IN THE HIGHLAND'S DEPTH

Journal for the Study of Archaeology and History of the highland's region

Volume 6

editors:

Aharon Tavger • Zohar Amar

Ariel – Neve Tzuf

2016

ARIEL UNIVERSITY

מדרשת הרי גופנא ע"ר

The volume has been published with aid of:
Mateh Binyamin Regional Council
Jeselsohn Epigraphic Center for Jewish History, Bar-Ilan University

ISBN 978-965-7632-13-0

Front Cover: 'el-'Assirah' complex, below Beitillu (photograph: H. Valder)
Back Cover: Pit at Khirbet Zibda (photogreaph: A. Schneider)

English editor: **Rachel Kessel**
Graphic Design: **Niv Books,** Herzeliya
Cover Design: **The Graphic Department**, Ariel University

Contents

English Section

Hebrew Section

PART ONE: STUDIES IN MOUNT EPHRAIM AND ENVIRONS AT VARIOUS PERIODS

Locating ʻAi: Excavations at Kh. el-Maqatir 1995–2000 and 2009–2014[1]

Bryant G. Wood

Abstract

Since the publication of William F. Albright's 1924 watershed article "Ai and Beth-Aven", the location of ʻAi has been fixed at et-Tell and uncritically accepted by most scholars without question, so much so that if one wishes to read about the archaeology of et-Tell, one must look under the subject heading "Ai" in reference books. This, in spite of the fact that et-Tell has little correspondence with the description of ʻAi given in Joshua 7–8 in the Hebrew Bible. On December 13, 1981, the Archaeological Survey of the Hill Country of Benjamin surveyed the small site of Kh. el-Maqatir 1 km west of et-Tell and reported evidence for Middle Bronze Age occupation. When visiting the site in the early 1990s, the author noted the striking correspondence between the topography of the site and the details given in Joshua 7–8. Excavations were commenced in 1995 to determine if there is archaeological evidence to support the hypothesis that Kh. el-Maqatir is the ʻAi of Joshua 7–8. After 12 seasons of excavation, substantial evidence has been found to confirm this hypothesis.

1 David Livingston made an important contribution to West Bank archaeology in his excavations at Kh. Nisya, 14 km north of Jerusalem. The project was sponsored by the Associates for Biblical Research, Akron, Pennsylvania. David founded the organization in 1969 for the express purpose of promoting archaeological research at Kh. Nisya. Ten years later, in 1979, he launched the first excavation season at the site, which continued for 20 seasons over a span of 24 years (Livingston 2003). David hoped to find evidence that Kh. Nisya was the Biblical ʻAi. Although such evidence was not forthcoming, the Nisya dig spawned a sister dig at Kh. el-Maqatir, 2.8 km northeast of Kh. Nisya, which has yielded abundant evidence for identifying it as the ʻAi of Joshua 7–8. This paper is dedicated to the memory of David Livingston, who pioneered research to find the correct location for ʻAi.

> Consequently, where did ʻAi stand? Unfortunately, we cannot answer this question until suitable excavations clarifying this matter will be carried out in the vicinity of Et-Tell. What we are able to say now, is that ʻAi did not stand at Et-Tell… (Grintz 1961, 216)

Background

The Site

Kh. el-Maqatir is strategically located in the highlands of Israel, 15 km north of Jerusalem (17378/14693 in the Old Israel Grid), on the south bank of Wadi el-Gayeh (fig. 1). It lies on the east side of the main north-south ridge road through the central hill country, running from Jerusalem to el-Bira, west of the site, and on to Shechem to the north. A major east-west road proceeded from Amman in Transjordan, across the Jordan Valley to Jericho, then to the north side of Kh. el-Maqatir, west to el-Bira, and on to Joppa on the Mediterranean coast. It is situated on an eroded natural limestone hill whose summit is 890 m above sea level. Bedrock is exposed in many places, with the remaining soil less than 1 m deep in most cases.

Figure 1: The location of Kh. el-Maqatir in relation to the major roads in central Canaan (modified section of Beitzel 2009, Map 27)

There are four major areas of occupation at the site (fig. 2): a Byzantine church and monastery on the summit of the hill (Area C), a small fortified Late Hellenistic-Early Roman (LH–ER) town 200 m to the southeast and some 17 m below the summit (Areas A and B), an MB III–LB I fortress (ca. 1500–1400 B.C.E., Areas D, E, F and G)[2] and Iron Age I occupation between the summit and the LH–ER town (Area E). Most construction was directly on bedrock. Extant soil is the result of fill operations in antiquity and the accumulation of erosional material against surviving wall stubs. Fill stones from the

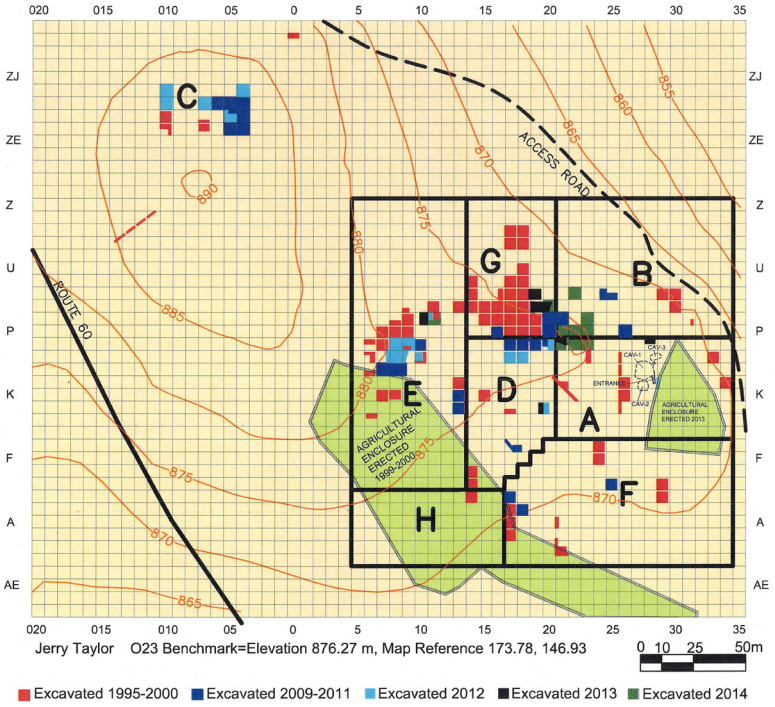

Figure 2: Kh. el-Maqatir Excavation Areas

[2] The author favors lowering the end of the Middle Bronze period to the time of the campaign of Thutmose III to Canaan in his 22nd year, ca. 1485 B.C.E., as suggested by Amnon Ben-Tor and Ruhama Bonfil (2003), and supported by the trend in recent research to lower the end of Middle Bronze (Dever 1987, 149; Meyers 1997, 411; Ben-Tor et al. 2005, 243; Mazar & Mullins 2007, 12; Ben-Tor 2011, 30; Bietak 2013, 79).

walls of the fortresses, left behind when the larger stones were robbed out, blanket the site today. The site has suffered from extensive robbing, agricultural activity, erosion and other disturbances in the past, and significant looting, agricultural encroachment and vandalism in recent years.

Early explorers, such as Edward Robinson (1841, 126), and Claude Conder and Horatio Kitchener (1882, 353), documented the Byzantine church. Victor Guérin (1869, 57) was the first to take note of the LH-ER town. A number of cisterns are associated with these remains. Although there is a spring 1.1 km to the west and another one the same distance to the northeast, no natural source of water has yet been located on the site. Kh. el-Maqatir was surveyed by the Archaeological Survey of the Hill Country of Benjamin in 1981, the first to document Middle Bronze Age and Iron Age I remains between the summit and the LH–ER town. The LH–ER town was labeled Site 84 (17–14/36/01) and the Middle Bronze Age and Iron Age I remains Site 85 (17–14/36/02) (Finkelstein 1993, 22*, 81–82; Finkelstein et al. 1997, 519–522). The survey did not investigate the Byzantine monastery.

History of Excavations

Expeditions have been conducted from 1995–2000 and 2009–present, sponsored by the Associates for Biblical Research, under the direction of the author from 1995–2000 and 2009–2013 and of Scott Stripling since 2014.[3] The research design of the project is to determine whether

[3] These expeditions can also be defined as 'Salvage Expeditions'. The site is in imminent danger of destruction as a result of agricultural activity and vandalism. During the course of the excavation, two areas were fenced off by local residents for agricultural purposes, making them inaccessible for archaeological excavation, one between the 1999 and 2000 seasons and the other in 2013 (see fig. 2). The 2014 season was conducted under Permit Number 1368 issued by Hananya Hizmi, Staff Officer of Archaeology of the Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria.

Kh. el-Maqatir meets the biblical requirements for identification as the ʻAi of Joshua 7–8, and to document the other occupational periods represented at the site. The purpose of the present paper is to present a summary of the findings related to the MB III–LB I fortress and compare those findings to the description of ʻAi in Joshua 7–8.

The MB III–LB I Fortress

Remnants of a small fortress dating to MB III–LB I have been found on the southeast slope of the site, the north wall of which the Benjamin Survey labeled Site 85 (17–14/36/02; fig. 3). Although some parts of the fortress are inaccessible due to a fenced-off agricultural plot, based

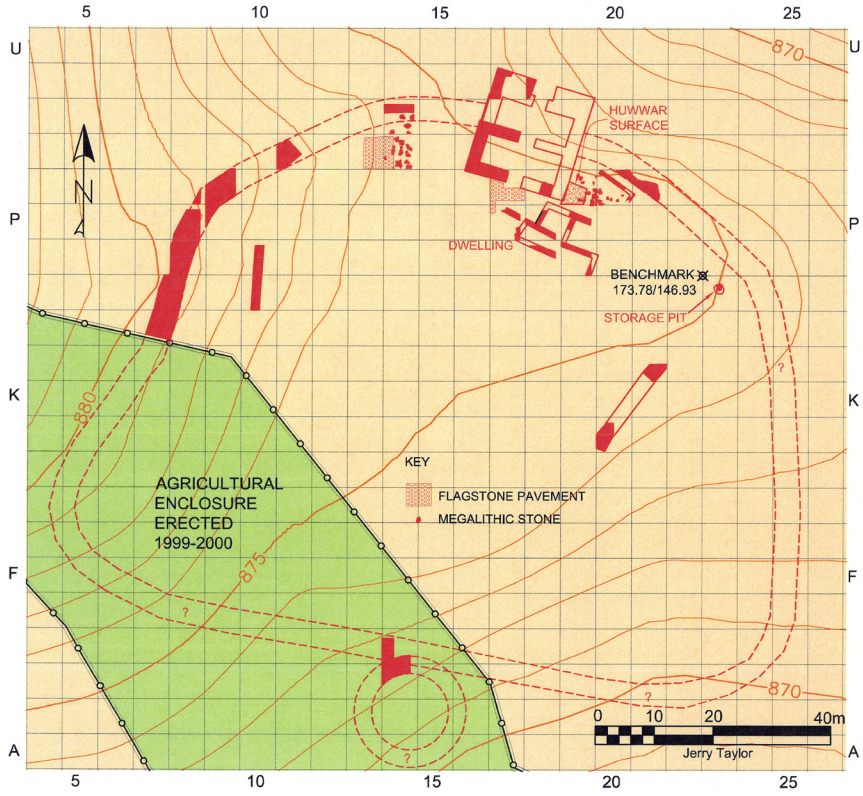

Figure 3: Proposed Plan of the Kh. el-Maqatir MB III–LB I Fortress

on present evidence it appears to have occupied an area of ca. 1 ha.[4] In spite of its small size, the bastion was strongly fortified. The remaining foundations of the north and west walls are ca. 4 m wide (fig. 4).

Figure 4: Segment of the western wall of the fortress in Square M7, view southwest (Photo: M.C. Luddeni)

Construction of the Fortress

According to the pottery, following the fortress phase there was an occupation gap of ca. 200 years, after which the site was reoccupied in the Iron Age I period. Rooms were built into the north wall of the fortress, thus far exposed in Squares Q9, Q10 and R11.[5] In subsequent centuries, local farmers clearing adjacent fields back-filled the Iron Age I structures. The result is a stone ridge ca. 1.5 m high covering the line of the north wall of the fortress.

The back-filled material includes MB III pottery from the fortress construction phase (figs. 5, 6),[6] LB I pottery from the fortress occupation phase and pottery from the Iron Age I phase.

[4] The Benjamin survey estimated the area of the stone piles covering the north wall of the fortress and the later Iron I dwellings (Site 85, 17-14/36/02, which comprises Squares Q9, Q-R10, R11, S12-16) as 0.15 ha (Finkelstein 1993, 22; Finkelstein et al. 1997, 521).

[5] The Iron Age remains found at Kh. el-Maqatir will be published in volume 2 of the final excavation report series.

[6] A detailed analysis of the Kh. el-Maqatir pottery will be presented in volume 1 of the final excavation report series. For parallels for MB III pottery from the construction phase of the west wall, see Byers et al. in press, fig. 9 Descriptions and Parallels, nn. 7–13.

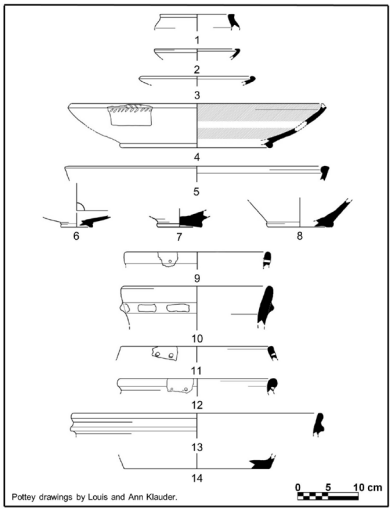

Figure 5: MB III pottery from the construction phase of the fortress, Squares Q9 and Q10, 2014: 1–8 bowls; 9–14 flat-bottomed, hand-made cooking pots

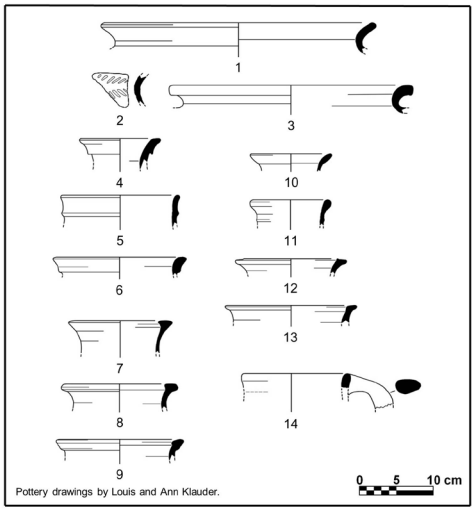

Figure 6: MB III pottery from the construction phase of the fortress, Squares Q9 and Q10, 2014: 1 round-bottomed, wheel-made cooking pot; 2–3 kraters; 4–13 storage jars; 14 jug

In 2014, a scarab was found while sifting soil from Square P20 (fig. 7). Unfortunately, the scarab came from an area that had been disturbed by vandals following the spring 2013 season. It likely came from Locus 16, hard-packed soil above bedrock, similar to a scarab found in 2013 which came from a secure locus (see below). The approximate find spot of the 2014 scarab is shown in

Figure 7: Locally-made scarab from the MB II-III period (ca. 1668–1485 B.C.E.) found in 2014 in Square P20 in a disturbed context (Photos: M.C. Luddeni)

fig. 8 (below). It originated ca. 4 m from the inner face of the fortress wall, ca. 6.6 m west-northwest of the 2013 scarab and at about the same elevation (ca. 874.49 m, ca. 11 cm above bedrock, compared with 874.40 m, 2 cm above bedrock, for the 2013 scarab). Similarly, a small bronze ram's head was found ca. 3 m southeast of the 2013 scarab, ca. 8 cm above bedrock (see below). The two scarabs and the ram's head came from an area 2.5–4 m from the proposed inner face of the fortress wall and 2–11 cm above bedrock. It appears that these artifacts originated in robbed-out rooms southeast of the gate.

The motif on the base of the scarab is comprised of a border with eight triple-ring concentric circles and two crude hieroglyphs in the center, Olga Tufnell's design class 4D3 (Tufnell 1984, Pl. 22, 1993). The upper two characters were incorrectly copied from an *ankh* (life) sign, revealing the artisan's lack of knowledge of Egyptian hieroglyphs, indicating the scarab was probably locally made (Ben-Tor 2009, 84, 88; 2011, 28). The lower sign is the basket *nb* hieroglyph for lord. Locally-made scarabs were current in Canaan from the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period, ca. 1668 B.C.E., until the conquest of Thutmose III in his 22nd year, ca. 1485 B.C.E. (Ben-Tor 2011, 27–32).[7] Thus, the scarab comports well with the MB III time frame for the founding of the fortress based on ceramic evidence.

Northern Gate

A gate socket stone was observed on the surface in 1995 and in 1996 the adjacent chamber of a gate was exposed (fig. 8). The rest of the gate was largely robbed out in antiquity, but surviving remnants suggest it was originally a four-chamber gate. Two lower socket stones (fig. 8, Objects 568 and 569) and one upper pivot stone (fig. 8, Object 59)

[7] High chronology; Egyptian dates are those of Douglas Petrovich (in press).

Figure 8: Area of the fortress gate showing the locations of the finds discussed in the paper

were excavated in Square Q17 in 1996 near the inner entryway, and an additional lower socket stone was discovered in 2013 in Square R19 east of the gate (fig. 8, Object 893), no doubt originally part of the gate.

A number of poorly-preserved walls were found immediately inside the gate (see fig. 8). In 2009, an infant jar burial was discovered in the northeast corner of Square O18, adjacent to one of these

walls (fig. 9). The burial jar was 37 cm below the surface, resting on bedrock. Scattered about the jar were the bones of a neonate, evidently removed from the jar by a rodent. The offering vessels, burial jar and typology of the burial suggest a date for the internment in the MB III–LB I transitional period, ca. 1485 B.C.E. (fig. 10; for a more detailed report see Byers et al. in press).

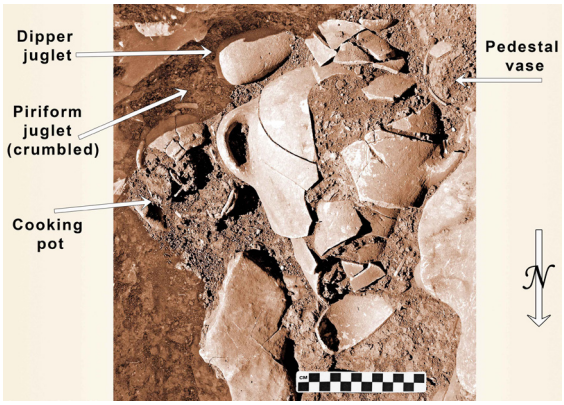

Figure 9: Infant jar burial found in Square O18 in 2009, with offering vessels around the outside of the jar (Photo: M.C. Luddeni)

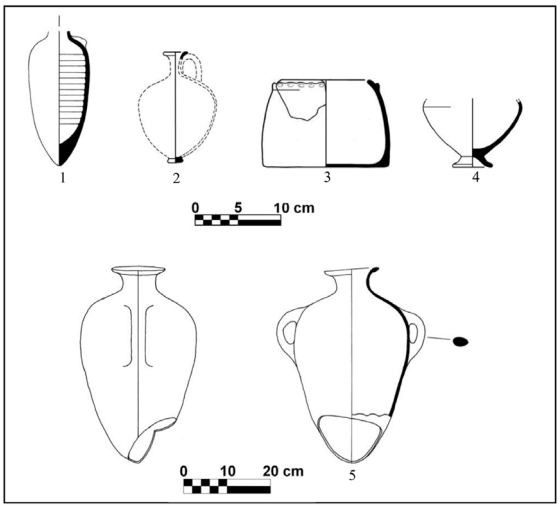

Figure 10: Offering vessels and burial jar from the Square O18 infant jar burial: 1 dipper juglet (fired); 2 periform juglet (unfired); 3 flat-bottomed, hand-made cooking pot (unfired); 4 pedestal vase (unfired); 5 burial jar (fired)

Southern Tower?

In the 1999 season, a portion of a curved wall 3 m-thick was excavated in Squares C-D14 (see fig. 3). On the last day of the season the top of a 4 m-wide wall was reached on the west side of Square D14, north of the curved wall. Sometime between the 1999 and 2000 seasons a 1 m-wide

stone wall topped with a barbed-wire fence was erected to enclose an agricultural plot which included these structures. The area inside the enclosure is now inaccessible for excavation. In fig. 3 the curved wall segment has been reconstructed as a round tower and the 4 m-wide wall as the southern wall of the fortress. Since the proposed tower is offset to the east of the axis of the fortress, the principle of symmetry would suggest that a matching tower was located on the west side of the axis (figs. 3, 11). The tower(s) may have guarded a southern entrance to the fortress. Unfortunately, at the present time it is not possible to confirm or deny these assumptions.

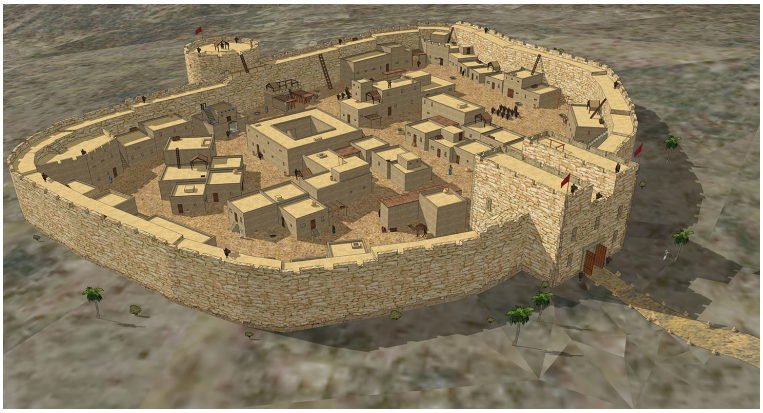

Figure 11: Recreation of the 15th-century B.C.E. fortress at Kh. el-Maqatir (Recreation: T. Miller)

Destruction of the Fortress

The fortress was apparently destroyed by a widespread conflagration, as evidenced by severe burning in the form of reddened and fragmented bedrock in the gate passageway, ash deposits in various places, particularly in the gate area, and refired LB IB pottery throughout

the fortress (fig. 12). The latest pottery associated with the fortress is LB IB, indicating a date in the latter part of the 15th century B.C.E. for its destruction (for parallels see Byers et al. in press, fig. 9, nn. 16–30). Several of the pottery types in fig. 12 only occur in the LB IB period: small krater (fig. 12: 3); flared, groove-rim jar (fig. 12: 8); everted "gulf-club"-rim jug (fig 12: 14); and ridged-neck jar or jug (fig. 12: 21).

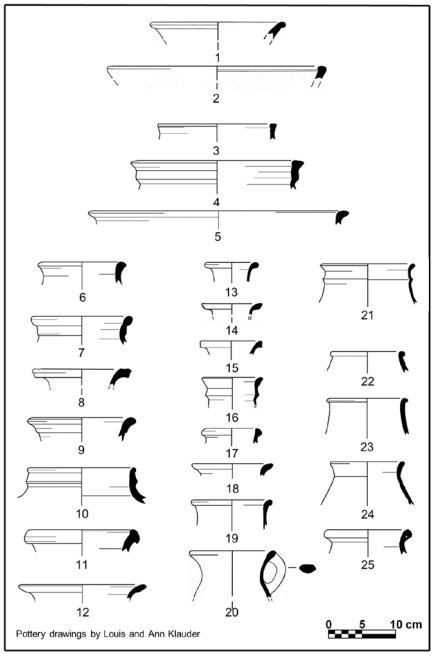

Figure 12: Refired LB IB pottery from the terminal phase of the fortress excavated in 1997, 1998 and 2000: 1–2 bowls; 3–5 kraters; 6–12 storage jars; 13–21 jugs; 22–25 biconical jugs

An LB IB date for the destruction of the fortress is reinforced by a datable scarab found in a well-sealed LB IB context in 2013 (fig. 13). It was found ca. 2.5 m from the proposed inner face of the fortress wall, 2 cm above bedrock in a 5 cm-thick layer of compacted soil. Above that were randomly-placed flat stones, a 10 cm-thick ashy deposit, and 41 cm of leveling fill for a large LH–ER house. Four refired LB IB sherds were found with the scarab (fig. 14). The biconical jug and large bowl or krater ring base (figs. 14: 1, 2) are common LB IB forms. The pithos rims (figs. 14: 3, 4) are less common in published reports, but are ubiquitous at Kh. el-Maqatir, with some 239 examples from the 1996–2000

Figure 13: Egyptian scarab from the mid-18th Dynasty found in 2013 in a secure locus in Square P21 (Photos: M.C. Luddeni)

and 2009–2014 seasons being registered (for a parallel from a clear LB IB locus at nearby Beitin see Kelso 1968, Pl. 56:11; Wood 2008, 226–228; cf. Albright 1934, 6–9). Scarabs with a falcon-headed sphinx motif on the base, Othmar Keel's design class 9F2 (Keel 1995, 161), although rare, are known from the mid-18th Dynasty. Based on parallels with royal names, the schematic type such as our example can be dated to the reign of Amenhotep II (ca. 1455–1418 B.C.E.; Hall 1913, 162, no. 1645; Petrie 1917, Pl. 30: 19; Tufnell 1958, 123, no. 317, Pl. 38: 317).

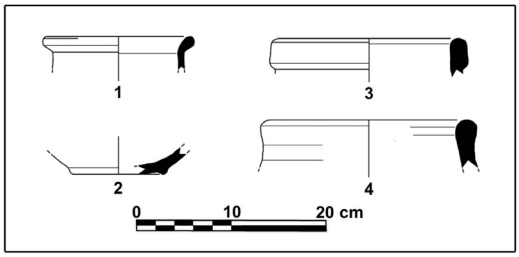

Figure 14: Refired LB IB pottery found with the falcon-headed sphinx scarab: 1 biconical jug; 2 large bowl or krater ring base; 3–4 pithoi

Special Finds

Largest Locally-Made Bronze Age Stele Found in the Southern Levant (fig. 15)

A significant find in 2009 was in Square C17, close to the proposed location of the southern wall of the fortress. There, an 85 cm-high stela was found embedded in a cobblestone matrix, most likely wall collapse, with its top just visible on the surface. A pictorial representation was carved in raised

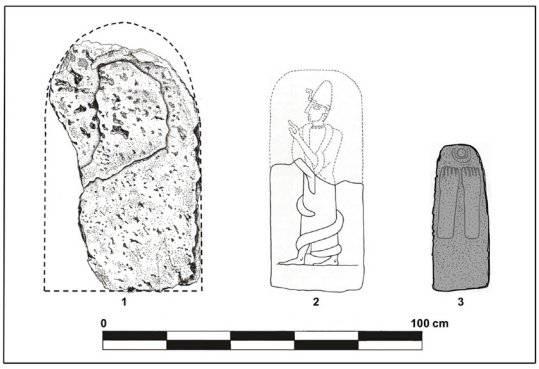

Figure 15: Indigenous Bronze Age stelae from the southern Levant: 1. Kh. el-Maqatir, limestone, 15th century B.C.E.; 2. Tell Beit Mirsim, limestone, Str. D, 16th century B.C.E. (after Merhav 1985, Pl. III.2); 3. Hazor, basalt, Str. 1-a, 13th century B.C.E. (after Yadin et al. 1958, Pl. 29.2)

relief on the front surface, but extensive weathering rendered the image illegible. This is the third indigenous Bronze Age stela to be found in the southern Levant and is the largest of the three (Kennedy 2011).

Bronze Ram's Head

On the last day of the 2014 season, a small bronze ram's head was recovered in Square P22 (fig. 16; Peterson 2015). Although found in sift, it was possible to ascertain the approximate provenience of the object. It came from a slight depression in bedrock, at an estimated elevation of 874.34 m, ca. 8 cm above bedrock, and approximately 3 m from the inside face of the MB III fortification wall (see fig. 8). It was sealed by approximately 50 cm of leveling fill for a large LH–ER structure above. Unfortunately, no diagnostic pottery was found in association with the ram's head. Its location 8 cm above bedrock and 3 m from the fortress wall, however, is similar to that of the mid-18th Dynasty scarab found in 2013 3 m to the northwest (see above), suggesting a similar time frame for the ram's head. The head most likely came from a figurine, possibly that of the Egyptian ram god Khnum. We assume it had been intentionally severed from the body, as shown by the downward cut mark at the base of the neck (fig. 16), reminiscent of decapitated figurines and statues found at Hazor (Ben-Tor 2006).

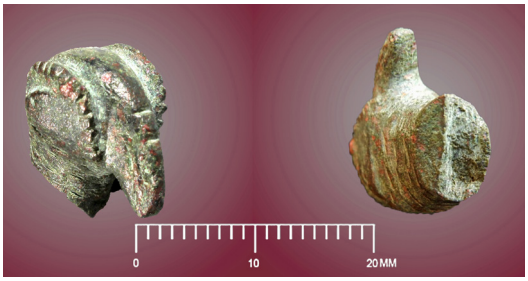

Figure 16: Bronze ram's head: left, top view; right, bottom view showing cut mark (Photo: M.C. Luddeni)

Identification of the Kh. El-Maqatir Fortress

Early Researchers

When Robinson visited Kh. el-Maqatir on May 5, 1838, he was told by Greek priests and inhabitants of nearby Taiyiba that it was the location of ʻAi. After inspecting the remains on the summit, he concluded,

> …there is not the slightest ground for any such hypothesis. There never was anything here but a church; and ʻAi must have been further off from Bethel [=Beitin], and certainly not directly in sight of it (Robinson 1841, 126).[8]

Had Robinson walked 200 m down the southeast slope of the site he might have changed the course of historical geography. There, also missed by all other investigators, with the exception of the Benjamin Survey, in clear view, is abundant evidence for early occupation, including ancient walls and pottery on the surface. Sixty-one years later, when Ernst Sellin visited the site in 1899, locals identified it as "Khirbet Ai" (Sellin 1900, 1).

In 1924, William F. Albright published an influential article in which he strongly advocated that et-Tell, 1 km east of Kh. el-Maqatir, should be identified as ʻAi. In spite of the many archaeological and topographical features of ʻAi that one can glean from the book of Joshua (see below), Albright made his case only on three arguments (Albright 1924, 143): (1) et-Tell is located east of Beitin (Albright's

[8] Robinson drew similar erroneous conclusions when he visited et-Tell on May 14, 1838, and Megiddo on April 21, 1852:

> We had expected to find here [et-Tell] some remains of an ancient site; but there was nothing save a cistern, and immense heaps of unwrought stones, merely thrown together in order to clear the ground for planting olive-trees. The position would answer well to that of Ai; and had there been traces of ruins, I should not hesitate so to regard it. I also went out upon the more southern hill, but with no better success; it was wholly covered with rocks in their natural state (Robinson 1841, 312–313).

"The Tell [of Megiddo] would indeed present a splendid site for a city; but there is no trace, of any kind, to show that a city ever stood there" (Robinson et al. 1856, 117).

candidate for Bethel) (*Joshua* 7, 2; 8, 9, 12–13), (2) et-Tell is close to Beitin (*Joshua* 12, 9), and (3) et-Tell is the only significant ruin east of Beitin (*Joshua* 8, 28). Even though Albright wrote his article before excavations were undertaken at the site, he fully realized there was no Late Bronze occupation there. He believed the site had been destroyed much earlier and that the Joshua narrative was a later tradition (Albright 1924, 146–149).[9] Thus, Albright ignored one of the three types of evidence used to identify an ancient site—ancient literary sources, modern Arabic names which preserve the memory of ancient names, and archaeological data. J. Maxwell Miller commented:

> …a ruin which offers no sherds or occupational strata from a particular period may be disqualified as the remains of an ancient city believed to have been occupied during that period… (Miller 1983, 120; cf. 1987, 35).

We have, then, the unprecedented and illogical circumstance in which the identification of a biblical site is based solely on topographical considerations, with no archaeological evidence to support it. In fact, the archaeological findings at et-Tell negate the equation with ʻAi. In spite of opposition (Pythian-Adams 1936, 141; Selms 1936, 208; Kenyon 1940, 190; Bea 1943, 258; Auvray 1949, col. 1138; Simons 1959, 270; Grintz 1961; Harrison 1979, 83; Bimson 1981, 201-211; Luria 1989; Briggs 2005), the identification has stuck so much so that if one wishes to look up et-Tell in an archaeological dictionary or encyclopedia, one must look under "Ai".

[9] That Joshua 7–8 is an etiology is the most common explanation for the discrepancy between the finds at et-Tell and the Hebrew Bible (Coogan 2006, 197). It cannot be an etiological explanation for the ruins at et-Tell since the topography described does not match that of et-Tell. 'Ai is portrayed as a small place, whereas et-Tell is a very large ruin, being some 11 ha. in size. Moreover, there is no militarily significant hill and shallow valley north of et-Tell, and it lacks an adequate ambush site on the east (see items 6, 8, 10 and 11 below).

Albright later wrote,

> Since the writer has scoured the district in question in all directions, hunting for ancient sites, he can attest the fact that there is no other possible candidate for Ai than et-Tell (Albright 1963, 29).

As a result, et-Tell became ʻAi by default. Basing an argument on what was not found (silence or 'non-evidence') is a highly questionable methodology. With the discovery of the 15th century B.C.E. fortress at Kh. el-Maqatir the question of the location of the ʻAi of Joshua 7–8 must be revisited.

Correspondences between Kh. el-Maqatir and the Book of Joshua

The only information we have concerning ʻAi is found in the Hebrew Bible, therefore arguments for locating ʻAi must be based on that source. There are 14 topographical and archaeological correspondences between the ʻAi narrative in the book of Joshua and the findings at Kh. el-Maqatir.[10]

1. Strategically Significant (*Joshua* 7, 2) - Clearly, ʻAi was important in Joshua's overall military strategy for conquering Cis-Jordan, as it was singled out as the first highland site to be attacked following the conquest of Jericho in the Jordan Valley. Kh. el-Maqatir is located near an intersection between two major north-south and east-west roads (see fig. 1). Moreover, it is situated on the southern

[10] The premise of the author is that the Hebrew Bible contains historical information that is valuable for reconstructing the history of ancient Israel. For a review of alternative views such as etiological legend and myth see Briggs 2005, 163–164.

bank of Wadi el-Gayeh (fig. 17), which was the border between the central area of the highlands to the north, under the control of the city-state of Shechem (Wood 1997), and the territory of Jerusalem to the south (Finkelstein & Na'aman 2005, 186). From the site there is clear line-of-sight communication with Jerusalem. Based on its strategic location and archaeological findings, Kh. el-Maqatir appears to have been a northern border fortress for the city-state of Jerusalem in the 15th century B.C.E. After destroying 'Ai (*Joshua* 8), thus extinguishing the Jerusalem 'early-warning system', the Israelites conducted a campaign against a coalition of southern city-states led by Jerusalem (ibid. 10), followed by a campaign in the north (ibid. 11). Thus, Kh. el-Maqatir is fully consistent with the Biblical depiction of 'Ai as a militarily important site that needed to be eliminated prior to conducting operations in the highlands of Cis-Jordan.

2. Occupation at the Time of the Israelite Entry into Canaan - The ceramic evidence indicates that the fortress was constructed late in the MB III period, ca. 1500 B.C.E., and destroyed in the LB IB period, ca. 1445–1400 B.C.E. These dates are supported by a locally-made scarab dating to ca. 1668–1485 B.C.E., and an Egyptian scarab from the reign of Amenhotep II, ca. 1455–1418 B.C.E.

A close date for the destruction of 'Ai can be derived from internal chronological data in the Hebrew Bible. The date of the Exodus is determined:

> In the four hundred and eightieth year after the Israelites had come out of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month of Ziv, the second month, he began to build the temple of the Lord (*I Kings* 6, 1).

Solomon's fourth year was 967 B.C.E. (Young 2003), resulting in an Exodus date of 1446 B.C.E. and an Israelites entering Canaan's date of 1406 B.C.E. Most scholars favor a late-13th century B.C.E. date for the appearance of Israel in Canaan (e.g. Higginbotham 2009, 51; for a

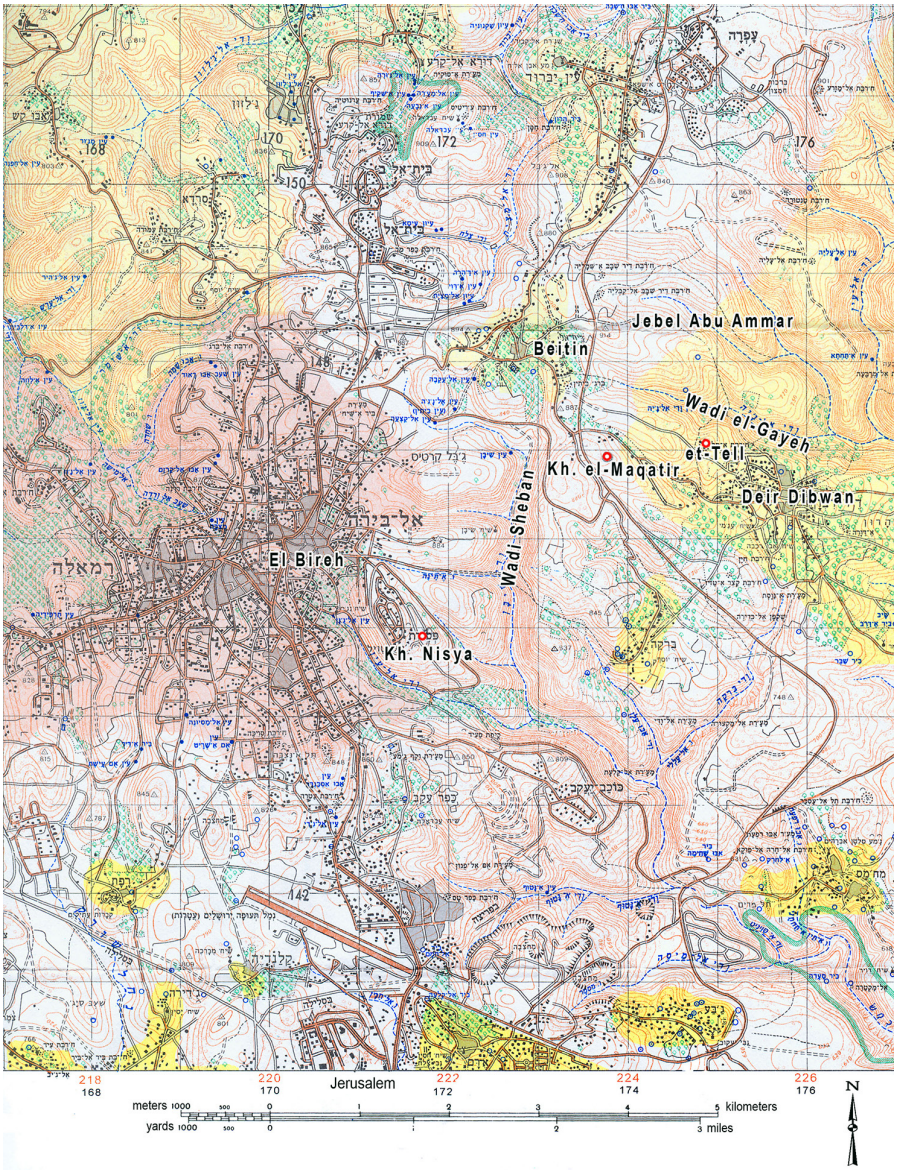

Figure 17: Map of the region of Kh. el-Maqatir (modified section of *Rāmallah Map*)

defense of this view see Kitchen 2003; 159–190, 255–256, 307–310), but there is little evidence to support this dating (Wood 2005; 2007).[11]

According to the book of Joshua, ʻAi was the second place the Israelites attacked after entering Canaan, so the destruction of ʻAi probably occurred in 1406 B.C.E., shortly after the destruction of Jericho in the spring of that year. The archaeological date of LB IB comports well with the more precise date of 1406 B.C.E. derived from the Hebrew Bible. Excavations at et-Tell have revealed that there was no occupation at the site in the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze periods, so et-Tell was unoccupied at the time Israel entered Canaan. As a result, et-Tell has no archaeological evidence that would support the et-Tell = ʻAi identification.

[11]An approximation of this time span can be calculated from 1 Chronicles 6, 33–37, where the genealogy of Heman the musician, who lived in the time of David, is recorded back to Korah, who lived in the time of Moses, a total of 18 generations. For an equivalent comparison, one additional generation must be added to bring the line to the time of Solomon, or 19 generations. A generation is approximately 25 years, making the time span from Moses to Solomon 475 years, a number in close agreement with the 479 figure from 1 Kings 6, 1.

This date can be arrived at independently from the Jubilee cycles. According to Leviticus 25, 1–13, the Israelites began their Sabbath and Jubilee cycles upon entry into the land. It is recorded in both the Seder ʻOlam Rabah (11) and the Talmud (*Bavli, ʻArakhin* 12, b) that Ezekiel's Jubilee in 574 B.C.E. (*Ezekiel* 40, 1) was the 17th Jubilee. Adding 17 Jubilee cycles (17 x 49 = 833) to 573 B.C.E., when the next cycle would begin, = 1406 B.C.E. for the year of entry into Canaan, when counting of the Jubilee cycles began (Young 2006).

The 300 year datum in Judges 11, 26 also supports a 1406 B.C.E. entry date. In a dispute over ownership of the Transjordanian territories, Jephthah said to the king of Ammon, "For 300 years Israel occupied Heshbon, Aroer, the surrounding settlements and all the towns along the Arnon". The 300 year time span no doubt derived from the counting of the years of the Jubilee cycles by the Levitical priests (Young 2006, 78). Assuming Transjordan was conquered the year before crossing the Jordan in 1406 B.C.E., results in a date for Jephthah's encounter with the king of Ammon of 1407 - 300 = 1107 B.C.E., a date in keeping with the time frame of the judges period.

Additional support for this date is provided by the Berlin statue pedestal inscription. A recent analysis of the inscription reveals that it lists the names Israel, Ashkelon and Canaan. It can be dated to the middle of the 18th Dynasty, around the time of Amenhotep III (ca. 1408–1369 B.C.E.) (Veen et al. 2010; Veen 2012).

3. East of Bethel (*Joshua* 7, 2; 8, 9, 12–13) - According to this source, Joshua told the spies ‘Ai was “to the east of Bethel”. The best candidate for Bethel is el-Bira (for more discussion see Wood 2008, 214–221);[12] Kh. el-Maqatir is east-northeast of el-Bira.

4. Near Bethel (*Joshua* 12, 9) - In the list of defeated kings in Joshua 12, ‘Ai is described as being “beside” or “in the vicinity of” Bethel. Kh. el-Maqatir is in the vicinity of Bethel, as it is located 3.5 km east-northeast of el-Bira.

5. Near Beth-Aven (*Joshua* 7, 2) - According to this source, Joshua sent spies to ‘Ai from the Israelite base camp of Gilgal near Jericho, to reconnoiter the site (ibid.). In describing the location, he said it was “near Beth-Aven”. After identifying Bethel at el-Bira, the most likely location for Beth-Aven is Beitin (Wood 2008, 221–228);[13] Kh. el-Maqatir is 1.5 km southeast of Beitin and therefore is close to Beth-Aven.

6. A Small Place (*Joshua* 7, 3; 10, 2) – In the book of Joshua, when the spies reported back to Joshua, they stated, “only a few men are there” (ibid., 3), indicating that ‘Ai was a small place. This is further quantified in Joshua 10, 2, where it is recorded, “Gibeon…was larger than ‘Ai”. Excavations at Gibeon were conducted in limited areas, so

[12] The commonly accepted location of Bethel is Beitin, first suggested by Robinson (1841, 125–128), supported by Albright (1968) and championed by Anson Rainey (2006). Beitin cannot be Bethel, however, since: 1. It is 15 Roman miles from Jerusalem (Chapman & Taylor 2003, 177), rather than 12 as stated by Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, 30); el-Bireh is 12 Roman miles from Jerusalem (Chapman & Taylor 2003, 177), 2. It is at least 5.5 Roman miles from Gibeon (Chapman & Taylor 2003, 177), rather than “about 4” as stated by Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, 41); el-Bireh is 6.2 km from Gibeon, which is equivalent to between 3.6 and 4.2 Roman miles (Chapman & Taylor 2003, 175–177, 3. Not a single cultic item has been found at Beitin (Kelso 1968), 4. The time of Jeroboam (Iron IIA) is only sparsely represented at Beitin (Finkelstein & Singer-Avitz 2009, 39).

[13] Recently Chris McKinny made a new suggestion for the location of Beth-Aven – Kh. Nisya (McKinny 2015, 14*–17*). This identification is highly unlikely since no architecture from the Middle Bronze or Late Bronze periods was found and only 39 sherds that are possibly from these periods were recovered (Livingston 2003; 29, 36–43). .

the size of the site in the 15th century B.C.E. only can be estimated. Middle Bronze occupation was found in Areas 15-K/L-18 on the west side of the site just inside the Iron Age I fortification wall (Pritchard 1964, 43–46, figs. 41, 42, 46). Assuming the Iron Age I wall was built on an earlier Middle Bronze wall would make the size of Gibeon in the Middle Bronze Age ca. 6 ha. (Pritchard 1964, 33–39; 1963, fig. 1). The fortress at Kh. el-Maqatir is smaller than Gibeon as it occupies an area of ca. 1 ha.

7. Fortified (*Joshua* 7, 5, 8, 29) - Based on the report of the spies, Joshua sent a small strike force to engage ʻAi (ibid., 3–4a). It did not go well with them, as "they were routed by the men of ʻAi…they chased the Israelites from the city gate as far as the stone quarries and struck them down on the slopes" (ibid., 4b–5).[14] A gate is again referred to following the Israelite victory in chapter 8, when the corpse of the king of ʻAi was deposited "at the entrance of the city gate" (ibid. 8, 29). Based on these references to a gate, it can be concluded that ʻAi was fortified. As described above, remnants of a small fortress, including a gate, have been found on the southeast slope of Kh. el-Maqatir.

8. Ambush site to the west (*Joshua* 8, 9, 12) - Following the initial failure, Joshua mobilized the entire army to combat the enemy (ibid., 1–3). Part of the battle plan was to place an ambush force "between Bethel and ʻAi, to the west of ʻAi" (ibid., 9, 12). For the ambush force to remain undetected there must have been a deep valley between Bethel and ʻAi. This requirement is met by Wadi Sheban between el-Bira and Kh. el-Maqatir. It is very deep and hidden from view from both Kh. el-Maqatir and el-Bira.

[14] In all English translations of the Hebrew Bible, the Hebrew word ʻîr in Joshua 7–8 is translated 'city'. While ʻîr normally carries the meaning of town or city, it can also mean 'fortified place' (Brown et al. 1968, 746).

> There is a small hill 0.7 km northwest of et-Tell, between et-Tell and Beitin, that would provide cover for a small ambush force hiding on the northwest side of the hill. The northwest side of the hill, however, is in plain view of Beitin, Bethel according to Albright's model, which was an ally of ʻAi (ibid., 17). Others have pointed out this shortcoming (e.g. Kitchener 1878, 75; Grintz 1961, 203, 211).

9. Gate located on the north side (*Joshua* 8, 11) - When Joshua arrived at ʻAi with the "whole army" (ibid., 1, 3), he was "in front of" ʻAi on its north side (ibid., 11). The "front" of the fortress would have been the side where the gate was located. The gate of the fortress at Kh. el-Maqatir is on the north side of the fortress (see fig. 3).

10. Militarily significant hill to the north (*Joshua* 8, 11, 13) - When the Israelite army arrived at ʻAi, Joshua and his generals:

> set up camp north of ʻAi, with a valley between them and the city… they had the soldiers take up their positions—all those in the camp to the north of the city and the ambush to the west of it.

Jebel Abu ʻAmmar, 1.5 km north of Kh. el-Maqatir, is the highest hill in the region (914 m) and would have made an excellent command post from which Joshua's generals could have viewed the entire theater of operations.

> There is a high ridge 1 km northeast of et-Tell that provides a commanding view of the area. It is unsuitable as a military position, however, as there are deep ravines on the north, east and south sides which would severely impede the movement of troops.

11. Shallow valley to the north (*Joshua* 8, 13–14) –The narrative tells us that Joshua did not remain with the main army, but rather took a small diversionary force and spent the night in the valley between the main camp and ʻAi. This was a ruse to lure the men of ʻAi out of the fortress (ibid., 5–6a). It mimicked the small force that earlier

attacked ʻAi and was defeated (ibid. 7, 4–5; 8, 6b). "When the king of ʻAi saw this, he and all the men of the city hurried out early in the morning to meet Israel in battle" (ibid., 14). The valley north of ʻAi was necessarily a shallow valley in order for the king of ʻAi to see Joshua and his men from the fortress. The Wadi el-Gayeh between Kh. el-Maqatir and Jebel Abu ʻAmmar is a wide shallow valley, with the bottom of the valley only 4 m lower than the floor level of the surviving gate chamber, and easily visible from Kh. el-Maqatir.

The valley on the north side of et-Tell is extremely deep and narrow, with very steep sides. It would not be possible to see a diversionary force in this valley as required by Joshua 8, 14.

12. Occupied by women (*Joshua* 8, 25) - After the men of ʻAi were lured out of the fortress, the ambush force came out of hiding and trapped the men of ʻAi in a pincers movement between Joshua's diversionary force, the main army and the ambush force. After dispatching those who had pursued Joshua and his men, the Israelites returned to the fortress and killed those inside (ibid., 14–24). Among the casualties were women (ibid., 24). The infant jar burial described above demonstrates that women were living in the fortress at Kh. el-Maqatir.

13. Destroyed by fire (*Joshua* 8, 28a) - Following the despoiling of the site, "Joshua burned ʻAi". Kh. el-Maqatir was destroyed by fire as documented above.

14. Left in ruins following the destruction (*Joshua* 8, 28b) - "…and made it a permanent heap of ruins, a desolate place to this day". Following the destruction of the fortress it was abandoned and left to the ravages of the elements, later scavengers and the farmer's plow. Following a 200 year gap, Iron Age I occupants built structures into the northern wall of the fortress. After another gap of about 700 years much of the eastern half of the fortress was robbed out by Hellenistic and Early Roman builders. The western half was similarly robbed out

some 300 years later when a Byzantine church and monastery were constructed on the summit of the hill. Subsequent to the Byzantine period there has been additional looting of the site up to the present. The foundation of the southwest chamber of the gate and additional remnants of the fortress, however, have survived. These sparse remains are visible on the surface, or can be found just beneath the surface. Despite the plundering over the centuries, there remains a "permanent heap of ruins" at Kh. el-Maqatir yet today.

Conclusion

et-Tell miserably fails as a candidate for Joshua's ʻAi since it has no Late Bronze Age occupation, no militarily significant hill or shallow valley to the north, and lacks an ambush site that would provide cover from both ʻAi and Bethel.[15] Since it was unoccupied in the Late Bronze period, it does not meet any of the numerous archaeological requirements for ʻAi. What is more, et-Tell is without an ancient local tradition linking it with ʻAi.[16]

---

[15] Although et-Tell cannot be the ʻAi of Joshua 7–8, it is an excellent candidate for the ʻAi of Genesis 12, 8 and 13, 3:

> From there he [Abraham] went on toward the hills east of Bethel and pitched his tent, with Bethel on the west and 'Ai on the east. There he built an altar to the Lord and called on the name of the Lord (*Genesis* 12, 8).

One would expect the ʻAi of Abraham's day to be a large, easily-recognized, landmark site. et-Tell in the Early Bronze Age was the largest urban center in the highlands and the ruins of this famous city would have been well-known in Abraham's day. It is feasible that the Kh. el-Maqatir fortress later took the name of its famous predecessor 1 km to the east. The church at the site was possibly built as a memorial to Abraham as there was no Byzantine community in the immediate vicinity to justify building a church and monastery at this location (Wilson 1869–1870, 124; Conder 1881, 222; Sellin 1900, 1; Schneider 1934, 187–89; Albright 1968, 2). Kh. el-Maqatir lies directly on the line from el-Bira to et-Tell.

[16] Visitors to et-Tell today are told by locals that the site is ʻAi, but this tradition is modern, based on the say-so of recent archaeologists working in the area.

The evidence from archaeology, topography and local tradition clearly points to Kh. el-Maqatir as being the best candidate for the ʻAi of Joshua 7–8. Mathematically, the identification is highly likely. The probability of any given site having the unique, detailed characteristics of ʻAi described in the book of Joshua is on the order of one in two million (Briggs 2005, 170, 187, 191–92).

Bibliography

Albright 1924:
Albright, W.F., 1924, Appendix V—Ai and Beth-Aven, in: Albright, W.F., *Excavations and Results at Tell el-Fûl (Gibeah of Saul)*, New Haven, pp. 141–149.
Albright 1934:
Albright, W.F., 1934, The Kyle Memorial Excavation at Bethel, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 56, pp. 2–15.
Albright 1963:
Albright, W.F., 1963, *The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra*, New York.
Albright 1968:
Albright, W.F., 1968, The Site of Bethel and its Identification, in: Kelso, J.C., *The Excavations of Beth-El (1934-1960)*, Cambridge, pp. 1–3.
Auvray 1949:
Auvray, P., 1949, Josué (le livre de), in: Pirot, L. & Robert, A. (editors), *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplément*, vol. 4, col. 1131–1141.
Bea 1943:
Bea, A., 1943, La Palestina Preisraelitica: Storia, Popoli, Cultura, *Biblica* 24, pp. 231–260.
Ben-Tor 2006:
Ben-Tor, A., 2006, The Sad Fate of Statues and the Mutilated Statues of Hazor, in: Gitin, S., Wright, J.E. & Dessel, J.P. (editors), *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever*, Winona Lake, pp. 3–16.

Ben-Tor 2009:
Ben-Tor, D., 2009, Pseudo Hieroglyphs on Middle Bronze Age Canaanite Scarabs, in: Andrássy, P., Budka, J. & Kammerzell, F. (editors), *Non-Textual Marking Systems, Writing and Pseudo Script from Prehistory to Modern Times*, Göttingen, pp. 83–100.

Ben-Tor 2011:
Ben-Tor, D., 2011, Egyptian-Canaanite Relations in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages as Reflected by Scarabs, in: Bar, S., Kahn, D. & Shirley, J.J. (editors), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel - History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature: Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3–7 May 2009*, Boston, pp. 23–43.

Ben-Tor et al. 2005:
Ben-Tor, A., Ben-Ami, D. & Livneh, A., 2005, *Yoqne'am III: The Middle and Late Bronze Ages, Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations (1978–1988)*, Jerusalem.

Ben-Tor & Bonfil 2003:
Ben-Tor, A. & Bonfil, R., 2003, Tel Qashish in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages: Historical Implications, in: Ben-Tor, A., Bonfil, R. & Zuckerman, S. (editors), *Tel Qashish: A Village in the Jezreel Valley, Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations (1978–1987)*, Jerusalem, p. 327.

Bietak 2013:
Bietak, M., 2013, Antagonisms in Historical and Radiocarbon Chronology, in: Ramsey, C.B. & Shortland, A.J. (editors), *Radiocarbon and the Chronologies of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, pp. 76–109.

Bimson 1981:
Bimson, J.J., 1981, *Redating the Exodus and Conquest* (2nd edition), Sheffield.

Briggs 2005:
Briggs, P., 2005, Testing the Factuality of the Conquest of Ai Narrative in the Book of Joshua, in: Carnagey, G.A. (editor), *Beyond the Jordan: Studies in Honor of W. Harold Mare*, Eugene, pp. 157–196.

Brown et al. 1968:
Brown, F., Driver, S.R. & Briggs, C.A., 1968*, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic*, Oxford.
Byers et al. in press:
Byers, G.A., Stripling, D.S. & Wood, B.G., in press, Excavations at Khirbet el-Maqatir: The 2009–2011 Seasons, *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 26.
Chapman & Taylor 2003:
Chapman, R.L. & Taylor, J.E., 2003, Distances Used by Eusebius and the Identification of Sites, in: Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P., Chapman, R.L. & Taylor, J.E. (translation & editing), *The Onomasticon by Eusebius of Caesarea*, Jerusalem, pp. 175–184.
Conder 1881:
Conder, C.R., 1881, The Mountains of Judah and Ephraim, in: Wilson, C.W. (editor), *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai, and Egypt*, New York, pp. 193–238.
Conder & Kitchener 1882:
Conder, C.R. & Kitchener, H.H., 1882*, The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography and Archaeology, vol. 2: Samaria*, London.
Coogan 2006;
Coogan, M.C., 2006, *The Old Testament: A Historical and Literary Introduction to the Hebrew Scriptures*, New York.
Dever 1987:
Dever, W.G., 1987, The Middle Bronze Age: The Zenith of the Urban Canaanite Era, *Biblical Archaeologist* 50, pp. 148–177.
Finkelstein 1993:
Finkelstein, I., 1993, Northern Part of the Maps of Beit Sira, Ramalla and el-Bireh, in: Magen, Y. & Finkelstein, I. (editors), *Archaeological Survey of the Hill Country of Benjamin*, Jerusalem, pp. 17–95 (Hebrew).
Finkelstein et al. 1997:
Finkelstein, I., Lederman, Z. & Bunimovitz, S., 1997, *Highlands of Many Cultures, the Southern Samaria Survey: The Sites*, vol. 2, Tel Aviv.

Finkelstein & Na'aman 2005:
Finkelstein, I. & Na'aman, N., 2005, Shechem of the Amarna Period and the Rise of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, *Israel Exploration Journal* 55, pp. 172–193.
Finkelstein & Singer-Avitz 2009:
Finkelstein, I. & Singer-Avitz, L., 2009, Reevaluating Bethel, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 125, pp. 33–48.
Grintz 1961:
Grintz, J.M., 1961, "Ai Which is Beside Beth Aven": A re-examination of the identity of 'Ai, *Biblica* 42, pp. 201–216.
Guérin 1869:
Guérin, V.H., 1869, *Description Géographique, Historique et Archéologique de la Palestine, Partie I: Judée,* vol. 3, Paris.
Hall 1913:
Hall, H.R., 1913, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Etc., in the British Museum, vol. I: Royal Scarabs*, London.
Harrison 1979:
Harrison, R.K., 1979, Ai, in: Bromiley, G., Harrison, E.F., Harrison, R.K. & LaSor, W.S. (editors), *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, Grand Rapids, pp. 81–84.
Higginbotham 2009:
Higginbotham, C., 2009, Merneptah, in: Sakenfeld, K.D. (editor), *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 4, Nashville, pp. 50–51.
Keel 1995:
Keel, O., 1995, *Corpus Der Stempelsiegel-Amulette Aus Palästina/ Israel: Von Den Anfängen Bis Zur Perserzeit*, Friebourg.
Kelso 1968:
Kelso, J.C., 1968, *The Excavations of Beth-El (1934-1960)*, Cambridge.
Kennedy 2011:
Kennedy, T.M., 2011, A Canaanite Massebah or Stele Found at Khirbet el-Maqatir, *Bible and Spade* 24, pp. 17–21.
Kenyon 1940:
Kenyon, F.G., 1940, *The Bible and Archaeology*, London.

Kitchen 2003:
Kitchen, K.A., 2003, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids.
Kitchener 1878:
Kitchener, H.H., 1878, The Site of Ai, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 1878, pp. 74–75.
Livingston 2003:
Livingston, D.P., 2003, *Khirbet Nisya: The Search for Biblical Ai, 1979–2002, Excavation of the Site with Related Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, Manheim.
Luria 1989:
Luria, B., 1989, The Location of Ai, *Dor le Dor* 17, pp. 153–158.
Mckinny 2015:
McKinny, C., 2015, Dividing the Spoil—A Discussion of the Identification of Beth-Aven, Emek-Keziz and Zemaraim in the Territory of Benjamin, *In the Highland's Depth* 5, pp. 10*–32*.
Mazar & Mullins 2007:
Mazar, A. & Mullins, R.A., 2007, Introduction and Overview, in: Mazar, A. & Mullins, R.A. (editors), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996, vol. II: The Middle and Late Bronze Age Strata in Area R*, Jerusalem, pp. 1–22.
Merhav 1985:
Merhav, R., 1985, The Stela of the "Serpent Goddess" from Tell Beit Mirsim and the Plaque from Shechem Reconsidered, *Israel Museum Journal* 4, pp. 27–42.
Meyers 1997:
Meyers, E.M., 1997, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* 5, New York.
Miller 1983:
Miller, J.M., 1983, Site Identification: A Problem Area in Contemporary Biblical Scholarship, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* 99, pp. 119–129.
Miller 1987:
Miller, J.M., 1987, Biblical Maps: How Reliable are They?, *Bible Review* 3.4, pp. 32–41.

Petrie 1917:
Petrie, W.M.F., 1917, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names, Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London*, London.
Peterson 2015:
Peterson, B.N., 2015, Destroy All Their Idols, *Bible and Spade* 28, pp. 51–53.
Petrovich in press:
Petrovich, D., in press, *The World's Oldest Alphabet: Hebrew as the Language of the Proto-Consonantal Script*, Jerusalem.
Pritchard 1964:
Pritchard, J.B., 1964, *Winery, Defences, and Soundings at Gibeon*, Philadelphia.
Pythian-Adams 1936:
Pythian-Adams, W.J., 1936, Jericho, Ai and the Occupation of Mount Ephraim, *Palestinian Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, pp. 141–149.
Rainey 2006:
Rainey, A.F., 2006, Looking for Bethel: An Exercise in Historical Geography, in: Gitin, S., Wright, J.E. & Dessel, J.P. (editors), *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever*, Winona Lake, pp. 269–273.
Robinson et al. 1856:
Robinson, E., Smith, E. & others, 1856*, Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1852*, London.
Robinson 1841:
Robinson, E., 1841, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838*, vol. 2, Boston.
Schneider 1934:
Schneider, A.M., 1934, Bethel und seine Altchristlichen Heiligtümer, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 57, pp. 186–190.
Sellin 1900:
Sellin, E., 1900, Mittheilungen Von Meiner Palästinareise 1899, *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* 6, pp. 1–15.

Selms 1936:
Selms, A. van, 1936, De Archaeologie in Syrië en Palaestina (tot 587 voor Chr.): Intocht, Oudste Geschiedenis, Historische Tijd, Rās eš-Šamra, *Ex Oriente Lux* 4, pp. 207–211.

Simons 1959:
Simons, J.J., 1959, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament*, Leiden.

Tufnell 1958:
Tufnell, O., 1958, *Lachish (Tel ed-Duweir), vol. IV: The Bronze Age*, London.

Tufnell 1984:
Tufnell, O., 1984*, Studies on Scarab Seals, vol. 2: Scarab Seals and their Contributions to History in the Early Second Millennium B.C.*, Warminster.

Veen 2012:
Veen, P. van der, 2012, Berlin Statue Pedestal Reliefs 21687 and 21688: Ongoing Research, *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 4.4, pp. 41–42.

Veen et al. 2010:
Veen, P. van der, Theis, C. & Görg, M., 2010, Israel in Canaan (Long) Before Pharaoh Merenptah?, A Fresh Look at Berlin Statue Pedestal Relief 21687, *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 2.4, pp. 15–25.

Wilson 1869-1870:
Wilson, C.W., 1869-1870, On the Site of Ai and the Position of the Altar which Abram Built between Bethel and Ai, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 1, pp. 123–126.

Wood 1997:
Wood, B.G., 1997, The Role of Shechem in the Conquest of Canaan, in: Merling, D. (editor), *To Understand the Scriptures: Essays in Honor of William H. Shea*, Berrien Springs, pp. 245–256.

Wood 2005:
Wood, B.G., 2005, The Rise and Fall of the 13th-Century Exodus-Conquest Theory, *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 48, pp. 475–489.

Wood 2007:
Wood, B.G., 2007, The Biblical Date for the Exodus is 1446 BC: A Response to James Hoffmeier, *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 50, pp. 249–258.
Wood 2008:
Wood, B.G., 2008, The Search for Joshua's Ai, in: Hess, R.S., Klingbeil, G.A. & Ray Jr., P.J. (editors), *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History*, Winona Lake, pp. 205–240.
Yadin et al. 1958:
Yadin, Y., Aharoni, Y., Amiran, R., Dothan, T., Dunayevsky, I. & Perrot, J., 1958, *Hazor I: An Account of the First Five Seasons of Excavations, 1955*, Jerusalem.
Young 2003:
Young, R.C., 2003, When Did Solomon Die?, *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 46, pp. 589–603.
Young 2006:
Young, R.C., 2006, The Talmud's Two Jubilees and Their Relevance to the Date of the Exodus, *Westminster Theological Journal* 68, pp. 71–83.

Historical Sources
***Onomasticon*:**
Eusebius of Caesarea, 2003, *The Onomasticon*, Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P., Chapman, R.L. & Taylor, J.E. (translation & editing), Jerusalem, pp. 9–98.

Maps
Rāmallah Map:
Survey of Israel, 2001, *Map 8-IV, Rāmallah*, 1:50,000, Jerusalem.