



Endnotes for “The Biblical Conquest: Myth or History?”

Summer 2023 *Bible and Spade*

Notes

¹ Scott Stripling, phone conversation with author, December 1, 2022.

² John Garstang, “Jericho and the Biblical Story,” in *Wonders of the Past: A World-Wide Survey of the Marvellous Works of Man in Ancient Times*, ed. J. A. Hammerton, new edition in two volumes, vol. 2 (New York: Wise, 1937), 1222.

³ Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jericho* (London: Ernest Benn, 1957), 257–58.

⁴ Garstang reasoned that Mycenaean pottery flourished in the 14th century BC but not in the 15th century BC. See John Garstang, “The Fall of Bronze Age Jericho,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (1935): 65, 68; John Garstang and J. B. E. Garstang, *The Story of Jericho*, new ed., rev. (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1948), 126.

⁵ Garstang, “Fall of Bronze Age Jericho,” 65, 68; Garstang and Garstang, *The Story of Jericho*, 126; Garstang, “Jericho and the Biblical Story,” 1216; John Garstang, “The Story of Jericho: Further Light on the Biblical Narrative,” *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 58, no. 4 (October 1941): 370–71.

⁶ Kathleen M. Kenyon, “Some Notes on the History of Jericho in the Second Millennium B.C.,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (1951): 101–38; Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 4th ed. (New York: Norton, 1979), 182.

⁷ The pottery of the Late Bronze I period was, of course, what Kenyon claimed was absent in her excavations at Jericho, saying that there was “a complete gap [in the ceramics] both on the tell and in the tombs between c. 1560 B.C. and c. 1400 B.C.” (*Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 182). However, in seeming contradiction, when writing about her ceramic finds from the erosional debris that washed down the slope of the tell after Jericho’s abandonment (forming a layer dubbed the “wash” or “streak”), Kenyon admitted, “As a group, the pottery has connections with Megiddo Level VIII, but also definite links with VII. The closest Beth-shan parallels are to Stratum IX” (“History of Jericho,” 133). These aforementioned strata correspond as follows: Megiddo, stratum VIII = LB IB / LB IIA (ca. 1450–1350 BC) (Yigal Shiloh, “Megiddo,” in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Ephraim Stern, 4 vols. [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993], 3:1023); stratum VII is divided up into A and B = LB II (ca. 1350–1150 BC) (Shiloh, “Megiddo”); and at Beth-Shean, stratum IX = LB IB / LB IIA (ca. 1400 BC) (Amihai Mazar and Gideon Foerster, “Beth-Shean,” in Stern, *New Encyclopedia*, 1:215). Kenyon’s ultimate assessment of the ceramics at Jericho contradicts not only some of her own findings, but also the report of Garstang’s expedition, the report of Lorenzo Nigro’s 1997 expedition with an Italian-Palestinian team, and an analysis of the available pottery by Wood.

⁸ These parallel LB I contexts include “Lachish Fosse Temple I, Megiddo IX, Hazor 2, Hazor cistern 9024, level 3 and Hazor cistern 7021, level C” (Bryant G. Wood, “Dating Jericho’s Destruction: Bienkowski Is Wrong on All Counts,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16, no. 5 [September/October 1990]: 45–49, 68–69).

⁹ Bryant G. Wood, “Did the Israelites Conquer Jericho? A New Look at the Archaeological Evidence,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16, no. 2 (March/April 1990): 44–58; Wood, “Dating Jericho’s Destruction,” 45–49, 68–69.

¹⁰ Lorenzo Nigro, “The Italian-Palestinian Expedition to Tell es-Sultan, Ancient Jericho (1997–2015): Archaeology and Valorisation of Material and Immaterial Heritage” in *Digging Up Jericho: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Rachael Thyrsa Sparks et al. (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2020), 204.

¹¹ Garstang and Garstang, *The Story of Jericho*, 126.

¹² I use the high chronology of Egyptian history both because it seems to be the most accurate and because it also best corresponds with the biblical data about the Exodus. According to the high chronology, the reign of Thutmose III was ca. 1504–1450 BC and the subsequent reign of Amenhotep III began around 1412 BC in the 18th Dynasty of Egypt (New Kingdom). Although there is still considerable debate regarding the ascension of Amenhotep III, the high chronology is the preferred chronology among those who hold a high view of Scripture. See Scott Stripling, “The Fifteenth-Century (Early-Date) Exodus View,” in *Five Views on the Exodus: Historicity, Chronology, and Theological Implications*, ed. Mark D. Janzen, Counterpoints: Bible and Theology (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2021), 45. See also W. H. Shea, “Exodus, Date of the,” in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley et al., rev. ed., vol. 2, E–J (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 230–38;

Donald B. Redford, "On the Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 25, no. 2 (April 1966): 124; Douglas Petrovich, "Amenhotep II and the Historicity of the Exodus-Pharaoh," *The Master's Seminary Journal* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 81–110.

¹³ Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho*, vol. 3, *The Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Tell*, ed. Thomas A. Holland, with contributions by R. Burleigh et al. (London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1981), 110.

¹⁴ Nigro, "Italian-Palestinian Expedition," 204.

¹⁵ For more, see Associates for Biblical Research, "The Walls of Jericho (Part One)," *Digging for Truth*, episode 10, May 20, 2018, video, 26:26, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hrOP6nWOrmg&t=8s>; Associates for Biblical Research, "The Walls of Jericho (Part Two)," *Digging for Truth*, episode 11, May 27, 2018, video, 26:25, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CTGGVhj-ucs&t=5s>.

¹⁶ Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho*, 3:370.

¹⁷ John Garstang, "The Walls of Jericho: The Marston-Melchett Expedition of 1931," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 63 (1931): 193–94.

¹⁸ Kenyon, *Digging Up Jericho*, 280.

¹⁹ Wood, "Did the Israelites Conquer Jericho?," 44–58.

²⁰ Ernst Sellin and Carl Watzinger, *Jericho: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, reprint of the 1913 edition, *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 22 (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1973), 58.

²¹ Titus Kennedy and Joel Kramer, adjunct professors of biblical archaeology for Shepherds Theological Seminary, recently completed one season of excavation at et-Tell, but they have yet to publish any findings.

²² Scott Stripling and Mark Hassler, "The 'Problem' of Ai in Joshua 7–8: Solved after Forty Years of Excavation in the West Bank of Israel," *Bible and Spade* 31, no. 2 (Spring 2018): 40.

²³ Bryant G. Wood, "Locating 'Ai: Excavations at Kh. el-Maqatir 1995–2000 and 2009–2014," *In the Highland's Depth: Journal for the Study of Archaeology and History of the Highland's Region* (Ariel University Press) 6 (2016): 38*.

²⁴ Scott Stripling, "Khirbet el-Maqatir: A Biblical Site on the Benjamin-Ephraim Border," *Bible and Spade* 30, no. 2 (Spring 2017): 29.

²⁵ Stripling, "Fifteenth-Century (Early-Date) Exodus View," 47.

²⁶ Stripling and Hassler, "'Problem' of Ai," 42.

²⁷ Brian Neil Peterson, "The Kh. el-Maqatir Ram's Head: Evidence of the Israelite Destruction of Ai?," *Near East Archaeological Society Bulletin* 61 (2016): 39–53, <https://biblearchaeology.org/images/The-Maqatir-Rams-Head-NEASB-1.pdf>.

²⁸ Stripling and Hassler, "'Problem' of Ai," 42.

²⁹ Excavations uncovered plentiful LB I ceramics, including an infant burial jar and other Bronze Age cultic vessels (Stripling and Hassler, 42). These, along with the scarab dating to the reign of Amenhotep II, provide solid evidence for the destruction of this fortified outpost in LB IB, the time of the Israelite conquest ca. 1400 BC.

³⁰ Wood, "Locating 'Ai," 24*.

³¹ Stripling and Hassler, "'Problem' of Ai," 42; Wood, "Locating 'Ai," 24*.

³² Adam Zertal, "Has Joshua's Altar Been Found on Mt. Ebal?," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 11, no. 1 (January/February 1985): 31.

³³ Zertal, 31.

³⁴ Zertal, 35.

³⁵ Scott Stripling, phone conversation with author, December 1, 2022.

³⁶ Scott Stripling et al., "'You Are Cursed by the God YHW': An Early Hebrew Inscription from Mt. Ebal," *Heritage Science* 11, no. 105 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40494-023-00920-9>.

³⁷ Richard S. Hess, "Early Israel in Canaan: A Survey of Recent Evidence and Interpretations," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 125, no. 2 (1993): 125–42.

³⁸ Stripling, "Fifteenth-Century (Early-Date) Exodus View," 51.

³⁹ Tom Metcalfe, "Ancient 'Curse Tablet' May Show Earliest Hebrew Name of God," *Live Science*, March 29, 2022, <https://www.livescience.com/ancient-curse-tablet-early-hebrew>. However, it should be noted that in 2022, Douglas Petrovich reported the discovery of a Hebrew inscription (ostrakon) found in Lachish that may date to the same period as the *defixio*. See Douglas Petrovich, "The Lachish Milk Bowl Ostrakon: A Hebrew Inscription from Joshua's Conquest at Lachish," *Bible and Spade* 35, no. 1 (Winter 2022): 16–22.

⁴⁰ Metcalfe, "Ancient 'Curse Tablet.'"

⁴¹ Douglas Petrovich, "The Dating of Hazor's Destruction in Joshua 11 by Way of Biblical, Archaeological, and Epigraphical Evidence," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 51, no. 3 (September 2008): 502.

⁴² Amnon Ben-Tor and Maria Teresa Rubiato, “Excavating Hazor, Part Two: Did the Israelites Destroy the Canaanite City?,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 25, no. 3 (May/June 1999): 22–39. Though Ben-Tor advocates for “only one fierce destruction campaign, directed mainly at the public and religious buildings throughout the city, in the end of Stratum 1A,” he also notes that his “interpretation allows for the possibility of differential destruction at the end of Stratum 1B (limited to the city gates)” (Amnon Ben-Tor and Sharon Zuckerman, “Hazor at the End of the Late Bronze Age: Back to Basics,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 350 [May 2008]: 4). Ben-Tor’s Stratum 1B corresponds to 1479–1375 BC.

⁴³ Bryant G. Wood, “Archaeological Views: Let the Evidence Speak,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 33, no. 2 (March/April 2007): 26.

⁴⁴ Amnon Ben-Tor, “The Fall of Canaanite Hazor—the ‘Who’ and ‘When’ Questions,” in *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE; In Honor of Professor Trude Dothan*, ed. Seymour Gitin, Amihai Mazar, and Ephraim Stern (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1998), 465.

⁴⁵ Sharon Zuckerman, “Anatomy of a Destruction: Crisis Architecture, Termination Rituals and the Fall of Canaanite Hazor,” *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 20, no. 1 (2007): 24.

⁴⁶ Yigael Yadin and Amnon Ben-Tor, “Hazor,” in Stern, *New Encyclopedia*, 2:603.

⁴⁷ Ben-Tor and Rubiato, “Excavating Hazor, Part Two,” 22–39.

⁴⁸ Kenneth A. Kitchen, “Hazor and Egypt: An Egyptological & Ancient Near-Eastern Perspective,” *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 16, no. 2 (2002): 313.

⁴⁹ For a discussion on the *gilgalim*, see Aaron Lipkin with Rae Lloyd-Jones, “The *Gilgalim* and Joshua’s Conquest,” *Bible and Spade* 36, no. 2 (Spring 2023): 24–28.

⁵⁰ Israel Finkelstein et al., “Excavations at Shiloh 1981–1984: Preliminary Report,” ed. Israel Finkelstein, *Tel Aviv* 12, no. 2 (1985): 167.

⁵¹ Gary Urie, “A Reexamination of the Danish Excavations at Tall Sailūn (Tel Shiloh)” (unpublished manuscript, 2022).

⁵² Jordan McClinton, “A Reexamination of Late Bronze Pottery at Shiloh” (PowerPoint presentation, Annual Meeting of the Near East Archaeological Society, Fort Worth, TX, November 2021); Israel Finkelstein, Shlomo Bunimovitz, and Zvi Lederman, *Shiloh: The Archaeology of a Biblical Site*, with contributions by Baruch Brandl et al., ed. Israel Finkelstein, Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University, vol. 10 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, 1993).

⁵³ Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land: From Its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age*, with the assistance of Pirhiya Beck and Uzza Zevulun (Jerusalem: Masada Press, 1969).

⁵⁴ Seymour Gitin, ed., *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors*, vol. 3, *From the Middle Bronze Age through the Late Bronze Age* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Israel Antiquities Authority, and American Schools of Oriental Research, 2019).

⁵⁵ For more on the evidence for the Conquest, see Associates for Biblical Research, “Joshua’s Conquest of Canaan (Part One),” *Digging for Truth*, episode 198, April 16, 2023, video, 25:42, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lbDfQ7nmY9Y>; Associates for Biblical Research, “Joshua’s Conquest of Canaan (Part Two),” *Digging for Truth*, episode 199, April 23, 2023, video, 25:47, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BsYT35jeb88>.

⁵⁶ Scott Stripling, “The Israelite Tabernacle at Shiloh,” *Bible and Spade* 29, no. 3 (Fall 2016): 88–94.

⁵⁷ Scott Stripling, “Three Seasons of Excavation at Tel Shiloh, Israel: A Preliminary Report 2017–2019” (unpublished manuscript, 2022).

⁵⁸ Tim Lopez, Scott Stripling, and David Ben-Shlomo, “A Ceramic Pomegranate from Shiloh,” *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 28, no. 1 (2019): *39, *41.

⁵⁹ Lopez, Stripling, and Ben-Shlomo, *40, Table 1, *41, *46, *52–*53.

⁶⁰ Lopez, Stripling, and Ben-Shlomo, *49–*51.

⁶¹ Scott Stripling, phone conversation with author, December 1, 2022.

⁶² Associates for Biblical Research, *Shiloh Excavations, Directed by Scott Stripling, Annual Report for Season 3, 2019*, ed. Mark A. Hassler (submitted to the Staff Officer of the Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria), 2, 62, 92, and 95, Table 15.1, <https://biblearchaeology.org/50-the-shiloh-excavations/4345>; Scott Stripling, phone conversation with author, December 1, 2022.

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