



## Endnotes for *The Rise and Fall of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century Exodus-Conquest Theory*

Winter 2019 *Bible and Spade*

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> On the development of the 13th century exodus-conquest model, see John J. Bimson, *Redating the Exodus and Conquest* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield, 1981), 30–73; Carl G. Rasmussen, “Conquest, Infiltration, Revolt, or Resettlement?” in *Giving the Sense: Understanding and Using Old Testament Historical Texts*, eds. David M. Howard, Jr. and Michael A. Grisanti (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2003), 143–4.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of considering the biblical model of a 15th century exodus-conquest, however, the majority of Palestinian archaeologists rejected the concept of an exodus-conquest altogether, in favor of other hypotheses for the origin of Israel. The most popular theory today is that Israel did not originate outside of Canaan, but rather arose from the indigenous population in the 12th century BC. For a recent discussion of this view, see William G. Dever, *Who Were the Israelites and Where Did They Come From?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003). For a critique, see John J. Bimson, “Merenptah’s Israel and Recent Theories of Israelite Origins,” *JSOT* 49 (1991), 3–29. Some scholars allow for a small “Egypt exodus group” which became the nucleus for 12th century Israel [Pekka Pitkänen, “Ethnicity, Assimilation and the Israelite Settlement,” *TynBul* 55.2 (2004), 165].

<sup>3</sup> Rasmussen, “Conquest,” 153.

<sup>4</sup> Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Later excavations at Kh. Rabud have shown that this is the more likely candidate for Debir (Moshe Kochavi, “Rabud, Khirbet,” *OEANE* 4.401).

<sup>6</sup> Beitin is more likely Beth Aven. See Bryant G. Wood, “The Search for Joshua’s Ai,” in *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History*, eds. Richard S. Hess, Gerald A. Klingbeil and Paul J. Ray Jr. (Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 214–28. See also Wood, “Locating Bethel: What Does the Evidence Tell Us?,” *Bible and Spade* 32.1 (2019), 4–11.

<sup>7</sup> William F. Albright, “Archaeology and the Date of the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine,” *BASOR* 58 (1935), 10–8; idem, “Further Light on the History of Israel from Lachish and Megiddo,” *BASOR* 68 (1937), 22–6; idem, “The Israelite Conquest of Canaan in the Light of Archaeology,” *BASOR* 74 (1939), 11–23.

<sup>8</sup> Albright, “Further Light,” 23–24.

<sup>9</sup> William F. Albright, *The Biblical Period From Abraham to Ezra* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 27–8.

<sup>10</sup> Michael G. Hasel, “Israel in the Merneptah Stela,” *BASOR* 296 (1994), 45–61.

<sup>11</sup> Bryant G. Wood, *Palestinian Pottery of the Late Bronze Age: An Investigation of the Terminal LB IIB Phase* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1985), 353–5, 447–8, 471–2; cf. Bimson, “Merenptah’s Israel,” 10–1.

<sup>12</sup> David Ussishkin, “Lachish,” *OEANE* 3.319.

- <sup>13</sup> Kenneth A. Kitchen, “An Egyptian Inscribed Fragment from Late Bronze Hazor,” *IEJ* 53 (2003), 20–28.
- <sup>14</sup> Eugene H. Merrill, “Palestinian Archaeology and the Date of the Conquest: Do Tells Tell Tales?,” *GTJ* 3.1 (1982), 107–21.
- <sup>15</sup> On Jericho, see Thomas A. Holland, “Jericho,” in *OEANE* 3.223; on Ai, identified as Kh. el-Maqatir, see Bryant G. Wood, “Khirbet el-Maqatir, 1995–1998,” *IEJ* 50 (2000), 123–30; idem., “Khirbet el-Maqatir, 1999,” *IEJ* 50 (2000), 249–54; idem., “Khirbet el-Maqatir, 2000,” 246–52.
- <sup>16</sup> Doron Ben-Ami, “The Iron Age I at Tel Hazor in Light of the Renewed Excavations,” *IEJ* 51 (2001), 148–70.
- <sup>17</sup> All Scripture quotations in this article are from the NIV.
- <sup>18</sup> Wood, *Palestinian Pottery*, 561–71; cf. Bimson, “Merenptah’s Israel,” 10–11.
- <sup>19</sup> Gezer—Jos 16:10 and Jgs 1:29; Aphek—Jgs 1:31; Megiddo and Beth Shan—Jos 17:11–12 and Jgs 1:27.
- <sup>20</sup> Kenneth A. Kitchen, “How We Know When Solomon Ruled,” *BAR* 27.4 (Sept–Oct 2001) 32–37, 58.
- <sup>21</sup> Rodger C. Young, “When Did Solomon Die?” *JETS* 46 (2003) 599–603.
- <sup>22</sup> Bimson, *Redating*, 103 (1130 BC); John H. Walton, *Chronological and Background Charts of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), 48 (1086 BC); Leon Wood, *Distressing Days of the Judges* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975), 411 (1078 BC); Kitchen, *Reliability*, 207 (1073 BC).
- <sup>23</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 159, 307, 359.
- <sup>24</sup> Kenneth A. Kitchen, “The Historical Chronology of Ancient Egypt, A Current Assessment,” *Acta Archaeologica* 67 (1996), 12.
- <sup>25</sup> Rasmussen, “Conquest,” 145.
- <sup>26</sup> Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicles of the Pharaohs* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1994), 146.
- <sup>27</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 256, 309–10.
- <sup>28</sup> Bryant G. Wood, “From Ramesses to Shiloh: Archaeological Discoveries Bearing on the Exodus–Judges Period,” in *Giving the Sense: Understanding and Using Old Testament Historical Texts*, eds. David M. Howard, Jr., and Michael A. Grisanti (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2003), 258, 260–62.
- <sup>29</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 255.
- <sup>30</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 348, 354, 493.
- <sup>31</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 335, 354, 493.
- <sup>32</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 283–94.
- <sup>33</sup> David A. Dorsey sees an overall similarity to ancient Near East vassal treaties in that Gn 1:11–Ex 19:2 represents a historical introduction to the treaty, Ex 19:3–Nm 10:10 is the treaty itself, and Nm 10:11–Jos 24 is the historical conclusion to the treaty, but he does not push the evidence beyond that general observation (*The Literary Structure of the Old Testament* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999]), 47–48, 97–98.
- <sup>34</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 284 Table 21. Blessings always follow curses in the late second millennium Hittite treaties, whereas the opposite is the case in the biblical texts. This alone shows that the biblical writers were not slavishly following a late second millennium covenant format.
- <sup>35</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 286–87, 289, 291–93, 493.

<sup>36</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 310, 319, 344, 353 no. 4, 567 note 17, 635.

<sup>37</sup> Ex 5:1–5; 7:10–3, 15–23; 8:1–11, 20–9; 9:1–5, 8–19, 27–32; 10:1–6, 8–11, 16–7, 24–9; 12:31–2.

<sup>38</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 310.

<sup>39</sup> Manfred Bietak, *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos: Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a* (London: British Museum, 1996), 67–83; idem., “The Center of Hyksos Rule: Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a),” in *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Eliezer D. Oren (Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 115–24; idem., “Dab'a, Tell ed-,” in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* 1, ed. Donald B. Redford (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 353; Manfred Bietak, Josef Dorner and Peter Jánosi, “Ausgrabungen im dem Palastbezirk von Avaris. Vorbericht Tell el-Dab'a/Ezbet Helmi 1993–2000,” *Egypt and the Levant* 11 (2001), 27–119; Manfred Bietak and Irene Forstner-Mueller, “Ausgrabungen im Palastbezirk von Avaris: Vorbericht Tell el-Dhab'a/Ezbet Helmi, Furehjahr 2003,” *Egypt and the Levant* 13 (2003), 39–50.

<sup>40</sup> Bietak, *Avaris*, 72; Bietak, Dorner and Jánosi, “Ausgrabungen 1993–2000,” 37.

<sup>41</sup> Bietak, Dorner and Jánosi, “Ausgrabungen 1993–2000,” 36.

<sup>42</sup> Bietak, Dorner and Jánosi, “Ausgrabungen 1993–2000,” 36–101.

<sup>43</sup> Bietak, Dorner and Jánosi, “Ausgrabungen 1993–2000,” 36–101; Bryant G. Wood, “The Royal Precinct at Rameses,” *Bible and Spade* 17 (2004), 45–51.

<sup>44</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 307. As far as I can determine, this concept originated with William F. Albright in “A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology,” *JPOS* 1 (1921), 64 n. 1.

<sup>45</sup> During the Flood it rained for 40 days and nights (Gn 7:4, 12, 17); 40 days after the ark landed Noah sent out a raven (Gn 8:6); Isaac was 40 years old when he married Rebekah (Gn 25:20), as was Esau when he married Judith (Gn 26:34); the embalming of Jacob took 40 days (Gn 50:3); the spies spent 40 days in Canaan (Nm 13:25; 14:34); Joshua was 40 when he went with the spies to Canaan (Jos 14:7); Israel spent 40 years in the wilderness (Ex 16:35; Nm 14:33, 34; 32:13; Dt 2:7; 8:2, 4; 29:5; Jos 5:6; Neh 9:21; Ps 95:10; Am 2:10; 5:25); Moses was on Mt. Sinai 40 days and nights the first time he received the law (Ex 24:18; Dt 9:9, 11), as he was the second time (Ex 34:28; Dt 10:10); Moses fasted 40 days and nights for the sin of the golden calf (Dt 9:18, 25); there were 40 years of peace during the judgeships of Othniel (Jgs 3:11), Deborah (Jgs 5:31), and Gideon (Jgs 8:28); the Israelites were oppressed by the Philistines 40 years (Jgs 13:1); Eli judged Israel 40 years (1 Sm 4:18); Ish-Bosheth was 40 when he took the throne following Saul's death (2 Sm 2:10); David reigned for 40 years (2 Sm 5:4; 1 Kgs 2:11; 1 Chr 29:27), as did Solomon (1 Kgs 11:42; 2 Chr 9:30), and Joash (2 Kgs 12:1; 2 Chr 24:1); Elijah traveled 40 days and nights from the desert of Beersheba to Mt. Horeb (1 Kgs 19:8); Ezekiel lay on his right side for 40 days for the 40 years of the sins of Judah (Ez 4:6); Ezekiel predicted that Egypt would be uninhabited for 40 years (Ez 29:11–13); and Jonah preached that Nineveh would be overturned in 40 days (Jon 3:4).

<sup>46</sup> Bimson, *Redating*, 77, 88.

<sup>47</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 307.

<sup>48</sup> My thanks to Peter Gentry of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary for calling this study to my attention.

- <sup>49</sup> Umberto Cassuto, *The Documentary Hypothesis and the Composition of the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1961), 52.
- <sup>50</sup> Cassuto, *Documentary*, 52.
- <sup>51</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 209.
- <sup>52</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 308.
- <sup>53</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 187.
- <sup>54</sup> Nicolò Marchetti, “A Century of Excavations on the Spring Hill at Tell Es-Sultan, Ancient Jericho: A Reconstruction of Its Stratigraphy,” in *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. II*, ed. Manfred Bietak (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 295–321.
- <sup>55</sup> For references, see note 15 above.
- <sup>56</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 189.
- <sup>57</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 213.
- <sup>58</sup> Israel Finkelstein, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1988) 107.
- <sup>59</sup> For an overview of the evidence, see Wood, “From Ramesses,” 256–82.
- <sup>60</sup> Young, “Solomon,” 600–1.
- <sup>61</sup> Wood, “From Ramesses,” 262–9.
- <sup>62</sup> Wood, “From Ramesses,” 271–3.
- <sup>63</sup> Wood, “From Ramesses,” 260–2.
- <sup>64</sup> Wood, “From Ramesses,” 269–71.
- <sup>65</sup> Wood, “From Ramesses,” 272–3.
- <sup>66</sup> Wood, “From Ramesses,” 273–5.
- <sup>67</sup> Manfred Görg, “Israel in Hieroglyphen,” *BN* 106 (2001) 24.
- <sup>68</sup> Görg, “Israel,” 25–7.
- <sup>69</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 287 Table 25; 288 Table 26.
- <sup>70</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 284 Table 21.
- <sup>71</sup> Kitchen, *Reliability*, 287 Table 24.
- <sup>72</sup> Manfred Bietak and Irene Forstner-Müller, “Ausgrabung eines Palastbezirkes der Tuthmosidenzeit bei ‘Ezbet Helmi/Tell el-Dab‘a, Vorbericht für Herbst 2004 und Frühjahr 2005,” *Egypt and the Levant* 15: 74. Reprinted by permission of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria.
- <sup>73</sup> Based on Bietak, Dorner and Jánosi, “Ausgrabungen 1993–2000,” figs 4, 33, 34b.