

GRAVES

THE *ARCHAEOLOGY* OF THE OLD TESTAMENT



THE  
**ARCHAEOLOGY**  
OF THE OLD  
TESTAMENT

115 DISCOVERIES  
THAT SUPPORT  
THE RELIABILITY  
OF THE BIBLE



**DAVID E. GRAVES**

Features over 165 Photographs, Charts, and Maps



*THE*  
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*OF THE OLD*  
**TESTAMENT**



*115 DISCOVERIES THAT SUPPORT  
THE RELIABILITY OF THE BIBLE*

David E. Graves, Ph.D.



Moncton, New Brunswick, Canada.

2019

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Front Page top: Tall el-Hammam that is believed to be the biblical city of Sodom and the NT city of Liviás. Photo by David E. Graves

Top Left: Relief of Assyrian King Sennacherib, 705–681 BC, (2 Kgs 18:13; Isa 36:1; 37:17, and 2 Chron 32:1) from the walls of the Temple of Nabu in the city of Khorsabad (Dur-Sherrukin), the capital of the Assyrian Empire. Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago, IL. Photo by David E. Graves.

Bottom Right: Iron age oil lamp from the time of Solomon (ca. 750 BC). Photo by David E. Graves.

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**Maps and Charts**

By David E. Graves

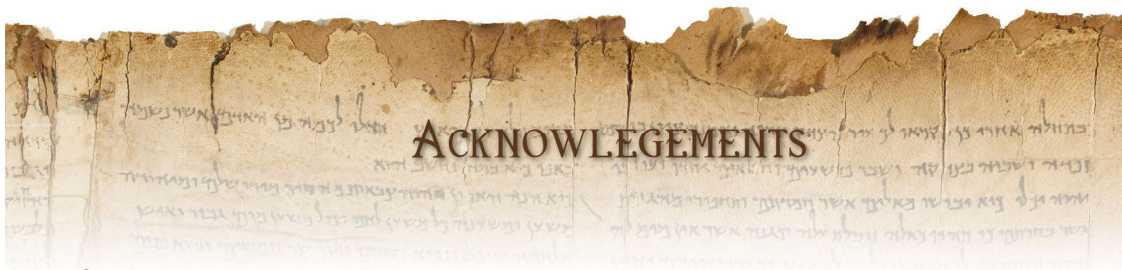
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**Printed in the United States of America.**

*To my grandchildren  
Jack, Daniel and Hannah*

*May you find this book to be a blessing  
as it was for me to write it for you.*

*Intentionally Left Blank*



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*Sola Deo Gloria*

2019

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## ABBREVIATIONS

This work will conform to the abbreviations and general format conventions set out by *The SBL Handbook of Style: for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical and Early Christian Studies* by Patrick H. Alexander, et al. eds. second printing (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002) for general literary conventions, Bible translations, biblical books, Dead Sea scrolls, pseudepigraphical, early patristic books, targumic material, *Mishnah*, Talmud, other Rabbinic works, *Nag Hammadi* tractates, commonly used periodicals, reference works and serials. Unless otherwise indicated the references to the works of ancient sources reflect the Latin abbreviations and the Loeb Classical Library (LCL) numbering system found at <https://www.hup.harvard.edu/collection.php?cpk=1031>. Books listed in the abbreviations are not included in the bibliography unless they are quoted in the text. Note that there are several spelling variations for most sites especially as used by early explorers, since they spell the Arabic words as they sound.

§	section
1 En.	1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)
11Q5	Psalms, 11QPs <sup>a</sup> Sanders, <i>The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11</i> . DJD 4. (1965).
1QapGen	Excavated frags. from cave col. XXI (frag. pulled from side of scroll).
1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	<i>The Great Isaiah Scroll</i> . Kutscher, <i>The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll: I QIsaa</i> . (1974).
1QIsa <sup>b</sup>	Isaiah <sup>b</sup> Scroll. Kutscher, <i>The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll: I QIsaa</i> . (1974).
3 Bar.	3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse) APOT
3Q15	<i>The Copper Scroll</i> . Milik, de Vaux, and Baillet eds. <i>Les "petites grottes" de Qumrân</i> . DJD 3, (1962)
4Q175	4QTest; <i>Testimonia</i> from Qumran Cave 4 (Allegro, DJD 5, 1968)
4Q242	4QPrNab, Collins, et al. <i>Qumran Cave 4: XVII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 3</i> . DJD 22 (1997)
4Q267	Dd 106, Baumgarten, Joseph M., ed. <i>Qumran Cave 4: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)</i> . DJD 18. pls. XVIII–XXI (1996)
4Q41	Deut <sup>n</sup> Ulrich, Cross, and Crawford, eds. <i>Qumran Cave 4: IX. Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings</i> . DJD 14 (1999).
A.J.	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates judaicae</i> , <i>Jewish Antiquities</i> , LCL 242, 281, 365, 410, 433, 456, 489
AASOR	<i>The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
ÄAT	<i>Ägypten und Altes Testament</i>
AB	The Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary</i> . 6 vols. Edited by Freedman, David Noel, Gary A. Herion, David F. Graf, and John David Pleins. New York: Doubleday, 1996.
ABR	The Associates for Biblical Research
Abr.	Philo, <i>De Abrahamo</i> , <i>A Treatise on the Life of the Wise Man Made Perfect by Instruction or, On the Unwritten Law, That Is To Say, On Abraham</i> , LCL 289
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
AEHL	<i>Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . Edited by Michael Avi-Yonah, and Ephraim Stern. 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed. 4 vols. New York: Prentice Hall, 1996.
AEL	<i>Ancient Egyptian Literature</i> . Miriam Lichtheim. 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. 3 vols. Berkeley: University of California



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	Press, 2006. Vol. 1: <i>The Old and Middle Kingdoms</i> ; Vol.: <i>The New Kingdom</i> ; Vol. 3: <i>Late Period</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJSL	<i>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
Akk.	Akkadian
AMitI	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANE	ancient Near East (Eastern)
ANEP <sup>2</sup>	<i>The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament</i> . 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. Edited by James B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Edited by James B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
ANETP	<i>The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures</i> . Edited by James B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AO	Der Alte Orient
APOT	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> . 2 vols. Edited by Robert H. Charles, Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ATT	Ancient Texts and Translations
AuOr	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
b.	(before rabb. txt.) Babylonian Talmud, Rodkinson, ed. <i>New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Original Text</i> (1918)
BA	<i>The Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BAS	Biblical Archaeology Society
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BBRSup	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplement</i>
BDB	Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996.
BeD	Bâb edh-Dhrâ‘
Bell. Van.	Procopius, <i>de bello Vandalio, Vandal War</i> , LCL 81
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BO	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BP	Before Present
BRB	<i>Biblical Research Bulletin</i>
BRRSup	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplement</i>
BS	<i>Bible and Spade</i>
BSac	<i>Bibliotheca sacra</i>
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BZAW	<i>Beihfte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ca.	Lat. <i>circa</i> , “around, about.”

CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
cal BP	calibrated years before the present
cent.	century
ch.	chapter (s)
CHB	<i>The Cambridge History of the Bible</i> . Edited by Peter R. Ackroyd, Craig F. Evans, S. L. Greenslade, and G. W. Lampe. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
<i>Congr.</i>	Philo, <i>De congressu rationis gratia, On Mating with the Preliminary Studies</i> LCL 261
COS	<i>The Context of Scripture: Archival Documents from the Biblical World</i> . Edited by William W. Hallo, and K. Lawson Younger. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill Academic, 2002.
CPJ	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> . Edited by Victor A. Tcherikover. 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
EAEHL	<i>Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . Edited by Michael Avi-Yonah and Ephraim Stern. 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed. 4 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Massada Press, 1996.
EB	Early Bronze
EBA	Early Bronze Age
ed(s).	editor(s), edited by
EDB	<i>Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman, Allen C. Myers, and Astrid B. Beck. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
<i>EncJud</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> . Edited by Fred Skolnik and Michael Berenbaum. 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. 22 vols. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007.
ESV	English Standard Version
<i>et al.</i>	<i>et alii</i> , and others
etc.	<i>et cetera</i> , and the rest
ETS	Evangelical Theological Society
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>The Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>The Expository Times</i>
FAT	<i>Forschungen zum Alten Testament</i>
Gr.	Greek
Heb.	Hebrew
<i>Hist.</i>	Herodotus. <i>Historiae, The Histories of the Persian Wars</i> . LCL 117, 119, 120
HSS	<i>Harvard Semitic Studies</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
IDB	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by George A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1984.
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IMJ</i>	<i>Israel Museum Journal</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
IOMS	International Organization for Masoretic Studies

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ISBE <sup>2</sup>	<i>The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia</i> . Revised. Edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 4 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995.
IVP	Inter-Varsity Press
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBQ	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JE	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> . Edited by Isidore Singer, Cyrus Adler, Gotthard Deutsch, Kaufmann Kohler, and Emil G. Hirsch. 12 vols. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1906.
JEA	<i>The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
JHebS	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JPOS	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i>
JQR	<i>The Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Jub.	<i>Jubilees ca. 200–150 BC APOT</i>
Kh.	Khirbet
KJV	King James Version
km	kilometer
Lat.	Latin
LB	Late Bronze
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LXX	The Septuagint (the Greek OT)
m	meter
<i>m.</i>	<i>The Mishnah</i> (ed. Eugene J. Lipman)
<i>m. Sanh.</i>	<i>Mishnah tractate Sanhedrin</i>
MB	Middle Bronze
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MesB	<i>Mesopotamia and the Bible: Comparative Explorations</i> . Edited by Mark W. Chavalas, and K. Lawson Younger. JSOTSup 341. London: T&T Clark, 2003.
METU	<i>Middle East Technical University Journal of the Faculty of Architecture</i>
MT	Masoretic Text
NCE	<i>The New Catholic Encyclopedia</i> . Edited by Thomas Carson. 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. 15 vols. Detroit, MI: Gale, 2003.
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>

NEAEHL	<i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . Edited by Ephraim Stern. 4 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta ; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993.
NEAS	Near East Archaeological Society
NEASB	<i>Near East Archaeological Society Bulletin</i>
NIDBA	<i>The New International Dictionary of Biblical Archaeology</i> . Edited by Edward M. Blaiklock, and R. K. Harrison. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987.
NIV	New International Version
NT	New Testament
OBO	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>
OEANE	<i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East</i> . Edited by Eric M. Meyers. 5 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago
op. cit.	<i>opere citato</i> = in the work cited earlier
OT	Old Testament
<i>OlSt</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund
PEFSt.	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
PTR	<i>Princeton Theological Review</i>
r.	ruled
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
SBL	Society for Biblical Literature
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World Series
<i>sic</i>	“so, thus, in this manner” meaning the error was in the original
SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
<i>Somn. 1, 2</i>	Philo, <i>De somniis</i> I, II, <i>On Dreams 1 and 2</i> . LCL 275
SST	southern Sodom theory
TeH	Tall el-Ḥammâm or Tall al-Hammâm
TeHEP	Tall el-Ḥammâm Exploration Project
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> . Edited by Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977–
TSU	Trinity Southwest University
TWOT	<i>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke. 2 vols. Chicago: Moody, 1980.
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit Forschungen</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	<i>Supplements to Vetus Testamentum</i>
WDBA	<i>Wycliffe Dictionary of Biblical Archaeology</i> . Edited by Charles F. Pfeiffer. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000.
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>

## THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZEB	<i>The Zondervan Encyclopedia of the Bible: Revised Full-Color Edition</i> . Revised. Edited by Merrill C. Tenney, and Moises Silva. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009.
ZPEB	<i>Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible</i> . Revised, Full-Color Edition. Edited by Merrill C. Tenney, and Moisés Silva. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009.



**W**e live in a time when an unprecedented number of excavations are happening in the Lands of the Bible, producing fascinating research and discoveries. Never before have so many new sites been opened and artifacts and inscriptions brought to the attention of the world. While there have been many exciting discoveries made in the past by famous archaeologists such as Petrie, Rawlinson, Layard, Woolley, Kenyon, and others, many new discoveries have surfaced in recent years that directly relate to the Old Testament (OT) text. These new discoveries needed a voice and venue to make them accessible to non-specialist students.

My interest in archaeology goes back over 35 years (1979) to my first archaeology course while a student at Ontario Bible College (now Tyndale University College and Seminary). Since that time I have had the privilege to teach archaeology in various settings to undergraduate students, travel through the lands of the Bible and visit first hand many archaeological sites. In addition I have worked as a square and field supervisor at the Tall el-Hammâm Excavation Project, Jordan since 2009, uncovering artifacts in the Chalcolithic, Early Bronze, Middle Bronze, Iron Age and Roman Byzantine periods. During this time I closely followed, with interest, the new discoveries that have been made. What I observed is that, unfortunately, the modern media does not normally present the facts relevant to new archaeological discoveries of the Bible, and “revisionist” scholars seek to undermine and downplay the relevance of many of the discoveries. For the minimalists, Sodom never existed, the Exodus never happened, Jericho never fell to the Israelites, and David was never a great king. But so often the archaeological material essential for a meaningful dialogue over the reliability of the Bible is confined to academic journals and conference papers.

I had previously published two volumes on Biblical archaeology, but the first volume only considered artifacts discovered in the last 20 years and the second volume presented the older discoveries (100 years) and both covered the entire Bible. While there are many good older works on biblical archaeology that cover the whole Bible in one volume available on the market, few dealt with Old Testament in one volume. This book was born out of necessity and a desire to deliver an accessible single-volume work for approaching up-to-date research in Old Testament archaeology.

The discoveries presented in this work, are not meant to be an exhaustive treatment of the subject, nor presented as a technical discussion and the final conclusion of archaeological research. As with all archaeological investigations, many of the conclusions are ongoing. However, they are presented here in a summary introduction for undergraduate students to appreciate the availability of relevant discoveries and some of the possible implications for understanding the Old Testament text. Some of the most significant and promising finds have been selected to demonstrate the historical reliability of the people and events of the Bible. This work is intended to fill the void in providing an accessible and collective work on the subject of Old Testament archaeology and the reliability of the Bible.

The advantage of such a volume is that it provides a collective source of material for readers that would otherwise be inaccessible. Of help for the reader are 175 photographs, charts, timelines, maps, and a glossary, which will facilitate the difficult task of understanding the

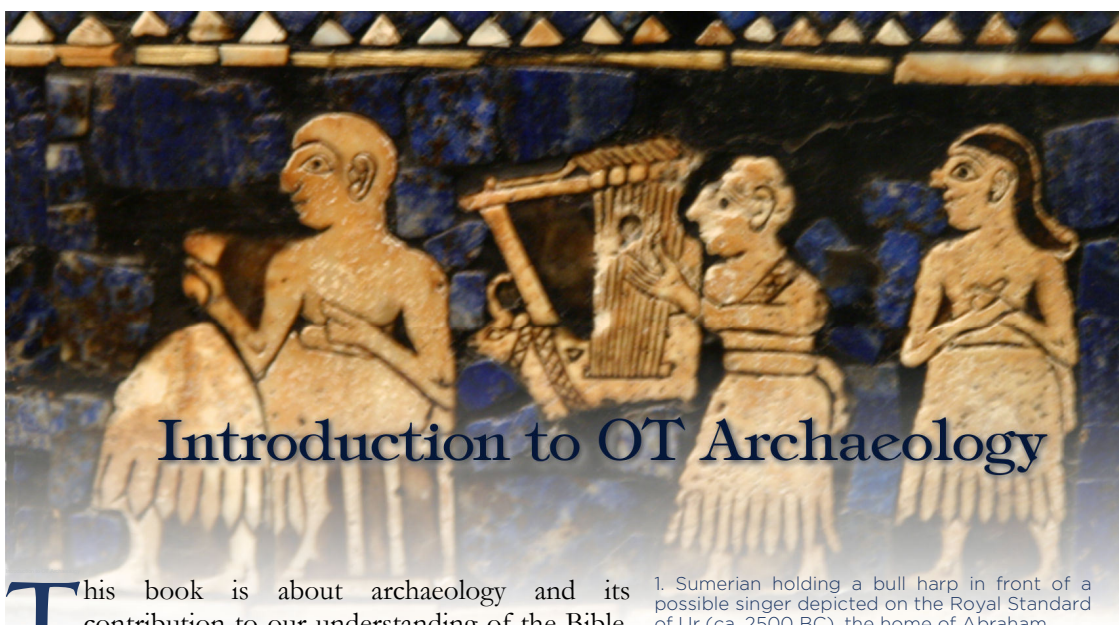
## THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

unfamiliar lands of the Bible. Numerous footnotes and an academic bibliography are provided to give students the tools for doing further research. It is my hope that those who use this work will find it useful and develop a love and passion, like the author, for the fascinating field of biblical archaeology. Students can read the Bible with confidence that the details of its geography and facts are accurate and be encouraged in their faith that the Bible is reliable.

The archaeological dates (i.e., EB1, IB1, MB2, or LB2A) represented in the New Chronology (see Chart 1 and 2) will be used throughout the work, although the old dating system (i.e., EB I, EB IV, MB II, etc) will be used when dealing with works that refer to the older dating system.

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August 10, 2019*





## Introduction to OT Archaeology

**T**his book is about archaeology and its contribution to our understanding of the Bible.

The word “archaeology” conjures up many romantic images of what this discipline is all about. The Hollywood-inspired image of Indiana Jones is often what comes to mind; but this is far from reality!

1. Sumerian holding a bull harp in front of a possible singer depicted on the Royal Standard of Ur (ca. 2500 BC), the home of Abraham.

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I once asked a family: “What’s the different between me and Indiana Jones? They all thought for a moment and then one young boy spoke up and said.... “you don’t carry a gun”. While it is true that archaeologists do not need to carry a gun, they often do have armed tourist police present on site, especially if they are working in the Middle East. The answer to the question however is Jones worked alone (although usually with a beautiful lady), while we work as a team. Nevertheless, we all wear hats like Jones to be protected from the hot sun!

Because there are many misconceptions about archaeology and archaeologists, this introduction will provide a basic overview of the discipline and lay a foundation for the discoveries to follow in the remaining chapters.

### UNDERSTANDING DATES IN OT ARCHAEOLOGY

While there are some dates given in the Bible (i.e., third reign of King...), these are not presented according to modern calendars, and few period benchmarks from before the Iron Age I period. The first Pharaoh mentioned in the Bible is Sheshonq (Shishak) in 1 Kings 11:40 (see Chart 3) who invaded Palestine in 925 BC (1 Kgs 14:25). The chronological dates are derived from correlating the biblical chronology with other extrabiblical data (i.e., Assyrian, Hittite, Egyptian, Babylonian, etc.) and modern conventional dates.

### Approach to Numbers

One issue that affects chronology is the set of different methods used when handling biblical numbers. Some conservative scholars propose a literal chronology using base-10 hard numbers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bryant G. Wood, “Locating Sodom: A Critique of the Northern Proposal,” *BS* 20, no. 3 (2007): 81; Eugene H. Merrill, *Kingdom of Priests: A History of Old Testament Israel*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 83–96; “Fixed Dates in Patriarchal Chronology,” *BSac* 137, no. 547 (1980): 241–51; “Texts, Talls, and Old Testament Chronology: Tall el-Hammam as a Case Study,”