

Khirbet Qeiyafa in the Judean Shephelah: Some Considerations

YEHUDAH DAGAN

Israel Antiquities Authority

The excavations at Khirbet Qeiyafa have attracted attention recently following the discovery of a city gate and the proposals of the excavators that it be dated to the 10th century BCE and identified with biblical Sha‘arayim. Based on my survey of the site, I suggest an alternative settlement history and a different interpretation of the construction stages of the circumference wall. I also propose an alternative identification of the biblical city of Sha‘arayim.

KEYWORDS Shephelah, Azekah, Sha‘arayim, Ramat Bet Shemesh, Valley of Elah

Khirbet Qeiyafa¹ is located on a prominent hilltop (328 m above sea level) in the northeastern Judean Shephelah (map ref. OIG 14603/12267, NIG 19603/62267). The summit of the hill provides a view of the northern sectors of the Shephelah and westward in the direction of the Coastal Plain, and controls one of the main east–west routes that ascends from Nahal Elah towards the Judean Hills. The exact meaning of the Arabic name of the site is uncertain, but probably had the intent of ‘the place with a wide view’.² Recently, as a result of the discovery of a city gate in the western sector, and the possibility that a second gate exists on the southern side, excavations conducted at the site have attracted much attention. The discovery of early Iron Age IIA pottery, dated by the excavators to the first half of the 10th century BCE, led them to associate the site with the United Monarchy during the reign of King David (Garfinkel and Ganor 2008a: 5–6; 2009).

In this note, I wish to present some of the archaeological data that emerged during my research of the Judean Shephelah (ca. 790 sq km), which may shed light on the nature

¹ The name of the site appears in several different forms: Kh. Kaiafa (Güerin 1869), Kh. Kiafa (SWP), Kh. Qeiyafa (Mandatorial List of Antiquities), Kh. Qaiyafa (mandatorial map 1924), Kh. Qiyafa (second edition of mandatorial map 1929). In the official list of archaeological sites of the State of Israel, the name of the site is Khirbet Qeiyafa (Yalkut Hapirusumim 1964: 1465).

² I wish to thank Hamoudi Khalaily who helped me to understand the nuances of the Arabic meaning.



FIGURE 1 Aerial photo of Khirbet Qeiyafa, looking south.

of this site. In the archaeological survey that I conducted in the northern Shephelah, much attention was invested in the remains at Khirbet Qeiyafa, where I documented a massive, 1–3 m high wall that encircles the summit of the hill—a phenomenon unknown at other sites in the northern Shephelah (Fig. 1). The visible remains and the many sherds collected on the surface have enabled me to arrive at a number of conclusions concerning the settlement history of the site.

Surveys

The site of Khirbet Qeiyafa was visited by a number of researchers during the 19th and 20th centuries. Victor Guérin reported the existence of a village on the hilltop in ca. 1860 (Guérin 1869), while in ca. 1875 the surveyors of the British SWP noted only “stone heaps” (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883, Vol. 3: 118). Dimitri Baramki, the archaeological inspector of the Department of Antiquities at the time of the British Mandate, visited the ruins in October 1932 and filed a report in which he described a small enclosure measuring ca. 35 sq. m, which he suggested had been a watchtower associated with nearby Khirbet Quleidiya (Horvat Qolad), some 300 m to the east (British Mandate File No. 154).

Within the framework of the Judean Shephelah Survey Project (Dagan 1983, 1986, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1993, 2004, 2006),³ I surveyed Khirbet Qeiyafa and its environs several times. In 1990, I began an intensive survey within the municipal boundaries of the planned city of Ramat Bet Shemesh—between Nahal Soreq in the north and Nahal Elah in the south—in which 545 sites were identified. Khirbet Qeiyafa (Site No. 353)

³ The survey, which began in 1977, was conducted under the auspices of the Lachish Expedition and the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, the Israel Exploration Society, the Yoav Regional Council and the Israel Antiquities Authority (then Department of Antiquities).



FIGURE 2 The southwestern side of the circumference wall showing two phases of construction.

was re-visited a number of times, during which I documented the remains visible on the surface, collected large quantities of sherds from the summit of the hill and the surrounding slopes and drew up plans of the ruins and the rock-hewn agricultural installations that are situated within the site and in its proximity (Dagan 1998; forthcoming a, b).

Description of the site

Khirbet Qeiyafa is situated on the northern bank of Nahal Elah, one of the six brooks (*wadis*) that flow from the Judean Hills through the Judean Shephelah to the Coastal Plain (from north to south: Nahal Soreq, Nahal Elah, Nahal Guvrin, Nahal Lachish, Nahal Adoraim, Nahal Shiqma). The brook winds its way westward towards the Mediterranean Sea, changing direction in accordance with the geological rock formations it passes through. At the foot of the hill upon which Khirbet Qeiyafa is located, Nahal Elah flows along the northern side of a wide valley. A number of large Iron Age sites are located on the hills on the northern side of this valley (Beit Nattif, Khirbet Judraya, Horvat Qolad).

The summit of the hill, ca. 80 m above the valley, commands a view of the surrounding hills and Nahal Elah. The site is surrounded by a stone wall enclosing an area of ca. 25 dunams. At least two construction phases can be discerned in this wall. Several courses of large boulders form the base, or 'lower part' of the wall, upon which extends the 'upper part'—a dry construction of unworked fieldstones (Fig. 2). In a number of places repairs are evident, probably where the wall collapsed. The 'lower part' of the wall can only be traced around the northwestern, western and southwestern sides of the summit,

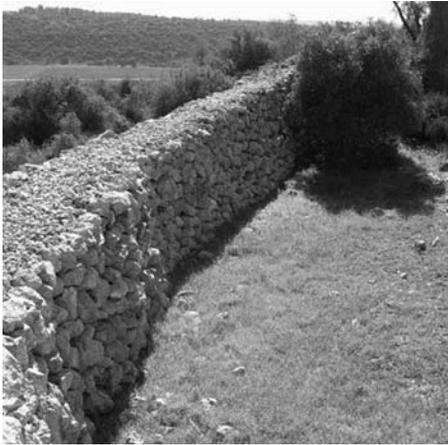


FIGURE 3 The eastern 'parallel wall', looking south.

while on the remaining sides only the 'upper part' of the wall stands today.⁴ On the eastern side of the site, a 'parallel wall' was built at a distance of 5–8 m from the circumference wall, measuring ca. 120 m in length, 0.80–1.20 m in width and rising 2–3 m in height (Fig. 3). At the centre of the site, building foundations are visible that date to the Ottoman period, alongside a rock-hewn cistern. Over the entire surface of the site are scattered remnants of walls, 2–3 courses high, which were re-used by the inhabitants during the Ottoman period to support agricultural terraces. Three wine presses and three installations for the processing of olive oil were hewn into

bedrock outcrops among the ruins. Large bedrock outcrops are exposed in the centre of the site, as at many other sites in the Shephelah and the Judean Hills, where the soil cover has been eroded over the years. In a number of places at the site, building stones were collected into large piles upon these outcrops in order to clear the land for the cultivation of orchards that can still be seen today.

On the surface of the site I collected large quantities of sherds from the following periods: Early Bronze Age II–III (flint artefacts were also collected), Middle Bronze Age,⁵ Iron Age I (isolated sherds including the rim of a collared-rim jar), Iron Age IIB–C (the majority), the Persian, Hellenistic (early and late), Roman (early and late), Byzantine, Early Islamic, Mameluke and Ottoman periods (see Fig. 4; Table 1).

On the slope to the west of the settlement, an area of ca. 170 dunams is encircled by a stone wall (2–4 courses high, 1 m wide). Along the inner face of the wall, mainly on the southern and western sides, round contours can be discerned (1–2 m in diameter), which may be the remains of watchtowers. This wall is built of fieldstones, similar to the construction of the 'upper part' of the wall encircling the summit. Within this enclosed area are the remains of buildings, animal pens and hewn agricultural installations. The sherds collected here date to the Iron Age II, Hellenistic, Roman and Ottoman periods. This is clearly a modern wall probably built in the Ottoman period to enclose a large pasturage or establish ownership of the land (Fig. 5).

⁴ As the upper wall is apparently not founded upon earlier wall remains on the eastern side of the summit, the ancient site may have been somewhat smaller than the present-day ca. 25 dunams.

⁵ In both the survey and the excavations (Garfinkel and Ganor 2008b: 246) evidence of activity during the Middle Bronze was recovered and it is possible that further evidence will be found of a fortified settlement from this period.

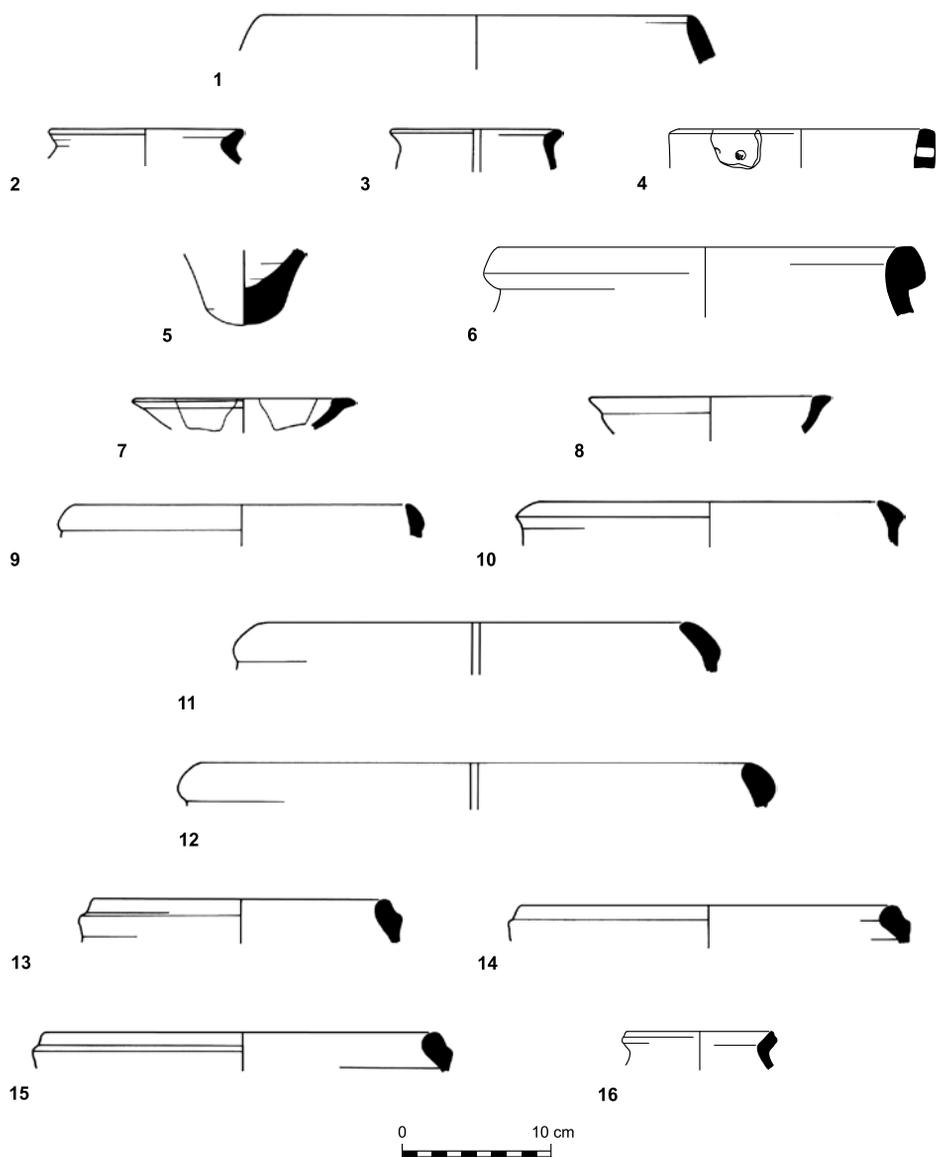


FIGURE 4 Representative sherds from the survey of Khirbet Qeiyafa: (1) Early Bronze; (2–4) Middle Bronze; (5–6) Iron I; (7, 9–15) Iron IIB; (8, 16) Iron IIC.

FIGURE 4

REPRESENTATIVE SHERDS FROM THE SURVEY OF KHIRBET QEYAFYA

No.	Vessel	Period
1	Holemouth jar	Early Bronze Age
2	Bowl	Middle Bronze Age
3	Bowl	Middle Bronze Age
4	Handmade cooking-pot	Middle Bronze Age
5	Jar	Iron Age I
6	Pithos	Iron Age I
7	Bowl	Iron Age IIB
8	Bowl	Iron Age IIC
9	Bowl	Iron Age IIB
10	Bowl	Iron Age IIB
11	Krater	Iron Age IIB
12	Krater	Iron Age IIB
13	Cooking-pot	Iron Age IIB
14	Cooking-pot	Iron Age IIB
15	Cooking-pot	Iron Age IIB
16	Cooking-pot	Iron Age IIC

The wall encircling the summit

The most intriguing question concerning Khirbet Qeiyafa is the purpose and date of construction of the wall encircling the summit. As mentioned, at least two construction phases are evident, with clear differences in the method of construction and size of the stones. According to Garfinkel and Ganor, the lower courses are part of an Iron Age IIA casemate wall, while the upper part of the wall is Hellenistic (Garfinkel and Ganor 2008b: 244, Fig. 2). However, based on the data presented here, I have reached a different conclusion—that the upper part of the wall was added in modern times.

It appears that during the 18th century CE, perhaps even earlier, a large family from the village of Beit Nattif (situated to the east of Khirbet Qeiyafa) built their houses in the centre of the site, upon earlier walls (and thus Guérin's description of a small village). This settlement was soon abandoned, and some 15 years later the SWP surveyors noted only stone heaps, but no massive circumference wall. The description of the antiquities inspector D. Baramki in 1932 contributes to our understanding of the site. He reported only an enclosure, and the photographs taken by him at that time are only of this enclosure (Fig. 6). The fact that Baramki did not make any mention of the massive circumference wall rising some 3 m, indicates that it was not yet standing. Thus, it seems that the 'upper part' of the enclosing wall was built only after the visit of Baramki to the site. It is possible that the family from Beit Nattif was active at the site again in the 1940s,⁶ added the upper

⁶ In 1991, M. M. Akhmias accompanied us on a visit to his childhood village, Beit Nattif. He gave us the Arabic names of the surrounding hills and agricultural plots and recalled that a village family had purchased the Khirbet Qeiyafa ruins and prepared it for dwelling and planting orchards.

TABLE 1
HISTORY OF SETTLEMENT AT KHIRBET QEIYafa BASED ON THE SURVEY FINDS

Period	Finds	Interpretation
EB II–III	Few pottery sherds and flint artefacts	Seasonal settlement
MB	Many sherds	Large settlement
Iron I	Isolated sherds	Small village
Iron IIB	Many sherds (including a two-winged <i>mlk</i> handle)	Large settlement
Iron IIC	Isolated sherds	Small village
Persian	Isolated sherds	Seasonal settlement
Hellenistic	Many sherds	Large settlement
Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Mameluke	Isolated sherds	Seasonal settlements
Ottoman	Many sherds, building remains, agricultural activity	Farmstead

courses and completed the circumference wall. The purpose of the wall was, first and foremost, to prevent the fertile soil that had accumulated on the ruins from eroding down the slopes, and to enlarge the area available for the planting of orchards. In certain places, the construction of the modern wall made use of the already existing foundations of the ancient (fortification?) wall. After the modern wall was raised, the inhabitants seem to have levelled the area with fertile soil brought from the slopes (thus exposing the outer face of the ancient wall), and in this way covered up the earlier remains (walls, building stones, etc.). It would appear that the double wall on the eastern side of the hill was similarly intended to enlarge the cultivated area eastward; however, the site was abandoned before the filling activities were completed, and the wall remained standing alone.

An aerial photo of the site from 1945⁷ indicates that by that time the surrounding wall was standing to its present height, and on the summit was a dwelling and a road paved with fieldstones leading westward (ca. 70 m to the south of the excavated gate; see Fig. 5).

A comment on the interpretation of survey results

Many of the periods represented by the sherds collected in the survey were not matched in the occupational strata uncovered in the excavations. On the other hand, in the excavation of Area B, Garfinkel and Ganor (2008c: 129–130) recovered, in two rooms to the north of the gate, a pottery assemblage dating to the early Iron Age IIA, although no sherds from this phase of the Iron Age were recovered in the surface survey.

I have encountered similar cases at other sites. During the survey of the Judean Shephelah, I realized that there are settlement periods that are rarely represented by the

⁷ The photo, No. 5133 of the PS series, was taken on January 27, 1945.



FIGURE 5 Aerial photo of Khirbet Qeiyafa (1945), with the large enclosure to the west and Horvat Qolad to the east.



FIGURE 6 (*top*) 1932 photo of the eastern wall of the small 'enclosure' by D. Baramki; (*bottom*) photo of the same wall taken in 2009 by Y. Dagan.

sherds collected during the survey (e.g., Pottery Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Intermediate Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age). At Tel Lachish, for instance, sherds from various periods recovered in the excavations (e.g., the Early and Middle Bronze Ages) have rarely been found on the surface of the tell or on the slopes. During the Ramat Bet Shemesh Project, I surveyed a large area around Tell el-Aliya, but only after using mechanical equipment in soundings of the agricultural terraces around the tell was the presence of settlements from the Chalcolithic period and Intermediate Bronze Age revealed (Dagan 1998; forthcoming b).

On the other hand, at several sites in Ramat Bet Shemesh, Early Bronze Age sherds were collected on the surface, although in the subsequent excavations no occupational remains of this period were uncovered (Eisenberg and Sakler forthcoming; Dagan 1998; forthcoming b). Another example of this phenomenon can be seen at Giv'at Sharet [2], where no strata from the Chalcolithic period or Early Bronze Age were found in the excavations, although sherds of these periods were collected on the surface (Zehavi 1994).

It should also be noted that the exposure of two rooms with early Iron Age IIA material in the excavations at Khirbet Qeiyafa cannot be taken as evidence that the *entire* site was occupied in this phase of the Iron Age or that settlement at the site was *limited* to this phase. At Tel Lachish, remains of the of Iron Age IIC were uncovered mainly in and around the city gate and the ruined palace-fort (Stratum II), but did not appear in the large section excavated by the British Expedition on the opposite side of the tell (Tufnell *et al.* 1953: 71, 92–93), and in many other parts of the site. I would argue that the large quantities of sherds from the Iron Age IIB collected on the surface indicate that settlement continued into the Iron Age IIB–C in other parts of the site.

The date of the city wall

During 2007–2008, two seasons of excavation were conducted at Khirbet Qeiyafa (Garfinkel and Ganor 2008b, 2008c, 2009). The excavations were concentrated in Area B where a four-chambered city gate was uncovered, dated by the excavators to the early Iron Age IIA based on material found on the bedrock to the northeast of the gate. However, it could also be suggested that the gate actually dates to the Hellenistic period, even if it was originally built upon the remains of an earlier city gate. Hellenistic finds were discerned in the passage and all the chambers of the gate, and a floor with Hellenistic pottery was exposed in the southeastern chamber of the gate, resting on bedrock (Garfinkel and Ganor 2008c: 128–129). Four-chambered gates are not alien to the Hellenistic period (e.g., Mount Gerizim, see Magen 2008: 220, Fig. 4).⁸

⁸ It should also be mentioned here that at the outer foot of the later blocking wall of the gate (in Area B), the excavators uncovered the bedrock surface upon which a mixed assemblage of sherds was recovered, including material from later periods. This can be seen as further evidence of an Ottoman date for the upper part of the wall.

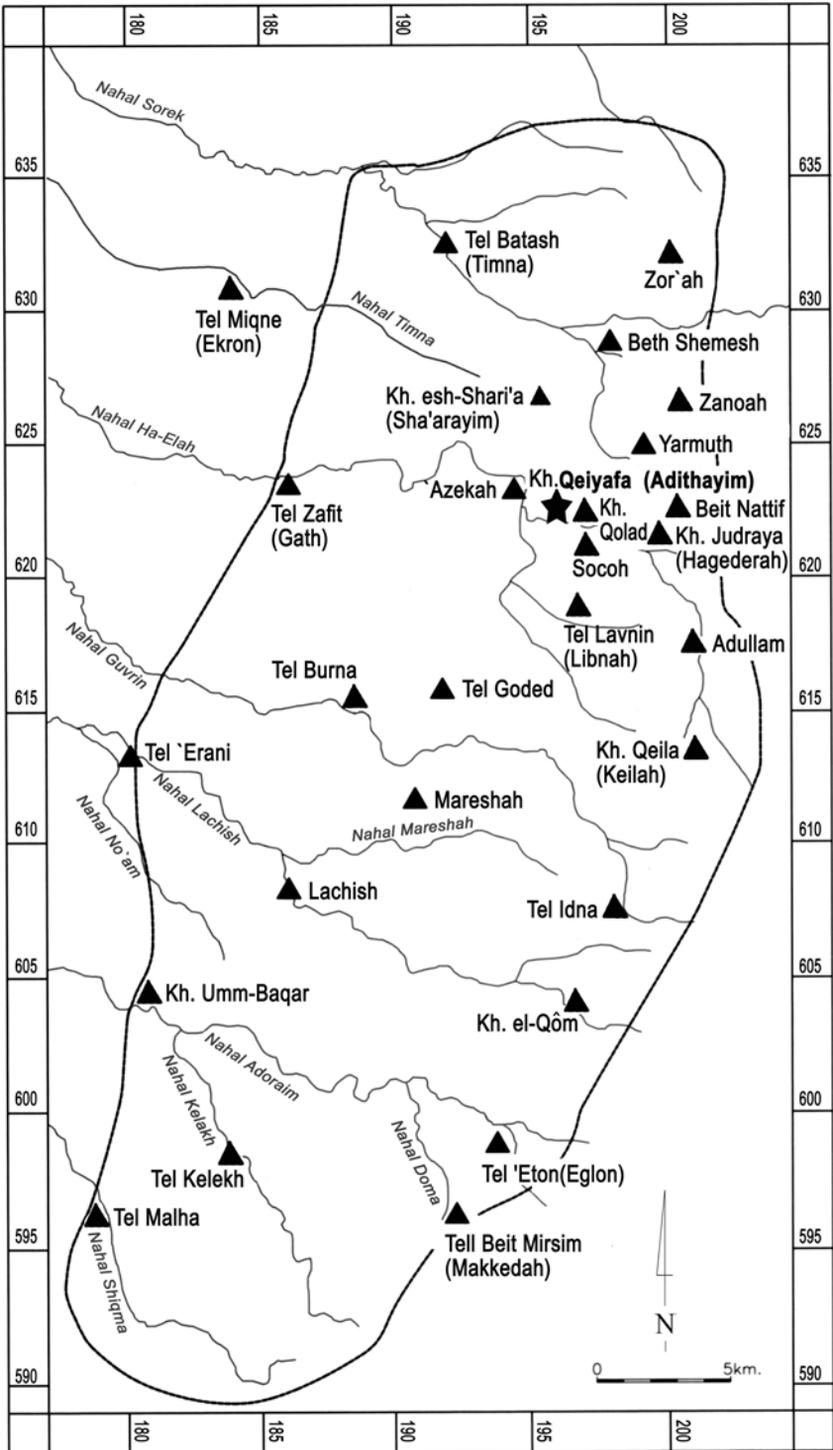


FIGURE 7 Map of the Judean Shephelah.

Identification of the site

At the end of the first excavation season at Khirbet Qeiyafa (2007), the excavators suggested identifying the site with biblical Azekah.⁹ In the second season of excavations (2008), they changed their opinion and proposed identifying Khirbet Qeiyafa with Sha'arayim. This suggested identification was based on the assumption that the excavated settlement has two gates, one in the west and the second gate ostensibly located on the southern side of the circumference wall, based on two massive stones that can be seen incorporated into the wall (Garfinkel and Ganor 2008a). The identification of the site as Sha'arayim was countered by Na'aman (2008a, b), based mainly on linguistic considerations. Na'aman suggested identifying Khirbet Qeiyafa with Gob. In my opinion, the suggestion of the excavators is inconsistent with the geography of the Shephelah and the geographical logic of the biblical text.

In 1992, I first suggested identifying Khirbet Qeiyafa with the biblical town of Adithayim, mentioned in the list of towns of the tribe of Judah in the northern district of the Shephelah (Joshua 15:36), since there is a consensus that the places are listed according to a certain geographical order (Alt 1925: 100–104; Cross and Wright 1956; Na'aman 1991; Dagan 1992a: 278; 1996: 139). In the northern district of the Shephelah, the towns are listed along either side of the major brooks (Nahal Sorek, Nahal Yarmuth, Nahal Elah) in a clockwise order. Thus, on the southern bank of Nahal Elah are Adullam, Socoh and Azekah, while on the northern bank the list continues with Sha'arayim (Khirbet esh-Shari'a, see below), Adithayim (Khirbet Qeiyafa) and Gederah (Khirbet Judraya, see also Alt 1934: 12–13; Kuschke 1971; Dagan 1992a: 278–279; 1996: 139) (see map, Fig. 7).

The identification of Sha'arayim is important in itself, and it seems that it should be sought elsewhere. The town is mentioned twice in the biblical text; the first time in the list of towns of the Shephelah, as mentioned above, where it is included in the fourth group of towns, together with other places in the geographical unit encompassing both sides of Nahal Elah. Additional information as to the location of this town can be gleaned from the detailed description of the retreat of the Philistine army at the end of the battle that took place in the Valley of Elah “and the men of Israel and Judah rose with a shout and pursued the Philistines as far as the valley and the gates of Ekron, so that the wounded Philistines fell on the way from Sha'arayim as far as Gath and Ekron” (1 Samuel 17:52). Thus, we can attempt to reconstruct the retreat route of the Philistine army by following the geographical logic of the author: The point of exit for the Philistine army was the place of battle in the Valley of Elah “and they encamped between Socoh and Azekah” (1 Samuel 17:1). After the Philistines were beaten in battle, they fled to two Philistine cities—Ekron and Gath. The Philistines' route of flight was by way of “the valley” towards Ekron. It can be argued that the word used here (*gr*), and commonly translated as valley, actually implied the sharp S-curve of Nahal Elah at the foot of Tel Azekah, the narrowest point of

⁹ In a lecture series presented at Yad Ben-Zvi, entitled ‘Ancient Battlefields in the Land of Israel and Neighboring Regions—Historical and Archaeological Aspects: The Iron Age and Persian and Hellenistic Periods’, January 24, 2008; also in a lecture at the ASOR Annual Meeting, November 15, 2007, entitled ‘Khirbet Kiafa: Biblical Azekah?’

the valley (ca. 200 m wide). The narrative then seems to describe with some geographical detail how the Philistine army split and fled in two directions, one along Nahal Elah towards the city of Gath (Tel Zafit), while the other group crossed northward towards Nahal Timna, along which the road to the Philistine city of Ekron passed. The place where the army split was therefore at the narrowest point of the valley, where a low saddle provides access to Nahal Timna (the Bet Guvrin–Bet Shemesh Road still passes there to this day).¹⁰ On the western side of this saddle are the remains of a settlement at Khirbet esh-Shari'a (map ref. OIG 14588/12462, NIG 19588/62462). In the archaeological survey conducted here within the framework of the Map of Bet Shemesh (the Archaeological Survey of Israel), sherds from the Iron Age I, IIA, IIB and IIC were collected (Dagan 1992a: 95–96; 1996: 136–146). Thus, it can be proposed that Khirbet esh-Shari'a be identified with the biblical town of Sha'arayim based on its geographical location, the sherds collected in the survey and the similarity of the name.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Shelley Sadeh for editing and David Ussishkin for his valuable comments. I also extend my gratitude to Lily Singer-Avitz and Ruhama Bonfil for their assistance in preparing the figures.

¹⁰ For a somewhat different reconstruction, see Rainey 1975: 69*, 1982.

References

- Alt, A. 1925. Israel's Gaue unter Josia. *Palästinajahrbuch* 21: 100–117.
- Alt, A. 1934. Das Institut im Jahre 1933. *Palästinajahrbuch* 30: 5–14.
- Bliss, F.J. and Macalister, R.A.S. 1902. *Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898–1900*. London.
- Conder, C.R. and Kitchener, H.H. 1881–1883. *The Survey of Western Palestine. Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography and Archaeology*, 3 Vols. London.
- Cross, F.M. and Wright, G.E. 1956. The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah. *JBL* 75: 202–206.
- Dagan, Y. 1983. Shephelah of Judah, Survey. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 2: 92–94.
- Dagan, Y. 1986. Shephelah of Judah, Survey—1985. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 5: 99–100.
- Dagan, Y. 1992a. *The Shephelah during the Period of the Monarchy in Light of Archaeological Excavations and Survey* (M.A. thesis, Tel Aviv University). Tel Aviv (Hebrew).
- Dagan, Y. 1992b. Bet Shemesh Map, Survey. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 10: 141–142.
- Dagan, Y. 1992c. *Archaeological Survey of Israel, Map of Lakhish (98)*. Jerusalem.
- Dagan, Y. 1993. Bet Shemesh and Nes Harim Maps, Survey. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 13: 94–95.
- Dagan, Y. 1996. Cities of the Judean Shephelah and Their Division into Districts Based on Joshua 16. *EI* 25 (Aviram Vol.): 136–146 (Hebrew with English summary).
- Dagan, Y. 1998. The Ramat Bet Shemesh Excavation Project (Stage A). *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 17: 83–85.
- Dagan, Y. 2004. Results of the Survey: Settlement Patterns in the Lachish Region. In: Ussishkin, D., ed. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 22). Tel Aviv: 2672–2690.
- Dagan, Y. 2006. *Archaeological Survey of Israel, Map of Amazyia (109)*. Jerusalem.
- Dagan, Y., ed. Forthcoming a. *Ramat Bet Shemesh: Landscapes of Settlement, from Paleolithic Times to the Ottoman Period*, Vol. 1 (IAA Reports). Jerusalem.
- Dagan, Y., ed. Forthcoming b. *Ramat Bet Shemesh: Landscapes of Settlement, from Paleolithic Times to the Ottoman Period*, Vol. 2. *The Gazetteer* (IAA Reports). Jerusalem.
- Eisenberg, E. and Sakler, D. Forthcoming. Excavations at Nahal Yarmut [48] Site No. 214. In: Dagan, Y., ed. *Ramat Bet Shemesh: Landscapes of Settlement, from Paleolithic Times to the Ottoman Period*, Vol. 3. *The Excavations* (IAA Reports). Jerusalem.
- Garfinkel, Y. and Ganor, S. 2008a. Khirbet Qeiyafa: Sha'arayim. *The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*, Vol. 8: Article 22.
- Garfinkel, Y. and Ganor, S. 2008b. Khirbet Qeiyafa, 2007–2008. Notes and News. *IEJ* 58: 243–248.
- Garfinkel, Y. and Ganor, S. 2008c. Khirbet Qeiyafa—An Early Iron Age II Fortified City on the Border between Judaea and Philistia. In: Amit, D. and Stiebel, G.D., eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region*. Jerusalem: 122–133 (Hebrew).
- Garfinkel, Y. and Ganor, S. 2009. A Fortified City from King David's Time—Answers and Questions—at Khirbet Qeiyafa. *Biblical Archaeology Review* 35: 38–43.
- Guérin, M.V. 1869. *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine. Judée*, Vols. 1–3. Paris.
- Kuschke, A. 1971. Kleine Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Stämme Asser und Juda. *Harvard Theological Review* 61: 291–313.
- Magen, Y. 2008. *Mount Gerizim Excavations, A Temple City* (Judea and Samaria Publications 8). Jerusalem.
- Na'aman, N. 1991. The Kingdom of Judah under Josiah. *Tel Aviv* 18: 3–71.
- Na'aman, N. 2008a. In Search of the Ancient Name of Khirbet Qeiyafa. *The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*, Vol. 8: Article 21.

- Na'aman, N. 2008b. Shaaraim—The Gateway to the Kingdom of Judah. *The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*, Vol. 8: Article 24.
- Rainey, A.F. 1975. The Identification of Philistine Gath—A Problem in Source Analysis for Historical Geography. *EI* 12 (Glueck Vol.): 63*–76*.
- Rainey, A.F. 1982 Sha'arayim. In: Tadmor, H., ed. *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Vol. 8: 244. Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- Tufnell, O. et al. 1953. *Lachish III: The Iron Age*. (Text and Plates). London.
- Yalkut Hapirsumim* 1964. Yalkut Hapirsumim 1091 (Listing of Archaeological Sites, updated to 1999). In: *Reshumot (Official Gazette of the State of Israel)*. Jerusalem (Hebrew with English Index of Sites).