



Endnotes for *Locating Bethel: What Does the Evidence Tell Us?*

Winter 2019 *Bible and Spade*

Notes

¹ See [http://www.biblearchaeology.org/post/2009/07/12/A-History-of-ABR-Its-Founders-and-Associates-\(1969-1994\).aspx](http://www.biblearchaeology.org/post/2009/07/12/A-History-of-ABR-Its-Founders-and-Associates-(1969-1994).aspx).

² Elliott, Charles B., *Travels in the Three Great Empires of Austria, Russia, and Turkey* 2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1838), 411–12.

³ Robinson, Edward, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petrea: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838* 2 (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1841), 125–27, 130.

⁴ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, 128.

⁵ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, 127. The identification of Beitin as Bethel is accepted by nearly all scholars, to the point that if one wishes to look up Beitin in an archaeological dictionary or encyclopedia, one must look under “Bethel,” with the exception of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. See William G. Dever, “Beitin, Tell” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* 1, ed. David N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 651–52.

⁶ Miller, J. Maxwell, “Site Identification: A Problem Area in Contemporary Biblical Scholarship,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 99 (1983), 119–20; idem. “Biblical Maps: How Reliable are They?” *Bible Review* 3.4 (1987), 32–41 (34); Rainey, Anson F., “Looking for Bethel: An Exercise in Historical Geography” in *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever*, eds. Seymour Gitin, J. Edward Wright and J.P. Dessel (Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 270–73.

⁷ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, 127–28.

⁸ The Roman road system in Judaea was maintained from the first century until the mid-eighth century. See Israel Roll, “The Roads in Roman-Byzantine Palaestina and Arabia” in *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea, Palaestina: Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods: Maps and Gazetteer*, by Yoram Tsafrir, Lea Segni and Judith Green (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994), 108–13 (109, 112).

⁹ Freeman-Grenville, Greville S.P., “The Onomasticon of Eusebius of Caesarea and The Liber Locorum of Jerome” in *Palestine in the Fourth Century A.D.: The Onomasticon by Eusebius of Caesarea*, by Greville S.P. Freeman-Grenville, Rupert L. Chapman III and Joan E. Taylor (Jerusalem: Carta, 2003), 10–98 (30); Chapman, Rupert III, and Taylor, Joan E., “Excursus II: Distances Used by Eusebius and the Identification of Sites” in *Palestine in the Fourth Century A.D.: The Onomasticon by Eusebius of Caesarea*, by Greville S.P. Freeman-Grenville, Rupert L. Chapman III and Joan E. Taylor (Jerusalem: Carta, 2003), 175–84 (175–77).

- ¹⁰ Robinson, Edward, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions: A Journal of Travels in the Years 1838 & 1852* by Edward Robinson, Eli Smith and Others (London: J. Murray, 1856), 635.
- ¹¹ The exact length of a Roman mile at the time of Eusebius is not precisely known. It is estimated to be between 4,839 and 4,859 ft, or 0.916 to 0.920 mi (Chapman and Taylor, “Excursus II,” 175).
- ¹² David was the first to challenge the identification of Beitin as Bethel. See “Location of Biblical Bethel and Ai Reconsidered,” *Westminster Theological Journal* 33: 20–44 (1970), available online at <http://www.biblearchaeology.org/post/2009/06/25/Location-of-Biblical-Bethel-and-Ai-Reconsidered.aspx>; also “Further Considerations on the Location of Bethel at el-Bireh,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 126 (1994), 154–59.
- ¹³ Livingston, “Location,” 34; 35, n. 55; and 37, n. 63.
- ¹⁴ Milestone five appears to have been moved from its original position. See the discussion in the milestone table.
- ¹⁵ Livingston, “Further Considerations,” 155.
- ¹⁶ Rainey, Anson F., “Bethel is Still Beitin,” *Westminster Theological Journal* 33 (1971), 175–88 (185); Chapman and Taylor, “Excursus II,” 176.
- ¹⁷ Rainey, “Looking for Bethel,” 271.
- ¹⁸ Chapman and Taylor, “Excursus II,” 176.
- ¹⁹ Freeman-Grenville, “Onomasticon,” 41.
- ²⁰ Palestine Exploration Fund, *Map of Western Palestine in 26 Sheets from Surveys Conducted for The Committee of the Palestine Fund by Lieutenants C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchner, R.E., During the Years 1872–1877* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1880).
- ²¹ Chapman and Taylor suggested that a track shown on Survey Sheet 17 (Palestine Exploration Fund 1880) going south-southwest from el-Bira to Gabaon is approximately 4 rm in length (Chapman and Taylor, “Excursus II,” 177). The straight-line distance between el-Bira and Gibeon, however, is 7.0 km on the Israeli 1:50,000 map, or 4.7 rm, making the distance along the indirect route of the track ca. 5 rm.
- ²² Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, 128.
- ²³ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, 128, note 1.
- ²⁴ Rainey, “Looking for Bethel,” 270.
- ²⁵ (1972: 276)
- ²⁶ Rainey, “Looking for Bethel,” 270.
- ²⁷ Rainey, “Looking for Bethel,” 270.
- ²⁸ Rainey, “Looking for Bethel,” 270.
- ²⁹ Jos 7:2; see Conder, Claude R., “*Tent Work in Palestine: A Record of Discovery and Adventure 2*” (London: Bently, 1879), 335; idem. “The Mountains of Judah and Ephraim” in *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt* 1, ed. Charles W. Wilson (London: J.S. Virtue, 1881), 193–238 (221).
- ³⁰ See Avraham Biran, *Biblical Dan* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion), 1994; also Jonathan Greer, “Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance,” *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* (Leiden: Brill), 2013.

³¹ Albright, William F., “The Site of Bethel and Its Identification” in *The Excavation of Bethel (1934–1960)*, by James L. Kelso. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 39, ed. James L. Swauger (Cambridge MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1968), 1–3.

³² Rainey, “Looking for Bethel,” 269.

³³ Albright, William F., “A Trial Excavation in the Mound of Bethel,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 29 (1928), 9–11.

³⁴ Kelso, James L., “The Excavation of Bethel (1934–1960),” *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 39, ed. James L. Swauger (Cambridge MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1968), 4–7.

³⁵ Albright, William F., “The Kyle Memorial Excavation at Bethel,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 56 (1934), 2–15 (3).

³⁶ Kelso, “Excavation of Bethel,” 4, 50–51.

³⁷ Dever, William G., “Bethel” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* 1, ed. Eric M. Meyers (New York: Oxford, 1997), 300–301.

³⁸ Finkelstein, Israel, and Singer-Avitz, Lily, “Reevaluating Bethel *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 125 (2009), 33–48 (45).

³⁹ Beitin is more likely Beth Aven, See Bryant G. Wood, “Beth Aven: A Scholarly Conundrum” in *Bible and Spade* 12 (1999), 101–108. Available online at <http://www.biblearchaeology.org/post/2008/04/01/Beth-Aven-A-Scholarly-Conundrum.aspx>.

⁴⁰ Livingston, “Location,” 41–43; “Further Considerations,” 157–58.

⁴¹ Livingston, “Further Considerations,” 159.

⁴² Finkelstein, Israel; Lederman, Zvi; and Bunimovitz, Shlomo, “Highlands of Many Cultures: The Southern Samaria Survey, the Sites,” *Monograph Series 14* (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, 1997), 512.

⁴³ Kallai, Zecharia, “The Land of Benjamin and Mt. Ephraim” in *Judea, Samaria and the Golan: Archaeological Survey 1967–1968*, ed. Moshe Kochavi (Jerusalem: Carta, 1972), 153–95 (178).

⁴⁴ Benvenisti, Meron, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), 318.

⁴⁵ Bernard, John H., trans. “Extracts from Eusebius’s Life of Constantine,” *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society* 1, No. 1 (London: Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 1896), 26.

⁴⁶ Stewart, Aubrey, trans. “Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem: ‘The Bordeaux Pilgrim’ (333 A.D.),” *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society* 1, No. 2 (London: Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 1896), 19.

⁴⁷ Dean, James E., *Epiphanius’ Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), 75.

⁴⁸ Freeman-Grenville, “Onomasticon,” 30.

⁴⁹ Bernard, John H., trans. “Theodosius (A.D. 530),” *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society* 2, No. 3 (London: Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 1893), 7.

⁵⁰ Stewart, Aubrey, trans. “Description of the Holy Land by John of Würzburg (A.D. 1160–1170),” *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society* 5, No. 2 (London: Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 1896), x.

⁵¹ Stewart, “Description,” 14.

⁵² Benvenisti, *Crusaders*, 223–24.

⁵³ Stewart, Aubrey, trans. “Anonymous Pilgrims, I.–VIII (11th and 12th Centuries),” *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society* 6, No. 1 (London: Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 1894), 22.

⁵⁴ Stewart, “Anonymous Pilgrims,” 36.

⁵⁵ Quoting Jerome; Stewart, Aubrey, trans. “Burchard of Mount Sion (A.D. 1280),” *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society* 12, No. 1 (London: Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 1896), 61.

⁵⁶ Adler, Elkan N., *Jewish Travellers in the Middle Ages: 19 Firsthand Accounts* (New York: Dover, 1987), 130.

⁵⁷ Scholem, Gershom, “The Book of the Way to Jerusalem Attributed to R. Isaac Hilo—A Forgery?” (Heb.), *Zion* 6 (1933), 39–53, 220–21; see

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isaac_Chelo, accessed November 4, 2018.

⁵⁸ Grant, Elihu, “Ramallah: Signs of the Early Occupation of This and Other Sites,” *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 58 (1926), 186–95 (189, 192).

⁵⁹ See <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Bireh>, accessed August 15, 2018.

⁶⁰ Recent population numbers for el-Bira and Beitin are presented in the table below.

Year	el-Bira	Beitin	Ratio
1922	1,479	446	3:1
1931	2,292	566	4:1
1945	2,920	690	4:1
1961	14,510	1,017	14:1
1997	27,856	1,510	18:1
2007	40,680	2,143	19:1

* data obtained from http://www.palestineremembered.com/GeoPoints/al_Bira_1005 and <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beitin>, accessed August 15, 2018

⁶¹ Modified combination of Plates 6 and 7 in Paul Palmer and Hermann Guthe, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madeba im Auftrage des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas* (Leipzig: Baedeker, 1906).

⁶² Modified segment of map 50 in Barry Beitzel, *The Moody Atlas of Bible Lands* (Chicago: Moody, 1985).

The following old style author-date system references are provided for all Roman Milestones citations given on page 6 and for the map on page 7.

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