

GRAVES

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT



THE
ARCHAEOLOGY
OF THE NEW
TESTAMENT

75 DISCOVERIES
THAT SUPPORT
THE RELIABILITY
OF THE BIBLE



DAVID E. GRAVES

Features over 165 Photographs, Charts, and Maps



THE
ARCHAEOLOGY
OF THE NEW
TESTAMENT



*75 DISCOVERIES THAT SUPPORT
THE RELIABILITY OF THE BIBLE*

David E. Graves, Ph.D.

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Front Left: Bronze reproduction of the bust of Hadrian. Tower of David Museum, Israel. © David E. Graves

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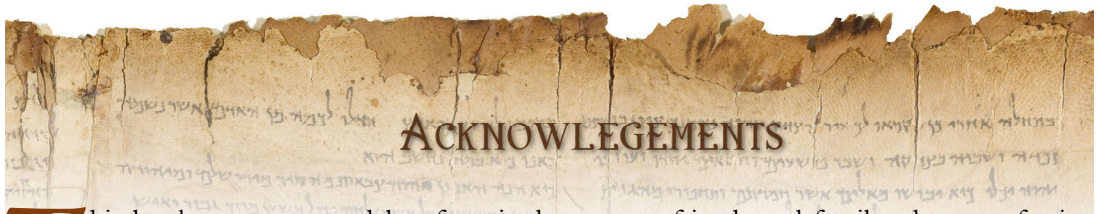
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*To my grandchildren
Jack, Daniel and Hannah*



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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 (LDL) numbering system found at <https://www.hup.harvard.edu/collection.php?cpl=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.

1 Clem.	1 Clement
1 En.	1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)
1 Macc	1 st Book of Maccabees (<i>Apoc.</i>)
1QS	<i>Serek ha-Yahad</i> or <i>Rule of the Community</i> , Manual of Discipline, Trever, John C. <i>Scrolls from Qumran Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll the Order of the Community, the Pesher to Habakkuk</i> . Sheffield, U.K.: Sheffield Academic, 1974.
2 Bar.	2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)
2 En.	2 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)
3 Bar.	3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse)
3 En.	3 Enoch (Hebrew Apocalypse)
3Q15	<i>The Copper Scroll</i> . Milik, de Vaux, and Baillet eds. <i>Les "petites grottes" de Qumrân</i> . DJD 3, (1962).
4 Macc.	4 Maccabees
4Q186	<i>Horoscope</i> , Allegro, John M., and A. A. Anderson. Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186). DJD 5. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968, pl. XXXI.
5Q12	<i>Cairo Damascus Document</i> , (Genizah text), <i>Covenant of Damascus</i> . Baillet, M., Józef Tadeusz Milik, and Roland de Vaux, eds. <i>Les "petites grottes" de Qumrân</i> . DJD 3. Oxford: Clarendon, 1962, pl. XXXVIII.
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>
abbr.	abbreviation
ABD	Freedman, David Noel, Gary A. Herion, David F. Graf, and John David Pleins, eds. <i>The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary</i> . 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1996.
<i>Acts of John</i>	ANF 8
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers. 1946–
AD	<i>Anno Domini</i> = in the year of Our Lord
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>

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- AE* Merlin, Alfred, ed. *L'année épigraphique*. Villejuif: Collège de France, 1909–2010.
- Aen.* Virgil, *Aeneid*, LCL 63
- AESM* Archaeological Exploration of Sardis
- AF* Lightfoot, Joseph B. *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*. Edited by Michael William Holmes. 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007.
- Ag. Ap.* Josephus. *Contra Apionem, Against Apion*. LCL 186
- AGRW* Ascough, Richard S., Philip A. Harland, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds. *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012.
- AJA* *American Journal of Archaeology*
- AJEC* Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
- Alex.* Lucian of Samosata, *Alexander (Pseudomantis), Alexander the False Prophet*, LCL 162
- Anat. Admin.* Galen. *De anatomicis administrationibus, On Anatomical Procedures* (trans. Singer 1956)
- ANF* Roberts, Alexander, James Donaldson, Philip Schaff, and Henry Wace, eds. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. 10 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.
- Ann.* Tacitus, *Annales, Annals*, LCL 249, 312, 322
- ANRW* *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung* (eds. Haase and Temporini, 1972–1995)
- Anth. pal.* Lucian of Samosata, *Anthologia Palatina, Palatine Anthology, part of The Greek Anthology*, LCL 86 (trans. Paton).
- Apoc. El.* *Apocalypse of Elijah*. OTP
- Apoc. Mos.* *Apocalypse of Moses*. OTP
- Apol.* Tertullian. *Apologeticus, Apology*. ANF 3; LCL 250
- APOT* Charles, Robert H., ed. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.
- APSP* American Philosophical Society Proceedings
- AR* *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
- Arch.* Vitruvius. *De architectura, The Ten Books on Architecture*. LCL 251, 280
- AS* *Anatolian Studies*
- Ascen. Isa.* *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah 6–11* (OTP)
- ASOR* American Schools of Oriental Research
- Att.* Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum, Letters to Atticus*, LCL 7
- AUSS* *Andrews University Seminary Studies*
- AYBC* *The Anchor Yale Bible Commentaries* (40 vols. eds. Freedman et al., 1996)
- b.* (before rabb. txt.) Babylonian Talmud, Rodkinson, ed. *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Original Text* (1918)
- b. Hul.* Babylonian Talmud tractate, *Hullin*
- b. Pesah.* Babylonian Talmud tractate, *Pesahim, Pesahim* (Rodkinson, 1918).
- b. Qidd.* Babylonian Talmud tractate, *Qiddushin, Qiddushin*
- b. Sem.* Babylonian Talmud tractate, *Semahot, Semajot* or *Ebel Rabbati, Great Mourning*, (Zlotnick, 1966)
- b. Yoma* Babylonian Talmud tractate, *Yoma* (= *Kippurim*)
- b. 'Erub.* Babylonian Talmud tractate, *'Erubin, Erubin*
- B.J.* Josephus, *Bellum judaicum, Jewish War*, LCL 203, 210, 487
- BA* *The Biblical Archaeologist*

BABesch	Bulletin antieke beschaving Supplement
<i>Bacch.</i>	Plautus. <i>Bacchides, The Two Bacchises</i> . LCL 60
BAFCS	Book of Acts in Its First-Century Setting Series
<i>Balb.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Balbo</i> , LCL 447
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BARI	British Archaeological Reports International Series
<i>Barn.</i>	<i>Barnabas</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BC	Before Christ
BCAM	Fox, Robin J. Lane, ed. <i>Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC–300 AD</i> . Leiden: Brill, 2011.
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BDAG	Bauer, Walter, Frederick W. Danker, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, eds. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3 rd ed. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
<i>Bell. Cat.</i>	Sallust, <i>Bellum catalinae, War with Catiline</i> , LCL 116
<i>Bell. civ.</i>	Appian of Alexandria. <i>Bella civilia, Civil Wars</i> . LCL 4, 5
<i>Bell. Van.</i>	Procopius. <i>de bello Vandalo, Vandal War</i> . LCL 81
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BMC Ionia	<i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia in the British Museum</i> (Head, Vol. 16, 1892)
BMC Phrygia	<i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Phrygia</i> (Head, Vol. 25, 1906)
BMCRE	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> (6 vols. Mattingly, 1965)
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BrillPauly</i>	Cancik, Hubert, Helmuth Schneider, and Manfred Landfester, eds. 2006. <i>Brill's New Pauly. Antiquity Volumes Online</i> . 22 vols. Leiden: Brill. Accessed July 27, 2019. https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-pauly .
BS	<i>Bible and Spade</i>
BSac	<i>Bibliotheca sacra</i>
<i>Build.</i>	Procopius. <i>On Buildings</i> . LCL 343
Byz.	Byzantine
<i>ca.</i>	Lat. <i>circa</i> , “around, about.”
<i>Caecin.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Caecina</i> , LCL 198
CamCS	Cambridge Classical Studies
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CCS	Cincinnati Classical Studies
<i>Cels.</i>	Origen of Alexandria. <i>Contra Celsum, Against Celsus</i> . ANF 4
cent.	century
cf.	<i>conferre</i> (Lat); <i>conferer</i> (French) = compare
ch.	chapter (s)
<i>Chron.</i>	Pamphilus Eusebius, <i>Chronicon, Chronicle</i> , Fotheringham, ed. <i>The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's</i>

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- Version of the Chronicles of Eusebius* (2012)
- CIG *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (4 vols., Böeckh, , Franz, Curtius, and Kirchhoff, eds. 1828–1877).
- CIIP *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* (7 vols., eds. Ameling, Cotton, Eck, Isaac, Kushnir-Stein, Misgav, Price, and Yardeni, 2011).
- CIJ *Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum* (3 vols., ed. Frey, 1936)
- CIL *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (20 vols., ed., Mommsen, 1974)
- Civ. Augustine, *De civitate Dei, The City of God* (ed. Dyson, 1998)
- CJ *The Classical Journal*
- CKC Finegan, Jack, E. Jerry Vardaman, and Edwin M. Yamauchi, eds. *Chronos, Kairos, Christos*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989.
- Claud. Suetonius. *Lives of the Caesars, Divus Claudius, The Deified Claudius*. LCL 38
- CNG Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. www.cngcoins.com
- CNT Commentary on the New Testament Series
- Com. Theodoret. *Haereticarum fabularum compendium, Compendium of Heretical Accounts*. NPNF²
- Comm. Apoc. Victorinus of Pettau. *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (Weinrich 2012), ANF 7
- Comm. in Ep. Paul. Jerome. *Commentary on Epistles of Paul*, NPNF²
- Comm. Matt. Origen of Alexandria. *Commentary on Matthew*. ANF 9
- Cor. Demosthenes, *De corona, On the Crown*, LCL 155
- CP *Classical Philology*
- Ctes. Aeschines. *In Ctesiphonem, Against Ctesiphon*. LCL 106
- Curc. Plautus, Titus Maccius. *Curculio*. LCL 61
- DBib Hastings, James, and John A. Selbie, eds. *A Dictionary of the Bible: Dealing with Its Language, Literature and Contents Including the Biblical Theology*. 5 vols. New York: Scribner’s Sons, 1911.
- De or. Cicero. *De oratore, On the Orator*. LCL 348
- Declam. Calpurnius Flaccus. *Declamations* (Sussman, 1994)
- Deipn. Athenaeus. *Deipnosophistae, The Learned Banqueters*. LCL 204
- Descr. Pausanias. *Graeciae description, Description of Greece*. LCL 93, 172, 188
- DGRA Smith, William, William Wayte, and George Elden Marindin, eds. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. 3rd ed. 2 vols. London: Murray, 1890.
- Dig. Ulpian. *Digest of Justinian* (ed. Watson, 1998)
- DJD Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
- DJD Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
- DJG Green, Joel B., Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall, eds. *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Press, 1992.
- DNTB Evans, Craig A., and Stanley E. Porter, eds. *Dictionary of New Testament Background: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Press, 2000.
- Dom. Suetonius. *Lives of the Caesars: Domitianus, Domitian*. LCL 38
- DSS Dead Sea Scrolls
- DSS Dead Sea Scrolls
- e.g. *exempli gratia*, for example
- EAEHL Avi-Yonah, Michael, and Ephraim Stern, eds. *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. 3rd ed. 4 vols. New York: Prentice Hall, 1996.

EBC	The Expositor's Bible Commentary
ECAM	Early Christianity in Asia Minor
ed(s).	editor(s), edited by
EDEJ	Collins, John J., and Daniel C. Harlow, eds. <i>The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism</i> . Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.
EJ	Berenbaum, Michael, and Fred Skolnik, eds. <i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> . 2 nd ed. 22 vols. New York: MacMillan, 2006.
Ep.	Cyprian of Carthage. <i>Epistulae, Letters</i> . ANF 5
Ep.	Pliny the Younger. <i>Epistulae, Letters</i> . LCL 59
Ep.	Seneca. <i>Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales, Moral Essays</i> . LCL 214
Ep. Arist.	<i>The Letter of Aristeas</i>
Epb. Tale	Xenophon of Ephesus. <i>The Ephesian Tale of Anthia and Habrocomes</i> . LCL 69
Epict. diss.	Arrian. <i>Epictetus Discourses</i> . LCL 218
Epig.	Martial, Marcus Valerius. <i>Epigrammata, Epigrams</i> , LCL 94, 480
ESCJ	Studies in Christianity and Judaism/Études sur le christianisme et le judaïsme
ESV	English Standard Version
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others
etc.	<i>et cetera</i> , and the rest
ExpTim	<i>The Expository Times</i>
Fam.	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad familiares, Letters to Friends</i> , LCL 230
FiE	<i>Forschungen in Ephesos</i>
Flac.	Cicero, <i>Pro Flacco, Valerius Flaccus, In Defense of Lucius</i> , LCL 324
Flacc.	Philo. <i>In Flaccum, Against Flaccus</i> . LCL 363
Fr.	French
FrgPol.	<i>Fragments on Polycarp</i> . ANF
ft.	feet
Geogr.	Strabo. <i>Geographica, Geography</i> . LCL 50, 211, 223
Gr. Ant.	Antipater of Sidon, <i>Greek Anthology</i> (LCL 67, ed. Tueller, 2014
Gr.	Greek
Gr.P.	Rylands Papyrus
GTCEC	The Greek Testament: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary
Haer.	Irenaeus. <i>Adversus haereses, Against Heresies</i> . ANF 1
Heb.	Hebrew
Hell.	Xenophon. <i>Hellenica, Hellenic Writings</i> . LCL 88
Her.	Philo. <i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit, Who Is the Heir?</i> LCL 261
Herm. Sim.	Shepherd of Hermas. <i>Similitude</i> . ANF
Herm. Vis.	Shepherd Hermas. <i>Vision</i> . ANF
Hist.	Herodotus. <i>Historiae, The Histories of the Persian Wars</i> . LCL 117, 119, 120
Hist.	Polybius. <i>Historiae, The Histories or The Rise of the Roman Empire</i> . LCL 161
Hist. eccl.	Pamphilus Eusebius. <i>Historia ecclesiastica, Ecclesiastical History</i> . NPNF ² ; LCL 153, 265
Hist. Rom.	Dio Cassius. <i>Historia Romana, Roman History</i> . LCL 32, 175, 176
Hist. Rom.	Livy. <i>Ab Urbe Condita Libri, History of Rome</i> . LCL 133, 191
Hist. Sac.	Sulpicius Severus. <i>Historia sacra, Sacred History, or Chronica, Chronicorum Libri duo, Chronicle</i> .

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- NPNF¹
- HNT Handbuch zum neuen Testament
- Hom. Od. Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica. *Commentarii Ad Homerii Iliadem et Odysseam, Commentaries On Homer's Iliad and Odyssey* (4 vols. ed. Stallbaum, 1970)
- HTR *Harvard Theological Review*
- HTS *Harvard Theological Studies*
- Hypoth. Philo. *Hypothetica, Hypothetical Discourse. Under Fragments of Lost Works.* Yonge (2007)
- i.e. *id est*, that is
- I.Eph. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos, Inscriptions of Ephesus* (8 vols. ed. Wankel et al., 1979–1984)
- I.Laad. *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos* (ed. Corsten, 1997)
- I.Perg. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (2 Vols. Fränkel, Fabricius, and Schuchhardt. 1890–1895)
- I.Phil. *Tituli Lydiae Linguis Graeca et Latina Conscripti: Fasciculus III, Philadelpheia et Ager Philadelphenus. TAM V, 3.* (ed. Petzl, 2007)
- I.Sard. *Sardis: Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (eds. Buckler and Robinson, 1932).
- I.Thyat. *Inscriptions from Thyatira*, in Herrmann, Peter, ed. *Tituli Lydiae Linguis. TAM V, 2.* Vienna: ÖAW, 1989.
- IAA Israel Antiquities Authority
- Icar. Lucian of Samosata. *Icaromenippus, The Sky-man.* LCL 54
- IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*
- IG X 2.1 *Inscriptiones graecae X: Inscriptiones Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Scythiae. Pars II, fasc. 1: Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et viciniae* (2 vols. ed. Edson, 1972)
- IG XII 2 *Inscriptiones graecae XII: Inscriptiones Insularum Maris Aegaei Praeter Delum: 2. Inscriptiones Lesbi, Nesi, Tenedi* (ed. Paton, 1899)
- Ign. Phld. Ignatius of Antioch, *To the Philadelphians.* ANF
- IGRom Lafaye, Georges, René Cagnat, J. Toutain, and Victor Henry, eds. *Inscriptiones Graecae Ad Res Romanas Pertinentes.* 4 vols. (Paris: Leroux, 1906–1927). Vol 1: (nos. 1–1518; ed. Cagnat, Toutain, and Jouguet, 1911); Vol 2: never published; Vol 3: (ed. Cagnat and Lafaye, 1906); Vol. 4: Asia (nos. 1–1764; ed. Lafaye, 1927).
- IGSK Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
- Il. Homer. *Iliad.* LCL 171
- Inst. Commodianus, *The Instructions of Commodianus in Favour of Christian Discipline, Against the Gods of the Heathens,* ANF 3
- Int *Interpretation*
- ISBE¹ Orr, James, and Melvin Grove Kyle, eds. *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia.* 5 vols. Chicago, IL: Howard-Severance, 1939.
- ISBE² Bromiley, Geoffrey W., ed. *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia.* Revised. 4 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995.
- IVP Inter-Varsity Press
- IVPBCNT Keener, Craig S. *The IVP Bible Background Commentary: New Testament.* 2nd ed. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Press, 2004.
- JAC Jahrbuch Für Antike Und Christentum
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*
- JDAI Jahrbuch des kaiserlich-deutschen archäologischen Instituts

<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JÖAI</i>	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts
<i>JQR</i>	<i>The Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRGS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSQ</i>	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Jul.</i>	Suetonius. <i>The Lives of the Caesars: Divus Julius, Deified Julius</i> . LCL 31
<i>KJV</i>	King James Version
<i>km</i>	kilometer
<i>KZNT</i>	Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament
<i>l. c.</i>	<i>loco citato</i> , “in the place cited”
<i>Laps.</i>	Cyprian of Carthage. <i>De lapsis, Concerning the Lapsed</i> . ANF 5
<i>Lat.</i>	Latin
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library. https://www.hup.harvard.edu/collection.php?cpk=1031
<i>LEC</i>	Library of Early Christianity
<i>Leg.</i>	Cicero. <i>De legibus, On the Laws</i> . LCL 213
<i>Legat.</i>	Philo. <i>Legatio ad Gaium, On the Embassy to Gaius</i> (Yonge, trans. <i>The Works of Philo</i> , 2007). LCL 379
<i>Lex.</i>	Lucian of Samosata. <i>Lexiphanes</i> . LCL 302
<i>Lib. Mem.</i>	Ampelius, Lucius. <i>Liber Memorialis, Memorial Book</i> (trans. Assmann, 1935)
<i>loc. cit.</i>	<i>loco citato</i> , in the place cited
<i>LTQ</i>	<i>Lexington Theological Quarterly</i>
<i>Luct.</i>	Lucian. <i>De luctu, Funerals</i> . LCL 162
<i>LXX</i>	The Septuagint (the Greek OT)
<i>m</i>	meter
<i>m.</i>	<i>The Mishnah</i> (ed. Eugene J. Lipman)
<i>m. Sanh.</i>	<i>Mishnah tractate Sanhedrin</i>
<i>Macc.</i>	<i>Macchabaei, Maccabees</i>
<i>Mart. Isa.</i>	<i>Martyrdom of Isaiah</i> (Knibb, 1983)
<i>Mart. Pionii</i>	<i>Martyrdom of Pionius</i> (Musurillo, 1972)
<i>Mart. Pol.</i>	<i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i> . APF (Musurillo, 1972)
<i>MasDeut</i>	Masada Deuteronomy Scroll, (eds, Talmon and Yadin 1999)
<i>MasEzek</i>	Masada Ezekiel Scroll, (eds, Talmon and Yadin 1999)
<i>MasGen</i>	Masada Genesis Scroll, (eds, Talmon and Yadin 1999)

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MasLev	Masada Leviticus Scroll, (eds, Talmon and Yadin 1999)
MasPs	Masada Psalm Scroll, (eds, Talmon and Yadin 1999)
MasSir	Masada Sirach Scroll, (eds, Talmon and Yadin 1999)
<i>Mem.</i>	Xenophon of Ephesus. <i>Memorabilia</i> . LCL 168
<i>Merc. cond.</i>	Lucian of Samosata. <i>De mercede conductis, Salaried Posts in Great Houses</i> . LCL 130
<i>Metam.</i>	Apuleius. <i>Metamorphoses, The Golden Ass</i> . LCL 453
<i>Metam.</i>	Ovid. <i>Metamorphoses</i> . LCL 42
<i>Mid.</i>	<i>Talmud</i> tractate, <i>Middot</i>
<i>Midr.</i>	Rabbinic writing, <i>Midrash</i>
MNTC	The Moffatt New Testament Commentary
<i>Mor.</i>	Plutarch. <i>Moralia, Moral Essays</i> . LCL 245
<i>Mort.</i>	Lactantius. <i>De morte persecutorum, The Deaths of the Persecutors</i> . ANF 7
<i>Mos.</i>	Philo. <i>De vita Mosis I, II, On the Life of Moses 1, 2</i> , Trans. Yonge, <i>The Works of Philo</i> . LCL 289
<i>Nat. quaest.</i>	Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. <i>Naturales Quaestiones, Natural Questions</i> . LCL 450
<i>Nat.</i>	Pliny the Elder. <i>Naturalis historia, Natural History</i> . LCL 330, 352, 370, 394, 418, 419
<i>Nat.</i>	Tertullian. <i>Nat. Ad nations, To the Heathen</i> . ANF 3
NBD	Marshall, I. Howard, Alan R. Millard, James I. Packer, and Donald J. Wiseman, eds. <i>New Bible Dictionary</i> . 3 rd ed. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Press, 1996.
NCB	New Century Bible Commentary
NCE	<i>The New Catholic Encyclopedia</i> (eds. Carson, 15 vols. 2003)
NDSB	The New Daily Study Bible
NDT	Wright, David F., Sinclair B. Ferguson, and James I. Packer, eds. <i>New Dictionary of Theology</i> . Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1988.
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NEAEHL	Stern, Ephraim, Ayelet Levinson-Gilboa, and Joseph Aviram, eds. <i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . 5 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993.
NEASB	<i>Near East Archaeological Society Bulletin</i>
<i>Ner.</i>	Suetonius (Tranquillus). <i>Lives of the Caesars, Nero</i> . LCL 38
<i>NewDocs</i>	Horsley, Greg H. R., and Stephen R. Llewelyn, eds. <i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> . 10 vols North Ryde, NSW: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981–
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
<i>NPNF¹</i>	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series 1</i> (eds. Roberts et al. 14 vols. 1994)
<i>NPNF²</i>	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series 2</i> (eds. Roberts et al., 14 vols. 1994)
NT	New Testament
NTC	New Testament Commentary
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies

<i>NumC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
NZ	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift</i>
ÖAI	Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, Austrian Archaeological Institute
OCd	Hornblower, Simon, Anthony J. S. Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow, eds. <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . 4 th ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 2012.
<i>Oct.</i>	Marcus Minucius Felix. <i>Octavius</i> . LCL 250
<i>Odes Sol.</i>	<i>Odes of Solomon</i>
OEAGR	Gagarin, Michael, ed. <i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome</i> . 7 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
OEANE	Meyers, Eric M., ed. <i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East</i> . 5 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
OGIS	Dittenberger, Carl Friedrich Wilhelm, Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Rudolf August Hiller Von Gaertringen, Johannes E. Kirchner, Joannes Pomtow, Georg Wissowa, and Erich Ziebarth, eds. <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae: Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 3 rd ed. 4 vols. Leipzig: Nachdruck der Ausgabe, 1915.
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago
<i>On.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Onomasticon, On the Place-Names in the Holy Scripture</i> (Freeman-Grenville, and Taylor, eds. 2003 or Trans. Wolf)
<i>op. cit.</i>	Lat. <i>opere citato</i> , in the work cited
<i>Or.</i>	Dio Chrysostom. <i>Orations Discourses</i> . LCL 257, 339, 358, 376
<i>Orat.</i>	Aelius Aristides, <i>The Complete Works: Orations 1–16</i> . Translated by Charles A. Behr. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1986; <i>The Complete Works: Orations 17–53</i> . Translated by C. A. Behr. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1981.
OSRE	Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy
OT	Old Testament
OTP	Charlesworth, James H., ed. <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> 2 vols. ABRL. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1983.
P.Magd.	Magdalen Greek Papyrus
P.Mich.	Michigan University Papyri, <i>Libellus of the Decian Persecution</i> (Knipfing, trans. 1923)
P.Oxy.	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> (Grenfell and Hunt, trans. 75 vols. 1923)
<i>Paed.</i>	Clement of Alexandria. <i>Paedagogus, Christ the Educator</i> . ANF
<i>Pan.</i>	Epiphanius of Salamis, <i>Panarion (Adversus haereses), Refutation of All Heresies</i> (Williams, trans. 1993)
PD	Public Domain
PECS	Stillwell, Richard, William L. MacDonald, and Marian Holland Holland, eds. <i>The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites</i> . 2 nd ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979.
PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund
PEFSt	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>Pesiq. Rab.</i>	<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i> (ed. Ulmer 2002)
PHI	Packard Humanities Institute numbers for Greek inscriptions. Cornell University and Ohio State University. http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions
<i>Phil.</i>	Cicero. <i>Orationes philippicae, The Philippic Speeches</i> . LCL 189, 507
pls.	plates

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- Pneum.* Heron of Alexandria. *Pneumatica* (Schmidt 1976)
- Praec. ger. publ.* Plutarch. *Praecepta gerendae rei publicae, Precepts of Statecraft*. LCL 321
- Praep. Ev.* Eusebius. *Praeparatio evangelica, Preparation for the Gospel* (ed. Gifford 1981)
- Praescr.* Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum, Prescription against Heretics*, ANF 3
- Prob.* Philo. *Quod omnis probus liber sit, Good Person That Every Good Person is Free*. LCL 363
- PW* Pauly, August Friedrich, and Georg Wissowa, eds. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: New Edition*. Edited by S. Kroll. 49 vols. Stuttgart: Metzler & Druckenmüller, 1980.
- QE* Philo. *Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum I, II, Questions and Answers on Exodus 1, 2*. LCL 401
- r.* ruled
- Rab. Post.* Cicero. *Pro Rabirio Postumo, Speech in Defence of Gaius Rabirius Charged with High Treason*. LCL 198
- Rab.* *Rabbah*, rabbinic writing usually on one of the books of the Pentateuch (i.e., *Genesis Rabbah*)
- RB* *Revue Biblique*
- RE Supp* *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche Supplement*
- Resp.* Plato. *Respublica, Republic*. LCL 237
- RevExp* *Review and Expositor*
- RevQ* *Revue de Qumrân*
- Rhod.* Dio Chrysostom. *Rhodiaca (Or. 31), To the People of Rhodes*. LCL 358
- RIC* *Roman Imperial Coinage* (13 Vols. ed. Mattingly et al. 1923)
- Rosc. Amer.* Cicero. *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino, For Sextus Roscius of Ameria*. LCL 240
- RPC* Burnett, Andrew, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripollés Alegre, eds. *Roman Provincial Coinage*. 9 vols. London: British Museum Press, 2003.
- Rud.* Plautus. *Rudens, The Rope*. LCL 260
- Sat.* Seneca Petronius. *Satyricon, Satyrical*. LCL 15
- Sat.* Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius. *Saturnalia*. LCL 510
- SB* *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* (ed. Preisigke, 5 vols. 1915-1955)
- SBL* Society for Biblical Literature
- SBLSP* *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
- Schol. ad Jun.* *Scholalia on Juvenal* (ed. Wessner 1931)
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (eds. Chanotis, et al. 23 vols. 1923)
- SFSHJ* South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
- SH* Procopius of Caesarea. *The Anecdota, Secret History*. LCL 290
- Sib. Or.* *Sibylline Oracles. APOT*
- Sifra* *Sifra, The Halakic Midrash to Leviticus*, Finkelstein
- SIG* Dittenberger, Wilhelm. *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*. 3rd ed. 4 vols. Leipzig: Nachdruck der Ausgabe, 1915–1924.
- Silv.* Statius. *Silvae*. LCL 206
- Sir* Sirach/Ecclesiasticus
- SJLA* Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
- SNG van Aulock* Von Aulock, Sammlung Hans, and Gerhard Kleiner. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Vol. 1: Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Mysia, Troas, Aiolis, Lesbos, Ionia*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1957.

SNTS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SPB	<i>Studia postbiblica</i>
ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
<i>Strom.</i>	Clement of Alexandria. <i>Stromata, Miscellanies or Patchwork</i> . ANF 2, ANF 1
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
<i>T. Jud.</i>	<i>Testament of Judah, OTP</i>
<i>T. Levi</i>	<i>Testament of Levi, OTP</i>
<i>t. Menah.</i>	The <i>Talmudic</i> tractates of <i>Menahot</i> , <i>Menahot</i>
<i>t.</i>	The <i>Talmudic</i> tractates of the <i>Tosefta</i> , Goldwurm and Scherman, eds. <i>Talmud</i> . 73 vols. Schottenstein Edition (1990)
TAM V	<i>Titula Asiae Minoris, V</i> (Vol. 1, nos. 1-825; Vol. 2, nos. 826-1414, ed. Hermann 1989)
<i>Targ. Pal.</i>	The <i>Palestine Targum</i>
TB	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
TDNT	Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Abridged. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985.
<i>Theog.</i>	Hesiod. <i>Theogonia, Theogony</i> . LCL 57
<i>Thuc.</i>	Dionysius of Halicarnassus. <i>De Thucydide, On the Character of Thucydides</i> . LCL 465
<i>Tib.</i>	Suetonius (Tranquillus). <i>The Lives of the Caesars: Tiberius</i> . LCL 31
TNTC	The Tyndale New Testament Commentary
<i>Top.</i>	Theodosius. <i>De Situ Terrae Sanctae or Topografia, Topography of the Holy Land</i> (ed. Wilkinson, 2002)
TSAJ	Texte Und Studien Zum Antiken Judentum
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>Verr.</i>	Cicero. <i>In Verrem, Against Verres</i> . LCL 221
<i>Vir. ill.</i>	Jerome. <i>De viris illustribus, On Illustrious Men</i> (Halton, ed. 1999)
<i>Vit. Apoll.</i>	Flavius Philostratus. <i>De Vita Apollonii, Life of Apollonius of Tyana</i> . LCL 16, 17
<i>Vit. Soph.</i>	Philostratus, Lucius Flavius. <i>Vita Sophistarum, The Lives of the Sophists</i> . LCL 134
<i>Vita</i>	Josephus. <i>Vita, The Life</i> . LCL 186
VÖAW	Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament
ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
ZHB	Alexander, David, and Pat Alexander, eds. <i>Zondervan Handbook to the Bible</i> . 3 rd ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999.
ZIBBC	Arnold, Clinton E., ed. <i>Zondervan Illustrated Bible Backgrounds Commentary Set</i> . 4 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002.
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZPEB	Tenney, Merrill C., and Moisés Silva, eds. <i>Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible</i> . Revised, Full-Color Edition. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009.
p	papyrus



PREFACE

We 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 New Testament 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. 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 New 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 New 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 New 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 New Testament archaeology and the reliability of the Bible.

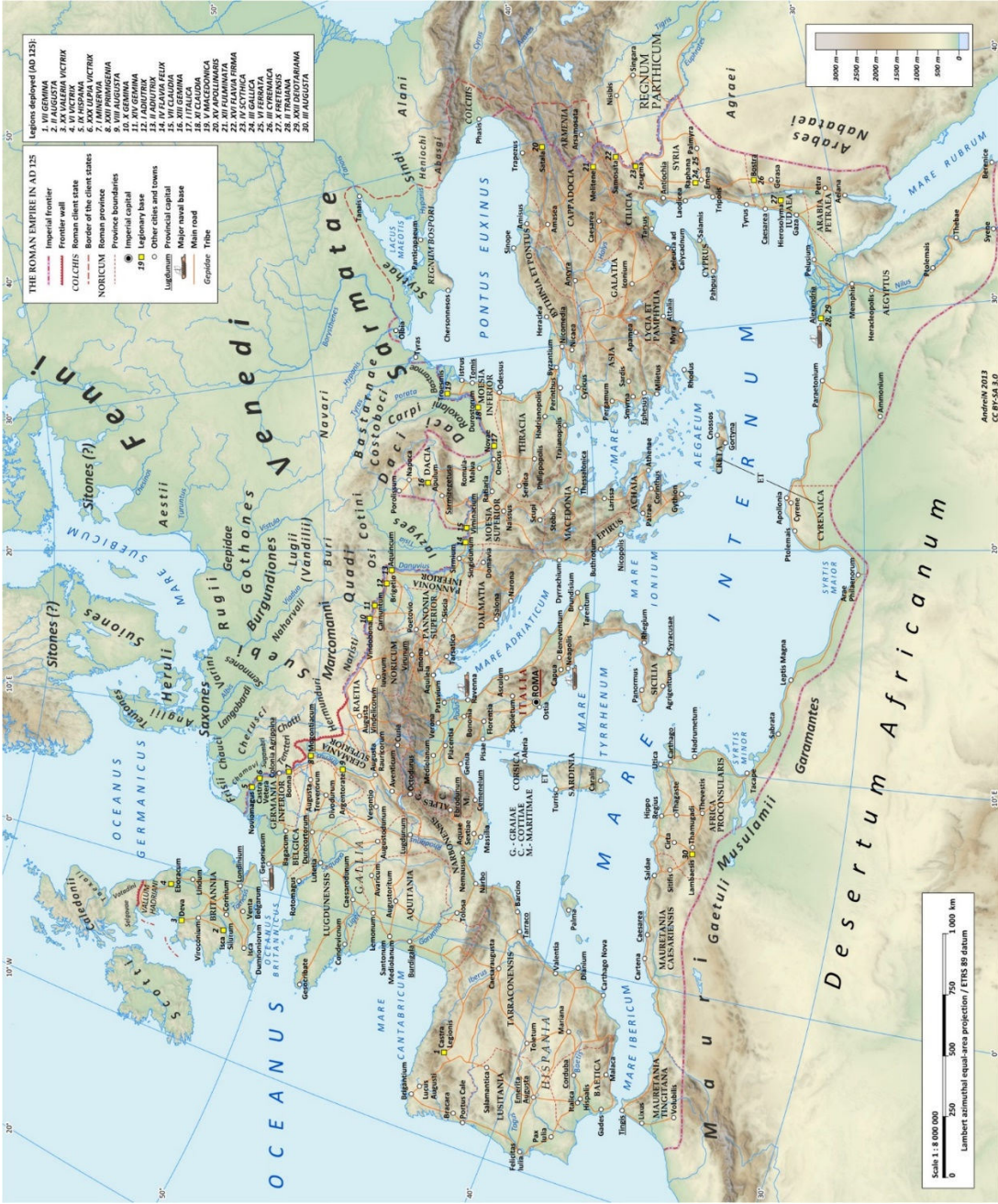
The advantage of such a volume is that it provides a collective source of material for readers that would otherwise be inaccessible. Of help for the reader are 175 photographs, charts, timelines, maps, and a glossary, which will facilitate the difficult task of understanding

PREFACE

the 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.

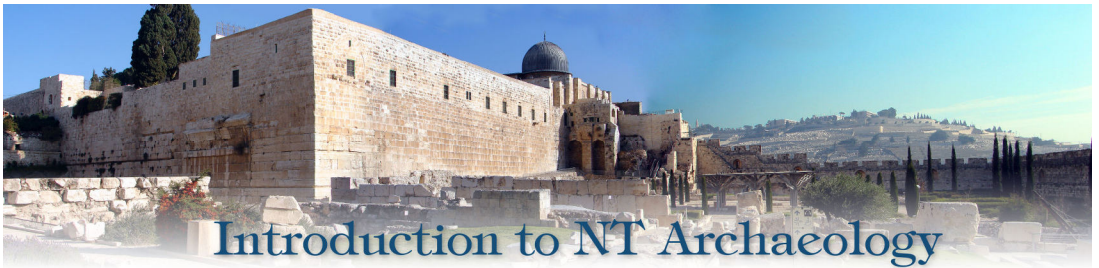
*David E. Graves, PhD
Moncton, NB, Canada
July 31, 2019*

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT



Map of the Roman Empire in 125 during the reign of emperor Hadrian.

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This book is about the archaeology of the New Testament (NT) and its contribution to our understanding of its message. This will not be an exhaustive treatment of the subject but highlights the most significant and up-to-date discoveries for the period of the NT.

1. The Temple Mount, Jerusalem, Israel. Excavations on the SE corner of the Temple Mount have revealed stonework, which may date back to the time of Zerubbabel, who led the first group to return from exile and started to rebuild the temple.

Photo by B. Crawford/Wikimedia Commons

DEFINITION OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The term “archaeology” comes from two Greek words: *arkhaios* (ἀρχαῖος) meaning old or ancient + *logos* (λόγος) meaning word, speech, or study. Thus, the Greek word *archaiologia* (ἀρχαιολογία) means the study of the material culture of past civilizations.¹ Definitions of archaeology may vary depending the presuppositions and goals of a particular archaeologist.²

While the Greek term is used by Plato (about Lacedaemonians), Thucydides (about Greece), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (about Rome), and Josephus (about Jews), it appears in English for the first time in 1607, when it is used by Bishop Hall of Norwich.

Classical Archaeology generally involves the classical sites around the Mediterranean Sea, while Near East Archaeology deals with sites in the Middle East. The term “Biblical Archaeology,” while challenged by some,³ is the discipline involved with biblical sites from these two regions. Dever prefers the term “Syro-Palestinian archaeology,”⁴ although he is still not sure what to call it.⁵ Amihai Mazar professor at the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, responds that:

“Biblical archaeology” is still a justified term for this field of inquiry. Whatever term will be used for defining the discipline, the archaeology of Palestine and that of the related countries are unique and ever increasing resources for reconstructing the social, environmental, and cultural background from which the Hebrew Bible emerged. Thus biblical archaeology, like many branches of knowledge, lends itself to changes and new contents.⁶

¹ Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson, *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 11th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v.

² Guy E. Gibbon, *Critically Reading the Theory and Methods of Archaeology: An Introductory Guide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira, 2014), 7–9.

³ In 1999 after 60 years the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) replaced the name of its journal *Biblical Archaeologist*, with the new title *Near Eastern Archaeology*.

⁴ William G. Dever, “The Impact of the ‘New Archaeology’ on Syro-Palestinian Archaeology,” *BASOR*, no. 242 (April 1, 1981): 15–29; “Retrospects and Prospects in Biblical and Syro-Palestinian Archeology,” *BA* 45, no. 2 (April 1, 1982): 103; “Syro-Palestinian and Biblical Archaeology Ca. 1945–1980,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters*, ed. Douglas A. Knight and Gene M. Tucker (Chicago, IL: Scholars Press, 1985), 31–74; *What Did the Biblical Writers Know, and When Did They Know It?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 61–62.

⁵ William G. Dever, “Whatchamacallit: Why It’s So Hard to Name Our Field,” *BAR* 29, no. 4 (2003): 56–61.

⁶ Amihai Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible: 10,000-586 B.C.E.*, vol. 1, The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 1:32–33

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

As Hoffmeier and Millard pointed out: “Biblical archaeology is interdisciplinary in nature, and thus is not Syro-Palestinian archaeology, nor Assyriology, nor a branch of such fields. Rather, its focus is on the times and places, the physical remains and written documents from across the Near East that relate to the biblical text either as background and context or by more direct contact.”⁷

McRay, retired professor of NT at Wheaton College Graduate School, agrees and points out that: “We must also bear in mind that “biblical archaeology” does not have reference to an independent discipline nor to a methodology peculiar to the Bible. Like classical archaeology, biblical archaeology exists not as a separate discipline, but as a field of inquiry within the general discipline of archaeology.”⁸

It is not merely about pottery and digging but seeks to retrace man’s footsteps into the past and recognize and understand the intersection of turf and text. The prominent biblical archaeologist and late Harvard professor, G. Ernest Wright, observed:

Biblical archaeology is a special ‘armchair’ variety of general archaeology. The Biblical Archaeologist may or may not be an archaeologist himself, but he studies the discoveries of the excavations in order to glean from every fact that throws a direct, indirect or even diffused light upon the Bible. He must be intelligently concerned with stratigraphy and typology, upon which the methodology of modern archaeology rests. . . . Yet his chief concern is not with methods or pots or weapons in themselves alone. His central and absorbing interest is the understanding and exposition of the Scriptures. The intensive study of the Biblical archaeologist is thus the fruit of the vital concern for history which the Bible has instilled in us. We cannot, therefore, assume that the knowledge of Biblical history is unessential to the faith. Biblical theology and Biblical archaeology must go hand in hand, if we are to comprehend the Bible’s meaning.⁹

UNDERSTANDING DATES IN ARCHAEOLOGY

New Testament Chronology

Birth and Death of Jesus

Luke states that Jesus lived during the rule of Caesar Augustus, and that he was the emperor of Rome from 27 BC until AD 14 (Luke 2:1). The year can further be narrowed because Herod the Great was present during the visit of the Magi at the nativity (Matt 2:1) and we know that he died in the spring of 4 BC.¹⁰ Josephus tells us that Herod died after a lunar eclipse (Josephus *A.J.* 17.6.4) and before the springtime Passover of the Jews.¹¹ Therefore most scholars understand the date of Jesus’ birth to be between 6 and 4 BC.¹²

⁷ James Karl Hoffmeier and Alan R. Millard, eds., *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions*, The Proceedings of a Symposium, August 12-14, 2001 at Trinity International University (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), xi.

⁸ John McRay, *Archaeology and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 20.

⁹ G. Ernest Wright, *Biblical Archaeology*, Abridged (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), 17. For his latest view on biblical archaeology see “The ‘New’ Archaeology,” *BA* 38, no. 3-4 (September 1, 1975): 104-15.

¹⁰ Timothy David Barnes, “The Date of Herod’s Death,” *JTS* 19, no. 1 (1968): 204-19; P. M. Bernegger, “Affirmation of Herod’s Death in 4 B.C.,” *JTS* 34, no. 2 (1983): 526-31.

¹¹ Mark Kidger, *The Star of Bethlehem: An Astronomer’s View* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 46.

¹² James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 324; Jack Finegan, E. Jerry Vardaman, and Edwin M. Yamauchi, eds., *Chronos, Kairos, Christos* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 97-117; Kenneth E. Bailey, *Jesus Through Middle Eastern Eyes: Cultural Studies in the Gospels* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2008).



Augustus (Octavian)
30 BC–AD 14
Luke 2:1



Tiberius
AD 14–37
Luke 3:1



Caligula (Gaius)
AD 37–41



Claudius
AD 41–54
Acts 11:28; 18:2



Nero
AD 54–68
Acts 25:10; 28:19



Galba
AD 68



Otho
AD 69



Vitellius
AD 69



Vespasian
AD 69–79
Matthew 24–25



Titus
AD 79–81



Domitian
AD 81–96



Nerva
AD 96–98



Trajan
AD 98–117



Hadrian
AD 117–138

2. The Roman Emperors in the first century.

© Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. Photo courtesy of WWW. engcoins.com

It is known that there were four lunar eclipses between 7 and 1 BC.¹³ Most scholars favor the eclipse of 4 BC,¹⁴ placing the birth of Jesus in *ca.* 6 BC, while a few have challenged this date¹⁵ preferring 1 BC for the eclipse and placing the birth of Jesus in 3 or 2 BC.¹⁶

Maier argues for “late 5 BC as the most probable time for the first Christmas.”¹⁷ The early Church Father, Clement of Alexandria (*ca.* 200 AD), gives a date for the birth of Jesus according to the Egyptian calendar (25 Pachon or May 20th; *Strom.* 1.21) which, according to the Gregorian calendar, converts to the 14th of May, 6 BC.

While there is no certainty for the date of Jesus’ birth, as Franz points out, the spring date

¹³ Kidger, *The Star of Bethlehem*, 48–49; Manfred Kudlek and Erich H. Mickler, *Solar and Lunar Eclipses of the Ancient Near East from 3000 B.C. to 0 with Maps* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Becker, 1971).

¹⁴ Harold W. Hoehner, “The Date of the Death of Herod the Great,” in *CKC*, 101–32; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)*, ed. G. Vermes, F. Miller, and M. Black, Rev (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979), 1:326–28 n. 165; F. F. Bruce, *New Testament History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1980), 23.

¹⁵ Ernest L. Martin, “The Nativity and Herod’s Death,” in *CKC*, 86; W. E. Filmer, “The Chronology of the Reign of Herod the Great,” *JTS* 17 (1966): 283–98.

¹⁶ This later date has been challenged by Barnes and Johnson who again favor the 4 BC date. Barnes, “The Date of Herod’s Death,” 204–209; Douglas Johnson, “The Star of Bethlehem Reconsidered: A Refutation of the Mosley/Martin Historical Approach,” *Planetarian* 10, no. 1 (1981): 14–16.

¹⁷ Paul L. Maier, “The Date of the Nativity and the Chronology of Jesus’ Life,” in *CKC*, 113.