone, 1996.

Lindsay, Jeffrey Dean. "Arise from the Dust": Insights from Dust-Related Themes in the Book of Mormon. Part 1: Tracks from the Book of Moses," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 22 (2016): 179–232. Accessed August 7, 2019. https://s3.us-east-2.amazonaws.com/jnlpdf/lindsay-v22-2016-pp179-232-PDF.pdf.

———. Personal Communication to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, August 5, 2019.

Lindsay, Jeff and Noel B. Reynolds. "'Strong Like unto Moses': The Case for Ancient Roots in the Book of Moses Based on Book of Mormon Usage of Related Content Apparently from the Brass Plates," in this proceedings.

Litwa, M. David. "The Deification of Moses in Philo of Alexandria." *The Studia Philonica Annual* 26 (2014): 1–27. Accessed November 3, 2020. https://www.academia.edu/16406623/The_Deification_of_Moses_in_Philo_of_Alexandria.

Lowy, Simeon. *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis. Studia Post-Biblica* 28. Edited by J. C. H. Lebram. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1977.

Madsen, Truman G. "'Putting on the Names': A Jewish-Christian Legacy," in *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley,* ed. John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks. 2 vols. 1:458–81. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990.

Marmorstein, A. *The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinical Literature and The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God (1. The Names and Attributes of God, 2. Essays in Anthropomorphism) (Three Volumes in One).* New York City: KTAV Publishing House, 1968.

Martinez, Florentino Garcia. "11QMelchizedek (11Q13 [11QMelch])," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran*

Texts in English, edited by Florentino Garcia Martinez. 2nd ed. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson, 139–40. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996.

McConkie, Bruce R. "The Ten Blessings of the Priesthood." *Ensign 7,* November 1977, 33–35.

———. *The Mortal Messiah: From Bethlehem to Calvary.* 4 vols. *Messiah Series* 2–5. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979–1981.

———. *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985.

Meeks, Wayne A. "Moses as God and King," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough,* edited by Jacob Neusner. *Religions in Antiquity, Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen)* 14, 354–71. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1968.

———. *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology.* Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1967.

Milik, Józef Tadeusz. "4Q Visions de 'Amram et Une Citations d'Origène." *Revue Biblique* 79, no. 1 (1972): 77–97. Accessed August 10, 2020. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44088133.

Mowinckel, Sigmund. *The Psalms in Israel's Worship.* 2 vols. *The Biblical Resource Series,* edited by Astrid B. Beck and David Noel Freedman. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004.

Nelson, Russell M. "Let God Prevail." *Ensign 50,* November 2020. Accessed October 14, 2020. https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/general-conference/2020/10/46nelson?lang=eng.

Nibley, Hugh W. *Abraham in Egypt,* edited by Gary P. Gillum. *Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* 14. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2000.

———. "Baptism for the Dead in Ancient Times," in *Mormonism and Early Christianity,* edited by Todd M. Compton and Stephen D. Ricks. *Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* 4, 100–67. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1987.

———. "The Meaning of the Temple," in *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present,* edited by Don E. Norton. *Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* 12, 1–41. Salt Lake City:

Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1992.

———. *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment.* 2nd ed. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2005.

———. "On the Sacred and the Symbolic," in *Temples of the Ancient World,* edited by Donald W. Parry, 535–621. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994. Reprint, *Eloquent Witness: Nibley on Himself, Others, and the Temple*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks. *Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* 17, 340–419. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2008.

Oaks, Dallin H. "The Challenge to Become." *Ensign* 30, November 2000, 32–34.

———. "Taking upon Us the Name of Jesus Christ." *Ensign* 15, May 1985, 80–83.

Ostler, Blake T. "Clothed Upon: A Unique Aspect of Christian Antiquity." *BYU Studies* 22, no. 1 (1981): 1–15.

Parry, Donald W. "Temple Worship and a Possible Reference to a Prayer Circle in Psalm 24." *BYU Studies* 32, no. 4 (1992): 57–62.

Parry, Donald W., and Emanuel Tov, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader.* 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2013.

Paulsen, David L., and Brock M. Mason. "Baptism for the Dead in Early Christianity." *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 19, no. 2 (2010): 22–49. Accessed December 12, 2020. https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1478&context=jbms.

Petersen, Boyd Jay. *Hugh Nibley: A Consecrated Life.* Draper, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2002.

Philo. "Moses 1 and 2 (De Vita Mosis)," in *Philo,* edited by F. H. Colson. Revised ed. 12 vols. Vol. 6. Translated by F. H. Colson. *Loeb Classical Library* 289, 274–595. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935.

———. "On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)," in *Philo,* edited by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. 12 vols. Vol. 2. Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. *Loeb Classical Library* 227, edited by Jeffrey Henderson, 3–85. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929.

———. "On the Giants (De Gigantibus)," in *Philo,* edited by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. 12 vols. Vol. 2. Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. *Loeb Classical Library* 227, edited by Jeffrey Henderson, 441–79. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929.

———. "On the Life of Moses," in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture,* edited by Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel, and Lawrence H. Schiffman. 3 vols. Translated by Maren R. Niehoff, 1:959–88. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2013.

———. *Philo Supplement 2 (Questions on Exodus).* Translated by Ralph Marcus. *Loeb Classical Library* 401, edited by Jeffrey Henderson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953.

Porter, Bruce H., and Stephen D. Ricks. "Names in Antiquity: Old, New, and Hidden," in *By Study and Also by Faith,* edited by John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks. 2 vols. 1:501–22. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990.

Rendsburg, Gary A. "Moses as Equal to Pharaoh," in *Text, Artifact, and Image: Reveling Ancient Israelite Religion,* ed. Gary A Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis. *Brown Judaic Studies* 346, 201–19. Providence, RI: Brown Judaic Studies, 2006. Accessed March 2018. http://jewishstudies.rutgers.edu/faculty/core-faculty-information/gary-a-rendsburg/132-publications-of-gary-a-rendsburg.

———. "Reading the Plagues in Their Ancient Egyptian Context" *The Torah.com: A Historical and Contextual Approach* (10 January 2015). Accessed January 28, 2018. http://thetorah.com/plagues-in-their-ancient-egyptian-context/.

Runia, David T. "Clement of Alexandria and the Philonic Doctrine of the Divine Powers." *Vigilae Christianae* 58, no. 3 (August 2004): 256–76. Accessed December 7, 2020. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1584621.

Schäfer, Peter. *The Jewish Jesus: How Judaism and Christianity Shaped Each Other.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Seely, David Rolph. "'A Prophet Like Moses' (Deuteronomy 18:15–18) in the Book of Mormon, the Bible, and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *"To Seek the Law of the Lord": Essays in Honor of John W.*

Welch, edited by Paul Y. Hoskisson and Daniel C. Peterson, 359–74. Orem, UT: Interpreter Foundation, 2017.

Shelemon. ca. 1222. *The Book of the Bee, the Syriac Text Edited from the Manuscripts in London, Oxford, and Munich with an English Translation*. Translated by E. A. Wallis Budge. Reprint ed. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1886. Reprint, n.p., n.d.

Smith, Joseph, Jr. *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph.* Edited by Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook. 1980. Accessed August 21, 2020. https://rsc.byu.edu/book/words-joseph-smith.

Smith, Joseph, Jr. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Documentary History).* 7 vols. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978.

———. 1938. *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1969.

Smith, Morton. *The Secret Gospel: The Discovery and Interpretation of the Secret Gospel According to Mark*. Middletown, CA: The Dawn Horse Press, 2005.

Speiser, Ephraim A. "The Creation Epic (Enuma Elish)," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament,* edited by James B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. with supplement. 60–72, 501–03. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Sprengling, Martin, and William Creighton Graham, eds. *Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament, Part 1: Genesis–2 Samuel. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 13*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931. Accessed July 3, 2020. https://archive.org/details/SprenglingGraham1931BarhebraeusScholia.

Stone, Michael E. *Secret Groups in Ancient Judaism*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2018. https://www.scribd.com/document/390527947/Secret-Groups-in-Ancient-Judaism-M-Stone. Accessed May 8, 2021.

Talmage, James E. *The Story of 'Mormonism' and The Philosophy of 'Mormonism'.* Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1914. Accessed July 5, 2020. https://archive.org/details/storyofmormonism00talmi.

———. 1899. *The Articles of Faith*. 1924 Revised ed. *Classics in Mormon Literature.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984.

Talon, Philippe. "Enuma Elish and the Transmission of Babylonian Cosmology to the West," in *Mythology and Mythologies: Methodological Approaches to Intercultural Influences. Proceedings of the Second Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project. Held in Paris, France, October 4–7, 1999,* edited by R. M. Whiting, 265–77. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001. Accessed March 10, 2011. http://www.aakkl.helsinki.fi/melammu/.

Tissot, J. James. *The Old Testament: Three Hundred and Ninety-Six Compositions Illustrating the Old Testament, Parts 1 and 2.* 2 vols. Paris, France: M. de Brunhoff, 1904.

Tromp, Johannes. *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary. Studia In Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 10, edited by A. M. Denis and M. De Jonge. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1993. Accessed July 3, 2020. https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/11203.

Vermes, Geza. "Essenes - Therapeutai - Qumran." *Durham University Journal* (June 1960): 97–115.

———. "Essenes and Therapeutai." *Revue de Qumrán* 3, no. 4 (1962): 495–504. Accessed December 7, 2020. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24599295.

———. "The Etymology of 'Essenes'." *Revue de Qumrán* 2, no. 3 (1960): 427–43. Accessed December 7, 2020. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24599235.

von Nordheim, Miriam. *Geboren von der Morgenröte?: Psalm 110 in Tradition, Redaktion und Rezeption.* Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2008.

Weaver, Sarah Jane. "Begin Missionary Work with the End in Mind, Says Elder Nelson." *Church News*, June 24, 2014. Accessed January 14, 2016. https://www.lds.org/church/news/begin-missionary-work-with-the-end-in-mind-says-elder-nelson?lang=eng.

Wells, Bruce. "Exodus," in *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy,* edited by John H. Walton. Zondervan Illustrated Bible Backgrounds Commentary 1. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009.

Wikipedia. "Secret Gospel of Mark." Accessed December 7, 2020. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secret_Gospel_of_Mark.

Widengren, Geo. *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion. King and Saviour IV*, ed. Geo Widengren. Uppsala, Sweden: Almquist and Wiksells, 1951.

Wyatt, Nicolas. "Degrees of Divinity: Some Mythical and Ritual Aspects of West Semitic Kingship," in *'There's Such Divinity Doth Hedge a King': Selected Essays of Nicolas Wyatt on Royal Ideology in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature,* edited by Nicolas Wyatt. *Society for Old Testament Study Monographs*, ed. Margaret Barker, 191–220. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005.

Young, Brigham. "The Calling of the Priesthood, to Preach the Gospel and Proceed with the Organization of the Kingdom of God, Preparatory to the Coming of the Son of Man; All Good is of the Lord; Salvation and Life Everlasting are Before Us (Discourse by President Brigham Young, delivered in the Bowery, at Brigham City, Saturday Morning, June 26, 1874)," in *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Vol. 17, 113–15. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1884. Reprint, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966.

Zinner, Samuel. Personal communication to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, November 3, 2020.

———. *Recovering Ancient Hebrew Scribal Numerical and Acrostic Techniques*, in preparation.

Notes on Figures

Figure 1. BYU Magazine, Fall 2017, accessed July 12, 2020, https://magazine.byu.edu/article/eight-heads-ten-commandments/. "Through the generosity of Rex G. ('62) and Ruth Methvin Maughan (BS '60), BYU acquired eight Arnold Friberg portraits used for Cecil B. Demille's *The Ten Commandments*. Photo by Roger Layton." With permission from Bruce Patrick, Art Director, *BYU Magazine*. Ben Harry, Curator of Audiovisual Materials and Media Arts History at L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University kindly provided the following information from the write up on the BYU exhibit where the faces of Moses were displayed:

The centerpiece of "So Let It Be Painted" is a recently discovered series of eight oil portraits by Friberg of Charlton Heston as Moses depicting eight different phases of his life, from a slave in the brick pits of Egypt, to a shepherd of his father-in-law Jethro's flocks, seeing the Burning Bush, and all the way to his ascension to Mt. Nebo, as the Children of Israel, under Joshua's leadership, journey to the Promised Land. The portraits were used to guide make-up supervisor Wally Westmore who, after the film was released, took them home. Their existence was unknown until just a few years ago when his heirs put them up for auction.

Figure 2. Image: 8 7/8 x 16 3/8 in. (22.5 x 41.6 cm). Brooklyn Museum, purchased by public subscription, 00.159.7. Published in J. F. Dolkart, *James Tissot*, p. 204. With permission.

Figure 3. With the kind permission of Glen Hopkinson, son of Harold I. Hopkinson. As published in "The Foreordination of Abraham," Book of Abraham Insight #21, accessed October 14, 2020, https://www.pearlofgreatpricecentral.org/the-foreordination -of-abraham/.

Figure 4. From 1957 packet containing reprints of a series of inserts that appeared in the *Instructor* magazine beginning in March 1957, accessed July 12, https://ia802800.us.archive.org/2/items/ instructor923dese/instructor923dese.pdf. © 1957 by The Arnold Friberg Foundation. Used with permission of Creative Fine Art, with appreciation to Carolyn Dominy. Artist's description:

Here the Princess Bithia, daughter of Rameses I, has come to bathe in the Nile River, accompanied by her musicians and handmaidens. The stone structure is an abandoned boat landing to which has been moored a bathing raft. It is reasonable that the princess would have some such lovely place where she and her companions could spend pleasant afternoons. The tall plants shown by the water's edge are papyrus. The lotus blossoms, growing in the stream, were often adapted as a motif in Egyptian decorative design—used here in the bracelets worn by the princess. The ark of reeds holding the baby Moses is a typical laundry basket that can still be seen in Egypt today. Perhaps, by appearing to be on her way to wash clothes in the rear, Moses' Hebrew mother might have passed by Pharaoh's

unsuspecting soldiers. The red, black, and white cloth wrapped about the child is woven in the authentic colors of the tribe of Levi. Moses' sister, Miriam, is watching from the shadows.

Figure 5. Offerings. J. J. Tissot, *Old Testament*, 1:47. The Jewish Museum, no. 52–94. Public domain. See Genesis 14:18–20.

Figure 6. The British Museum, Asset Number 978337001, Accessed July 12, 2020, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image /978337001. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) license for non-commercial use. Description from web page:

> Title page with title written on the pedestal of a classical monument at centre, Moses enthroned on the pedestal and holding the stone tablets, two laurel roundels with scenes from Moses' life on either side, a fifth scene in a cartouche below, the tetragrammaton in top centre; after Peter Paul Rubens; title to the fifth edition of Cornelis van den Steene's *Commentaria in Pentateuchum Mosis* (Antwerp: 1648). c.1616 Engraving.

Figure 7. Copyright Stephen T. Whitlock, with permission.

Figure 8. From 1957 packet containing reprints of a series of inserts that appeared in the *Instructor* magazine beginning in March 1957, accessed July 12, 2020, https://ia802800.us.archive.org/2/items/ instructor923dese/instructor923dese.pdf. © 1957 by The Arnold Friberg Foundation. Used with permission of Creative Fine Art, with appreciation to Carolyn Dominy. Artist's description:

> Here we see the sparse vegetation and rugged granite rock formations typical of the slopes of Mt. Sinai. Moses is shown wearing the kind of clothing that? might still be seen on a Bedouin shepherd today. Desert nights can be cold enough to require the warmth of animal furs. The shoes Moses has put off have the heavy, thick souls needed for protection against the jagged rocks. The staff he has laid down is the same one that he will later turn into a serpent at the Pharaoh's court. At his side is slung a shophar, made of ram's horn and used for sounding warnings. It is still used as a ceremonial horn in modern-day Jewish religious observances.

Figure 9. From 1957 packet containing reprints of a series of inserts that appeared in the *Instructor* magazine beginning in March 1957, accessed July 12, 2020, https://ia802800.us.archive.org/2/items/instructor923dese/instructor923dese.pdf. © 1957 by The Arnold Friberg Foundation. Used with permission of Creative Fine Art, with appreciation to Carolyn Dominy. Artist's description:

> Moses is shown here wearing the great Levite robe that marks his tribal lineage. He is lean and gaunt, his clothing torn and ragged, from the terrible ordeal he has just endured in crossing the desert. As in all desert country, water was precious, and for trying to steal the water that rightfully belonged to Jethro, whose mark is on the well, the thieving shepherds deserved the clouting they received at the hands of Moses. In the hands of a man who knows how to use it, a shepherd's staff can be a formidable weapon. Since, as Josephus tells us, Moses had been a military commander in Egypt, he no doubt had the power and skill to take care of himself in a fight. Strength and valor are always found in those whom the Lord picks for His leaders. The girl dressed in white is Zipporah, eldest of the seven daughters of Jethro and the one who will later become the wife of Moses. Near the well are shown a watering trough and leather water buckets.

Figure 10. From 1957 packet containing reprints of a series of inserts that appeared in the *Instructor* magazine beginning in March 1957, accessed July 12, 2020, https://ia802800.us.archive.org/2/items/instructor923dese/instructor923dese.pdf. © 1957 by The Arnold Friberg Foundation. Used with permission of Creative Fine Art, with appreciation to Carolyn Dominy. Artist's description:

> Here we see the children of Israel coming up out of the watery chasm toward the east bank of the Red Sea. In the background, the cloud is lighted by the pillar of fire, still holding back the Egyptians on the far western shore. The wind blows with hurricane force in all directions, holding back the heavy waters and all but extinguishing the flames in the fire-pots. So near to safety, a mother has fallen from exhaustion, and is helped by her husband. Strong men labor to keep the heavily loaded wagon upright. Beyond the wagon is the hart-standard of the tribe of Naphtali. An old blind man, led by his two grandchildren, is content to walk by faith, not by sight. Two strong youths carry

their invalid mother in a hammock slung from a pole resting on their shoulders. The man on horseback is the powerful young Joshua, of the tribe of Ephraim, who will one day lead the armies of Israel to brilliant victories. Moses, in his Levite robe, has picked up a lost and frightened child. Led by God's Prophet, a nation struggles up to reach the shore, and life!

Notes

1. E.g., T. G. Madsen, "'Putting on the Names'"; B. H. Porter et al., "Names in Antiquity."

2. To paraphrase C. S. Lewis, "God turns tools into servants[, servants into friends,] and [friends] into sons." *Screwtape Letters*, Preface (1961 edition), 9. Lewis' original statement reads: "God turns tools into servants and servants into sons, so that they may be at last reunited to Him in the perfect freedom of a love offered from the height of the utter individualities which he has liberated them to be." For more on this topic, see J. M. Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Oath*, 75–79.

3. See J. M. Bradshaw et al., "'By the Blood Ye Are Sanctified'" (TMZ 4), 99.

4. See J. M. Bradshaw, "'Faith, Hope, and Charity,'" 60–61.

5. Doctrine and Covenants 84:33–34. See J. M. Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Oath*; J. M. Bradshaw et al., "'By the Blood Ye Are Sanctified'" (TMZ 4).

6. See J. M. Bradshaw, "LDS Book of Enoch," 50–53. Cf. "The Book of Enoch As a Temple Text," in this proceedings.

7. Which might be described with the term *hermae* as in J. M. Bradshaw, foreword, xii.

8. See, e.g., J. M. Bradshaw, "What Did Joseph Smith Know"; J. M. Bradshaw et al., "Investiture Panel"; J. M. Bradshaw, "Ezekiel Mural"; H. W. Nibley, *Message* (2005).

9. Other sources where this name or similar variants appear include H. Jacobson, "Pseudo-Philo," 492–93 and R. R. Duke, "Social Location," 75. *Melchiel*, "God is my king," 135 BCE–100 CE, Jacobson, "Pseudo-Philo," 492; *Melchias*, "king," 9th century CE, George Syncellus, *Chronographia* and 11th–12th centuries CE, George Cedrenus, *Synopsis historion*; *Amlâkâ,* Shelemon, *Book of the Bee*, 48; *Malkēl* (probably a corruption of "Malkel"), "God has ruled," 13th century CE?, M. Sprengling et al., "Part 1," *Barhebraeus' Scholia*, 102–3; and *Yamkil,* Ishodad, *Commentary on Exodus*, 2:10, cited in Jacobson, "Pseudo-Philo," 493.

    Robert Duke suggests that the *Visions of Amram* 1:9 records "Moses' original Hebrew name. "Social Location," 69–79. He renders the Aramaic *ml'kyh*, [more commonly] translated as "the messengers" as the Hebrew name, Malachiah, which he argues refers to Moses." Gross, "Visions of Amram," 1508. Differing in this regard with Duke, Edward Cook, along with Gross, translate the passage as "the messengers." D. W. Parry et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (2013), 4Q583, fragment 1a–c, line 10, 883; A. D. Gross, "Visions of Amram," 1508.

10. E. R. Goodenough, *By Light*, 292–293. The whole of the relevant passage in the writings of Clement reads as follows (Clement of Alexandria, "Stromata," 335):

> Thereupon the [Egyptian] queen gave the babe the name of Moses, with etymological propriety, from his being drawn out of the water,—for the Egyptians call water *mou*,—in which he had been exposed to die. For they call Moses one who breathed [on being taken] from the water. It is clear that previously the parents gave a name to the child on his circumcision; and he was called Joachim. And he had a third name in heaven, after his ascension, as the mystics say—Melchi.

Apart from the digression on the names given to Moses at circumcision and "in heaven," Clement's account is based on Philo, "On the Life of Moses," 279ff.

11. Goodenough, *By Light*, 292–93. See Clement of Alexandria, 335.
12. Genesis 14:18. See also JST Genesis 14:25–40.
13. Clement of Alexandria, "Stromata," 307. For more about Clement's view of Christianity as a "mystery religion," see Ferguson, "Achievement of Clement," 62–63.
14. Mark 4:11. Cf. M. Barker, *King of the Jews*, 84.
15. Purported letter of Clement to Theodore, published in M. Smith, *Secret Gospel*, 14. Though some scholars dispute the nature of the "Secret Gospel of Mark" cited in the latter and some of Smith's interpretations, most accept that the letter is an excellent match to the style of Clement. Hugh Nibley cites the work without qualification in *Message* (2005), 515. For a summary of the debate on the nature and authenticity of this document, see, e.g., B. D. Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 67–89; M. Smith, *Secret Gospel*, *xi*, 139–150.
16. W. Adler, "Introduction," 22. Whereas J. Tromp, in *Assumption of Moses* (270–85) argues that Clement obtained his information from the lost ending of the pseudepigraphal *Assumption of Moses* (ca. 100 BCE–100 CE), some other scholars hold differing views. See also Adler, "Introduction," 22n96.
17. For more on these groups and their names, see M. E. Stone, *Secret Groups*, especially pp. 55–87; G. Vermes, "Etymology of 'Essenes'"; Vermes, "Essenes - Therapeutai - Qumran"; and Vermes, "Essenes and Therapeutai," initiates swore solemn oaths not to reveal certain teachings of the groups, including "angelic names" (M. E. Stone, *Secret Groups*, pp. 32–33, 79). On Clement's familiarity with the writings of Philo, see D. T. Runia, "Clement," 256–258.
18. The extant text and English translation of the relevant passage is published in D. W. Parry et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (2013), 4Q544 (4QVisions of 'Amram[b ar]), fragment 2, line 13 and fragment 3, line 2,

891. Though the complete set of names is not preserved in the extant text, J. T. Milik has made a strong case for his reconstruction of the missing names based on related texts (11Q13 and 1QM 13 1. 10–11). See J. T. Milik, "4Q Visions de 'Amram," 85–86; P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'*, 28; K. Dalgaard, "A Priest for All Generations," 57–60. Here is the text, with reconstructed portions shown within brackets:

> [And these are his three names: Belial, Prince of Darkness], and Melchiresha' . . . [and he answered and sa]id to me: [My] three names [are Michael, Prince of Light and Melchizedek].

"Milik and others since him have found this hypothetical list of names to represent the most plausible reconstruction of the surviving text" (Dalgaard, 58). For a brief overview of Melchizedek in Second Temple literature, see B. A. Jurgens, "Reassessing the Dream-Vision," 29–33.

19. According to R. Jones ("Priesthood and Cult,"17n69), at 4Q545, fragment 4, line 15b, "the *angelus interpres* has likely just finished a description of Moses in the material preceding line 15, and is now beginning a description of Moses' brother Aaron." Thus, according to this view, the statement "I will tell you your(?) names" is being addressed to Moses.

20. D. W. Parry et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (2013), 4Q545 (4QVisions of 'Amram[c ar]), fragment 4, line 14, 895.

21. J. E. Talmage, *Articles* (1984), 474n4, citing Talmage, *Story and Philosophy of 'Mormonism'*, 109.

22. B. J. Petersen, *Nibley*, 354. For Nibley's views on confidentiality as it relates to temple ordinances, see, e.g., H. W. Nibley, "Sacred," 553–54, 569–72.

23. See, e.g., S. Mowinckel, *Psalms*, 1:180, 1:181n191; J. H. Eaton, *Psalms Commentary*, Psalm 118:19–22, 405; J. Gee, "Keeper"; J. M. Bradshaw et al., "Investiture Panel," 11, 20–22.

24. Gee, "Keeper," 235. Among other ancient documents from around the world, the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* takes up a similar theme as it describes the manner in which initiates were to advance past a series of gatekeepers through his knowledge of certain names. B. T. Ostler, "Clothed," 8-10.

25. S. Mowinckel, *Psalms*, 1:181n191.

26. J. H. Eaton, *Psalms Commentary*, Psalm 118:19–22, 405. See also Psalm 24:3–4.

27. Psalm 118:20.

28. S. Mowinckel, *Psalms*, 1:180.

29. Psalm 24:6. Donald Parry sees an allusion to a prayer circle in this verse. See D. W. Parry, "Temple Worship," 24.

30. 2 Nephi 32:4.

31. 2 Nephi 31:20. This verse from the Book of Mormon, of course, refers to the actual blessing of eternal life at the end of one's probation rather than to the symbolic representation of that blessing that is experienced in earthly ordinances. Regarding the process of enduring to the end, Hafen and others observe:

> Sometimes . . . we refer to the first principles as if they represented the entire process of discipleship. When we do that, "endure to the end" can sound like an afterthought, as if our baptism and confirmation have hooked us like a trout on God's fishing line, and so long as we don't squirm off the hook, He will reel us safely in. Or some assume that "endure to the end" simply describes the "no worries" stage of life, when our main job is to just enjoy frequent trips to our cozy retirement cottage while refraining from doing anything really bad along the way. *Contrite Spirit*, 57–58.

   But there is more. As President Russell M. Nelson has said, "Enduring to the end . . . means the endowment and sealing ordinances of the holy temple" ("Begin with the end in mind," Seminar for New Mission Presidents, June 22, 2014. [For a summary of Elder Nelson's talk, see S. J. Weaver, "Begin Missionary Work."]). And Noel and Sydney Reynolds have taught that "endure to the end" is a gospel principle that is paired with the temple endowment, just as repentance is paired with baptism (personal communication, May 17, 2014). Nephi offered a similarly expansive view of "enduring"—we should "endure to the end, in following the example of the Son of the living God" (2 Nephi 31:16). The first principles will always be first—yet they are but the foundation for pressing on toward the Christlike life: "Therefore *not* leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto *perfection*; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God, . . . [and] baptisms" (JST Hebrews 6:1–2; emphasis added).

32. H. W. Nibley, *Message* (2005), 451; cf. B. H. Porter and S. D. Ricks, "Names in Antiquity," 501–504; J. Assman, *Search for God*, 83–110. The significance of "being willing to take upon [us] the name of Jesus Christ" (Doctrine and Covenants 20:77) in the ordinance of the sacrament takes on additional meaning in light of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint temple ordinances. D. H. Oaks, "Taking upon Us"; D. A. Bednar, "Honorably Hold a Name"; see also Doctrine and Covenants 109:22, 26, 79).

33. D. H. Oaks, "The Challenge to Become," 32. See also J. E. Faulconer, "Self-Image" and D. A. Bednar, *Power to Become*, 1–35.

34. H. W. Nibley, "Meaning of Temple," 26.

35. Doctrine and Covenants 130:11; emphasis added.

36. R. Guénon, *Symboles*, 36.

37. Guénon, 36; emphasis added.
38. Genesis 2:19–20.
39. M. DelCogliano, *Basil of Caesarea's Anti-Eunomian Theory of Names*, 153–260. For a discussion of modern name theory, see S. Cumming, Names.
40. Genesis 17:5, 15; 32:28. On the tests and changes of name for Abram/ Abraham and Sarai/Sarah, see, e.g., Hugh Nibley, *Abraham in Egypt. Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* 14. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2000), 319-76, 165–71, 207–21. On the test and change of name for Jacob/Israel, see C. T. R. Hayward, *Interpretations of the Name Israel*.
41. F. Brown et al., *Lexicon*, 220c.
42. Nehemiah 12:10, 12, 26.
43. 2 Kings 23–24; 1 Chronicles 3; 2 Chronicles 36; Jeremiah 1, 22, 24–28, 35–37, 45–46, 52; Daniel 1. Cf. Jehoiakim's son Jehoiachin (2 Kings 24–25; 2 Chronicles 36; Jeremiah 52; Ezekiel 1).
44. 2 Kings 23:34.
45. Intriguingly, the biblical name "Jachin" (1 Kings 7:21, referring to the right pillar of Solomon's temple) is associated with the name of a pass-grip of a Craft Mason in an 1829 exposé on the rituals of Freemasonry (A. de Hoyos et al., *Light on Masonry*, 266) and in other Masonic literature. Sometimes the name is written in English as Joachin/ Joahcim (https://www.rimasons.org/trestleboard/212-the-esoteric -meaning-of-the-twin-pillars-boaz-joachim) or Jehoiachin. Though the name sounds similar to Joakim/Jehoakim in English pronunciation, a native Hebrew speaker (especially an ancient one) would never confuse them. The -ch- in Jachin is a *kaph* (k), while the -k- in Joakim/Jehoiakim is a *qoph* (q). Those consonants sound identical to us, but were more differentiated in the Hebrew language. According to Robert Alter, "The naming of pillars and altars was not uncommon in the ancient Near East. [The names of the pillars] mean 'he will firmly found' (*yakhin*) and "strength in him" (the latter is an attested personal name). Both names appear to refer to the stability of the royal dynasty." *Hebrew Bible*, 2:462n21.
46. Acts 3:22, 7:37.
47. 1 Nephi 10:4, 22:20–21, 3 Nephi 20:23.
48. Samuel Zinner observes: "There is a whole line of exegesis that could be explored here, that is, the tradition that Mary's father's name was Joachim. Josephus writes that Moses' birth was painless, and this was applied to Jesus in early Christian traditions. Matthew appropriates several of Josephus' details in the Moses nativity story for use in his nativity of Jesus story. So there is a whole complex of Moses traditions that were applied to the family of Jesus by early Christians. There is also

the famous Quranic passage that symbolically calls the Virgin Mary's father Amram." Personal communication, November 3, 2020.

49. Doctrine and Covenants 103:16; 107:91; Moses 1:41. Cf. 2 Nephi 3:5–9, 11–16, 18–22; JST Genesis 50:24–27. For a survey of the use of this prophecy in the Book of Mormon, the Bible, and the Dead Sea Scrolls, see D. R. Seely, "'A Prophet Like Moses.'"

50. M. L. Bowen, "'And They Shall Be Had Again.'"

51. 2 Nephi 3:10; cf. v. 17; JST Genesis 50:26, 28.

52. Philo (like Josephus) gave a derivation from Egyptian, explaining that "*Mou* is the Egyptian word for water" (Philo, "On the Life of Moses," 168). Niehoff explains: "Philo's interpretation takes into account the historical background of the story, assuming that it is far more likely for an Egyptian princess to call her adopted son by an Egyptian name" (Philo, 968).

53. The insistence of the Egyptian princess that Moses was literally begotten through her is clearly reflected in the name she gave him. It is also consistent with the careful actions she is said to have taken to mimic the conditions of expectant motherhood, as reported by Philo: "[She] took him for her son, having at an earlier time artificially enlarged the figure of her womb to make him pass as her real and not a supposititious child" (Philo, 968).

54. N. J. Arp, "Joseph Knew First."

55. E. R. Goodenough, *By Light*, 292–93. See Clement of Alexandria, "Stromata," 335. For an assessment of Goodenough's views on ancient Jewish mysteries grounded in ritual, see J. M. Bradshaw, "Ezekiel Mural," especially pp. 32–34.

   Geo Widengren cites Moses as the prototype of prophet, priest, and king in the Old Testament. Among other evidences, he notes Moses' possession of three objects as emblems of these respective offices: the tablets of law (Exodus 31:18) or covenant (Hebrews 9:4), the pot (or jug [G. Widengren, *King and Tree of Life*, 40]) of manna (Exodus 16:33–34; Hebrews 9:4—perhaps relating to the shewbread that only the priests were to eat [cf. Matthew 12:4; Mark 2:26; Luke 6:4]), and the verdant rod or staff (Exodus 4:17; Hebrews 9:4). Regalia of a similar nature were possessed of prophets, priests, and kings in both ancient (see J. M. Bradshaw et al., "Investiture Panel," 34–39) and modern times (see J. M. Bradshaw, "What Did the Lord Mean?" n83).

56. The appearance of "Melchizedek" as two words is not consistent in the Bible and ancient texts. On the one hand, it is written as two words in the Masoretic Text of Genesis 14, Psalm 110, the Samaritan Pentateuch (S. Lowy, *Principles*, 320), the Targums (J. W. Etheridge, *The Targums of Onkelos*, 14), and 11QMelchizedek (F. G. Martinez, "11QMelchizedek," 140). On the other hand, Samuel Zinner notes these counter-examples: "The LXX read it as one word, that is, as a name. In subtle ways we

can determine that the gospels presuppose the LXX interpretation of the Hebrew text, whereas *Shepherd of Hermas* Command 1 seems to understand it as two words. . . . It is written as one word in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (J. A. Fitzmyer, "Now This Melchizedek," 312–313)." Personal communication, November 3, 2020.

It may be possible to identify how four additional ancient authors read "Melchi-zedek," either as a title consisting of two words or as a name consisting of one word. Zinner extends the evidence by using arguments that take into account the possibility that the numerical architecture of some biblical passages "are based on numerical values of the letters of the names of God." I. Knohl, "Sacred Architecture," 189. For example, the Song of Moses' exordium (Deuteronomy 32:1–3) contains a total of 26 words, congruent with a hint at the numerical value of YHWH—namely 26 (Knohl, 194). In an in-progress monograph, Zinner points out that:

MT Psalm 110 has a total of 65 words, congruent with the numerical value of the divine name *ʾAdonai* that occurs in the text. The 65 words are divided between a 2-word superscription + a 63-word main text, the result of the MT reading *mlky-ṣdq* in v. 4 as 2 words. By contrast, the LXX translators read in Psalm 110:4 *mlkyṣdq*, a single word, that is, the name Melchizedek. The LXX translators therefore counted only 62 words in the main text. The NA28 text of Mark 12:35–37, Jesus' discussion of Psalm 110, contains 62 words. The NA28 text of the parallel in Matthew 22:41–45 also contains 62 words, despite Matthew's significant variations in wording. The main parallel in Luke is found in 20:41–44. However, given the introductory elements *gar* and *de* in vv. 39 and 40, respectively, it seems that Luke intended these two transitional verses to introduce vv. 41–44. The parallel passage in Luke 20:39–44 shows even more variation in wording than does Matthew compared to Mark, but the NA28 text of Luke 20:39–44 also keeps the word total to exactly 62. These three examples' matching word counts are hardly the result of chance. Arguably, they seem to indicate that the three gospel writers counted 62 words in the Hebrew text of Psalm 110, in accord with the LXX translators, and thus read not *mlky-ṣdq* but *mlkyṣdq*, i.e., the name Melchizedek. In Matthew and Mark, the discussion of Deuteronomy 6:4–5 (The Greatest Commandment) and of Psalm 110 form a single pericope. *Shepherd of Hermas* Commandment 1 almost doubtless has in mind the gospel pericope of the Greatest Commandment and Psalm 110. *Hermas* Commandment 1 in Bart Ehrman's Loeb Greek text has a 2-word superscription and a 63-word main text, matching the MT word count for Psalm 110. Apparently, Hermas read *mlky-ṣdq*, not *mlkyṣdq*, in Psalm 110:4.

57. M. Barker, "Who Was Melchizedek?" That the third name in the sequence of names is meant as a title is supported by similar passages in the *Visions of Amram* that were reconstructed by Józef Milik. Milik's reconstruction, in which Amram's heavenly guide explains the names of the evil "Watcher" and his own names, reads:

> [And these are his three names: Belial, Prince of Darkness], and Melchiresha' [Ruler of Wickedness] . . .
>
>   [and he answered and sa]id to me: [My] three names [are Michael, Prince of Light, and Melchizedek (Ruler of Righteousness)]. D. W. Parry et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (2013), 4Q544 (4QVisions of 'Amram[b ar]), fragment 2, line 13 and fragment 3, line 2, 891.

See also J. T. Milik, "4Q Visions de 'Amram," 85–86; P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'*, 28; K. Dalgaard, "A Priest for All Generations," 57–60.

   The *Visions of Amram* appears to be part of a small collection of Aramaic Dead Sea Scroll documents that were intended for the education of priests (J. T. Milik, "4Q Visions de 'Amram," 96–97; H. "Drawnel, Priestly Education"; H. Drawnel, "Initial Narrative"). Importantly, the *Visions of Amram*, like others of the Aramaic documents found at Qumran (including the *Book of Giants*) are non-sectarian and somewhat older than the other Dead Sea Scrolls texts. These Aramaic texts differ from the more typical Dead Sea Scroll texts that are critical of the current priesthood and temple establishment at Jerusalem. To the contrary, "the use of Melchizedek language [in the *Visions of Amram*] appears to function as a way of authorizing the earthly and historical priesthood of Aaron by aligning it with Melchizedek's otherworldly and transhistorical priesthood. As Perrin suggests, the *Visions of Amram* may reflect an attempt at 'linking the earthly priests into a chain of command that stretches upward to the heavens, ultimately to the head of the priestly order, Melchizedek himself'" (R. Jones, "Priesthood and Cult," 22).

   Psalms 110:4, part of another temple hymn and an enthronement psalm, indicates that the Lord declared the Davidic king a priest-king thus: "The Lord hath <u>sworn</u>, and will not <u>repent</u>, Thou art a <u>priest</u> for ever **after the order of <u>Melchizedek</u>**"—i.e., after the pattern of the "king of righteousness" or "my king is righteousness" (Hebrews 7:2. Cf. Isaiah 32:1 as a messianic prophecy envisioning the Davidic king reigning in the tradition of the "Melchizedek" kingship of Salem/Jerusalem: "Behold, **a <u>king</u>** shall reign [*yimlāk-melek*] **in righteousness** [*lĕṣedeq*], and princes shall rule in <u>judgment</u>"). This precisely follows the pattern of the "oath and covenant" (Doctrine and Covenants 84:39–40) set out in the beginning with Adam in Moses 6:67–68: "And thou art after

the order of him who was without beginning of days or end of years, from all eternity to all eternity. Behold, thou art one in me, a son of God; and thus may all become my sons. Amen."

We recall that Alma the Younger exhorted his audience at Ammonihah to "remember that the Lord God ordained priests, after his holy order, which was after the order of his Son, to teach these things unto the people. And those priests were ordained after the order of his Son, in a manner that thereby the people might know in what manner to look forward to his Son for redemption" (Alma 13:1–2). He further explained that such royal-priestly ordinations were predicated upon a "calling" and "a preparatory redemption" that had their existence "from the foundation of the world" (Alma 13:3–7). In language that strongly evokes the Book of Moses, Alma also taught that such priests "were ordained after this manner—being called with a holy calling, and ordained with a holy ordinance, and taking upon them the high priesthood of the holy order, which calling, and ordinance, and high priesthood, is without beginning or end—thus they become high priests forever, after the order of the Son, the Only Begotten of the Father, who is without beginning of days or end of years, who is full of grace, equity, and truth," in a wordplay on Melchizedek he connected such ordinations with repentance and "righteousness" (ṣedeq) (Alma 13:10. See M. L. Bowen et al., "Of Kings, King-men, and Priestly Orders") and then directly invoked the example of "Melchizedek, who was also a high priest after this same order which I have spoken, who also took upon him the high priesthood forever" (Alma 13:14). Alma then adumbrated the Christ-typology of Melchizedek and his order:

> Now these ordinances were given after this manner, that thereby the people might look forward on the Son of God, it being a type of his order, or it being his order, and this that they might look forward to him for a remission of their sins, that they might enter into the rest of the Lord. Now this *Melchizedek* was a *king* [*melek*] over the land of Salem [*šālēm* = "peace"; cf. Heb. šālôm]; and his people had waxed strong in iniquity and abomination; yea, *they had all gone astray; they were full of all manner of wickedness* [the opposite of ṣedeq]; but Melchizedek having exercised mighty faith, and received the office of the high priesthood according to the holy order of God, did preach repentance unto his people. And behold, they did repent; and *Melchizedek* did establish *peace* [šālôm] in the land in his days; therefore he was called *the prince of peace* [śar šālôm; cf. Isaiah 6:9; Abraham 1:2], for he was the *king of Salem* [*melek šālēm*]; and *he did reign* [*wayyimlōk*] *under his father.* (Alma 13:16–18)

Alma, plausibly echoing wordplay from more ancient Melchizedek material, plays abundantly on Melchizedek in terms of the noun *melek* ("king"), the verb *mālak* ("reign" [as king]), and his role over the people of Salem as *śar šālôm* and *melek šālēm* (prince/king of peace/Salem). The Christ-typology culminates in Melchizedek "reigning" as Son "under" his Father. Moses would function as this type of "son" in his role as deliverer of Israel, just as Jesus would later in his role as Deliverer of Israel.

    Note that JST Genesis 14:33–36 reflects similar wordplay from a putatively ancient source: "And now, Melchizedek was a priest of this order; therefore, he obtained *peace* [*šālôm*] in *Salem* [*šālēm*] and was called the *prince of peace* [*śar šālôm*]. And his people wrought *righteousness* [*ṣedeq*], and obtained heaven [*šāmayim*], and sought for the city of Enoch which God had before taken, separating it from the earth, having reserved it unto the latter days, or the end of the world, And hath said, and sworn with an oath, that the heavens and the earth should come together and *the sons of God* should be tried so as by fire. And this *Melchizedek*, having thus established righteousness [*ṣedeq*], was called the king of heaven [*melek šāmayim*] by his people, or, in other words, the king of peace [*melek šālôm*]." Under this model, Alma and Hebrews 7 would be drawing from the same ancient source.

58. M. Barker, *King of the Jews*, 81–83.

59. Miriam von Nordheim reads "I have begotten you as Dew," that is, the offspring's personal name is "Dew," begotten by YHWH and Shaḥar, the feminine personified Dawn. von Nordheim, *Geboren von der Morgenröte?* John Day suggests the reading of "from the womb of the dawn you have the dew wherewith I have begotten you." He further suggests, "Since Shaḥar and Shalem, Dawn and Dusk, were sibling deities at Ugarit, we should not be surprised if the city of Jerusalem, originally a Canaanite name meaning 'Foundation of Shalem' (cf. Jeruel, "Foundation of El" in 2 Chr 20:16), also made room for a mythological role for Shaḥar, 'Dawn' (now feminine rather than masculine, unlike at Ugarit)." "Some Aspects of the Monarchy," 165–66.

60. Note that in Israelite practice, as witnessed in the examples of David and Solomon, the moment when the individual was made king would not necessarily have been the time of his first anointing. The culminating anointing of David corresponding to his definitive investiture as king was preceded by a prior, princely anointing. LeGrand Baker and Stephen Ricks describe other "incidents in the Old Testament where a prince was first anointed to become king, and later, after he had proven himself, was anointed again—this time as actual king." *Who Shall Ascend*, 353. See also additional discussion on pp. 354–58 and, e.g., 1 Samuel 10:1, 15:17, 16:23; 2 Samuel 2:4, 5:3; 1 Kings 1:39; 1 Chronicles 29:22. Cf. J. M. Bradshaw, *Creation*, 519–23.

Modern Latter-day Saints can compare this idea to the conditional promises they receive in association with all priesthood ordinances, promises that are to be realized only through their continued faithfulness. Further emphasizing the anticipatory and conditional nature of even a second, royal anointing, Brigham Young explained that "a person may be anointed king and priest long before he receives his kingdom" (quoted in J. Smith Jr., *Documentary History*, August 6, 1843, 5:527. For descriptions of Joseph Smith's restoration of the ordinance of "second anointing" and the offices of "kings and priests unto the Most High God" in Nauvoo, see A. H. Hedges et al., *Journals, 1843–1844,* in *The Joseph Smith Papers, xx*–xxi, and M. Grow et al., *Council of Fifty, Minutes*, xxxviii–xxxvix.

Joseph Smith explained that this office had "'nothin[g] to do with temporal things' but was instead related to the kingdom of God" (Grow, *Council of Fifty, Minutes*, xxxviii). On another occasion he said: "It is understood by many by reading [Genesis 14] that Melchizedek was king of some country or nation on the earth, but it was not so. In the original it reads king of Shalom which signifies king of peace or righteousness and not of any country or nation." J. Smith Jr., *Words of Joseph Smith*, James Burgess Notebook, August 27, 1843, 246 (spelling and punctuation modernized). Cf. JST Genesis 14:36.

61. In Doctrine and Covenants 76, we learn the following about those who will come forth in the "resurrection of the just" (vv. 56–58):

> They are they who are *priests and kings*, who have received of his fulness, and of his glory; [Cf. Samuel Zinner's translation of *Odes of Solomon* 36:2, "before his fulness/perfection and glory," a passage influenced by *2 Enoch* 22.]
>
> And are priests of the Most High, after the order of *Melchizedek*, which was after the order of Enoch, which was after the order of the *Only Begotten Son*.
>
> Wherefore, as it is written, they are gods, even the *sons of God*. (emphasis added)

Elsewhere we are taught that the blessings of the fulness of the Melchizedek priesthood belong to one who is made a "king and a priest unto God, bearing rule, authority, and dominion under the Father." O. Hyde, "Diagram," 23. Cf. Doctrine and Covenants 76:56–59; A. H. Hedges et al., Journals, 1841–1843, August 27, 1843, 86 (cf. J. Smith Jr., *Teachings*, August 27, 1843, 322). Correspondingly, worthy women may receive the blessings of becoming queens and priestesses (G. M. Leonard, *Nauvoo*, 260–61; Hedges et al., Journals, 1841–1843, September 28, 1843, xx–xxi, 104. See also R. K. Esplin, "Succession of Continuity," 314–15; W. W. Phelps, cited in S. M. Brown, "Paracletes," 80–81).

It is fitting for these blessings to be associated with the name of Melchizedek because he was a prominent "king of Salem" and "the priest of the most high God" (Genesis 14:18; JST Genesis 14:25–40; Hebrews 7:1–10; Alma 13:15–19), who also gave the fulness of the priesthood to Abraham (Doctrine and Covenants 84:14). Later kings of Israel, as well as Jesus Christ himself, were declared to be part of the "order of Melchizedek" (Psalm 110:4; Hebrews 5:6–10, 6:20, 7:1–28; Alma 13:1–19. Cf. JST Hebrews 7:3, 19–21, 25–26), which was originally called "the Order of the Son of God" (Doctrine and Covenants 107:2–4). See J. M. Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Oath*, 53–58; J. Smith Jr., *Words of Joseph Smith*, 303–7nn21–22, 29–30.

62. Doctrine and Covenants 107:2. The various names of this order are also illustrated elsewhere in scripture: "after the order of Melchizedek, which was after the order of Enoch, which was [ultimately] after the order of the Only Begotten Son." Doctrine and Covenants 76:57. Compare B. Young, "Calling of the Priesthood," June 26, 1874, 113.

63. Doctrine and Covenants 107:4.

64. Emphasis added. See J. M. Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Oath*, 53–65; B. R. McConkie, *Mortal Messiah*, 1:229; B. R. McConkie, "Ten Blessings," 33.

65. Moses 1:4; cf. 2 Samuel 7:14.

66. Moses 1:6, 7, 40; emphasis added.

67. Satan's first words to the prophet are "Moses, son of *man*" (Moses 1:12; emphasis added). In immediate response, Moses highlights the difference in title and glory between himself and his adversary: "Who art *thou*? For behold, I am a son of *God*, in the similitude of his *Only Begotten*; and where is *thy* glory that I should worship thee?" (Moses 1:13; emphasis added).

68. Moses 1:25.

69. B. Wells, "Exodus", Exodus 7:1. For more extensive discussion of this topic, see J. M. Bradshaw, "What Did the Lord Mean?"

70. G. A. Rendsburg, "Reading the Plagues."

71. B. Wells, "Exodus," Exodus 7:1.

72. G. A. Rendsburg, "Moses as Equal," 204.

73. W. A. Meeks, "Moses as God and King."

74. Zinner observes that verse 25 in the King James Bible is verse 26 in the Hebrew Masoretic Text (counting the superscription as verse 1)—suggesting the numerical value of YHWH (26). Personal communication, November 3, 2020.

75. See D. J. Larsen, "Psalm 24," 212–213. Speaking more broadly, Peter Schäfer is reluctant to take passages with similar implications taken to their logical conclusions in the medieval Jewish mystical literature "at face value" because they are so "common," leaving one to conclude that there must be an "enormous number of deified angels in heaven."

However, he does concede that this is "just one more indication that the boundaries between God and his angels in the Hekhalot literature . . . become fluid" and that when references to individuals bearing God's name are made, "we cannot always decide with certainty whether God or his angels are meant" (Schäfer, *Jewish Jesus*, 137). Cf. J. L. Kugel, *God of Old*, 5–36.

76. See D. J. Larsen, "And He Departed."

77. W. A. Meeks, "Moses as God and King," 359.

78. Meeks, 360.

79. See J. E. Fossum, *Name of God*, 90. For the full argument, see pp. 88–92.

80. Compare the "seventy names" given to Enoch-Metatron. P. S. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," 258.

81. Talon elaborates :

> The importance of the names is not to be understressed. One of the preserved *Chaldaean Oracles* says: "Never change the Barbarian names" and in his commentary Psellus (in the 11th century) adds "This means: there are among the people names given by God, which have a particular power in the rites. Do not transpose them in Greek." A god may also have more than one name, even if this seems to introduce a difficult element of confusion, at least for us. We can think, for example, of Marduk, who is equated with Aššur and thus named in many texts (especially Assyrian texts written for a Babylonian audience). He then assumes either the aspect of the One himself or the aspect of only an emanation of the One. The same occurs when Aššur replaces Marduk in the Assyrian version of *Enuma Elish*. "Enuma Elish," in *Mythology and Mythologies*, 27.

82. E. A. Speiser, "Creation Epic," 72. Foster elaborates:

> The poem begins and ends with concepts of naming. The poet evidently considers naming both an act of creation and an explanation of something already brought into being. For the poet, the name, properly understood, discloses the significance of the created thing. Semantic and phonological analysis of names could lead to understanding of the things named. Names, for this poet, are a text to be read by the informed, and bear the same intimate and revealing relationship to what they signify as this text does to the events it narrates. In a remarkable passage at the end, the poet presents his text as the capstone of creation in that it was bearer of creation's significance to humankind. "Epic of Creation," in *Before the Muses*, 437–438.

83. E. R. Goodenough, *Introduction to Philo*, 148–49; cf. R. S. Eccles, *A Personal Pilgrimage*, 60–61; E. R. Goodenough, *By Light*, 223–29.

84. Greek "*ho theos*," a god, not God.

85. See Philo, *Questions on Exodus*, 70. Qualifying his statement, Goodenough adds: "Philo vacillates on this point." However, David Litwa has demonstrated that any supposition of vacillation on this point is the result of misunderstandings. "Deification of Moses," especially pp. 2, 27.

Wayne Meeks summarized the personal outcome of Moses' heavenly ascent as follows :

> Moses' enthronement in heaven, accompanied by his receiving the name "god" and God's crown of light, meant that the lost glory of Adam, the image of God, was restored to him and that Moses henceforth was to serve on earth as God's representative, both as revealer (prophet) and as vice-regent (king). "Moses as God and King," 371. Cf. Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 110–111.
> On Moses as god and king, see Philo, "On the Life of Moses," 356–369.

In addition to the Jewish traditions that mention the title of "god" in connection with Moses' heavenly ascents, see also Exodus 4:16, 7:1.

The conferral of the titles of prophet and king on Moses should be compared to similar patterns in the ancient Near East. For example, Nicolas Wyatt summarizes a wide range of evidence indicating "a broad continuity of culture throughout the Levant" ("Degrees of Divinity," 192) wherein the candidate for kingship underwent a ritual journey intended to confer a divine status as a son of God and allowing him "*ex officio*, direct access to the gods. All other priests were strictly deputies" (Wyatt, 220). For a comparative study of the rituals of kingship in Old Babylon and the Bible, see J. M. Bradshaw et al., "Investiture Panel."

Commenting on Psalm 110:4, John Eaton describes the same pattern in ancient Israel: "He will be priest-king, the supreme figure for whom all the other personnel of the temple were only assistants." *Psalms Commentary*, 385.

Likewise, Hugh Nibley, commenting on Egyptian kingship said, "kings must be priests, and candidates to immortality must be both priests and kings." *Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri* (2005), 353.

86. A. Marmorstein, "Names and Attributes" in *The Doctrine of Merits*, 82.

87. See *Book of Moses Essays* #4, #6, and #12.

88. See Exodus 2:12.

89. Clement of Alexandria, "Stromata," 335. Clement recalls Peter's having slain the deceitful Ananias and Sapphira in Acts 5 and also recounts that Moses slew a king of the Egyptians by speaking the name of God. Zinner points out that "this is an application of messianic traditions applied to Moses, see Psalms of Solomon 17, Odes of Solomon 29, 4 Ezra." Personal communication, November 3, 2020.

90. See M. L. Bowen, "'What Meaneth the Rod of Iron?'"

91. Moses 2:7.

92. JST Genesis 50:35.

93. 2 Nephi 3:17.

94. Moses 1:25; emphasis added. Jeff Lindsay illustrates the resonance of this imagery with the Book of Mormon. He points out an allusion to the strength of Moses in 1 Nephi 4:2 that corresponds to Moses 1:20–21, 25 while having no strong parallel in the Bible. "Arise from the Dust," 189–90.

    In a personal communication, Lindsay further explains that 1 Nephi 4:2 "has Nephi urging his brethren to be strong like Moses, as if they were familiar with this concept, but the [King James Bible] has nothing about Moses being strong" (August 5, 2019). Elsewhere, Jeff Lindsay and Noel Reynolds write:

    > Mark J. Johnson ("Lost Prologue," 178–79) observed that the three references in Moses 1 to strength involving Moses describe a three-tiered structure "for personal strength and spirituality" in which strength is described in patterns reminiscent of sacred geography, each tier bringing Moses closer to God. The first instance depicts Moses having "natural strength like unto man," which was inadequate to cope with Satan's fury. In fear, Moses called upon God for added strength, allowing him to gain victory over Satan. Next, Moses is promised additional strength, which would be greater than many waters. "This would endow Moses with powers to be in similitude of YHWH, to divide the waters from the waters (similar to Genesis 1:6) at the shores of the Red Sea (Exodus 14:21)." Johnson sees the treatment of the strength of Moses as one of many evidences of ancient perspectives woven into the text of Moses 1. In light of Johnson's analysis, if something like Moses 1 was on the brass plates as a prologue to Genesis, to Nephite students of the brass plates, the reference to the strength of Moses might be seen as more than just a random tidbit but as part of a carefully developed literary tool related to important themes such as the commissioning of prophets and becoming more like God through serving Him. If so, the concept of the strength of Moses may easily have been prominent enough to require no explanation when Nephi made an allusion to it. "Strong Like Unto Moses," in this proceedings.

95. Exodus 14:21–22; Joshua 3:14–17.

96. Moses 1:25.

97. Note the plausible connection between *šadday* and Akkadian *šadu(m)* (= "mountain, range of mountains"), significant in a creation context. See D. Biale, "God with Breasts." "The ancients thought of breasts as mountains, for obvious reasons, so one cannot really

separate mountains and breasts in the tradition." S. Zinner, personal communication, November 3, 2020.

98. Moses 2:1–2.

99. A. Marmorstein, *Doctrine of Merits*, 64n5. In addition, the authority of God's law, given through Moses, rested on the argument that it came "from the mouth of the all-powerful, *Almighty.*" Marmorstein, 82n32; emphasis added.

100. See Doctrine and Covenants 84:6–40; 110:11; 124:38. As one example of how the relevant participle is interpreted as active rather than passive, we can compare the King James Bible translation of Isaiah 63:11 ("Then he remembered . . . *Moses*") to the Jewish Publication Society translation ("Then they remembered . . . Him, who pulled His people out [of the water]" [A. Berlin et al., Isaiah 63:11 in *Jewish Study Bible*, 909]). While it is not directly consequential to the active-passive interpretation of the name, we note a comment from the editors of the JPS Study Bible stating that "it is not clear whether 'He [he] who pulled . . .' refers to God or to Moses." Berlin et al., *Jewish Study Bible*, 909n11.

101. Moses 1:25–26.

102. Cf. analogous symbolism used in 1 Peter 3:18–21.

103. B. R. McConkie, *New Witness*, 529.

104. See Doctrine and Covenants 110:11.

105. W. W. Isenberg, "The Gospel of Philip," vv. 70:36–71:3, 152.

106. Moses 1:25.

107. President Russell M. Nelson has recently pointed attention to the similar role reversal reflected in the two names given to Jacob/Israel ("Let God Prevail"). In reviewing this reversal, Victor P. Hamilton observes that up until his "wrestle" with God in Genesis 32, "Jacob may well have been called 'Israjacob,' 'Jacob shall rule' or 'let Jacob rule.' In every confrontation he has emerged as the victor: over Esau, over Isaac, over Laban"—and now, startlingly, he attempts to prevail in his conflict with God. *The Book of Genesis*, 334.

   Speaking of this "crucial turning point in the life of Jacob," President Nelson taught:

   > Through this wrestle, Jacob proved what was most important to him. He demonstrated that he was willing to let God prevail in his life. In response, God changed Jacob's name to *Israel* (Genesis 32:28), meaning "let *God* prevail." God then promised Israel that *all* the blessings that had been pronounced upon Abraham's head would also be his (Genesis 35:11–12).

108. Philo, *Questions on Exodus*, 70. For an up-to-date review of the literature on the deification of Moses, see M. D. Litwa, "Deification of Moses." For more on the specifics of how this description of the deification of Moses

might be understood, see J. M. Bradshaw, "Ezekiel Mural," 41–42n68. See also Bradshaw, 19–21.

109. J. M. Bradshaw et al., "Moses 1 and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*."

110. E. R. Goodenough, *By Light*, 95–96. See Philo, "On the Giants," 2:473. See C. T. R. Hayward, *Interpretations of the Name Israel*, 156–219, regarding Philo's explanation of the name Israel as meaning "the one who sees God."

111. E. R. Goodenough, *Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue*, 9:118, 121, 122. Observes Hayward, "Philo saw nothing improper . . . in describing Moses as a hierophant: like the holder of that office in the mystery cults of Philo's day, Moses was responsible for inducting initiates into the mysteries, leading them from darkness to light, to a point where *they are enabled to see* [God]," *interpretations of the Name Israel*, 192.

　　Philo said the following about his initiation: "I myself was initiated (*muetheis*) under Moses the God-beloved into his greater mysteries (*ta megala mysteria*)," and readily became a disciple of Jeremiah, "a worthy minister (*hierophantes)* of the same." "Cherubim," 49, 2:37.

112. E. R. Goodenough, *Symbolism*, 10:198; see also, E. R. Goodenough, *Summary and Conclusions*, 12:190–97. Often criticized for his interpretations, Goodenough showed ambivalence in his writings about the terms "initiation" and "mystery," speaking in his early writings in ways that at least sometimes seemed to imply a literal ritual, while in his last writings leaning toward a figurative sense of the word. R. S. Eccles, *A Personal Pilgrimage*, 64–65.

113. J. M. Bradshaw, "Ezekiel Mural."

114. C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 212–13, 476 (emphasis in original).

115. See K. L. Barney, "Baptized for the Dead"; H. W. Nibley, "Baptism for the Dead"; D. L. Paulsen et al., "Baptism for the Dead."

116. D. Calabro, "From Temple to Church."

117. C. T. R. Hayward, *Interpretations of the Name Israel*, 192; emphasis in original.