

Have We Walked in the Footsteps of Jesus?

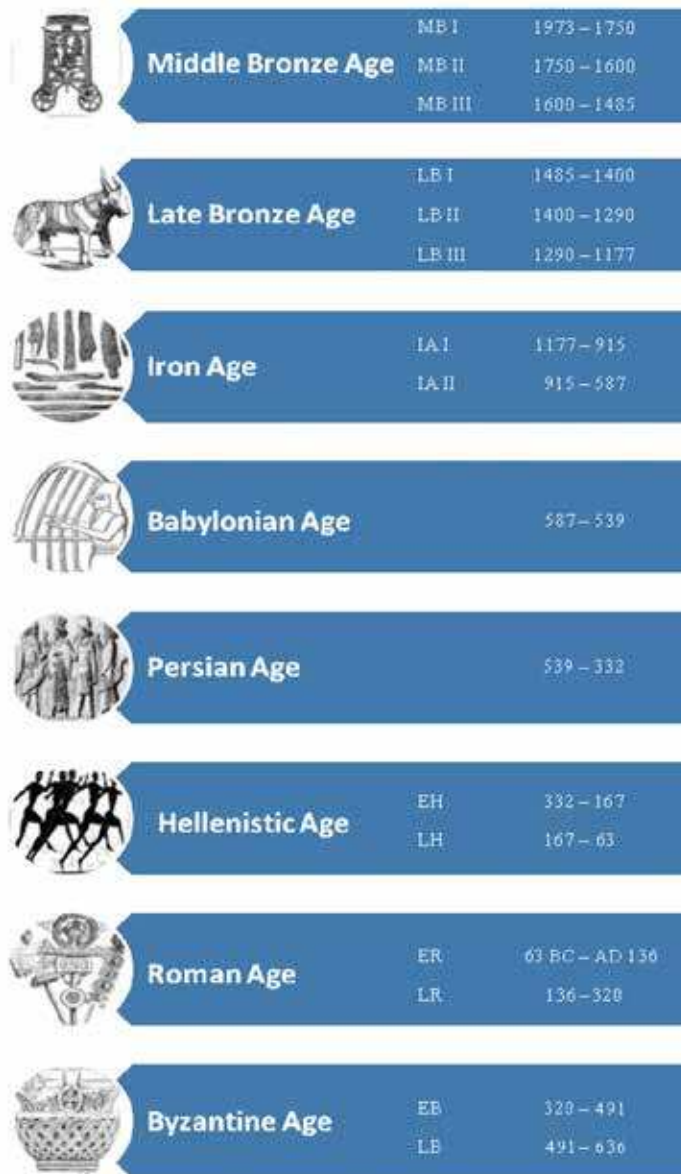
Exciting New Possibilities at Khirbet el-Maqatir

By Scott Stripling

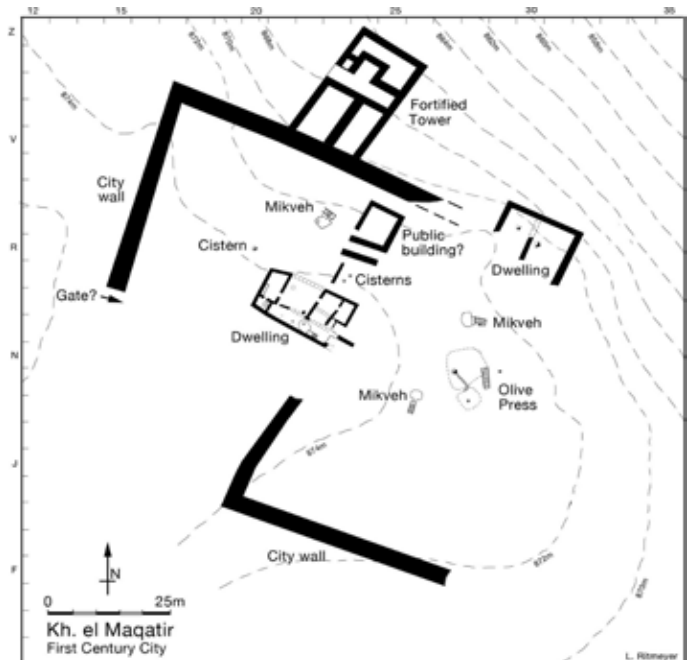
Four periods of occupation exist at Khirbet el-Maqatir: an Amorite Bronze Age fortress, an Israelite occupation from the late Judges Period (Iron I-II), a city from the NT era (Late Hellenistic/Early Roman), and a Byzantine monastery. Prior to 2010, the work of the Associates for Biblical Research (ABR)

at Khirbet el-Maqatir focused almost entirely on the Bronze Age fortress that appeared in approximately 1550 BC, in the Middle Bronze III (MB III) period, and which suffered violent destruction in about 1400 BC, near the end of Late Bronze I (LB I). Since 2010, significant excavations have been carried out in the other occupation areas. As the city from the time of Jesus emerges from beneath 6.5 ft (2 m) of accumulated debris, the finds are stunning. After drawing the fortification system in May 2014, Khirbet el-Maqatir's renowned excavation architect, Leen Ritmeyer, insisted that the settlement should no longer be viewed as a village, but rather as a city. It appears that he is correct.

The local population refers to the Late Hellenistic (LH) and Early Roman (ER) ruins as at-Tugra ("the little entrance"), perhaps referring to the myriad subterranean features or the tower entrance. Victor Guerin, in the mid-nineteenth century, was the first in modern times to document this four-acre settlement.¹ Israel Finkelstein surveyed the site on December 13, 1981.² As excavations have now begun in the NT city, there is understandably an interest in determining the site's name in the late Second Temple period. There are numerous unidentified sites, such as Gofnith, mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud.³ Likewise, it could have been an unnamed settlement of the region of Aphairema that is mentioned in 1



Archaeological time periods at Khirbet el-Maqatir.



Late Second Temple city at Khirbet el-Maqatir.

Maccabees 11:34. But, in the vicinity of Khirbet el-Maqatir, 9 mi north of Jerusalem, Ephraim stands out as the most intriguing candidate. Numerous ancient sources refer to Ephraim.

Ephraim in the New Testament

After Jesus raises Lazarus from the dead in Bethany (modern el Azaria), John’s gospel narrative accelerates quickly toward Jesus’ own death and resurrection. Far from being thrilled by the resurrection of Lazarus, the Jewish authorities scheme how they might snuff out the life of Jesus, an itinerant prophet from Galilee who many saw as the long anticipated Messiah (Dn 7). The Synoptic Gospels are silent in this regard, but John 11:53–54 states the story as follows:

Then, from that day on, they plotted to put Him to death. Therefore Jesus no longer walked openly among the Jews, but went from there into the country near the wilderness, to a city called Ephraim, and there remained with His disciples.

It is unclear how long Jesus and the twelve disciples remained in Ephraim, but the sense of the text “and there remained” is that it was more than a few days, perhaps a few weeks or more. There must have been a contingent of followers in this city. Who knows what unrecorded miracles may have taken place or what critical teachings may have been imparted at Ephraim? John, one of the twelve disciples, forms his account as an eyewitness, so it should be given the highest credibility.

As Passover of AD 33 approaches, Jesus and his disciples depart Ephraim and take their final journey, up through Samaria and then back down the Jordan Valley to Jericho. From Jericho, they ascend to Jerusalem for the Triumphal Entry (Mt 21), along the way stopping in Bethany (Jn 12) one last time. The sojourn at Ephraim is easy to overlook, but it serves a pivotal purpose in Jesus’ ministry.

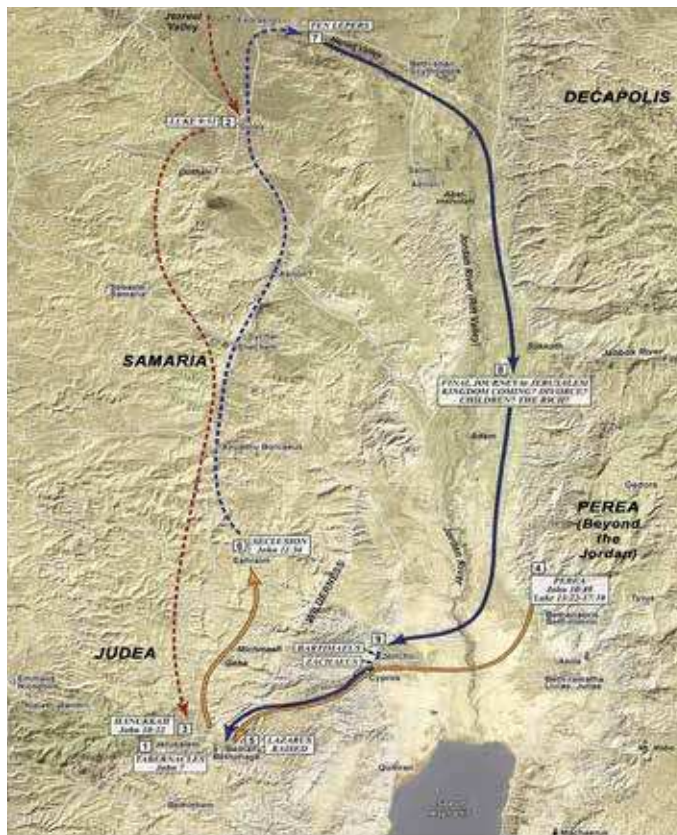
Ephraim in the Old Testament

“Abijah pursued Jeroboam and took from him the towns of Bethel, Jeshanah and Ephron, with their surrounding villages” (2 Chr 13:19).

The RSV footnotes the alternate reading of Ephron as Ephraim, which is supported in the *qere*.⁴ It is almost certain that this is the same as the city of Ephraim mentioned John 11:53–54, especially since it is mentioned in the same verse as Bethel. As noted below, the same pairing occurs in the writings of the first-century historian Josephus. If the cities are indeed the same, evidence should exist of a town from the time of Rehoboam’s son Abijah, around 915 BC.

In view of the current debate regarding High Chronology and Low Chronology, it is impossible to assign an exact date to the end of IA I; however, it does appear that at least some sites/regions did not experience the transition to IA II until the mid–tenth century BC, and some of the pottery forms continue for another generation. This late transition is clear from the excavations at Dor.⁵ Finkelstein refers to this transitional pottery of the late IA I and early IA II as IA I–II. At Taybe, the traditional location of Ephraim, two sherds from this era were collected, representing only 3% of the total pottery.⁶ At Khirbet el-Maqatir,

11% of the sherds collected (8 of 73) by Finkelstein and Magen were from this era. Excavations at Khirbet el-Maqatir have revealed an IA settlement, with some of the pottery representing this IA I–II transition. In 2014, IA I–II *pitios* (large storage container) rims⁷ were found at Khirbet el-Maqatir; these rims parallel those found at other Benjaminite sites such as Tell el-Ful (Gibeah?). In the excavation report for the 1964 season, Nancy Lapp⁸ dated them to 1025–950 BC, but they may well



William Schlegel, *The Satellite Bible Atlas*

The Ephraim region.

have continued for another generation. The IA pottery at Khirbet el-Maqatir will be closely scrutinized in the coming seasons and may shed some light on Ephron/Ephraim in 2 Chronicles 13:19.

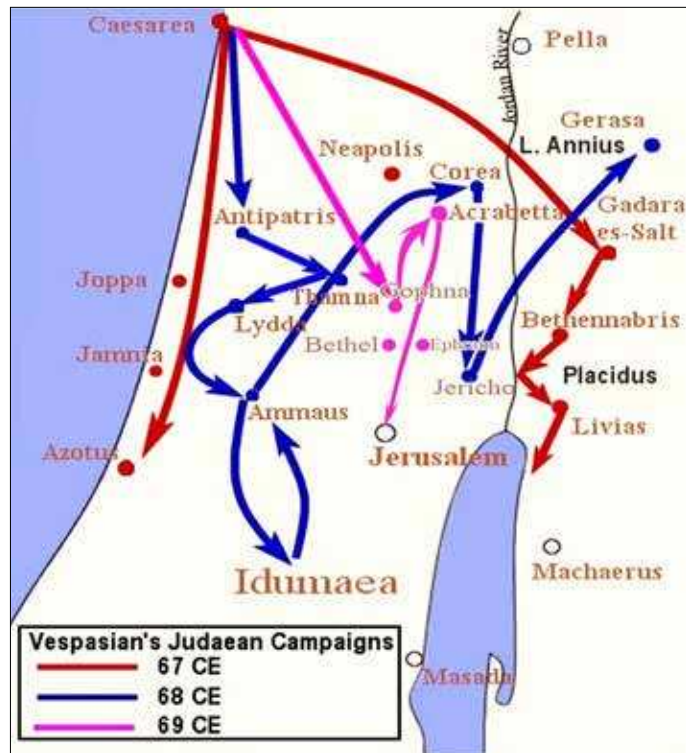
Ephraim in Josephus

Josephus served as a general in the Galilee region during the ill-fated First Jewish Revolt (AD 66–70). After his surrender at Jotapata, he became an emissary of the Roman general and future emperor, Vespasian. After the war, he came under the patronage of Vespasian and even took the Flavian family name; hence, history knows him as Flavius Josephus. He wrote two important history books: *The Antiquities of the Jews* and *The Jewish War*. As an emissary, he attempted to negotiate the surrender of Jewish cities, but very few cities capitulated; therefore, the Romans destroyed the vast majority of cities, culminating in the destruction of Jerusalem in August of AD 70. In *War* 4.9.551,⁹ Josephus mentions Ephraim:

So he [Vespasian] went up to the mountainous country, and

took those two toparchies that were called the Gophnitick and Acrabattene. After which he took **Bethel and Ephraim, two small cities**; and when he had put garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jerusalem, in which march he took many prisoners, and many captives.

After campaigning in the north in AD 67 and in the east in AD 68, Vespasian turned his attention to the central part of the country, north of Jerusalem, in AD 69. His purpose was to stamp



Gary Goldberg

Vespasian's campaigns in the First Jewish Revolt.

out any last resistance before he focused exclusively on the destruction of Jerusalem. The excavations at Khirbet el-Maqatir reveal the city's destruction in AD 69; this is without doubt, and will be addressed in more depth later in this article. As the map above shows, his campaign brought him to the twin cities of Bethel and Ephraim.

Importantly, Josephus couples Ephraim with Bethel. This stands out for two reasons. First, in Genesis and Joshua, Bethel is always coupled with Ai (Gn 12–13; Jos 7–8). This linkage continues in the Second Temple era (Ezr 2:28; Neh 7:22). Second, since 1995, ABR has made a strong argument that Khirbet el-Maqatir is the city/fortress of Ai described in Joshua 7–8.¹⁰ If ABR is correct, then it makes sense for Josephus to tether Bethel and Ephraim.¹¹

In *Ant.* 13:127,¹² Josephus again likely mentions Ephraim, referring to it as Aphaerima:

Accordingly, I [Demetrius II] remit to them the three prefectures, Aphaerima, and Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judaea out of Samaria, with their appurtenances.

From this mention, it can be ascertained that Aphaerima/Ephraim was a significant city during the reigns of Demetrius II Nicator (145–141 BC) and Jonathan Maccabeus, who was the High Priest (152–142 BC). Jonathan is mentioned in the next verse. The overlap of the two reigns pinpoints the reference to 145–142 BC. The choice of Aphaerima, the Hellenized version of Ephraim, makes sense coming from a Seleucid ruler like Demetrius II. The same account is given in 1 Maccabees 11:28–37.

Ephraim in Eusebius

Eusebius, the great fourth-century church historian, mentions Ephraim three times in his *Onomasticon*. The quotations below come from the Brill edition (2005), edited by R. Steven Notley and Ze'ev Sarrai.

28:4 “Ophrah—In the inheritance of Benjamin. Aphaerama [Ephraim?] is now a village five miles east of Bethel.”

Scholars generally accept the idea that Eusebius is locating Ophrah of Joshua 18:23 at Taybe. This connection is dealt with later in this article. If indeed Eusebius makes this connection, it would at the most establish that such a tradition existed in his day. This is a separate matter from proving that Ephraim of John's gospel and Josephus (both first-century sources) is also located at Taybe. Taybe is slightly to the east of Bethel, but it is much more to the north; whereas, Khirbet el-Maqatir lies due east or slightly southeast of Bethel, depending on if Bethel is located at Beitin as per W.F. Albright, James Kelso¹³, and the majority of scholars, or at El-Bireh, as per David Livingston's hypothesis.¹⁴

86:1 “Ephron—In the tribe of Judah. Ephraim is now a very large village about twenty miles north of Jerusalem.”

Eusebius incorrectly places the city, or large village, in the tribal territory of Judah. This demonstrates a lack of awareness of basic biblical geography of the Central Hill Country. On the other hand, he could be allowing for the territorial annexation mentioned in 1 Maccabees 11:34. Next, he indicates that it was “about” twenty Roman miles north of Jerusalem. “About” implies an estimate. Admittedly, this distance better fits Taybe than Khirbet el-Maqatir. Notley and Sarrai see evidence that this entry may have had a different author than the previous entry in 86:1.¹⁵ It does seem odd that in the first entry the writer measures Ephraim from Bethel, yet in this entry he measures it from Jerusalem.

90:18 “Ephraim—‘Near the wilderness.’ Christ came there ‘with his disciples.’ It has also been mentioned above as Ephraim.”

Scholars disagree whether or not Ephron of 2 Chronicles 13:19 is the same site as Ophrah and Ephraim. In fact, Ophrah and Ephron may have both existed at the same time; if so, this would be impossible unless the names were used interchangeably. Ophrah is last referenced in 1 Samuel 13:15–

20 which is set in ca. 1040 BC; whereas, Ephron is only mentioned in 2 Chronicles 13:19, in ca. 915 BC. Albright argues that Ephron is not synonymous with Ephraim; he sees Ephron and Ophrah as one and the same, but Ephraim as a separate site.¹⁶ All later traditions clearly grow out of the opinions of Eusebius, but it is unknown what Eusebius used as a basis for his views. If they are based on an early fourth-century local tradition, the reliability must be scrutinized in light of the fact that such traditions are often in flux. It seems certain that Eusebius had no knowledge of precise dating based on ceramic typology, fortification structures, numismatics, burial types, or any other means by which a site could be firmly dated. Much greater weight should be given to the contemporary sources from the first century AD (NT and Josephus), and archaeological findings should also be strongly considered.

Ephraim in the Apocrypha

Ephraim/Ephron appears in 1 Maccabees 5:46–48 and 2 Maccabees 12:27. Both instances refer to a fortified city located 9 mi east of the Jordan River, across from Bet Shean/Scythopolis. This city has nothing to do with the city that is here under consideration. The passages read as follows:

So they came to Ephron. This was **a large and very strong city** on the road, and they could not go round it to the right or to the left; they had to go through it. But the men of the city shut them out and blocked up the gates with stones. And Judas sent them this friendly message, “Let us pass through your land to get to our land. No one will do you harm; we will simply pass by on foot.” But they refused to open to him (1 Macc 5:46–48).

After the rout and destruction of these, he marched also against Ephron, **a fortified city** where Lys’ias dwelt with multitudes of people of all nationalities. Stalwart young men took their stand before the walls and made a vigorous defense; and great stores of war engines and missiles were there (2 Macc 12:27).

As discussed in the Josephus section above, 1 Maccabees 11:34 refers to Aphaerima, and it is likely the same as Ephraim of John 11:53–54.

Ephraim on the Madaba Map

It appears that the location of Ephraim mattered to early



Madaba Map showing Ephraim, with Bethel due west and Jericho to the northeast.

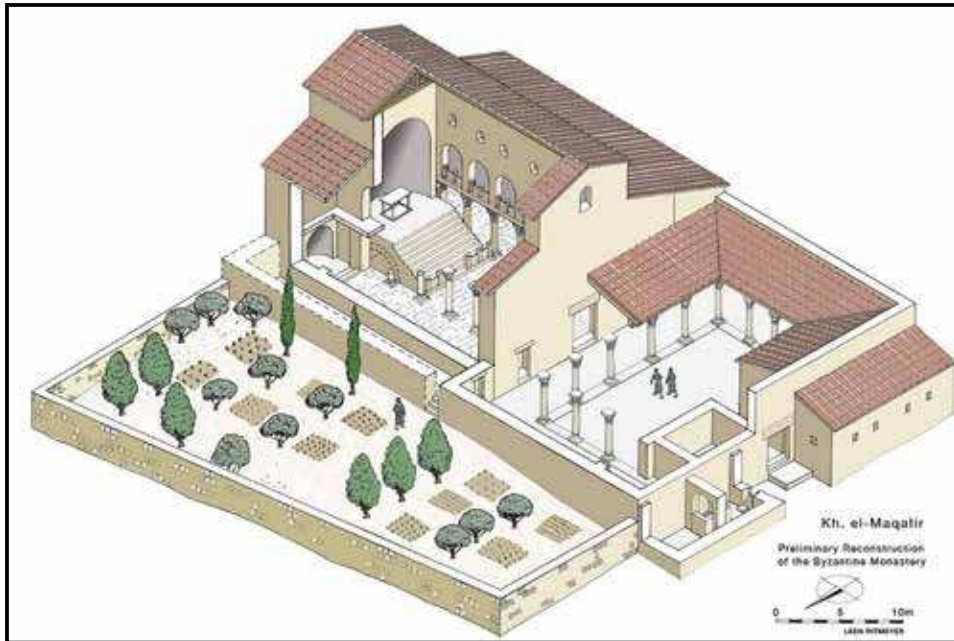
Michael C. Luddeni

Christians, as it is clearly labeled on the famous sixth-century Madaba Map as “The city where the Lord visited.” The picture above shows the location, but it is impossible to pinpoint the site to which it is referring. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that on the map Ephraim lies due east of Bethel, like Khirbet el-Maqatir; whereas, Taybe would be more to the northeast. The Byzantine cartographer from Madaba seems to be unaware of the Taybe = Ephraim tradition. Madaba (in modern Jordan) sits a long way from Caesarea Maritima where Eusebius served as Bishop, so there may have been different regional understandings of site locations. Finally, on the map Jericho and Ephraim are immediately juxtaposed, with nothing between them. This has significance if, as mentioned previously, ABR has correctly located the Ai of Joshua at Khirbet el-Maqatir.

Ephraim—Taybe or Khirbet el-Maqatir?

The Christian roots of Taybe go back to Byzantine times, as attested by St. George Greek Orthodox Church, which stands there today amidst the last Christian city in the West Bank. Likewise, a memorial church and monastery dating from the fourth century has been excavated on the western ridge of Khirbet el-Maqatir; unfortunately, the mosaics are badly damaged, and one cannot determine what biblical event(s) they commemorate. No inscriptions in the St. George Church shed light on any biblical connection there. So, the simple presence of a church does not give Taybe or Khirbet el-Maqatir an advantage in any identification as NT Ephraim.

The Byzantine identification of Taybe with Ephraim, based entirely on toponymy (the study of place names) and tradition, was echoed by Arabs and Crusaders in later periods and has been uncritically accepted into modern times. For example, in the 13th century, the Crusader historian Eracles refers to Taybe as Effraon.¹⁷ There has been no reason to question this connection—until now. The problem with this identification is that there is no archaeology to support it. Yet, the paucity of



Khirbet el-Maqatir church as reconstructed by Leen Ritmeyer (2012).

late Second Temple remains at Taybe has not prevented scholars who favor Taybe as Ephraim, and there are many,¹⁸ to make a case for their claim based on toponymy and tradition. Even if these points were conceded, the question still remains—where is the supporting archaeology?

At Khirbet el-Maqatir, ABR has begun systematic excavation of a strongly fortified city that was founded by the Hasmonean Dynasty in the second century BC. The city remained in use until its destruction in AD 69, apparently by the Tenth Roman Legion. These dates derive from ceramic and numismatic evidence, as well as C-14 dating.¹⁹ The 686 excavated coins are especially instructive, as the number spikes dramatically in the second century BC and abruptly ends in AD 69 with Year 3 Revolt coins.



D. Maltzberger

Tower at Diocaesarea, about half the size of the Maqatir tower.

The Greek word *polis* is used in John 11:54 to describe the settlement where Jesus sought refuge between the raising of Lazarus and the Triumphal Entry. *Polis* normally refers to a city (fortified), not just a village (unfortified). So, not only does a candidate for Ephraim need to have Early Roman remains, but it also needs a fortification

system. The monumental tower at Khirbet el-Maqatir is approximately 98.5 x 52.5 ft (30 x 16 m) and resembles other fortifications of the Late Hellenistic era. A close parallel, dated by an inscription to ca. 100 BC, can be found at Diocaesarea on the southern coast of modern Turkey.²⁰ The tower there (51 x 41 ft [15.60 x 12.50 m]) has survived to a height of 72 ft (22 m) and was once bonded to the city wall, like at Khirbet el-Maqatir.

The development of new siege technology required towers that would withstand ballistic assaults and the recoil of counter-siege machines of war. A.W. McNichol addresses this technological evolution: “There can be little doubt that the torsion catapult and ballista gave the impulse to many of the innovations in fortification-building during the Hellenistic period,

although walls still had to be built to resist the ancient methods of ram, probe, sap, and escalade.”²¹

Unlike Khirbet el-Maqatir, these features do not exist at Taybe. To be fair, the modern city of Taybe makes it difficult to detect ancient ruins, but it could reasonably be expected to find evidence of secondary usage or *in situ* remains to be revealed by municipal projects or residential construction. To date, this has not been the case. By contrast, the first-century destruction at Khirbet el-Maqatir can be dated with great precision to AD 69. This is of critical importance to this discussion since it is the exact year given by Josephus for the destruction of Ephraim. This strongly supports Khirbet el-Maqatir as Ephraim.

The argument in favor of Taybe = Ephraim = Ophrah is presented in detail by Yoel Elitzur in chapter 60 of *Ancient Place Names in the Holy Land*.²² He cites Epiphanius’ geographical appendix to his *Treatise on Weights and Measures*, where he explicitly identifies “Hafra in the portion of Benjamin” (= Ophra of Jos 18:23) with Ephraim of John’s gospel. Elitzur writes,

Since Epiphanius, a native and resident of this country, wrote and acted a few decades after Eusebius, using material from his *Onomasticon*, it is clear that this was the view of Eusebius as well. In addition, Ophra in the Hebrew Bible... is **most probably** identical with Αφαριμα [Aphaerima] of 1 Mac. 11:34 and Ant. 13:127. Its identification with at-Taybe is based on local tradition. Every resident of the village knows that in the past it was called Afra.²³

In Taybe there is a Byzantine church and a Crusader fortification that have never been excavated. In 1982, Taybe was surveyed and sixty-six sherds were collected. Only three sherds, or 4.5% of the pottery, were Roman; notably, 0% was LB.²⁴ At Khirbet el-Maqatir, hundreds of ER sherds (first century AD) are excavated each day, along with hundreds more from the LH period (first century BC). Interestingly, the same survey by Finkelstein at Khirbet el-Maqatir noted that there was surface



Michael C. Luddeni

Year 3 Revolt coin from Khirbet el-Maqatir.

ritual stoneware typical of Jewish sites of the first centuries BC and AD.²⁵ As of May 2014, eighty-one pieces of stoneware have been excavated at Khirbet el-Maqatir.²⁶ The survey of Taybe notes none. The prominent “polis” of Ephraim, occupied when ritual purity concerns were at their peak in Jewish history, ought to reveal some evidence of stoneware.

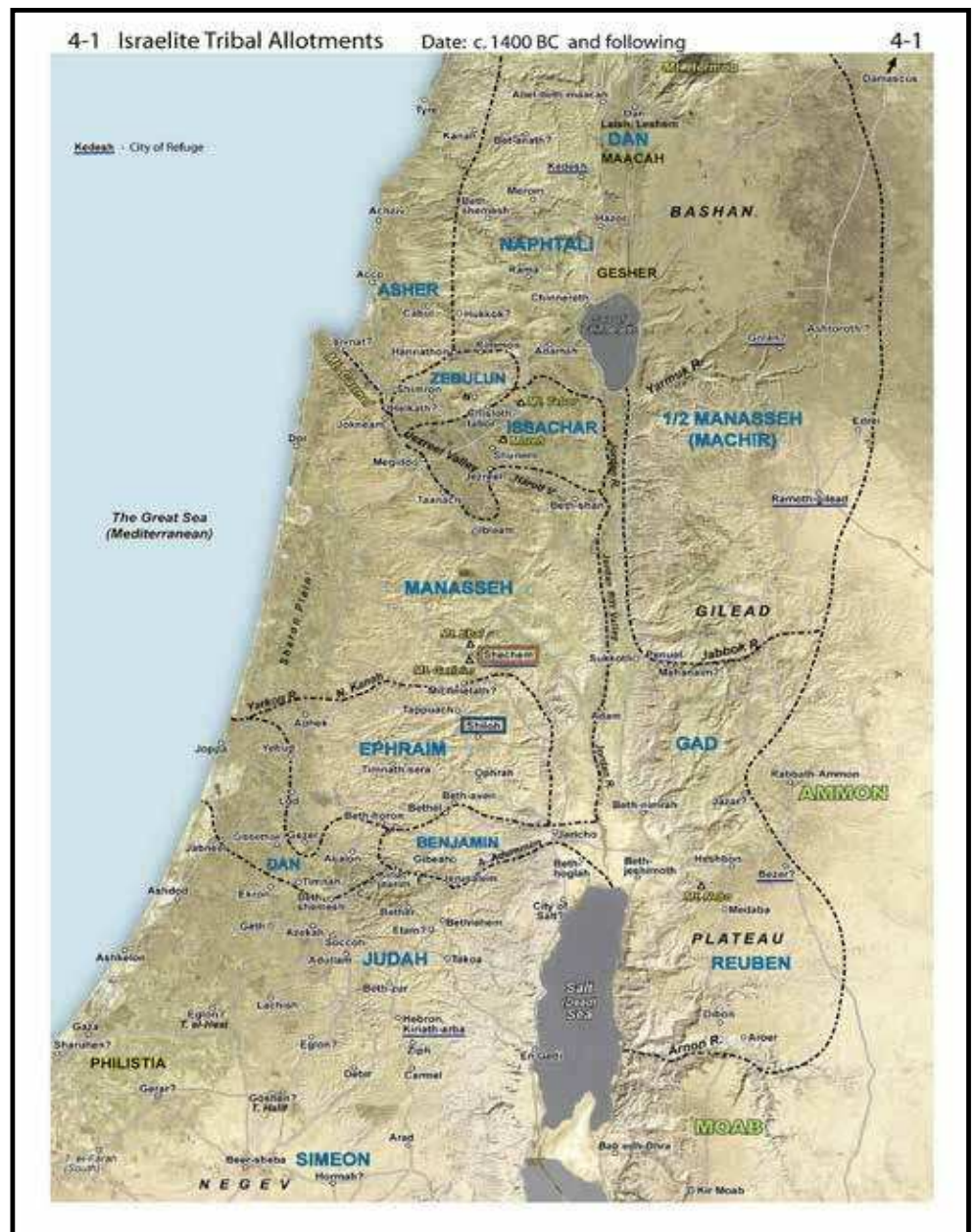
Another important point is that according to Joshua 18:23, Ophrah was in the tribal allotment of Benjamin, yet Taybe is apparently in the tribal allotment of Ephraim. For this reason, Kaufmann²⁷ argues against the placement of Ophrah at Taybe. While there was some fluidity of borders in antiquity, there is no record of Benjamin expanding north; in fact, this seems quite unlikely given the dominant role of Ephraim (Joshua’s tribe) in the early history of Israel and the depletion of the tribe of Benjamin during the Judges period (Jgs 20:43–48). Furthermore, 1 Samuel 13:17 locates Ophrah in the territory of Benjamin: “One [Philistine raiding party] turned toward Ophrah in the vicinity of Shaul.”

It appears that Ophrah has been placed in Ephraim territory to support the hopeful connection with the city of Ephraim, and that the city of Ephraim has been placed in Ephraim territory to support a wishful connection with Ophrah. This is circular reasoning. There is simply no rational reason, beyond toponymy and tradition, for locating the Old Testament city of Ophrah, or the NT city of Ephraim, in the tribal territory of Ephraim.

Importantly, scholars differ on the etymological argument. Bill

Schlegel points out that “Ophrah is spelled with an ‘ayin’ [ע] and Ephraim with an ‘aleph’ [א], so they are linguistically different. It would suggest that the root of Ophrah is עפר [’pr] while the root of Ephraim is from אפר [’pr].”²⁸ Albright, in *Appendix III—Ophrah and Ephraim* of his final report on Tell el-Ful (Gibeah?), rejected the identification of Ephraim of John 11:53–54 with Taybe,²⁹ and he made clear his concern with arguments based on toponymy: “The time is past when one can juggle vowels in Semitic *ad libitum* [at will] so long as the consonants are all right.”³⁰

Furthermore, the absence of LB I pottery should not be understated. What happened to the city of Joshua 18:23? Since there are no LB I remains at Taybe, there is no foundation for the Ophrah tradition. In order to get around this, some scholars, following Albrecht Alt, suspect that there was a textual redaction.³¹ In their view, Joshua’s cities and boundary descriptions are based on an early list that provided a schematic



Israelite tribal allotment, ca. 1400 BC.

William Schlegel, *The Satellite Bible Atlas*



Michael C. Luddeni

Ritual stoneware from Khirbet el-Maqatir.

boundary and a much later IA list that was edited into Joshua. In other words, a textual redaction is supposedly responsible for the discrepancy. This type of textual gymnastics, combined with the paucity of remains from the late Second Temple period, raises serious objections to the identification of Taybe as Ephraim.

Conclusion

Taybe = Oprah = Ephraim does not hold up under scrutiny. However, Khirbet el-Maqatir, a fortified city that was destroyed

the exact year that Josephus indicates for the demise of Ephraim, is an attractive candidate. The discussion presented above is admittedly not yet enough to prove that Khirbet el-Maqatir is the city where Jesus and his twelve disciples sought refuge just prior to his passion; however, it does demonstrate the flaws in the current Taybe = Oprah = Ephraim consensus. Furthermore, it establishes strong reasons to consider Khirbet el-Maqatir as the late Second Temple period city of Ephraim. Further excavation and research will be required to settle this matter.

Notes

¹ Victor H. Guerin, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine, Première Partie, Judée, Tome Troisième*, 57.

² Israel Finkelstein and Yitzhak Magen, *Archaeological Survey of the Hill Country of Benjamin*, 22, 81–82; Israel Finkelstein, Zvi Lederman, and Shlomo Bunimovitz, *Highlands of Many Cultures, the Southern Samaria Survey: The Sites 2*, 519–22. The LH/ER remains were labeled Site 17—14/36/1; the Bronze and Iron I remains were labeled Site 17—14/36/2.

³ BT, Brachot 44 and JT, Ta’anit 4.

⁴ *Qere* means “that which is written” and refers to the orthographic indicators in the Masoretic text. *Ketiv* means “that which is read,” and refers to the inherited text.

⁵ Boaretto, E.; A. Jull; A. Gilboa; and I. Sharon, “Dating the Iron Age I/II Transition in Israel: First Intercomparison Results.” *Radiocarbon*, Vol 47, No 1 (2005), 39–55.

⁶ Finkelstein, *Highlands of Many Cultures*, 587.

⁷ Rounded groove below the rim, with no neck and no collar.

⁸ *AASOR* 45, 1981.

⁹ 1927b Josephus: *The Jewish War*, Books 3–4. Trans. H. St J. Thackeray. Nine vols. Loeb Classical Library 487. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

¹⁰ Wood, B. 2008. The Search for Joshua’s Ai. Pp. 205–40 in *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History*, eds. Richard S. Hess, Gerald A. Klingbeil and Paul J. Ray Jr. Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns.

¹¹ Since Ai possibly means ruin in Hebrew, it is possible that a form of *Ephrot* (ruin in the plural) became conflated/confused with Ephraim, thus taking on that name. While this connection cannot be proven, it is an interesting possibility.

¹² Josephus, Flavius. 2009. Ed. Whiston. *The Antiquities of the Jews*. Wilder Publications.

¹³ Kelso, J.L. 1968. The Excavation of Bethel. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 39. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.

¹⁴ “Further Considerations on the Location of Bethel at El-Bireh.” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 126(2), 154–59.

¹⁵ Eusebius, 83.

¹⁶ Eusebius, 126–27.

¹⁷ Hist. Eracles, 23,10, RHC, Occ., I, 2, 14.

¹⁸ Aharoni, Y. 1966. *The Land of the Bible*. London: Burns and Oates, 110. Baly, D. 1974. *The Geography of the Bible*. New York: Harper, 175.

¹⁹ The Late Hellenistic and Early Roman ceramic assemblage was dated by Peretz Reuven; the numismatic analysis was provided by Yoav Farhi; the C-14 dating was done by Elisabetta Boaretto. These Israeli specialists are widely viewed as experts in their fields.

²⁰ McNichol, A.W. 1997. *Hellenistic Fortifications from the Aegean to the Euphrates*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 179.

²¹ McNichol, 1997:4.

²² Elitzur, Y. 2004 *Ancient Place Names in the Holy Land: Preservation and History*. Jerusalem; Indiana: The Hebrew University Magnes Press; Eisenbrauns, 270.

²³ Personal correspondence via e-mail on 4-11-14. I have taken the liberty to rephrase one of the sentences for clarity.

²⁴ Finkelstein, 587–88.

²⁵ Finkelstein, 520.

²⁶ Stripling, S. 2014 Excavations at Khirbet el-Maqatir. Annual Report to the Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria.

²⁷ Kaufmann, E. 1953. *The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 13–14.

²⁸ Personal correspondence via e-mail on 5-10-14.

²⁹ Albright rejected Taybe as Ephraim in favor of Samieh, further east into the wilderness.

³⁰ Albright, 125.

³¹ Na’aman, N. 1991. “The Kingdom of Judah Under Josiah.” *Tel Aviv*, (1), 3–71.

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