

Bibliography for “The Conquest of Jerusalem in Joshua and Judges,” by Brian Peterson, *Bible and Spade*, Volume 28:1, Winter 2015.



- ¹ Some also point to Judges 1:7 as chronologically inconsistent with verse 8. The text records that the men of Judah brought Adoni-Bezek to Jerusalem and he died there. This note actually comes *before* Judah's capture of Jerusalem in verse 8. While the text notes only that Adoni-Bezek “died” at Jerusalem, it is possible that the men of Judah killed the king before they captured the southern portion of the city perhaps as a warning to the Jebusites. This type of warning finds support in the Septuagint at 1 Samuel 17:54 where David is said to have brought Goliath's head up to Jerusalem. This must have served as a warning of impending doom for the Jebusites in the stronghold—something realized after David secured the throne upon Saul's death (2 Sm 5). These types of brutal acts were typical of ancient Near Eastern war practices (cf. Jgs 1:6–7; 2 Sm 8:2; 12:31).
- ² John Gray, *Joshua, Judges, Ruth* (2d ed., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 239–40.
- ³ E.g., Philip P. King, “Jerusalem,” in vol. 3 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 747–66 at 751.
- ⁴ See W. S. LaSor, “Jerusalem,” in vol. 2 of *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley 4 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 998–1032 at 1004.
- ⁵ Six of the Amarna Letters are from King Abdi Khiba of Jerusalem to the pharaoh of Egypt, possibly Akhenaton/Amenhotep IV. In these letters, Abdi Khiba asks for assistance against invading forces (perhaps Joshua and the Israelites).
- ⁶ E.g., H. J. Franken and M. L. Steiner, “Urusalim and Jebus,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 104, no. 1 (1992): 110–11.
- ⁷ Stephen A. Reed, “Jebus,” in vol. 3 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 652–53 at 653. While some question the actual association of Jebus (and Urusalim) with Jerusalem opting to place the city of Jebus farther north (e.g., King “Jerusalem,” 751; J. Maxwell Miller, “Jebus and Jerusalem: A Case of Mistaken Identity,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastinas-Vereins* 90: (1974): 115–27 esp. 119, 126; Franken and Steiner “Urusalim and Jebus,” 111), this is not widely accepted.
- ⁸ I.e., *Qere*=what is to be read
- ⁹ I.e., *Kethib*=what is written in the consonantal text
- ¹⁰ Note LaSor, “Jerusalem,” 1000.
- ¹¹ Josephus *Wars* 5:136–137. Josephus calls this the Valley of Cheesemakers.
- ¹² For maps see <http://www.israel-a-history-of.com/map-of-ancient-jerusalem.html#%3Cezoic-blockb%3EJebus%20Book%20Map%3Cezoic-block-b%3E>
- ¹³ Elevation of the Upper Hill is 2529 ft (770.8 m).
- ¹⁴ See Harold W. Mare, “Zion,” in vol. 6 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1096–97 at 1097.
- ¹⁵ The eastern hill is sloped south-southeast over 2067 ft (630 m) dropping from 2400–2130 ft (731.5–649.2 m) in elevation.
- ¹⁶ The Akra was also used to denote a fortress that may have occupied a portion of the eastern hill. Scholars are mixed about where the Akra was actually located. At least by Josephus's day, the term was used to identify the entire eastern hill. During the period of the kings, the Millo was also associated with the Akra (cf. 2 Sm 5:9; 1 Kgs 9:15-24; 2 Chr 32:5).
- ¹⁷ The elevation of Mount Moriah is 2460 ft (749.8 m).
- ¹⁸ Although the exact location of the stronghold is debated, it appears to have been on the narrowest part of the Ophel just north of the City of David and south of the temple mount. In David's day, the stronghold would have been in the region of the Millo (later known as the Akra), which both David and Solomon fortified (2 Sm 5:9; 1 Kgs 9:15, 24; 11:27). The Alexandrine Codex of the LXX equate these two in 2 Sm 5:9.
- ¹⁹ W.G.E. Watson, “David Ousts the City ruler of Jebus,” *Vetus Testamentum* 20, no. 4 (1970): 501–02.
- ²⁰ See further David Tarler and Jane M. Cahill, “David, City of,” in vol. 2 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 52–67 esp. 53.
- ²¹ R. Pearce S. Hubbard, “The Topography of Ancient Jerusalem,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 98 (1966): 130–54 esp. 136–37; cf. also LaSor “Jerusalem,” 1006.
- ²² The apparent editorial notation “unto this day” may point to someone writing at a later date. Whether or not Joshua, late in his life, or a later editor made this comment cannot be determined. One thing is certain, however, it had to be during, or before, the days of David ca. 1004 BC. See further Jeffrey C. Geoghegan, “‘Unto this Day’ and the Preexilic Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History,” *Journal of Biblical*

Literature 122, no. 2 (2003): 201–27; idem, *The Time, Place, and Purpose of the Deuteronomistic History: The Evidence of "Until This Day"* (Brown Judaic Studies 347; Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 2006); and Brevard Childs, "A Study of the Formula, 'Until this Day,'" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 82, no. 3 (1963): 279–92.

²³ This should not be surprising in light of the updating of place names throughout the Old Testament. See for example Gn 28:19; 35:6; 48:3; Jos 14:15; 15:15; 18:13; Jgs 1:10, 11, 23; 18:29 etc.

²⁴ J. Maxwell Miller and Gene M. Tucker, *The Book of Joshua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 117.

²⁵ See also Trent Butler, *Judges* (Word Biblical Commentary 8; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2009), 22; and Gray, *Joshua, Judges, Ruth*, 236–37.

²⁶ G. Robert Boling, *Joshua: A New Translation and Commentary* (Anchor Bible 6; New York: Doubleday, 1982), 392–93; and idem *Judges: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Anchor Bible 6a; New York: Doubleday, 1975), 55.

²⁷ Cf. E.W.G. Mastermann, "Jerusalem," in vol. 3 of *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, ed. James Orr. 4 vols. (Chicago: Howard-Severence, 1915, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956), 1595–1621 at 1601–1602

²⁸ See further Dan Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem* (trans., Shlomo Ketko, from Hebrew. Jerusalem: Carta, 1996), 18.

²⁹ Hubbard, "Topography," 137.

³⁰ Zechariah Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986), 136–37; Dan Bahat, personal communication, 2014.

³¹ Hubbard, "Topography," 131.

³² Nadav Na'aman, "The Contribution of the Amarna Letters to the Debate on Jerusalem's Political Position in the Tenth Century B.C.E.," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 304 (1996): 17–27 at 19. See also Tarler and Cahill, "David, City of," 53.

Na'aman goes on to point up the inaccurate conclusions of the archaeological work done by H. J. Franken and M. L. Steiner whereby both questioned the validity of identifying the Urusalim of the Amarna Letters with modern Jerusalem due to lack of LBII remains.

³³ So too Boling, *Judges*, 55.

³⁴ Hubbard ("Topography," 137) hoped that future excavations would prove this point. Na'aman (19) notes the complete absence of evidence for the construction of Nehemiah's walls. The only material evidence that was recovered was found in a debris layer between the Iron Age and Hellenistic strata. See further the work of Tarler and Cahill (59–60).

³⁵ Bahat, (*Atlas*, 19) notes that early "excavations" in Jerusalem "took the form of pillaging of antiquities rather than archaeological excavations." Unfortunately many of these sites were on and around the western hill. To what degree early pottery types were either destroyed, removed from in situ positions, and the like may never be known. Further, only about 10 percent or less of the western hill has been excavated, much of which is situated around the perimeter of the city wall. Moreover, much of that excavation was done in the late 19th century and predates sound stratigraphic practices began by Kenyon (cf. further Bahat, *Atlas*, 18). Kenyon's work on the eastern slopes of the western hill revealed little evidence of early habitation. This should not be surprising due to the fact that this area appears to have been used for gardens and pasturing from the earliest periods (Hubbard, "Topography," 137).

³⁶ Cf. Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (trans. A. F. Rainey, from Hebrew. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967), 227–39, esp. 230, 239; Alberto Soggin, *Judges* (trans. John Bowden; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 24; and Miller and Tucker, *Joshua*, 121.

³⁷ According to the Moabite Stele, Gad lived in the region originally allotted to Reuben. It is also possible that by this period, much like Judah and Simeon, they had both been subsumed under the singular designation of Gad.

³⁸ E.g., Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 136–37 esp. n. 84.

³⁹ The Valley of Rephaim ran at a southwest trajectory from the northern end of the Hinnom valley.

⁴⁰ The archaeological work done by ABR at Ai has a direct connection to the location of the ancient city of Jerusalem. Ai, which can be seen from Jerusalem, and vice versa, served as a northern border fortress between the city-states of Jerusalem and Shechem during the LBI period (cf. Bryant Wood, "The Search for Joshua's Ai," in *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History*, ed. Richard S. Hess, Gerald A. Klingbeil, and Paul J. Ray Jr. [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008], 205–40 at 238). While the location and boundaries of both have been