

THE KH. EL-MAQATIR RAM'S HEAD: EVIDENCE OF THE ISRAELITE DESTRUCTION
OF AI?

BY

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Abstract: The discovery of decapitated stone figurines at Hazor under the directorships of both Yigael Yadin in the 1950s and 1960s and Amnon Ben-Tor starting in the 1990s has been used by both scholars to identify the Israelites as the nation most likely responsible for the destruction of the LB IIB (Stratum 1A) city of Hazor. Recently, a severed bronze ram's head from a figurine of Egyptian influence was unearthed on the Benjamin Plateau at the site of Khirbet El-Maqatir (a proposed site of biblical Ai) in a LB IB context. The connections between the ram-headed figurine, the Eighteenth Dynasty (especially the reign of Amenhotep II), and the Egyptian gods Khnum and Amun, along with the LB IB archaeological context, may call into question the majority date of the Israelite conquest of Canaan.

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Over the past few years the last day of excavation at Kh. el-Maqatir, a candidate for biblical Ai, has proven particularly fruitful. In 2013 a scarab (reg. no. 1086) was found that dates to the reign of Amenhotep II (ca. 1455–1418 B.C.¹)—an artifact that was found in a sealed locus with refired LB I pottery. This scarab, along with another one found during the 2014 season dating to the Hyksos period (reg. no. 1260), help confirm the dating of the site's destruction to the late LB I period (i.e., ca. 1406 B.C.). At the end of the 2015 season further evidence was found in Square C17 of the destruction of the site in the LB I era. At the level of bedrock an ashy layer was unearthed that contained LB I pottery, in particular, a partially restorable bowl. While these finds have been exciting, it is what was found on the final day of the 2014 season that may supply the strongest evidence for the presence of Israelites at Maqatir/Ai. On May 30, 2014 a severed ram's head (reg. no. 1658) was found while sifting. At first it was not clear what the object was; however, once it was cleaned, it was obvious that the object was a severed ram's head (albeit somewhat stylized²) from a bronze figurine (see fig. 1). To my knowledge, it is the first example to be found in Israel.³

Figure 1: Maqatir/Ai Bronze Ram's Head (photo Michael Luddeni)



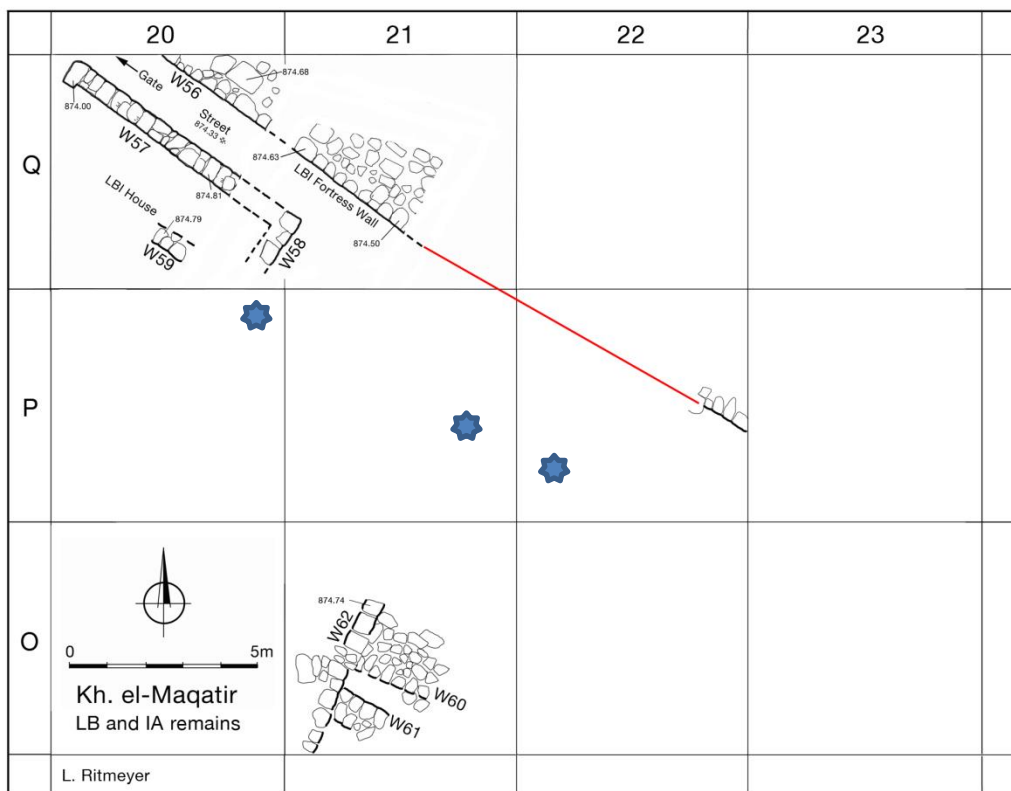
ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The level at which the ram's head was excavated was approximately 874.34 m. It was found in material that came from a slight depression in the bedrock in Locus 4a in Square P22 (see fig. 2). The lowest elevation of the undulating bedrock in this locus averaged between 874.32 m and 874.21 m. Interestingly, the ram's head came from the level in which LB I material is often found on the site; however, no diagnostic pottery was found with the ram's head. Being a khirbet and because the strata can change from Early Roman to Late Bronze in a matter of centimeters, the material being excavated next to bedrock is scrutinized very closely. This proved particularly true for the Amenhotep II scarab found in 2013, which was discovered in a sealed locus (Locus 20 in Square P21), with refired LB I pottery, approximately 2.7 m NW of the ram's head. What is more, the depth at which the Amenhotep II scarab was found was 874.40 m. Adding to this evidence is a Hyksos-era scarab, which was found in an adjacent square (Square P20, Locus 16) at a level of 874.38 m.⁴ All of these objects were within 6 cm in depth from each other, were next to bedrock, and were only about 9.5 m apart. (Also, within this confined location in the adjacent square of Q21, a small fragment of LB I fine ware was found near the MB III-LB I fortress wall foundation.) Further evidence pointing to the LB I dating of these artifacts is the fact that they all were found within 3.0–4.4 m SW of the proposed inner face of the northern wall of the LB I fortress (see fig. 3). This would situate them within a structure abutting the fortress wall just meters from the eastern tower of the main gate—an excellent location for the residency of the “king” of Ai. As excavations continue in this area, more evidence is accumulating pointing to the possibility that these small finds came from the administrative center of the fortress.

Figure 2: Square P22 looking southeast, showing the depression in the bedrock (Locus 4a) where the severed ram's head was found (photo Michael Luddeni)



Figure 3: Locations (from left to right) of Hyksos scarab, Amenhotep II scarab, and ram's head within 5 m of proposed MB III-LB I wall (drawing by Leen Ritmeyer)



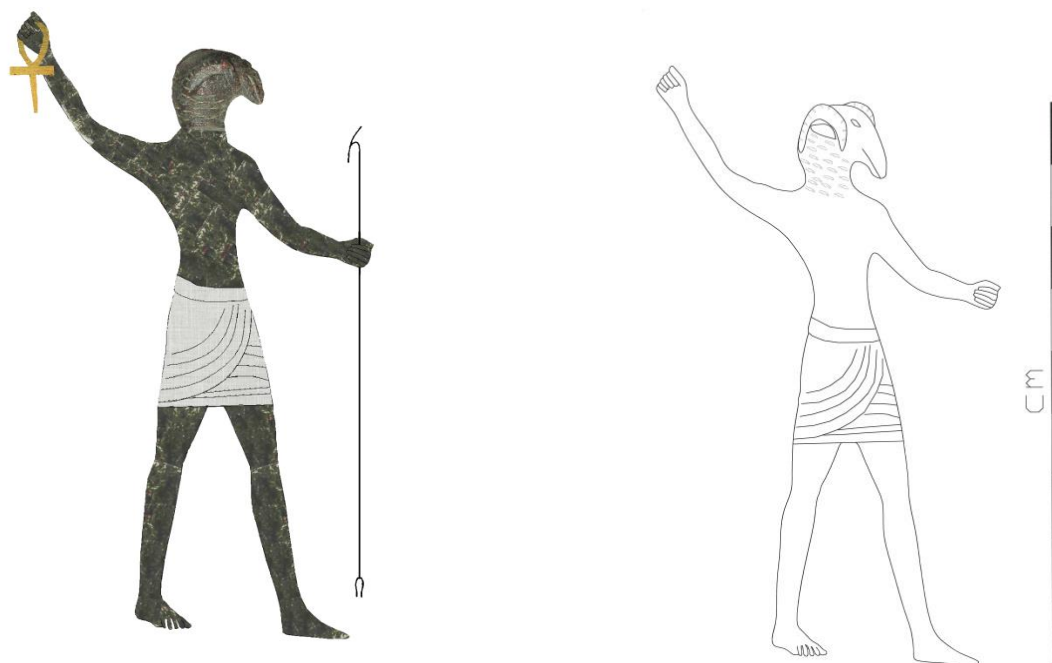
CONNECTIONS TO EGYPT IN THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

A small severed ram's head (1.91 cm x 1.67 cm x 1.14 cm; see figs. 4–6) may on its own mean very little to those who first see it. However, when viewed in the context of the other artifacts discovered in the immediate vicinity, the true significance of the find becomes apparent. There appears to be a cultic connection between the Maqatir ram's head and the ram gods (Khnum and Amun) of the Eighteenth Dynasty. During the Late Bronze Age this region of the Levant was under the hegemony of the pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Beginning with the well-documented campaigns of Thutmose III, and continuing with the subjugation policies of Amenhotep II (followed later by the Nineteenth Dynasty rulers, Seti I, Ramses II, and Merneptah), Egypt gained and held control of the region (Megiddo and Hazor being two of the major prizes of these pharaohs). The Amarna Tablets make it clear that the kings/rulers of the Levant paid homage to the pharaohs of Egypt (Amenhotep III and IV in particular) in the mid-14th century B.C.

Figure 4: The Maqatir Ram's Head (photo Michael Luddeni)



Figures 5 and 6: Artist's Reconstruction of the Ram Figurine (drawings by Jerry Taylor)



CULTIC CONNECTIONS

Egypt worshiped a plethora of gods. One of these gods was known by the name Khnum,⁵ a deity that was worshipped in some form from at least the Third Dynasty to the Greco-Roman period (Morenz 1992:78; Traunecker 2001:60; Budge 1959:125), and even by some Gnostic traditions (Davidovits and Morris 1988:118). He is arguably one of the oldest gods of ancient Egypt, and according to Davidovits and Morris (1988:114), his “religious tradition is vastly underrated.” Khufu, the builder of the great pyramid, actually took the name “Khnum-Khufu” (cf. *ANET* 227). The Famine Stele from the island of Sehel, 3 km south of Elephantine, records a dream by pharaoh Zoser (Third Dynasty builder of the famous stepped pyramid).⁶ In the dream the king sees the god Khnum who promises relief from the current famine if the king will give a donation

to him (Khnum) and his temple (Morenz 1992:33). However, Khnum was best known for being the creator deity of ancient Egypt who is often depicted at a potter's wheel fashioning a man. One of the best examples is "in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, where Khnum is shown actually molding Hatshepsut (and her *ka* i.e., "life force") on his wheel" (Morenz 1992:184; see also Armour 1989:142). Khnum was also seen as a god of health and could be called upon to cleanse the pharaoh of his impurities (Meeks and Favard-Meeks 1996:121, 129).

Khnum also took on the characteristics of other gods. For example, Khnum has been represented by four ram's heads in some depictions as a means of showing that he embodied the gods Ra, Shu, Geb and Osiris (Armour 1989:182) or possibly fire, air, earth, and water (Davidovits and Morris 1998:116).⁷ He was connected to the source of the Nile at the First Cataract close to Elephantine (Hornung 1982:70–71, 79).⁸ Here Khnum was chief of the triad of deities where he shared honors with his wife, Heket (later replaced by Satis; cf. Mercer 1949:151), and his daughter Anuket (Shaw 2014:157; Armour 1989:184). This triad was particularly important in this region (i.e., Aswan) during the New Kingdom and later (Silverman 1991:43). Indeed, the Eighteenth Dynasty saw a resurgence of the worship of Khnum (Davidovits and Morris 1998:114, 224). Amenhotep III alone built two temples to Khnum at Elephantine (Davidovits and Davidovits 2001:311).⁹ Throughout the New Kingdom he was also known as a solar deity, Khnum-Re (Hornung 1982:55; Frankfort 1961:20), or the moon god (Silverman 1991:37). One of the more well-known texts from the New Kingdom is the *Tale of Two Brothers* where Khnum is instructed to make a wife for Bata.¹⁰

Khnum was often depicted in one of three ways: 1) with horns extending horizontally; 2) with curved horns; or 3) with a combination. The horizontal horns represented the earliest

domesticated rams (*Ovis longipes*) perhaps brought to Egypt by shepherds from the East (Davidovits and Morris 1998:116). This alone points up the antiquity of the worship of Khnum. The arrival of the ram species *Ovis platyra*, perhaps around the Twelfth Dynasty (1985–1795 B.C. cf. Shaw and Nicholson 1995:240), paved the way for a change in the depiction of Khnum to a ram with curved horns wrapped forward towards its mouth. Some later images actually combined the two species and depicted Khnum with both sets of horns (see fig. 7). Interestingly, Nicholson and Shaw (1995:151, 240) note that by the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty of the New Kingdom period the *Ovis platyra* species “was more often associated with the god Amun.” Indeed, scholars have noted that it was at this period that Amun’s “dominant symbol was a ram” (Mercer 1949:159; Pinch 2002:101). Although some suggest that the gods Khnum and Amun were separate iconographically (O’Rourke 2002:186; Tobin 2002:21),¹¹ others see a blending of the iconographic depictions of these deities along with their roles (e.g., creator deities, fertility gods, sun deities etc. see Shaw and Nicholson 1995:31; Shaw 2014: 22; Müller 1910: 164; Pinch 2002: 154).¹²

Figure 7: Depiction of Khnum from the Temple at Esna (WikiCommons: photo by Steve F-E-Cameron)¹³



THE MAQATIR/EGYPT CONNECTION

The brief overview above shows that the image of the ram in cultic settings had a long history in Egypt. By the Eighteenth Dynasty, Khnum's traits and characterization had been subsumed by the god Amun, the patron deity of the pharaohs who took the theophoric name of their god: *Amenhotep* ("Amun is pleased"). Furthermore, by this period both gods were often depicted with one set of curved horns as opposed to the straight horizontal type. This meshes well with the curved-horn example that was found at Maqatir. What is more, during the Eighteenth Dynasty Amun became the supreme god "under the title 'king of the gods'" (Mercer 1949:161). This has particular importance for the region of the Levant, especially the cities under Egyptian hegemony. In this vein, the New Kingdom saw an increase in the "international" nature of Egypt with the influence of their gods extending from Upper Egypt to Syria (Morenz 1992:52–53). Of course the campaigns of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II facilitated the spread of the material culture of Egypt. With such a dominant material presence of Egyptian culture along the coast and at larger inland sites like Tell el-'Ajjul, Lachish, and Beth-Shean (Bienkowski 1986:153), it is not farfetched to propose that the ram's head from Maqatir/Ai (perhaps one of the only figurines in the small fortress) was in fact representative of one of the gods (i.e., Amun or Khnum) of the pharaohs of the New Kingdom, both being favored gods of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Amenhotep II, the seventh ruler of the Eighteenth Dynasty, reigned in the very timeframe leading up to the proposed destruction of Maqatir/Ai and connects well with the Amenhotep II scarab discovered at Maqatir in 2013 in an LB I context. Sharon Zuckerman (2007:9) notes that the political structure of the Late Bronze Age southern Levant "was comprised of several petty kingdoms ruled by local royal dynasties, engaged in a complex network of peer polity interaction . . . under the aegis of Egyptian New kingdom sovereigns." Amenhotep II made at least two

campaigns into Syria and the Levant (years 3 [possibly 7] and 9 of his reign) to reassert his hegemony over the region (particularly the north).¹⁴ If Maqatir/Ai was in fact a border fortress associated with the Jerusalem city state (Wood 2008:238), whose allegiance was to Egypt as noted in the Amarna Tablets,¹⁵ then at some point Amenhotep II would have come into contact with the ruler of Ai as the pharaoh sought provisions along his route to Syria.¹⁶ We know from inscriptions on the Memphis and Karnak stelae that during his last campaign, Amenhotep II stopped at Aphek (cf. Josh 12:18), which is only about 25 miles to the northwest of Maqatir. Here he was greeted by the local dignitaries (Rainey and Notley 2006:70).¹⁷ It seems likely that this would have been the opportune time for the local rulers to come and pay homage and give supplies to Amenhotep II. If in fact the ruler of Maqatir had brought supplies to the pharaoh at this time, a reciprocated gift of a bronze figurine of the god after which, Amenhotep II was named seems logical, as does a gift of a scarab with his zoomorphic likeness. Interestingly, Amenhotep is known for his hubris both on and off the battlefield, even more so than his predecessors (Kuhrt 1995:211–13; Petrovich 2006, 102; Aharoni and Avi-Yonah 1977:34; Hallo and Simoson 1998:262; Grimal 1992:218; Breasted 1906:310–11).¹⁸ With such an ego, gifts related to himself make even more sense. To be sure, when the Israelites entered Canaan and conquered Ai, any of these types of artifacts associated with Amenhotep II, especially a figurine, would have been desecrated.¹⁹

RITUAL DESECRATION AND DECAPITATION: EVIDENCE OF THE ISRAELITE CONQUEST

Over the past fifty years, one of the most oft-noted pieces of evidence for the Israelite conquest of Canaan is the purposeful desecration of cult sites along with the ritual decapitation and/or disfigurement of figurines of both deities and dignitaries especially at Hazor. Even though ritual

and political desecration of statues was a common practice throughout the ANE (Ben-Tor 2006:8–12),²⁰ it was Israel that was given direct commands from God to do so to the Canaanite cult sites (e.g., Exod 23:24; 34:13; Deut 7:5). Examples of ritual desecration also appear in the DtrH (1 Sam 5:2–4), the prophets (e.g., Isa 21:9), and later in the Mishnah (*m. 'Abod. Zar.* 4.5; cf. Ben-Tor 2006:11). It is clear that Israel had a long history of this practice.²¹ The fact that Joshua appears to have started the practice does not mean that it died with him. Indeed, R. Cohen and Y. Yisrael (1995:27) note that the desecration of Edomite shrines (late Iron Age II) may be attributed to Josiah.

The most well-known examples of proposed Israelite desecration of cult sites come from Hazor. However, Hazor may not be the only place, or the *first* site, where this happened. The ram's head from Maqatir may be earlier evidence of ritual decapitation (see more below). Although archaeological work has been done on hundreds of sites that appear in the biblical record, in the discussion that follows only the three earliest cities that the Bible notes were destroyed by the Israelites will be addressed: Jericho, Hazor, and Ai (Josh 6:24; 8:28; 11:13). Evidence from Maqatir/Ai will be handled last.

JERICHO

Even though Kathleen Kenyon's assertion that Jericho was destroyed at the intersection of the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Age periods (ca. 1550 B.C.) is the dominant theory today, Bryant Wood (1990:44–58; 2005:475–89; 2007a:26, 78; 2007b:249–58) has argued that the site was in fact destroyed by the Israelites near the end of the LB I period (ca. 1406 B.C.).²² Besides ceramic and scarab evidence, Wood's position is based upon textual data that places the exodus and the conquest in the mid and late 15th century respectively (1 Kgs 6:1; Judg 11:26 cf. Exod

12:40). Whichever theory one adheres to (i.e., Kenyon's or Wood's) it is still important to examine the archaeological record for evidence of figurine desecration.

Kenyon found a number of small bronze objects at Jericho (see Kenyon and Holland 1982:564–69); however, according to Kenyon's records, no metal (i.e., bronze) figurines were found at Jericho.²³ Most of the bronze objects that were found tended to be either fasteners or unidentifiable objects. This was also true of the numerous tombs that were excavated. Of all the objects that were discovered in the tombs from 1955–1958, bronze daggers (ritualistically buried with a corpse) tended to be the most common metal artifact (Kenyon 1965:52, 84, 136, 141, 237, 382, 428). Also, found were fasteners and miscellaneous pieces of bronze, no doubt associated with long-since-decayed furniture predominately from the Middle Bronze Age (see Kenyon 1965:120, 126, 132, 148–49, 153, 155, 160, 165, 200, 258–60, 284–85, 332, 359, 366, 408, 438, 446; for pictures see, *ibid.*, 64, 91, 114, 137, 147, 224). Kenyon dated most of the stone and clay figurines that were found across the tell to the “Pre-pottery Neolithic” period (Kenyon and Holland 1982:551–55). Most of these figurines were fragmented, missing their heads and legs (in whole or in part). The Early-to-Middle-Bronze period (Kenyon's dating) yielded one example of an animal figurine made of hard baked ware. This figurine, missing some of the legs, the horns, and part of the tail, betrays possible evidence of desecration (Kenyon and Holland 1982:555). The anthropomorphic figurines from the Iron Age are made of clay. Four heads (only) have been found typically of the “mother goddess type” (cf. reg. nos. 760 and 1318 [both from Tr. II unstratified], 3875 [from Tr. I.lxix],²⁴ and obj. 1952 [from site H unstratified]; cf. Kenyon and Holland 1982:555). Of the zoomorphic types, eight pottery examples were found with horse and/or donkey-like characteristics (reg. nos. 20 [from Tr. I.ixxiic], 298 [from Sq. M.cxii], 276 [from Sqs. EI, II, V unstratified], 177 [from Tr. I.lxix], 3508 [from Site H, Sqs. IV–V], and 1302,

1350, 3295 [all from Tr. II unstratified]; cf. Kenyon and Holland 1982:557). In almost every case, these figurines were disfigured through full or partial decapitation with the legs cut off as well. Several of the figurines came from unstratified contexts. Now to be sure, these figurines may have simply broken due to “wear and tear,” but one would expect at least one to have remained intact. One is led to conclude that at least some of this desecration was intentional. Moreover, even though these figurines fall outside of the LB I period (according to Kenyon), the practice of disfiguring figurines is present across eras, especially later in the Iron Age. If the Israelites did plunder the city, then they could have desecrated earlier figurines still in use at the time of the destruction.

The lack of evidence of bronze figurines in both the tombs and on the tell may be due to the value of bronze during the Bronze Age. According to the book of Joshua, Israel was to plunder Jericho of its silver, gold, and bronze and place it in the treasury of YHWH (Josh 6:19, 24). Ben-Tor (2006:11) notes well that “the main reason for the ‘disappearance’ of statues from the archaeological record is that they were deliberately destroyed. Statues were burned, broken, smelted, stripped of their components of value, or a combination of these methods of destruction, depending on the material/s from which they were made.” Kenyon herself noted several times the high degree of likelihood that many of the tombs were robbed of their valuables both in antiquity and in more recent times: how much more on an open tell (Kenyon and Holland 1982:170–71, 374–75, 390, 430). In the few occurrences where the tombs appeared to be intact, scarabs mounted in gold and/or bronze rings were found (Kenyon and Holland 1982:315, 324, 331; cf. Plates XVI, 3–6, p. 748).²⁵ Obvious evidence of robbing of valuable metals appears in one case where two gold beads were found, one in a tomb, and one outside of the tomb in the shaft (ca. MB I; cf. Kenyon and Holland 1982:121). Because the tombs at Jericho were reused

over a period of centuries, every time an old tomb was reopened, gravediggers often helped themselves to the valuables inside. In the case of scarabs, many times the fittings were plundered and the scarabs discarded.

While the evidence for possible ritual desecration of clay/stone statues at Jericho is minimal—and the date debated—the fact remains that bronze figurines ritually desecrated are unattested. The fact that the city was relatively small (in relation to Hazor) may highlight the reality that *if* the Israelites did plunder the city, they did an excellent job of it. Nevertheless, as previously noted, the evidence at Hazor is much more revealing.

HAZOR

The desecration and ritual decapitation of statues at Hazor is well attested and has been noted by Yigael Yadin (1975:145), and more recently, by Amnon Ben-Tor (2006:3–16; see also Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1999:22–29, 31–39; and Zuckerman 2007:23–25). Furthermore, evidence for the destruction of temples in the LB I period from both the upper and lower cities has been documented (Yadin 1972:125). Yadin scrutinized closely Strata 1A and 1B of the lower city (Strata XIII and XIV in the upper city) and attributed the 1A destruction level (ca. 1230 B.C.—Yadin’s dating²⁶) to Joshua and the Israelites (Yadin 1975:145, see also Kitchen 2002:313). The destruction of Stratum 1B (ca. 1303–1290) was assigned to Seti I (ca. 1291–1278 B.C.²⁷). In a 1999 *BAR* article Ben-Tor (p. 38) stated: “Only four groups active at the time could have destroyed Hazor: (1) one of the Sea Peoples, such as the Philistines, (2) a rival Canaanite city, (3) the Egyptians or (4) the early Israelites.” He went on to systematically narrow the field to the Israelites. For example, it is unlikely that the Canaanites and Egyptians would desecrate statues of their own gods and kings.²⁸ And he ruled out the Philistines due to the distance of the city inland and due to the fact that no Philistine pottery has been found at the site. Ben-Tor (1999:39) concluded that “Forty years ago, Yadin ironically observed that for scholars, who are sometimes averse to substantiating the

Bible, ‘Everyone is a potential destroyer of Hazor, even if not mentioned in any document, except those specifically mentioned in the Bible as having done so.’ We agree with Yadin. Our excavations at Hazor seem to indicate that the Israelites (or proto-Israelites, together with other ethnic elements living in the region) may be considered guilty of Hazor’s destruction—at least until we uncover evidence pointing to a better candidate.”

Now while an Israelite destruction of Hazor accompanied by ritual desecration and decapitation of figurines may appear satisfactory to prove our proposed theory about the ram’s head found at Maqatir, a major chronological concern still needs to be addressed. Both Yadin and Ben-Tor assigned the 1A destruction level to Joshua and the Israelites based upon the 13th century conquest model/theory (for a refutation of this position, see Wood 2008a). Two main issues arise with this proposal: 1) because Stratum 1A is the last Late Bronze Age destruction level, Yadin and Ben-Tor’s conclusion makes the account of Deborah and Barak’s destruction of Hazor in Judges 4–5 at best an “editorial interpolation” (Yadin 1975:255) and at worse a myth. Furthermore, if the account of Deborah is to be dated later than the 13th century then based upon the occupational levels at Hazor, there would be no king and city to conquer.²⁹ 2) The severed ram’s head at Maqatir was found in an LB I archaeological context thus making the date of the ram’s head about 170 years *earlier* than the late conquest date and the proposed destruction of Hazor by Joshua.

THE ISRAELITE DESTRUCTION OF HAZOR: A PROPOSED SOLUTION

Because both of the above concerns are interlinked we will deal with them together. After weighing the evidence, it seems more likely that Yadin and Ben-Tor’s 1A destruction level is best assigned to Deborah and Barak’s campaign. Not only does the dating of Deborah and Barak best fit the 13th century (cf. Merrill 1987:164; Steinmann 2011:89–95; Washburn 1990:420–21),

but it also allows for Hazor to be a thriving city when they destroyed it. Now to be sure some may argue that the biblical text does not explicitly say that they destroyed Hazor (e.g., Hoffmeier 2007:244; for a refutation of Hoffmeier's position, see Petrovich 2008:493–94). While it may be true that Israel did not destroy Hazor on the same day they defeated Jabin's³⁰ general, Sisera (Joshua 4–5), a straightforward reading of Josh 4:24 certainly implies that Israel continued their offensive for a period of time until they “destroyed Jabin the king of Canaan.” It seems logical that in order to cause something to be “destroyed” (in the *hiphil* stem) Israel would have to bring an end to the very city-state that had caused the oppression (so too Petrovich 2008:493–94).

The second concern dealing with the destruction phases at Hazor in the LB I and the LB II periods is a more complex discussion. Some of this has to do with the lack of consensus on how, when, and by whom the LB II destructions took place (i.e., Strata 1B and 1A).³¹ If we conclude that the 1A destruction was done by Barak (Judges 4–5) then we need another destruction level prior to that in the LB I stratum. Not surprisingly, both Yadin and Ben-Tor found evidence of a LB I destruction level in Stratum XV of the upper city and Stratum 2 of the lower city. Wood (2008a) summarizes the evidence well:

As with Jericho and Ai, Hazor was put to the torch (Josh. 11:1). Abundant evidence has been found in the excavation of the fifteenth-century city (Stratum XV in the upper city and Stratum 2 in the lower city) that it was destroyed by fire. In the upper city, the Long Temple in Area A was destroyed and never rebuilt [Yadin 1969:52; 1972:103, 125; 1975:260, 261; Ben-Tor 1993:604; and Ben-Tor et al. 1997:102], and in Area M evidence was found that Str. XV was brought to an end by a conflagration [Ben-Tor 2001:238]. In the lower city, the Square Temple in Area F went out of use at the end of Str. 2 [Yadin 1972:98–100], and the Str. 2 Orthostat Temple in Area H was covered by a 15 cm thick

layer of ash on the floor [Yadin et al. 1989:228] and a 70 cm thick layer of mud brick debris above that [Yadin 1972:80; 1989:227]. Further evidence for the destruction of Str. 2 was found in Areas C [Yadin et al. 1958:73; 1960:92], K [Yadin et al. 1989:287] and P [Ben-Tor et al. 1997:382].³²

Now while Yadin and Ben-Tor both assigned this destruction level to the earlier campaign of Thutmosis III (Yadin 1975:117; Ben-Tor 2001:238), it is not clear if Thutmosis actually destroyed Hazor or whether he merely mentioned it as part of his travelogue (see Hoffmeier 1989:187–88; Redford 1982:57). Indeed, Bienkowski (1987:59; see also Kitchen 2002:309) has challenged Ben-Tor's proposed LB II 1B destruction by Seti I on similar grounds (Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1999:36). In this vein, Douglas Petrovich (2008:503–8) has demonstrated through both epigraphic and archaeological evidence that both Thutmosis III and his son, Amenhotep II captured and subjugated Hazor but did not actually destroy it.³³ The critical piece of evidence was the discovery of a Thutmosis IV (ca. 1418–1408 B.C.) scarab. Here we quote Petrovich (2008:505–7) at length:

While digging in Stratum IB (Late Bronze IIA, = 1400–1300 BC), his [Yadin's] team found a burial cave, designated 8144, which yielded the critical scarab. The cave was buried under Stratum 1A (Late Bronze IIB = 1300–1200 BC), so the stratified scarab was placed there at the end of the 15th century BC, indicating roughly when this cave was first used for burials. . . . [The] dearth of early Mycenaean IIIA:2 pottery [ca. 1400–1375 B.C. in the cave] matches well with the period of non-inhabitation—as revealed by the noted occupational gap—that occurred after the city was destroyed on Joshua's northern campaign in ca. 1400 BC. Thus the cave was in use during the years shortly before ca. 1400 BC, and throughout the years from ca. 1375–1300 BC. The stratified, royal scarab

of Thutmose IV cannot be considered a later reproduction or a mere family heirloom that was passed down from one generation to the next. As Yadin [1975:64–65] carefully explains, “All Thutmose IV scarabs are rare and a boon to archaeologists in this country because we know that they were made exclusively during his reign (the names of some Pharaohs continued to be inscribed on scarabs after their death, but the popularity of Thutmose IV was buried along with him). We can therefore conclude that the cave was first used sometime during his eight-year reign, from 1410 to 1402 BC, or immediately thereafter.” The significance of this royal scarab to the present debate is that it confirms the existence of Hazor as an occupied and functioning city in the last quarter of the 15th century BC, immediately after the reign of Amenhotep II. Due to the subsequent occupational gap after the destruction of Late Bronze I Hazor . . . the city could not have been occupied during the modest reign of Thutmose IV if Amenhotep II truly had destroyed the city. Therefore Amenhotep II’s “destruction” of the city was immediately followed by continuous occupation.

Based upon the campaign lists of both pharaohs, and the material evidence/destruction levels in the archaeological record (e.g., the presence of the Thutmose IV scarab), it is impossible that both Thutmose III and Amenhotep II “destroyed” the city in the last half of the 15th century. This leaves open the possibility for Joshua to have caused the Stratum XV/2 destruction at Hazor. As just noted, Petrovich (2008:508–10) has given solid archaeological and textual evidence that Joshua’s destruction of Hazor (ca. 1400 B.C.) explains the relatively long period of abandonment between the LB I and LB II strata at Hazor (ca. 1400–1350 B.C.).³⁴ Even the Amarna Letters seem to imply a period of decline in Egyptian hegemony during this time (EA #109; cf. Petrovich 2008:508).³⁵ Now while any number of possible candidates for the LB I

destruction could be proposed, Joshua and the Israelites seem to be the most likely due to the clear textual evidence confirming the attack (Josh 11:1–13). One of the other key factors is the cultic desecration at Hazor related to the LB I period.

JOSHUA'S DESTRUCTION OF HAZOR: EVIDENCE OF CULTIC DESECRATION IN STRATA XV AND 2

To date, no evidence of the desecration of bronze figurines has been found at Hazor. As noted above concerning Jericho this may have to do with the plundering of the metals by conquerors. Interestingly, the larger bronze figures that have been found were actually buried in the floors perhaps to keep them from just such plundering. Figurines from the palace in Area A of the upper city are among several examples. On this Ben-Tor and Rubiato (1999:35) note, “The peak of Canaanite workmanship is represented by two spectacular bronze male statuettes, both about 1 foot tall, which we discovered in a palace side room. [. . .] The figurines had been deliberately buried in antiquity beneath the floor in two corners of the room—presumably to protect them from desecration by marauders.”³⁶ Although the exact dating of these figurines could be debated there is also evidence from other parts of Hazor pointing to acts of desecration and plundering during the LB I period.

In the Stratum 2 temple of Area H, two bronze plaque-type figures³⁷ were found in the destruction level, which Yadin dates to Thutmose III (1975:117). One was a mere 5 cm in length, the other 9.5 cm in length (Yadin 1975:117; Yadin et al. 1989:228; for the pictures, see Yadin 1961: Plate CCCXXXIX nos. 1–4). The unique characteristic of these bronze figurines is that they are very small *and* thin—easily overlooked in the haste of plundering such a large city. Also in the area adjoining the temple Yadin found further evidence of ritual desecration. Here, among other broken cult objects, Yadin found a clay model of a liver broken in two pieces,

which would have been used for divination purposes (Yadin et al. 1989:229; for the pictures, see Yadin 1961: Plate CCCXV no. 1). In Stratum 1B, in the same temple of Area H, at the bottom of a pit in the “holy of holies,” Yadin also found a basalt statue lacking its head, hands, and feet, which were never found (Yadin et al. 1989:245, 322–24; see also Ben-Tor 2006:8).³⁸ He suggested that this was placed there by those of the LB IIA era (i.e., Stratum 1B). However, he did not rule out the possibility that it was from an earlier temple (Yadin 1975:102). This may in fact be a remnant of Joshua’s destruction of the site. Similarly, Yadin also noted the discovery of a basalt statue of a deity of the Syrian style (reg. nos. H/760 and H/526), which originally stood on the back of a bull (Yadin et al. 1989:337). The decapitated deity had been broken from the bull’s back. While associated with Stratum 1B, the bull portion and the deity’s body were found in different loci (2140 and 2119 respectively) on top of the pit where the famous Hazor lion orthostat was found (Yadin et al. 1989:248, 335–37; for pictures, see Yadin 1961: Plate CCCXXIV–V nos. 1–6, 1–2). It is again possible that these pieces were from an earlier period and were dug up from a lower stratum during the burial of the lion, which took place during, or shortly after, the destruction of the later temple (see also Yadin et al. 1989: Plan XXXIX pp. 242–43 Locus/pit 2140).³⁹ This seems likely in light of the fact that the pit, which was dug to bury ritually(?) the orthostat lion, cut through several strata (see Yadin 1961: Plate CXVIII–CXX and pictures nos. 1–3, 1–2, 1–2).⁴⁰ Therefore, even if the burial of the lion orthostat happened in the LB II period, the basalt statue may have been dug up from the Stratum 2 temple.

Also, in Area A of the upper city, associated with the Solomonic gate complex (Stratum X), Yadin found the torso of one Egyptian statue and part of the right foot of another.⁴¹ Yadin (1975:196) asserted that these statues were from the much earlier Late Bronze Age stratum and had been used as fill around the Solomonic-era gate complex. Similarly, the torso of another

Egyptian statue (reg. no. A/14760) was found out of stratigraphic context but has been connected to the Late Bronze Age.⁴² The latter example has a number of similarities to other Eighteenth Dynasty statues (see fig. 8).

Figure 8: Thutmosis III from Luxor Museum (photo WikiCommons)⁴³



These non-in situ examples could once again be evidence of the Israelite destruction of 1400 B.C. While possible, it is unlikely that a later pharaoh would desecrate Egyptian images like this especially if both pharaohs were from the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁴⁴ Moreover, earlier destructions of temples and their desecrated remains would have been cleaned up by the later occupants. This was the case in the lower city at Hazor where the precincts of temples in Area F (especially Strata 1A and 1B) were reused (Yadin 1972:95–100 esp. 96, 100–01). The exception to the rule appears to be the royal temple of Area A in the upper city, which met its demise in the LB I period and was never restored (Ben-Tor 1993:604; Yadin 1972:103; Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1999:27). The failure to rebuild the “long temple” in Area A may have had more to do with its proximity to the royal palace and the fact it served as a “royal temple” (Yadin 1972:103). In this

“royal temple,” which had its origins in the MB II period, the only artifacts/pottery that were found consisted “mainly of large quantities of votive bowls strewn on the platform (amidst animal bones) and on the floor” (Yadin 1972:103). No deity has been found associated with the temple though (Yadin 1972:103). Also in the LB I temple in Area A a partial (mutilated?) clay figurine was found in Locus 621 (Ben-Tor et al. 1997:57). Again, this may be evidence of the Israelite conquest of the city. As for the bronze artifacts that were found, they again have one characteristic in common—they are very small. These objects include: one bronze and one silver crescent (1.5 cm wide x 2 cm high), and one thin bronze figurine (approx. 2.5 cm wide x 9 cm high x 0.02 cm thick; cf. Ben-Tor et al. 1997:60, 67, 81).⁴⁵

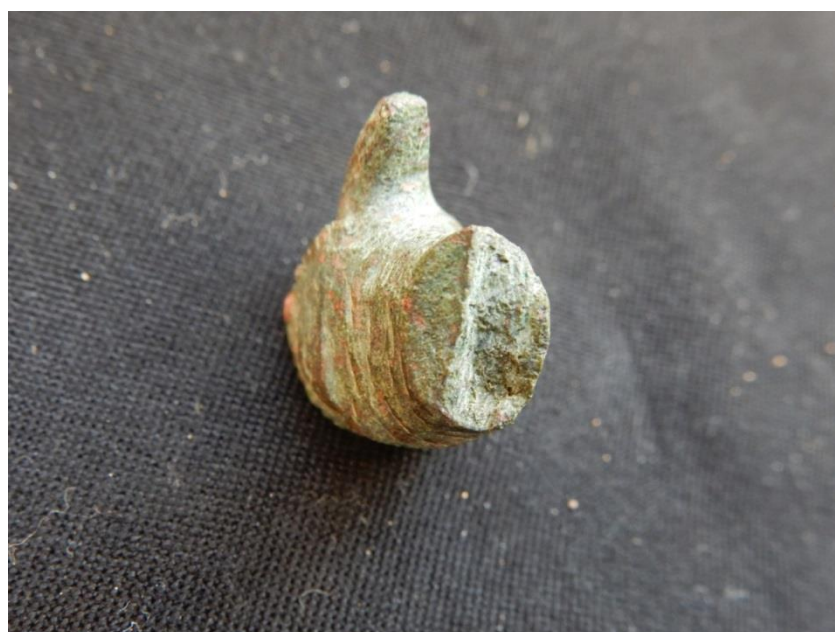
While the evidence of cultic desecration associated with Hazor’s destruction in the LB I period pales in comparison to the final destruction in Stratum 1A, there is nonetheless, evidence supporting this type of activity. One should not expect to find the same amount of evidence as that found in Stratum 1A due to the reoccupation of LB II Hazor and the accompanying cleanup of ritual sites. Indeed, if later occupants went to great lengths to bury desecrated cult objects (e.g., the lion orthostat), how much more the simple cleaning up and proper disposal of earlier desecrated objects? Finally, if ritual decapitation was the rule of the day during Joshua’s and Deborah and Barak’s rule, and if the destructions of the LB I and LB IIB cities at Hazor are assigned to them respectively, then most if not all of the desecrated cult objects may be assigned to the Israelites.

EVIDENCE OF THE ISRAELITES AT THE PROPOSED SITE OF AI: RITUAL DECAPITATION AND PLUNDERING

To date, no cult site has been found at Maqatir/Ai.⁴⁶ However, two scarabs dating to the MB II and LB I periods, and one figurine’s head from a LB I context have been found. The scarabs

were lacking their mountings and the body of the figurine has not been found. If the scarabs were mounted in gold or bronze then these metals would have been booty for the conquering army. And if the plundering of Jericho's tombs is any indication of how scarabs were treated (i.e., the fittings were taken and the amulet left behind) then this matches the scenario at Maqatir. Furthermore, similar to the treatment of statues at Hazor, the ram's head shows clear signs of ritual decapitation. As can be seen in fig. 9 below, there is evidence of a downward slash on the neck of the figurine that penetrated almost a third of the way through it. The head was then broken off. The head may have been dropped and lost in the frenetic pace of the looting or it may have been intentionally discarded. Whatever the case, this appears to be the first clear evidence at a site prior to the destruction of Hazor, where possible ritual decapitation perpetrated by the Israelites has been documented. If this theory obtains then archaeologists may have to rethink, once again, their dating of the conquest and the earliest evidence of ritual desecration by the Israelites!

Figure 9: The Downward Cut on the Neck of the Ram's Head (Photo Steve Rudd)



CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to show the connection between the LB I-era severed ram's head found at Maqatir/Ai and the ritual desecration of statues and cult sites at Hazor, and to a lesser degree at Jericho. We have demonstrated that the ram's head figurine may have direct connections to one of the Egyptian deities, Khnum or Amun, which were dominant throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty. We also pointed out the high degree of likelihood that the ruler of Maqatir/Ai could have met and supplied Amenhotep II on one of his campaigns into the Levant, especially in year 9 when he stopped at Aphek. It was at this time that the ruler of Ai could have received the Amenhotep scarab and bronze figurine. When the Israelites invaded Canaan, they looted and burned three cities (Jericho, Ai, and Hazor). At Maqatir/Ai the desecration of the ram god from Egypt is to be expected at the hands of Israelites, especially if there was any connection to the possible pharaoh of the Exodus, Amenhotep II (see Petrovich 2006:81–110). The proposed ritual decapitation of the ram's head serves as evidence pointing to the presence of the Israelites at Maqatir/Ai late in the 15th century B.C. (ca. 1406). As such, the long-held theory that the first evidence of this type of cultic desecration by the Israelites appears only in the 13th century B.C. must be reevaluated as well as what group of Israelites destroyed the LB IIB city of Hazor. Deborah and Barak make the most sense for that destruction whereas Joshua, in the 15th century, is the best candidate for the destruction of the LB I city found in Strata XV and 2 in the upper and lower cities respectively.

ENDNOTES

¹ Date as proposed by Petrovich 2006:83, 86–87.

² Upon close examination by several people (including conservator Orna Cohen) the head appears to be closest to a curved-horn ram than any other creature.

³ The author has searched numerous dig reports and texts on ancient bronze figurines and has found nothing resembling this object. While some may argue that the ram's head is from a later context (i.e., Late Hellenistic-Early Roman) even this lacks any decisive evidence within the symbolism/iconography of the Greco-Roman period. For example, in Goodenough's 13-volume study on *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (1953–1968), esp. vols. 1 and 3, no image appeared even close to what was discovered at Maqatir. For a discussion on the Jewish idea of a "Ram god" see *ibid.*, 4:184–85.

⁴ Since the scarab came from a disturbed locus (Locus 16) the elevation is estimated.

⁵ From the root *khonem* meaning "to form like a potter" (see Müller 1910:51).

⁶ The stele is said to have been made during the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–182 B.C. cf. Davidovits and Morris 1998:139).

⁷ For a picture, see Keel 1977:223. Note also figure 173 on the same page.

⁸ Mercer (1949:152–53) adds that Khnum was also worshipped at "Esneh, Hypselis, and Antinoe; other places were Ombos, Edfu, Thebes, Deendera, Herakleopolis, probably also at Lake Moeris, and in Nubia, at Philae, Debod, Dendur, Dakke, and Kumme."

⁹ For images, see Neret 1994:79–83.

¹⁰ While the *ANET* does not mention Khnum by name, it does note that in certain versions of the story the "gods fashion a wife for the self-exiled Bata . . ." (*ANET* 25).

¹¹ Tobin (2002:21) suggests that Amun was always depicted in anthropomorphic form even though he had the characteristics of the ram (e.g., fertility).

¹² For an image of Amun depicted as a ram, see Shaw and Nicholson 1995:31.

¹³ For numerous depictions of Khnum from the temple of Esna, see Sauneron 1975:95, 101, 107, 115, 117, 123, 129, 137, 139, 151, 159 and *idem*, 2009.

¹⁴ On the debate concerning an earlier/third-year campaign by Amenhotep II into the Levant, see Manuelian 1987:1–44. For the chronology and text dealing with the year-7 and year-9 campaigns, see *ibid.*, 45–97. For a discussion ruling out the year-7 campaign in favor of the year-3 campaign, see Petrovich 2006:94–98. See also comments by Bienkowski 1987:54.

¹⁵ Amarna Tablets EA#285–90 are correspondences from the king of Jerusalem, Abdu-Heba, to the Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs (either Amenhotep III or IV) clearly showing his loyalty to Egypt. These letters are within just a few decades of the reign of Amenhotep II. It is clear that Egypt controlled this region especially after the campaigns of Thutmose III. For the texts of EA#286–90, see *ANET* 487–89.

¹⁶ On the use of vassal states in the Levant as “supply depots” for Egypt’s armies, see Bienkowski 1987:50; 1986:145, 154; Petrovich 2008:504; Hoffmeier 1989:187–88; and Aharoni and Avi-Yonah 1977:34.

¹⁷ For translations of the Egyptian inscriptions referencing Aphek during Amenhotep II’s year-9 campaign, see Manuelian 1987:69–70, 225, 229 and Helck 1961:38–39 §1305.

¹⁸ These last four sources as noted by Petrovich.

¹⁹ For a discussion on the early date with Amenhotep II as the pharaoh of the Exodus, see Petrovich 2006:81–110.

²⁰ Esarhaddon attempted to make up for Sennacherib’s destruction of Babylonian cult sites by rebuilding temples and repatriating exiled deities (Tadmor 1983:38–47; Porter 1993:77–118). On the exile of deities, see Peterson 2012:156–69.

²¹ For the Mishnaic teaching, see Neusner 1988:667§3:10; 668§4:5.

²² For a refutation of Wood’s position, see Hoffmeier 2007:225–47. See also comments by Petrovich (2008:500) concerning the Late Bronze Age City IV at Jericho.

²³ It is possible that some of the more recent excavations at Jericho may have unearthed bronze figurines; however, to my knowledge, none have been published.

²⁴ Kenyon (1965:456) dates all the Iron Age finds in Trench I to the seventh century B.C. or later.

²⁵ These were from the MB I period (Kenyon's dating of the Middle Bronze Age is 1900–1550 B.C.). The gold-mounted scarabs came out of tomb J-14. For the bronze ringed scarabs found in tombs P-19 and B-51, see Kenyon and Holland 1982:357, 410, 446, 465. Many of these scarabs were stolen from Kenyon's dig headquarters, see p. 368.

²⁶ Kitchen (2002:310) insists on a date closer to 1220 or even lower. However, see Kitchen (2003:26–27) for a readjusted date of 1230, a date closer to Yadin's original proposal.

²⁷ Dates for Seti I are from Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1999:36.

²⁸ Contra Zuckerman (2007:23–25), who suggests this destruction and ritual desecration was due to internal social and political strife. See the astute critique of Zuckerman's thesis by Petrovich (2008:492 n.15).

²⁹ The lower city was never reoccupied after its destruction in the 13th century. The next occupational level in the upper city was during the Iron Age.

³⁰ Jabin appears to have been a dynastic title used at various periods in Hazor's history (Yadin 1975:16; Wood 1995:83–85; Petrovich 2008:97–99; Govier 1994:1–2). Along with the biblical appearances, a form of "Jabin" (i.e., Ibni-Adad—west Semitic Yabni-Adad) appears in the much earlier Mari texts. Also, an Egyptian text from the period of Rameses II uses the phrase "Qishon of Jabin," which is in the Jezreel Valley, the same place Barak fought Jabin's general, Sisera. See also Horowitz and Shaffer 1992:165–67; and Krahmalkov 1994:54–62, 79.

Krahmalkov (61) concludes that the later biblical editors were incorrect when they said "Jabin"

was the king of Hazor not Qedesh/Qishon. However as Govier (1994:2) notes, there is no reason not to believe that if Jabin was the “king of Canaan” (Josh 4:2) that he would not have ruled over other cities as he did with the chariot city at Harosheth-hagoyim. Note: in the much later Amarna Tablets (e.g., EA#148, 227, 364) the king of Hazor is unnamed whereas AE#228 identifies the king as Abdi-Tirshi.

³¹ See for example the discussion of Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1999:36; Bienkowski 1987:59; and Zuckerman 2007:23–24. On the C-14 dating at Hazor, Ben-Tor and Rubiato (1999:36) state, “We submitted several samples of charred wood from the palace for carbon 14 dating, but unfortunately they have not helped us pinpoint the destruction date. The test results indicate that the wood mostly dates to the 18th century B.C.E.—500 years before the earliest possible date for the fall of Hazor! The reason for these high dates is simple: Timber—especially Lebanese cedar—was so rare and valuable that it was often reused in public buildings for hundreds of years. We do, however, have two carbon 14 dates that seem to point to the 13th century B.C.E.”

³² With the exception of some slight modifications, citations in square brackets are from Wood but have been verified by the author. See further Petrovich (2008:500–2) for evidence from more recent excavations reports.

³³ The fact that both pharaohs are said to have conquered Hazor (or at least listed them in their campaign lists) does not align with the archaeological data.

³⁴ Petrovich (2008:509) notes that Hazor does not appear on any Egyptian topographical lists from the end of Amenhotep II’s reign (ca. 1418 B.C.) until the reign of Seti I (1305 B.C.)—Petrovich’s dating. Petrovich (2008:509 n.87) rightly notes that Hazor could easily have been rebuilt between 1375 B.C. and 1350 B.C. and become a great city again allowing for Seti I to note it in his campaign lists of 1305 B.C.

³⁵ The relevant part of the text reads, “Previously, on seeing a man from Egypt, the kings of Canaan fled bef[ore him, but] now the sons of Abdi-Ashirta make men from Egypt prowl about [like do]gs” (as cited by Petrovich). For the text, see Moran 1992:183.

³⁶ The authors note that these and other statues were found in a “side room” beneath the floors but do not note if these side rooms had the same raised wooden floors as the throne room. If so, then it seems unlikely that the occupants of the palace would have dug through the wooden floors to hide the statues. If the side rooms had cobble/dirt flooring then this seems more reasonable. Also, in the Area H 1A temple, three bronze figurines were found along with an Amenhotep III scarab (see Yadin et al. 1989:258.). The mixing of Strata 1B and 1A may again account for the scarab. Nevertheless, this latest destruction appears to be from the era of Deborah and Barak. Why these bronze figurines were left untouched cannot be determined. It may have been a mere oversight or bronze at this period may have lost some of its value. For the pictures, see Yadin 1961: Plates CCCXLI nos. 1–4; CCCXL nos. 5–8; CCCXXXIX nos. 7–8 and Yadin 1972: 103–4.

³⁷ See Beck (1983:78–80) for a discussion on plaque H1270 from Area H, Locus 2170.

³⁸ Ben-Tor suggests it is much older than the 1B stratum in which it was found. He also posits that although the statue appears to show signs of ritual desecration, damage may have been the result of “its very long period of use.” For the pictures, see Yadin 1961: Plate CCCXXX nos. 1–6.

³⁹ Pirhiya Beck, who wrote the chapter on stone ritual artifacts and statues from areas A and H in *Hazor III–IV* (1989: esp. p. 337), also notes the uncertainty of the dating of the statue and opts for an earlier period than the dating for Stratum 1B.

⁴⁰For a discussion on the burial of the orthostat lion, see Yadin et al. 1989:328. For an alternate view, see Zuckerman 2007:19, 22.

⁴¹ There is some debate as to the dating of the remains (torso only) of the Egyptian statue in question (reg. no. A/6201/1). On the one hand, Yadin (1972:126 n.1) dated it to the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasties. On the other hand, Ben-Tor (2006:5) places it in the Middle Kingdom; yet he still notes “that it stood in the nearby LB I palace.” See also, Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1999:35–36.

⁴² For a brief discussion and pictures, see Ben-Tor 2006:5–6.

⁴³ “TuthmosisIII-2” by TuthmosisIII.JPG: en:User:Chipdawesderivative work: Oltau (talk) - TuthmosisIII.JPG. Licensed under Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons - <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:TuthmosisIII-2.JPG#/media/File:TuthmosisIII-2.JPG>

⁴⁴ While the desecration of statues for political reasons does seem to find ample evidence in Egypt itself especially after the reigns of Hatshepsut and Akhenaton (see comments by Ben-Tor 2006:12–13), Amenhotep II appears to have been a very popular pharaoh in Egypt.

⁴⁵ The dates given to the temple in Area A by R. Bonfil are at points somewhat unclear. Sometimes her Phase 9A and Stratum 8 appear to be LB I (see Ben-Tor et al. 1997:54, 84 but note the comments at the top of pp. 85, 89) at other times the Area A temple of the upper city is likened to the 1B temple of Area H in the lower city (Ben-Tor et al. 1997:87). Also note the overlap of the ceramic evidence between the upper city temple and the temples of the lower city in Areas C and H. Bonfil notes the problems with giving precise dates for these temples due to the ceramic assemblages that overlap (cf. Ben-Tor et al. 1997:77–84, 87). See also comments by Bienkowski 1987:59.

⁴⁶ A cult stand (obj. 54) and a stele (obj. 572) have been found at Maqatir.

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CAPTION LIST

Figure 1: Maqatir/Ai Bronze Ram's Head (photo Michael Luddeni)

Figure 2: Square P22 looking southeast, showing the depression in the bedrock (Locus 4a) where the severed ram's head was found (photo Michael Luddeni)

Figure 3: Locations (from left to right) of Hyksos scarab, Amenhotep II scarab, and ram's head within 5 m of proposed MB III-LB I wall (drawing by Leen Ritmeyer)

Figure 4: The Maqatir Ram's Head (photo Michael Luddeni)

Figures 5 and 6: Artist's Reconstruction of the Ram Figurine (drawings by Jerry Taylor)

Figure 7: Depiction of Khnum from the Temple at Esna (WikiCommons: photo by Steve F-E-Cameron)

Figure 8: Thutmosis III from Luxor Museum (photo WikiCommons)

Figure 9: The Downward Cut on the Neck of the Ram's Head (Photo Steve Rudd)