Notes

The following abbreviations are used in the notes below:

AAE Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy journal
CCQ The Cambridge Companion to the Qur’an, edited by J.D. McAuliffe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
EncycIran Encyclopedia Iranica online at www.iranicaonline.org/
PSAS Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies journal
1. Introduction: approaching religions’ history

1 A thoughtful attempt at this, bringing together the author’s long engagement with the issue, is E. Anati, The Origins of Religion: a study in conceptual anthropology, Brescia: Atelier, 2020.
2 L. Smith, Biographical sketches of Joseph Smith the prophet and his progenitors for many generations, Liverpool: Orson Pratt, 1853, p. 37.
10 Derricourt, ‘Pseudoarchaeology’.

2. Frontiers of place and belief: Mormon origins and journeys

3 Brodie, No Man Knows, p. 410.
4 Brodie, No Man Knows, pp. 427–429; Bushman, Joseph Smith and the Beginnings, p. 75.
5 Brodie, No Man Knows, p. 53; Bushman, Joseph Smith and the Beginnings, p. 86 (the price was $200); Bushman, Joseph Smith: rough stone, p. 63.
6 J. Smith, ‘Church history’, *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, IL) 3 (9), 1 March 1842: 706–771, p. 706; see also ‘First vision accounts’ at www.lds.org/topics/first-vision-accounts?lang=eng

7 ‘Published volumes’ at www.josephsmithpapers.org/articles/published-volumes


21 McIntosh et al., *History of Wayne County*, pp. 147–149.


25 Cross, *The Burned-over District*, pp. 11, 13, 40, 70, 76.

26 Cross, *The Burned-over District*.


29 As argued by Johnson, *A Shopkeeper’s Millennium*, pp. 135–137.


37 G. Johnson, *Map of the Country of the VI. Nations proper with part of the adjacent colonies, 1771*. Map 2 (p. 32) is based on this.


44 Adam-oni-Ahman at www.lds.org/scriptures/history-photos/photo-10?lang=eng

45 Brodie, *No Man Knows*, p. 149.


49 M.S. De Pillis, ‘The social sources of Mormonism’, *Church History* 37 (1968): 50–79.

Notes to pages 37–42

56 Arrington, *Brigham Young*, p. 130.
61 Meinig, ‘The Mormon culture region’.
64 Arrington, *Brigham Young*, pp. 210, 214.
70 Farmer, On Zion’s Mount, p. 50.
72 Farmer, On Zion’s Mount, p. 41.
76 Farmer, On Zion’s Mount, pp. 19, 26, 69, 78.
77 For example, W.P. Reeve, Making Space on the Western Frontier: Mormons, miners and southern Paiutes, Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006.
80 E. Meyer, Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen, Halle: Niemeyer, 1912.

3. Vision, faith and conquest: the source and power of Islam
6 J.A. Langfeldt, ‘Recently discovered early Christian monuments in north-eastern Arabia’, AAE 5 (1994): 32–60. A Christian church building that appears to both pre-date and post-date the arrival of Islam has been found at Jubail on the Arabian Gulf coast, and this serves as a reminder that the pattern of
communities with different religions long remained in the region despite it being part of the Islamic world.


8 P. Crone, ‘What do we actually know about Mohammed?’ (2008), at www.opendemocracy.net/en/mohammed_3866.jsp/


13 R.G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs from the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam*, London: Routledge, 2001, pp. 36, 64; A. Avanzini, A. Priorella and I. Rossi, ‘The Digital Archive for the Study of Pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions: an ERC project’, *PSAS* 44 (2014): 15–24. The major project on the inscriptions Avanzini et al. describe is detailed online at the Digital Archive for the Study of pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions at dasi.cnr.it. In south-west Arabia alone, some 10,000 inscriptions are known on rocks, and there are 20,000 inscriptions to the north, at the other end of the desert region.


19 F.M. Donner in *CCQ*, p. 35; discussed by H. Motzki in *CCQ*, pp. 65–66.


33 Serjeant in *ALUP*, pp. 141–142.

34 Serjeant in *ALUP*, p. 356.


36 F.M. Donner in *CCQ*, p. 34.


46 Discussed in detail in Potts, *The Arabian Gulf*. 

245


2 Chronicles 9: 9.

Hoyland, *Arabia*, pp. 44, 47.


Qur’an 34: 15–17.


Hoyland, *Arabia*, p. 139.


Qur’an 22: 17.


74 Peters, Muhammad, pp. 260–261.
75 Crone, ‘What do we actually know?’
76 Serjeant in ALUP, pp. 127–128.
77 Rodinson, Mohammed, pp. 66–67.
78 Peters, Muhammad, pp. 121–127.
79 Rodinson, Mohammed, pp. 121–122.
80 Donner, Muhammad, p. 69.
82 Donner, Muhammad, pp. 107ff, 194.
83 Donner, Muhammad, p. 206.
84 Crone and Cook, Hagarism.
86 Crone and Cook, Hagarism, p. 8; Hoyland, Seeing Islam, p. 696; Donner, Narratives, p. 88.
94 Fisher, Arabs and Empires.
95 Crone, ‘What do we actually know’; Crone, Meccan Trade.
97 Crone, Meccan Trade, pp. 44–45, 50.
Notes to pages 79–82

100 Hoyland, _Arabia_, p. 180; H. Munt, ‘Ka’ba’, in _Encyclopedia of Islam_ online, and references.


102 Crone, _Meccan Trade_, pp. 172, 185.


112 al-Jahwari et al., ‘Fulayj’.


Notes to pages 82-84


118 King, ‘Settlement’, pp. 201–205.


127 G. Bawden, ‘Continuity and disruption in the ancient Hejaz: an assessment of...”

249


134 Al-Hijr Archaeological Site (Madâin Sâlih), online at whc.unesco.org/en/list/1293


138 Milwright, An Introduction, p. 25.


140 Rodinson, Mohammed, pp. 18–19.


143 Hoyland, Arabia, p. 243.


145 Hoyland, In God’s Path, p. 158.

146 Retsō, The Arabs in Antiquity, p. 621.


149 Hoyland, In God’s Path, p. 56.


152 For a detailed account of these conquests see Hoyland, In God’s Path.
Notes to pages 89–92


154 Parker, Romans and Saracens, p. 154.


157 P.-L. Gatiére, ‘Villages du Proche-Orient Protobyzantine (4ème-7ème s.): étude régional’, in King and Cameron (eds), Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East: 17–48; Walmsley, Early Islamic Syria, pp. 31–47.

158 Milwright, An Introduction, p. 29.


161 Walmsley, Early Islamic Syria, pp. 77–78; Milwright, An Introduction, pp. 34–35.


165 Donner, The Early Islamic Conquests, pp. 151–152.


Notes to pages 92–96


185 Walmsley, Early Islamic Syria, p. 115.


188 Magness, The Archaeology; Walmsley, Early Islamic; Avni, The Byzantine–Islamic Transition.


195 Borrut and Donner, ‘Introduction’.

252
4. Rural Galilee to imperial cities: the beginnings and spread of Christianity

1. A brief account of developing views is in F. Young, ‘Prelude: Jesus Christ, foundation of Christianity’, in CHC 1: 1–34.
3. For example, the sympathetic review of a critical study by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, ‘Christian Beginnings by Geza Vermes – review’, www.theguardian.com/books/2012/jul/11/christian-beginnings-geza-vermes-review
6. Győző Vörös, in his report Machaerus III: the golden jubilee of the archaeological excavations. Final report on the Herodian Citadel (1968–2018), Milan: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2019, identified a possible area of the royal chamber. Interestingly, pig bones were found in Herodian levels at the site.
8. A papyrus with a fragment of Mark’s gospel had been rumoured to be from the 1st century but its formal publication dated it as early 3rd or possibly late 2nd century: P.J. Parsons and N. Gonis (eds), The Oxyrhynchus Papyri LXXXIII, London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2018, p. 5.
Notes to pages 107–115


21 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philemon, Philippians, Romans, 1 Thessalonians, and possibly Colossians and 2 Thessalonians.


24 The major historical sources remain the writings of Josephus: *The Jewish War* (written about 75 CE) and *Antiquities of the Jews* (from the mid-90s).


31 Williams, ‘Christian Beginnings by Geza Vermes – review’.


55 John 6:23.


57 Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, p. 44.


59 Horsley, *Archaeology, History and Society*, pp. 73ff.


63 Crossan and Reed, *Excavating Jesus*, p. 35.


72 Meyers, 'Jesus and his Galilean context', pp. 58–59.


80 Gibson and Taylor, *Beneath the Church*, p. 63.


84 Kelley, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 73.

85 S. Kochav, ‘The search for a Protestant Holy Sepulchre: the Garden Tomb in


Notes to pages 132–139

103 Galatians 1:7.
104 Galatians 1:11–12.
117 Schürer, The History of the Jewish People, vol. 3.i, pp. 3–86.
121 Caraher and Pettegrew, ‘The archaeology of early Christianity’.
124 Snyder, Ante Pacem, pp. 2–3.
Notes to pages 140–143

126 Horsley, Archaeology, History and Society, p. 108.
127 Meeks, The First Urban Christians.
139 Snyder, Ante Pacem, p. 215.
5. Scribes, priests and exiles under foreign rule: the emergence of monotheistic Judaism


18 Macdonald, Deuteronomy, pp. 34, 209.
30 These effects are discussed by contributors to Farber and Wright (eds), Archaeology and History.
38 2 Kings 24:14–16.
43 Porten, ‘Exile’.
49 Isaiah 49.
51 Jeremiah 29: 1–10.
53 Ezekiel 1:3, 3:15.
56 Isaiah 45:1.
Nehemiah 7:66–7.


Ezra 9:1–2.


Carter, The Emergence, pp. 39–42.


Orni and Efrat, Geography, pp. 58–68.


Carter, The Emergence, p. 76.


Carter, The Emergence, p. 102; Grabbe, A History of the Jews 1, p. 139.


86 ‘Newly discovered temple near Jerusalem calls into question Biblical depictions’, at english.tau.ac.il/news/new_temple


90 Carter, The Emergence, p. 1168; Carter lists six excavated sites from the Neo-Babylonian period: Bethel, El-Jib, Tell el-Ful, Tell en-Nasbeh, Horvat Zimri and Khirbet er-Ras.


93 By one estimate the population of Judah may have fallen from around 110,000 to 40,000: Lipschits, ‘Shedding new light’, p. 78. The latter figure can be contrasted with the estimate of Carter, The Emergence, p. 201, of 13,350 for Yehud in the early Persian period.


97 I. Finkelstein et al., ‘Has King David’s palace in Jerusalem been found?’, Tel Aviv 34 (2007): 142–194.

98 See for example A. Faust and H. Katz, ‘A Canaanite town, a Judahite centre, and a Persian period fort: excavating over two thousand years of history at Tel ‘Eton’, Near Eastern Archaeology 78 (2015): 88–102, p. 95. After the destruction of ca. 701, the site was not rebuilt until late Persian period of the 4th century BCE.


101 Barstad, History and the Hebrew Bible, p. 127.


103 Carter, The Emergence, is a useful outline of information available by the 1990s; for a later survey see J.W. Betlyon, 'A people transformed: Palestine in the Persian period', Near Eastern Archaeology 68 (2005): 4–58 (pp. 20–26 for Judah and Benjamin). Sites from both Judah and Samaria are described in Grabbe, A History of the Jews 1, pp. 22–53. Carter, The Emergence, p. 118, lists (and describes finds from) Jerusalem, Ketef Hinnom, Mamilla, Khirbet er-Ras, Wadi Salim, Ramat Rahel, Jericho and Tel Goren (Ein Gedi) before the mid-5th century.

104 Stern, Material Culture, p. vii.


110 Geva, 'Jerusalem's population', pp. 142–143.

111 Lipschits, 'Persian period finds', pp. 17, 20; Geva, 'Jerusalem's population'.

112 B. Becking, "We all returned as one": critical notes on the myth of the mass return', in JJPP: 3–18, pp. 9–10; Lipschits, 'Achaemenid imperial policy', p. 34.


115 D. Ussishkin, 'The borders and de facto size of Jerusalem in the Persian period', in JJPP: 147–166, p. 164; Lipschits, 'Persian period finds'; Grabbe, A History of...

116 Gadot, ‘In the valley’, p. 19. On the rural economy of Yehud see O. Lipschits, ‘The rural economy of Judah during the Persian period and the settlement history of the district system’ in M.L. Miller, E.B. Zvi and G.N. Knoppers (eds), The Economy of Ancient Judah in Its Historical Context, Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015: 233–261. To the southwest of Jerusalem’s Old City, just before the Hinnom valley, is the archaeological site of Ketef Hinnom. This location reflects continuity of use across the exilic and post-exilic periods, with caves containing family burials extending through the period of the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem. Cave 24 at the site had material from pre-exilic to early Persian periods, with reuse in the 1st century BCE. There was also cultural continuity at Mamilla Street sites just west of the Old City.

117 Wine production continuing from before and through the Persian period, from the 7th to 4th centuries BCE, was a feature of the site of Rogem Gannim, 3 miles west of Jerusalem’s Old City. This appears to have been an example of economic specialisation: R. Greenberg and G. Cinamon, ‘Excavations at Rogem Gannim, Jerusalem: installations of the Iron Age, Persian, Roman and Islamic periods’, Atiqot 66 (2011): 79–106.


120 Lipschits et al., What Are the Stones, p. 166.


122 Carter, The Emergence, p. 281.


124 Stern, Material Culture, pp. 38–39; S.T. Stub, ‘Life in a busy oasis’, Archaeology May 2019. Excavations indicated substantial abandonment after destruction at the time of the Babylonian conquest, before revival in the Persian period. Late Persian-period settlement featured houses close together on narrow lanes; one large house with three wings and built over three terraces had walls of large stones with plaster on both walls and floors.

125 Carter, The Emergence, pp. 116, 183; Stern, Material Culture, pp. 253, 255.


127 Carter, The Emergence, p. 187, fig. 17 for later Persian sites and p. 210, fig. 18 for earlier Persian period sites.

128 Carter, The Emergence, p. 201.

The town of Samaria itself saw substantial destruction by the Macedonians after a revolt at the time of Alexander’s conquests. As a result, locating the archaeology of Persian settlement has been problematic. It is suggested, however, that Samaria may have become the largest town in Achaemenid Palestine; Shechem was the other large Samarian town. Stern, *Material Culture*, p. 29; A. Zertal, ‘The province of Samaria (Assyrian Samerina) in the Late Iron Age (Iron Age III)’, in *JJNBP*: 377–412.


Finkelstein and Silberman, *David and Solomon*.


Grabbe, *Ancient Israel; Finkelstein and Silberman, The Bible Unearthed*.


6. Ahura Mazda and the enigmas of Zoroastrian origins


3 www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/ensign/1971/11/zoroastrianism?lang=eng

4 Qur’an 22:17.

5 Rose, *Zoroastrianism*, p. 163.

6 Matthew 2:1–2; N. Cohn, *Cosmos, Change and the World to Come*, 2nd edition, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001, p. 228, suggests the author of Matthew may have been familiar with Zoroastrians.


10 Later documents continued to be attributed to Zarathushtra from Hellenistic times onwards: see M. Stausberg, ‘A name for all and no one: Zoroaster as a figure of authorization and a screen of ascription’, in J.R. Lewis and O. Hammer...
Notes to pages 192–196


26 Gershevitc, ‘Approaches’, p. 3.


Rose, *Zoroastrianism*, p. 35.


270


Gnoli, Zoroaster in History, p. 164.


M. Hutter, Zoroaster III. Zoroaster in the Avesta, EncycIran (2009).

Boyle, A History 1, p. 182.


For example, the suggestion that by the date of the last Young Avestan texts, the location of Zarathushtra was considered to be at the site of Darya-I Pand in Afghanistan: C. Rapin, ‘Nomads and the shaping of Central Asia (from the early Iron Age to the Kushan period)’, Proceedings of the British Academy 133 (2007): 29–72. p. 41, citing F. Grenet.


Gnoli, ‘Avestan geography’; Witzel, ‘Iranian migration’, p. 425, suggests the main focusses of the references are on the region of Bactria and, to the south, Arachosia in Afghanistan, with mentions of Hyrcania, at the south-east of the Caspian.

Gnoli, ‘Avestan geography’.


Boyle, A History 2, pp. 8–9; Schwartz, ‘The religion’, p. 697.


The complexities of this issue are explored in Lamberg-Karlovsky et al., ‘Archaeology and language’.

84 More nomadic groups associated with the Andronovo culture are identified further down the Amu-Darya River: S. Salvatori, ‘Cultural variability in the Bronze Age Oxus civilisation and its relations with the surrounding regions of Central Asia and Iran’, in S. Salvatori and M. Tozi (eds), The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in the Margiana lowlands, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008: 75–98.
93 Negus Cleary, ‘Social complexity’.
100 Discussed in Rapin, ‘Nomads’, pp. 39–42.
112 Mortazavi et al., ‘Step over’, p. 50.
Notes to pages 218–228


7. Prophets, religions and history: some conclusions

11 Storr, Feet of Clay, p. xiv.