

BIBLE and SPADE

Vol. 31 No. 3

Summer 2018

NEW EVIDENCE FOR KAINAN in the New Testament and LXX Papyri

EPHESUS
A CASE STUDY FOR
THE RELIABILITY OF SCRIPTURE

**ANCIENT TOMBS
AND THE SHROUD OF TURIN**

**HAVE WE FOUND
BIBLICAL LIBNAH?**

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EDITOR:

Richard Lanser, Jr., MA, MDiv

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Scott Lanser, MA

Henry B. Smith, Jr., MA, MAR

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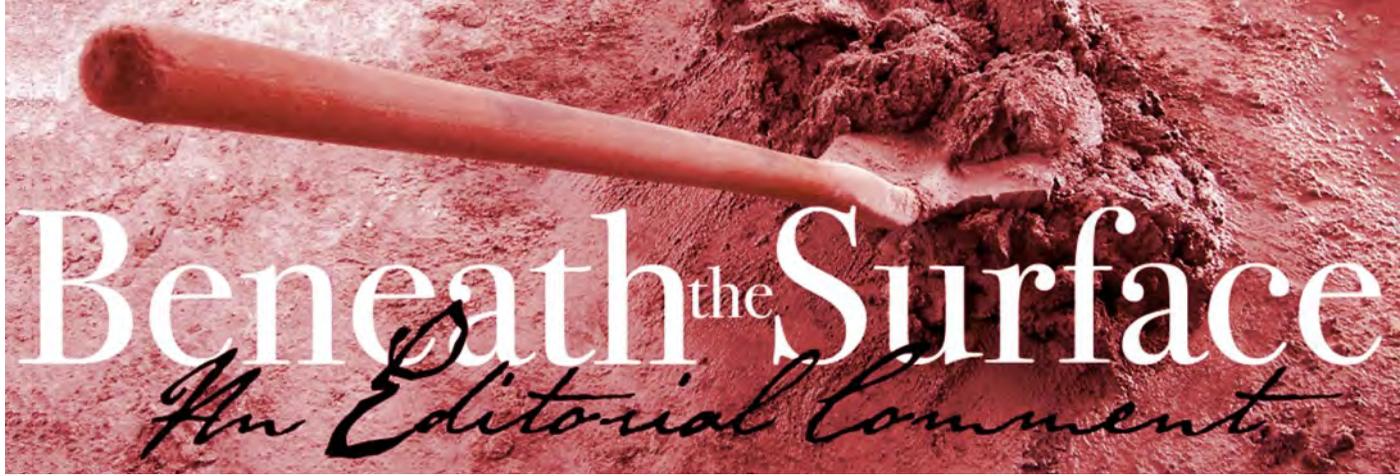
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By Eric D. Schwartz

On May 14, 2018, the US Embassy to Israel moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, “the eternal capital of the Jewish people” (Trump). Present at the opening of the embassy were Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, Israeli President Rivlin, and from the US, the Ambassador to Israel, Treasury Secretary, and representatives of Congress and the Armed Forces—important people recognizing an important moment. The action inspired both rejoicing and gnashing of teeth. All who responded with any fervor, however, shared a common idea—geography matters.

Whether you’re an immigrant seeking the opportunities afforded by our great country, a border patrol agent, or the mayor of a sanctuary city, you understand—geography matters. Whether you have chosen the city or the country, whether you have benefitted from the laying of public roads or have lost a paradise to eminent domain, you understand—geography matters.

How can biblical geography matter to those of us who gladly receive the great truths of Scripture? Doctrine and faith are key. The grand universal *whats* are our focus, not the *wheres*...but does not the *where* of the *what* carry force and meaning? Looking steadily at God’s mighty works across history, does geography matter? Ask someone standing in the middle of the Red Sea, or at Mount Sinai; ask someone listening to the Sermon on the Mount, or someone whose exile from Rome leads to a meeting with Paul in Corinth; ask Someone crucified outside the city, or ask those Greeks (or the wise men before them) who left their land for the Holy Land, carrying the words, “We would see Jesus.”

Geography mattered to the Israelites initially repelled at Ai. Geography matters today as ABR has excavated Khirbet el-Maqatir, identified by them as the biblical Ai. To find Ai, they have followed the directions of God written in His detailed geographical book, the Bible; they have read His message written in the dirt and stones at Ai, telling a tale of a strong, towered fortress taken by the people of God in the middle of the second millennium BC. To the skeptic, archaeology at such a key

geographical point can commend the Bible as reliable history. To the weak in faith, it can bring reassurance. To solid believers in the Bible, it injects the thrill of cultural and military drama into the short account in Judges. It puts pictures into our Bible, and greater understanding into our minds.

Israeli embassies have been moved before; the Old Testament believers moved their “embassy” with God, housed in a tabernacle, then a temple, from the wilderness, to Shiloh, to Jerusalem. God now calls us to the geographical point of Shiloh (“Go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first” [Jer 7:12, *KJV*]) to learn a lesson written in artifacts there, telling the tale of pagan religion replaced by worship of Jehovah, overtaken again by paganism and judged by the LORD. ABR is answering that call.

Geography mattered to God from the time He created the heavens and the earth, then brought forth the dry ground and rejoiced in the habitable part of the earth (Prv 8:31). It mattered to Him when He set man in Eden and when He barred him from it. It mattered to Him when He set His Son in Bethlehem and when He set His name in Jerusalem.

For us, who now properly delight in God’s crafting of geography and delight especially in the message-fraught geography/archaeology of the Holy Land, geography will matter eternally as we take up our residence in the New Jerusalem on the New Earth (Rv 21)—a perfect geography designed in the mind and heart of God.



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US Embassy in Jerusalem. The location opened in May of 2018 coinciding with the 70th anniversary of the creation of the modern State of Israel.



We Hear You

A word of thanks for the research and ministry of ABR

I was reading through ABR's newsletter today and read you are gearing up for the dig in Shiloh for 2019. God only knows where or what will happen between now and then but I would like to put my name on the potential list of diggers for 2019. I also wanted to thank you for sending me the Bible and Spade issue you published about abortion (Child Sacrifice and Abortion, Bible and Spade, Vol 25, No 1, Winter 2012). This subject is very close to my heart. I have shared it with several of my friends. Thank you again for all the time, work and research you put into your teachings. God is good!

- Connie

A question about the Silversmith's Monument discovered at Ephesus

In a recent Digging for Truth episode you mention an inscribed monument at Ephesus erected by silversmiths in the second century AD. I'm trying to track down the location of this artifact (the exhibit and/or museum) for reference in classes I teach on apologetics, but I cannot find any seemingly reliable documentation for where this item is currently or who discovered it. Can you please help me?

- Andrew

A response by ABR Director Scott Lanser:

The monument is currently in the Efes Müzesi (Museum), Selçuk, Izmir, Turkey.

A number of inscriptions mentioning the silversmiths of the city have been found in Ephesus. The one shown on *Digging for Truth* (Episode 14: Discoveries at Ephesus) is dated to the second century AD and records the honor they gave to the proconsul Valerius Festus as their benefactor and for his work on the harbor. The inscription confirms the prominence of the

silversmiths as well as the fact that they were organized into an association, or guild. The book of Acts tells of their rioting when faced with the loss of profits from selling their "silver shrines of Artemis." *Bible and Spade* readers are encouraged to see the article on page 62 of this issue, *Ephesus: A Case Study for the Reliability of Scripture* by Bryan Windle. Bryan includes a wonderful photo of one of the silversmith monuments, discussing this in relation to the riot described in Acts 19:23–28.

A question about the plagues in the book of Exodus

My dad came to faith in Jesus (thank God!), but he still has some questions. One of which is re: the plagues in Exodus, how one of the plagues supposedly wiped out the cattle, but a subsequent plague wiped out more cattle...? I know I've heard the response to this argument, but I don't remember it. If you could please help me I would really appreciate it.

- Katie

A response by ABR Director Scott Lanser:

In regards to your question, I am providing a link to a most helpful article produced by our friends at Answers in Genesis: <https://answersingenesis.org/contradictions-in-the-bible/livestock-or-deadstock/>. I think you and your dad will find this article very thorough and helpful. Often, we see accounts in Scripture that seem to be at odds with other passages. I've discovered in my many years of study that the authors of Scripture clearly had no sense of any contradiction at all...and the answer, very simply, is that they had the full perspective of various events and grasped details that we do not have before us. Nonetheless, the Spirit of God has given His people wonderful clues and insights to properly interpret problem passages so that they can be properly understood. May God bless you and your dad as you dig deeper into the Word of God.

A question on New Testament eschatology

You have a truly interesting website and I looked it over briefly after a search regarding Bart Ehrman's lack of intellectual integrity. Where does ABR stand on questions of New Testament eschatology? Does ABR have articles addressing the shabby theology and poor exegetical efforts...failed predictions, outright oddities and heretical claims circulating?

- Curt

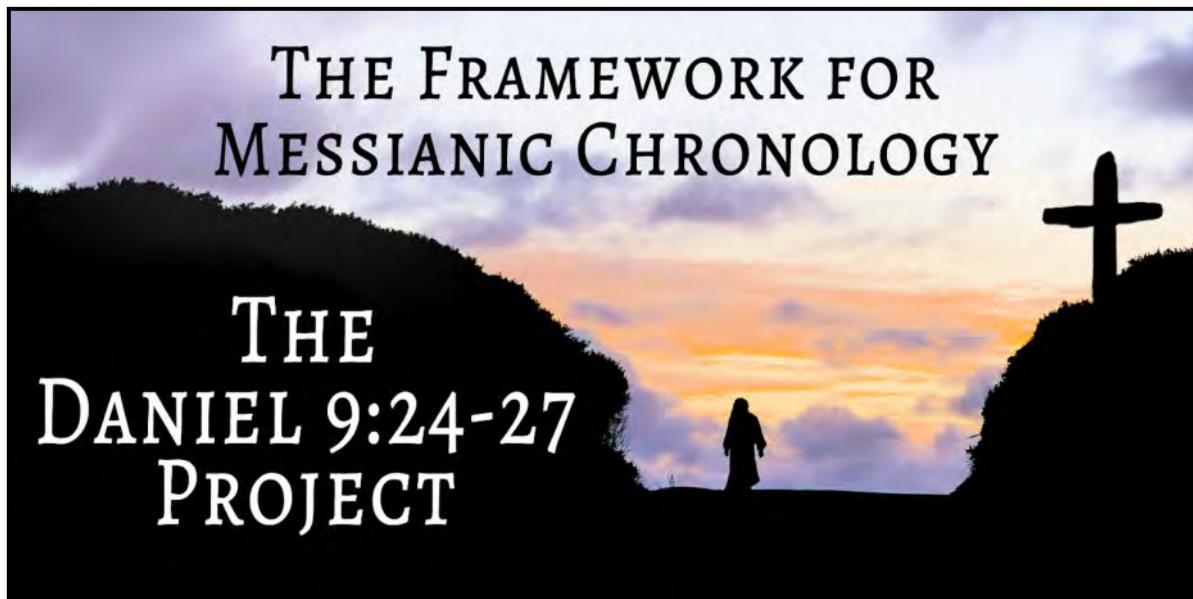
A response by ABR staff member Rick Lanser:

Since most believers will agree that eschatology, though an important part of a complete understanding of Scripture, is an area of doctrine that does not impact one's salvation, it is important to have a charitable attitude toward those with different opinions about it. Many have arrived at their understanding of end-times matters not from their own personal study of Scripture, but by unquestioningly embracing the teachings of their church or certain influential individuals. In many cases, unfortunately, the latter have something to sell. The fact that eschatology is an area covering much that is unclear has caused certain people to promote a particular interpretation in hopes of gaining a following. Discernment is called for to avoid the danger of deception.

Since ABR is not a ministry specializing in the study of Bible prophecy, any suggestions made must be understood as being those of the individual making them, not the ABR ministry.

That said, in August 2017 the Lord laid it on my heart to study afresh the prophetic Scriptures as evidence of the Bible's inspiration. That study involved developing my own "systematic theology" of virtually all pertinent passages of Scripture having to do with eschatology, both those already fulfilled and those still future. The result has been a research document now totaling 150 pages of notes. I approached the study with a "whole Bible" perspective, with the prayer that God would speak to me through the plain sense of the Word and basic Bible study tools, rather than my depending on what certain popular Bible prophecy teachers were promoting in books, seminars, television programs and videos. Going directly to Scripture and asking the Holy Spirit to illuminate it struck me as the wisest approach. I commend it to you as well. It costs nothing but time and a teachable attitude.

I have begun publishing my biblical and historical research as a series of articles focused on the theme, "Daniel 9:24-27: The Framework for Messianic Chronology." The initial focus is on aspects of the life of Christ that have already been fulfilled in history and which tie in with Daniel 9:24-26. Several articles have already been posted to the ABR website, beginning with a February 2018 ABR Newsletter article, "How the Passover Illuminates the Date of the Crucifixion." Over time I plan, as God leads, to deal with things revealed in Scripture that are yet future. Whether this work will take the form of a book, magazine or journal articles, or further Newsletter posts is not clear yet. I welcome your prayers as this work continues.



www.biblearchaeology.org

ANCIENT TOMBS AND THE SHROUD OF TURIN

By Abigail Leavitt and Scott Stripling

Since AD 1390, the Shroud of Turin has evoked great veneration and great mystery. The bloodstain patterns on the Shroud appear to represent the image of a crucifixion victim from antiquity. Numerous reports of the existence of the burial shroud of Jesus of Nazareth exist prior to AD 1390, but attempts to tie the Turin Shroud to these reports have yielded mixed results. If the Shroud proves to be authentic, it represents a direct witness to the death, burial, and resurrection of the founder of Christianity, the world's largest religion. Many questions persist regarding the age and provenance of the burial garment. Scientific advancement has resulted in the ability to perform unbiased tests to gain more information about the Shroud and to possibly answer these questions. Notably, in 1988 researchers performed C-14 analysis on Shroud fibers from the garment's periphery. Unfortunately, the samples came from only one site on the cloth, were not blind-tested, yielded dates among the three participating labs so dissimilar that they could not pass a chi-square test, and initially contained threads obviously not part of the original cloth. There is now significant research suggesting the sample area contained a later 16th-century patch, perhaps to repair damage from the fire of 1532.



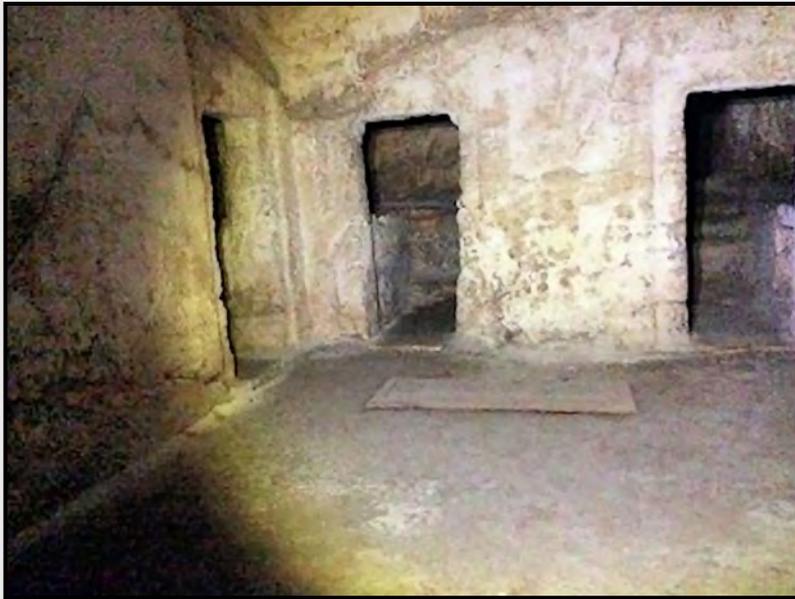
École Biblique photos: Public Domain

The École Biblique—formally, the École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem—is a French academic establishment in Jerusalem founded by Dominicans, and specializing in archaeology and biblical exegesis.

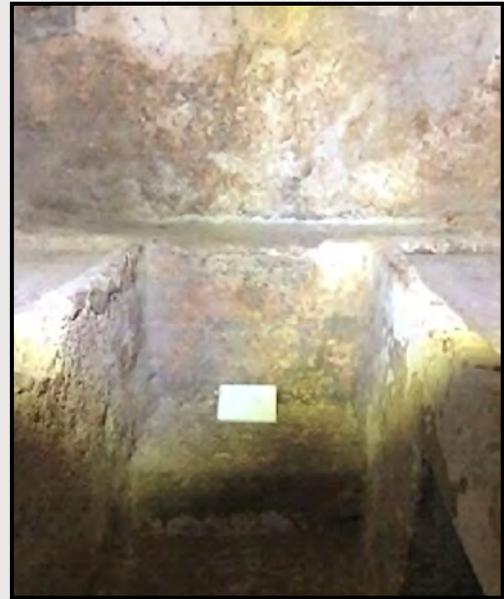
The Association of Scientists and Scholars International for the Shroud of Turin (ASSIST) recently launched a new initiative to determine if limestone particles found on the Shroud originated from a Jerusalem tomb or if the limestone came from another locale. This initiative supplements a similar test performed in the 1980s by optical crystallographer Joseph Kohlbeck, which indicated that there were indeed particles of Jerusalem limestone on the Shroud. If the limestone and pollen particles originated from Jerusalem, the possibility that the Shroud did once envelope the crucified body of Jesus of Nazareth would be significantly enhanced. ASSIST team member Paul Maloney contacted Dr. Bryant Wood, ABR Director of Research, for help in obtaining samples from a tomb complex beneath École Biblique, beside the famous Garden Tomb in east Jerusalem. With detailed collection protocols from ASSIST, Dr. Wood, Dr. Scott Stripling, Abigail Leavitt, and Kent Wegner, all in Jerusalem for the final excavation at Khirbet el-Maqatir in December 2016 and January 2017, went to work.

The team first assessed the situation in order to learn as much as possible. A visit to the tomb and some research of publications yielded fascinating information. The tombs, located less than 1 km from the original location of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre where Jesus was likely crucified and buried, functioned as part of an eighth–seventh century BC necropolis, and included the most elaborate tombs ever found in the Jerusalem region from Iron Age II. The tomb complex consists of an entrance chamber and six side chambers. Five of the side chambers survive in their original condition. Later renovations in the sixth chamber and outside the entrance chamber have resulted in a small chapel and a burial area that remains in use today. Notably, Fathers Louis-Hugues Vincent, Roland de Vaux and Jerome Murphy-O'Conner, accomplished Dominican archaeologists, repose here. Within the five intact side chambers, benches along the sides and backs of the chambers provide a burial platform for the original interment of the deceased. Beneath the benches, repositories provide a final resting place for the bones of deceased ancestors.

Although the team spent most of its time working at the Khirbet el-Maqatir excavations, rainy days provided the opportunity to complete the tomb-sampling project. Acid-free sticky tape was used to lift limestone samples from the walls, benches and floors of all the tomb chambers. Each spot sampled was photographed so that the exact location of the sample would be recorded. Each team member performed an important task. Dr. Wood took detailed notes, and carefully



Tomb photos: Abigail Leavitt



Left: Entrance Chamber of the limestone bone repository. The Association of Scientists and Scholars International for the Shroud of Turin (ASSIST) recently launched a new initiative to determine if limestone particles found on the Shroud originated from a Jerusalem tomb, or if the limestone came from another locale. ASSIST team member Paul Maloney contacted Dr. Bryant Wood, ABR Director of Research, for help in obtaining samples from a tomb complex beneath École Biblique.

Right: Interior of Chamber 3. The limestone samples taken from the École Biblique tombs by the ABR team in December 2016 and January 2017 may help to provide a final answer as to whether or not the Shroud had once lain in a Jerusalem tomb.

placed each sample in its proper place on a sheet of plastic. Dr. Stripling lifted the samples from the specified locations. Miss Leavitt photographed each sample as it was taken, and Mr. Wegner created the best possible lighting within the darkness of the tombs. Unfortunately, the acid-free tape ran out before the final tomb was processed. This temporarily brought the project to a halt. A search began for more tape, quickly bringing to light an extreme (absolute!) shortage of acid-free tape in the entire country of Israel! Even the ever-helpful staff at the team's headquarters, the Jerusalem Ritz Hotel, was not able to procure such a product. The Albright Institute and the Israel Museum also proved to be dead ends. Desperate pleas were sent out to friends traveling to Israel, and finally, a week later, a roll of acid-free tape arrived via a kind Canadian, Dr. David Graves of Liberty University, part of the team that made the important discovery of a new Dead Sea Scroll cave. Another rainy day provided the opportunity to finish the project at the École Biblique tombs.

In the days following Dr. Wood's return to the US he compiled his notes into a comprehensive report, which he sent immediately to Paul Maloney along with the samples. ASSIST then began the long process of preparing a proposal for the testing the samples, carrying out the tests, writing peer-reviewed articles, and engaging in academic debate. The limestone samples taken from the École Biblique tombs by the ABR team in December 2016 and January 2017 may help to provide a final answer as to whether or not the Shroud once lay in a Jerusalem tomb. This, in turn, may determine if the Shroud once wrapped the tortured corpse of a crucifixion

victim in Jerusalem. If this fact were established, a strong argument could be posited that the image on the Shroud depicts the tortured body of Jesus of Nazareth.



Dr. Scott Stripling is an ABR staff member and the provost at The Bible Seminary in Katy (Houston), Texas. He currently serves as the director of ABR excavations at Shiloh after having functioned in the same capacity at Khirbet el-Maqatir (2014–2017). Logos featured him in *Archaeology in Action: Archaeology 101* and has tapped him for the leading role in their forthcoming documentary on archaeology and the Bible. Stripling's book, *The Trowel and the Truth* (second edition), introduces readers to the fascinating and complex world of biblical archaeology.



Abigail Leavitt has been participating in archaeological digs since 2008. She has worked at Shiloh, Khirbet el-Maqatir, Mount Zion, and the Temple Mount Sifting Project. She currently serves as the objects registrar at the Shiloh excavations and is a student at University of Pikeville.



Ephesus

A CASE STUDY FOR THE RELIABILITY OF SCRIPTURE

By Bryan Windle

It was the New York City of Asia Minor in the New Testament era. Pliny once called it *lumen Asiae*, the light of Asia.¹ In the first century, only Rome, Alexandria and Antioch of Syria surpassed Ephesus in importance. It is no wonder that the apostle Paul made it the center of his ministry for three years (Acts 20:31). In fact, outside of the church in Jerusalem, one could argue that the church in Ephesus was the most prominent congregation in the first forty years of church history. From its beginnings in Acts 19 around AD 52, to Revelation 2, as late as AD 90, the church in Ephesus figures prominently in Scripture as the setting for the books of Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy, and possibly the epistles of John. It also enjoyed some of the greatest Bible teachers of its day, including Paul, Apollos, Aquila and Priscilla, Timothy and John. Given the number of verses written to Ephesus or from Ephesus (i.e., 1 Corinthians), we know more about it than almost any other city mentioned in the New Testament.

Today, 200 archaeological specialists from over 20 countries spend time excavating at Ephesus. For the past 150 years, the ancient city that Paul, Timothy and John knew has slowly been unearthed. Indeed, Ephesus is one of the most excavated ancient cities, with some of the best preserved ruins. This gives us an excellent opportunity to test the reliability of Scripture. When we compare the Ephesus of Scripture with the Ephesus that is being uncovered, we find that the Bible and archaeology tell the same story.²

The City of Ancient Ephesus

Geography

When one studies the book of Acts, it does not read as mythology or as allegory. Rather, it is clear that Luke intends his readers to understand that he is writing about actual historical events. Furthermore, it is evident in his details that he possessed a first-hand knowledge of the places he tells about. In describing the general geography of Ephesus, and in naming places within the city, the Bible is both accurate and specific.

Scripture describes Paul's journey from Corinth to Ephesus this way: "While Apollos was at Corinth, Paul took the road through the interior and arrived at Ephesus" (Acts 19:1). This rather mundane detail provides a geographical marker and actually allows the reader to follow Paul's journey along known routes. Instead of taking the lower, direct route down

the Lycus and Meander Valleys, Paul took the upper, Phrygian route, entering Ephesus from a more northerly direction.³

Upon arriving in Ephesus, Paul and his companions visited specific places. Paul began teaching in the synagogue before moving to the lecture hall of Tyrannus. The silversmiths who sold their wares, likely in their shops in the commercial Agora, saw their profits drop off as so many people responded to the gospel. One of them, Demetrius, rallied his fellow craftsmen, saying,

You see and hear how this fellow Paul has convinced and led astray large numbers of people here in Ephesus and in practically the whole province of Asia. He says that gods made by human hands are no gods at all. There is danger not only that our trade will lose its good name, but also that the temple of the great goddess Artemis will be discredited; and the goddess herself, who is worshiped throughout the province of Asia and the world, will be robbed of her divine majesty" (Acts 19:26-27).

This resulted in the infamous riot which took place in the theater.

Archaeological excavations in Ephesus began in 1863 by J.T. Wood, whose goal was to find the Temple of Artemis. He worked for six years without success, until one day, while excavating the Great Theater, he unearthed an inscription that described how the idol of the goddess Artemis was carried to the theater once a year and how the procession entered the city by the Magnesian Gate and left by the Coressian Gate. When he located these gates, he was able to uncover the street which led him to the temple he had long searched for.⁴

In the midst of the city the commercial Agora was also discovered. It was a square-shaped marketplace, 360 ft (110 m) in length, and surrounded on three sides by a portico with pillars and numerous shops. The Agora had three gates: one on the northeast side from the theater, one on the west from the harbor, and one from the Celsus Library. In the middle of the Agora was a sundial and water-clock.⁵

The lecture hall of Tyrannus has not yet been discovered (only about 20% of the ancient city has been excavated), but there is inscriptional evidence that Tyrannus was a name common in Ephesus at that time. Several inscriptions have been found in the city, dating from approximately AD 54-93 (*I.Eph.* 20B.40 and *I.Eph.* 1012.4),⁶ including one on a stone pillar.⁷

In 1 Corinthians 15:32 the apostle Paul says, "If I fought wild beasts in Ephesus with no more than human hopes, what have I gained?" Whether or not Paul is making a rhetorical argument here, he is basing it on the fact that there were public



Amy Aube

The ruins of ancient Ephesus are some of most spectacular remains of a biblical city in existence. In the background lies the iconic Library of Celsus, which testifies to the amazing craftsmanship, wealth and advanced technology of the day. The library itself was not built until the second century AD, after the time of the apostle Paul.

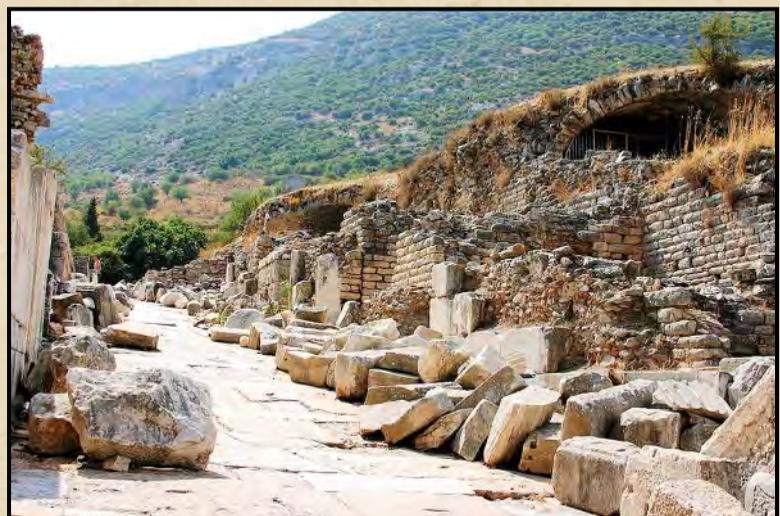
battles against wild beasts in Ephesus. The ancient stadium of Ephesus, where games, gladiatorial combats, and contests with wild animals were held, was discovered north of the Great Theater, near the Coressian Gate.⁸

Time and again, the specific places in Ephesus described in the Bible have been unearthed and/or confirmed through extra-biblical inscriptions. The evidence shows that the biblical record is historically accurate in its description of the geography of the ancient city of Ephesus.

Economy

Further details about Ephesus surface when one reads the biblical account, namely, that it was a place with significant wealth. The high value of the magical scrolls burned by Christian converts in Acts 19:19 (fifty thousand drachmas—a drachma being a silver coin worth about a day’s wage), is testimony to the riches of Ephesus. Acts 19:25 describes how “a silversmith named Demetrius, who made silver shrines of Artemis, brought in a lot of business for the craftsmen there.” In the next verse, Demetrius himself admits, “we receive a good income from this business.” Later, when Paul writes to Timothy at

Ephesus, he instructs him to “command those who are rich in this present world not to be arrogant nor to put their hope in wealth, which is so uncertain, but to put their hope in God, who



Wikimedia Commons

Curetes Street was one of the three main streets in Ephesus, running from the Hercules Gate to the Library of Celsus. It was lined with shops, statues, monuments and fountains.



Wikimedia Commons

The Temple of Artemis in Paul's day, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. It was more than a place of worship; the temple's influence permeated everyday life, serving as a bank for the citizens of the city.



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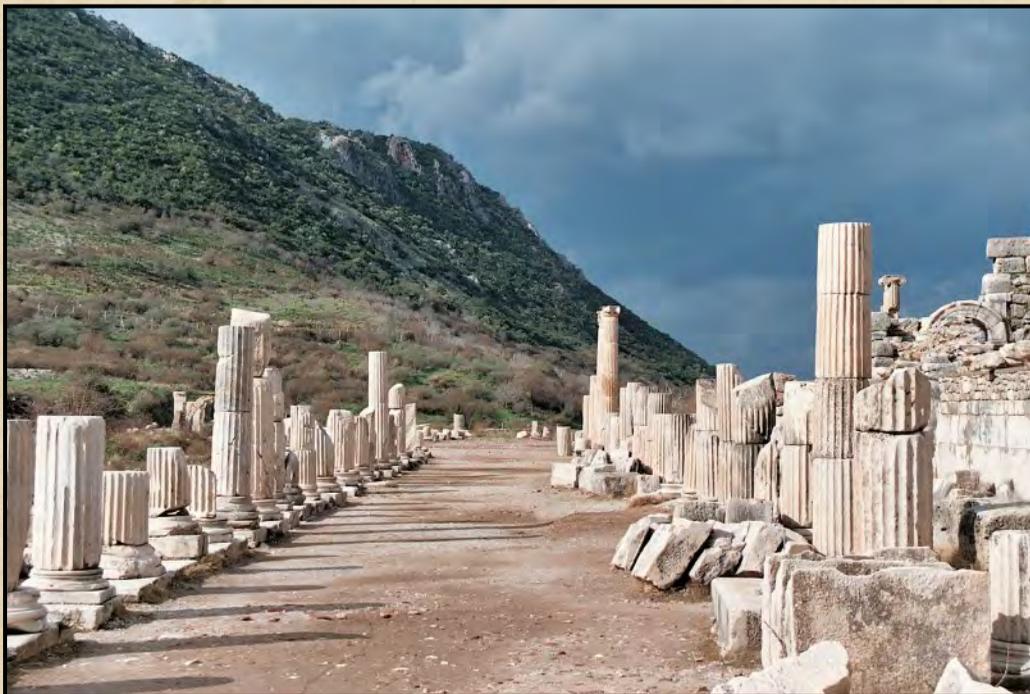
The monument erected by the silversmiths of Ephesus testifies to their wealth and influence in ancient Ephesus. In Acts 19, Demetrius, a silversmith, incites a riot over concerns that the response to the gospel Paul was preaching was hurting their business.

In 1984, a monument was discovered that testified to the prominence of the silversmiths in Ephesus. The inscription declared that it had been paid for by the silversmiths, and described the city as the "greatest metropolis of Asia, [and] the thrice-honored temple guardian of the venerable Ephesians."¹¹ The inscription uses the same Greek word, *neokoros*, as the Bible does to describe Ephesus as the "guardian" of the Temple of Artemis.

richly provides us with everything for our enjoyment" (1 Tm 6:17). Is there evidence of this scale of wealth in ancient Ephesus?

The archaeological and inscriptional records show that it was a city of immense wealth, much of it tied to the cult of Artemis. The treasury in the Temple of Artemis was essentially a bank where everyone, from the average citizen to the many traders who conducted business in the port city, deposited their money for safekeeping. It's not surprising, given human nature, that there were abuses of fiscal responsibility by some of those in leadership at the temple. Gary Hoags, author of *Wealth in Ancient Ephesus*, reports that around AD 44 an edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus was issued to deal with the inappropriate conduct of priestesses and priests of Artemis who had been using the activities of the temple treasury for personal gain.⁹ The Artemisian "bank" eventually controlled the finances for much of that part of the world.¹⁰

Further evidence of the wealth of ancient Ephesus can be seen in Terrace Houses, discovered on a hill opposite Hadrian's Temple. These "houses of the rich," as they are also known, give a glimpse into the lifestyle of the wealthy in Ephesus during the Roman era. The oldest of these dates from 1 BC, and was used as a dwelling until 7 BC.¹² The Terrace Houses are two-story homes, built in typical Roman style, with a courtyard in the middle. They even had indoor heating, using warm air in a system of clay pipes in the floors and walls to heat the house. Most impressive, however, are the mosaics and frescos that adorn the walls and floors of these homes, testimony to a significant upper class in Ephesus during the time of the apostle Paul.



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The west street of the Agora in Ephesus. The commercial Agora was the mall of first-century Ephesus, with row upon row of shops that sold food and other local wares.

Politics

The biblical historian, Luke, uses specific terms to describe political leaders in Ephesus. Throughout the Roman empire of the first century there was a myriad of political titles and roles. Scholarship throughout the past 150 years has vindicated the good doctor against many of the accusations of inaccuracy (i.e., Luke's use of the term *politarch* to describe city officials in Thessalonica is now acknowledged to be correct, given the mounting inscriptional evidence). The terms used to describe the Ephesian political situation in the first century demonstrate a familiarity with the city, and are proving again to be historically accurate.



Wikimedia Commons

Remains of a terrace house, home to the wealthy in ancient Ephesus. The homes had running water and central heating and were built in the Roman style. The floor mosaics and wall frescoes give a glimpse into the lifestyle of the rich and famous in Ephesus in the New Testament era.

In Acts 19:31 we read that Paul had friends among “some of the officials of the province.” The transliteration of the Greek term for these officials is *asiarchs*. Critics used to see Luke’s use of this term as anachronistic, as the only other uses of the term previously known were from classical sources, such as Strabo.¹³ Asiarch inscriptions have since been found in over 40 cities throughout Asia, including numerous examples in Ephesus that date to within 50 years of the apostle Paul. So far 106 individual asiarchs, both men and women, have been identified in Ephesus.¹⁴

Luke also describes how the city clerk calmed the riotous crowd at the theater in Acts 19:35. The word used of this man’s position is *grammateus*. The town clerk was one of the most important people in ancient cities, and was responsible to care for the city archives, draw up official decrees, and read them to the people in public assemblies.¹⁵ Several grammataeus inscriptions have been discovered in Ephesus, including one dating to the second century which names Laberius Amoenus as the town clerk.¹⁶

Finally, in addressing the crowd in the theater of Ephesus, the town clerk tells them that if the “craftsmen have a grievance against anybody, the courts are open and there are proconsuls” (Acts 19:38). It is known from history that Ephesus was the capital of proconsular Asia and home to the Roman governor.¹⁷ An inscription on ancient Ephesian coins indicates the authority of the proconsul there during the reign of Nero, who became emperor of Rome in AD 54.¹⁸ Furthermore, Pliny records that Ephesus

was an assize-town in which regular court days were held, just as the Bible describes.¹⁹

The Religions of Ancient Ephesus

The Worship of Artemis

Any discussion of the the religion of first-century Ephesus must begin with the worship of the goddess Artemis. According to mythology, Artemis was the virgin daughter of Zeus and Leto, and was originally known as the hunting goddess, later becoming associated with virginity and protection. Because the legendary births of Artemis and her twin brother Apollo were said to have taken place near Ephesus, the city became the center of the Artemis cult.²⁰ The Temple of Artemis, built and rebuilt several times, became one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. Antipater of Sidon said that it surpassed the other Wonders, and that when he saw the house of Artemis “those other marvels lost their brilliancy.”²¹ Over time, Artemis of the Ephesians took on distinctly Ephesian qualities, and eventually became known as simply “Artemis of the Ephesians.”

While there are many images of Artemis in antiquity, statues of the Ephesian Artemis are markedly different from her Greek counterpart. Rather than the typical huntress in a short skirt beside a deer, the Ephesian version stood stiff and straight, with her legs appearing to be wrapped together and with bulbous appendages, which some identify as breasts, on her neck and



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Artemis of the Ephesians (head, hands and feet restored). The Ephesians believed she had fallen from heaven (Acts 19:35) and that they were the guardians of her image. Statues of the distinctly Ephesian Artemis (as opposed to the Greek Artemis) have been found at ancient sites all around the Mediterranean.

The Great Theater in Ephesus, where the riot recorded in Acts 19 took place. It could seat approximately 25,000 people. By comparison, Madison Square Garden in New York City can seat 20,000 people. It is one of the numerous historical sites where actual biblical events took place.

chest. The second-century geographer, Pausanias, records that statues of the Ephesian Artemis were found in cities other than Ephesus, including Corinth, some 770 mi (1239 km) away.²² In fact, the most common surname of the goddess in Pausanias' works is "Artemis of the Ephesians."²³ A third-century BC inscription refers to "the Lady of Ephesus, the light-bearer."²⁴ The Ephesians, believing that Artemis had descended from the heavens and favored them, were extremely proud of their goddess and became her protector.

The Bible's description of the worship of Artemis in Ephesus is striking in its similarity with these historical sources. In the book of Acts, Luke records how the complaint of the silversmiths turned into a riot, and a crowd of Ephesians rushed to the theater chanting, "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!" (Acts 19:34). He uses the exact phrase the goddess of Ephesus was known by at that time. In the next verse, the city clerk of Ephesus declares, "Fellow Ephesians, doesn't all the world know that the city of Ephesus is the guardian of the temple of the great Artemis and of her image, which fell from heaven?" When one considers the belief of the Ephesians that Artemis had descended from the heavens as the light-bearer to dwell among them, the words of Jesus to the church of Ephesus in Revelation 2 become all the more poignant: "These are the words of him who holds the seven stars in his right hand and walks among the seven golden lampstands." Jesus lays claim to the title of "Light-bearer," who came down from on high to walk among us; he is intentionally setting himself above the most devoutly worshiped goddess in Ephesus.

Sorcery

During Paul's three years of ministry in Ephesus, many people left their pagan beliefs to follow Jesus. Not only did this affect the worship of Artemis, it affected the many people who were involved more generally in sorcery. In Acts 19:19 we read, "A number who had practiced sorcery brought their scrolls together and burned them publicly. When they calculated the value of the scrolls, the total came to fifty thousand drachmas."

Sorcery flourished in the first century, and not just in Ephesus. Suetonius writes that Augustus ordered that 2000 magical scrolls be burned in 13 BC.²⁵ A collection of nearly 250 magical papyri were discovered in Egypt, some dating to the first and second century. They contain spells, curses and recipes for amulets, the sort of incantations that typified Roman-era magical practices.²⁶ Given that Ephesus was the chief port city of Asia Minor, and that there was frequent trade with Alexandria, it is not a stretch to believe that magical papyri from Egypt would have reached Ephesus. Furthermore, Ephesian sorcery was widely known through the "Ephesian Letters," six magical words used in charms and on amulets, that were said to be able to ward off demonic spirits.²⁷ It's hardly surprising, then, to read the biblical account of fifty thousand drachmas' worth of magical scrolls being burned, given the level of sorcery in both Ephesus and the Roman world at that time.



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The remains of the Temple of Artemis. It was completely rebuilt three times before its final destruction in AD 401. The temple was then rediscovered in 1869 by John Turtle Wood in an excavation sponsored by the British Museum. All that remains today are some foundation fragments and a single column constructed of disassociated stone column pieces found at the site.



HolyLandPhotos.org

On the steps of the Library of Celsus is a carving of a menorah. It dates to after the time of the apostle Paul, but is evidence of a Jewish population in Ephesus during the second century AD.

Judaism

The Bible describes a significant Jewish population in Ephesus during the first century. When the apostle Paul first visited the city he spoke in their synagogue for three months (Acts 19:8). The book of Acts also describes how “all the Jews...in the province of Asia heard the word of the Lord” (Acts 19:10); that some Jews, including the seven sons of Sceva, a Jewish chief priest, tried to invoke the name of Jesus to cast out demons (Acts 19:14); how there were Jews involved in the riot (Acts 19:33); and that Paul was severely tested by plots of the Jews in Ephesus (Acts 20:19).

Evidence from numerous inscriptions also confirms the presence of a group of Jews who lived and worshiped in Ephesus throughout the first century. Several documents recorded by Josephus deal with the Jewish people in Ephesus, and range in date from 49 BC to AD 3. One exempts Jews in Ephesus who were Roman citizens from military service.

Another allowed them to keep their rites and offer sacrifices, while a third allowed the Jews in Ephesus to keep the Sabbath and live according to their customs.²⁸ While no synagogue has yet been unearthed in Ephesus, there is evidence outside of the Bible that one existed there at that time. Paul Trebilco, in *Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius*, writes:

No synagogue has yet been found in the city of Ephesus. However, the existence of a synagogue in Ephesus seems to be implied in *Ant.* 14:227, to be dated to 43 BCE, where Jews are given permission to ‘come together for sacred and holy rites in accordance with their law.’...An inscription of the Imperial period mentions archisynagogoi and presbyters...It seems very likely this was from a synagogue.²⁹

In addition to this, the carving of a menorah on the step of the Celsus Library provides tangible archaeological evidence of a Jewish population after the time of the apostle Paul. The evidence clearly points to a thriving and organized Jewish population in Ephesus for well over 100 years, and certainly at the time the apostle Paul ministered there, just as it is described in the Bible.

Christianity

When the apostle Paul arrived in Ephesus, c. AD 52, he found a dozen disciples who had not yet received the Holy Spirit. For the next three years he ministered throughout the city, seeing many people come to faith in Christ and a church planted. John’s letter to the church in Ephesus in the book of Revelation records that near the end of the first century, this



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The purported tomb of the apostle John in Ephesus. According to early church history, as recorded by Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria, the apostle John spent his final days in Ephesus, living until the reign of Trajan, who came to power in AD 98. The location of his tomb was known when Eusebius wrote in the fourth century AD.

church had endured hardships for the name of Christ and was committed to truth, but had forgotten their first love (Rv 2:1–7). History records that the Ephesian church lasted for several centuries after that. What evidence is there for Christianity in Ephesus outside of the Bible?

The church historian Eusebius cites second-century sources (Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria) as saying that John lived in Ephesus until the end of his life, sometime during the reign of Trajan. He also records that Timothy was appointed the first bishop there.³⁰ Ignatius (c. AD 35–108), wrote a famous epistle to the Ephesian church. This inscriptional evidence bears witness to a Christian presence in Ephesus during the first and second centuries.

Archaeologically, the Grotto of St. Paul was discovered in 1906 by the Austrian Archaeological Institute in a hillside cave. It displays evidence of use as a sacred site from the first and second centuries. Under the plaster on the walls they found frescos of Paul and Mary, the mother of Jesus, some of which date to the sixth century.³¹

The tomb of the apostle John is also reported to be in Ephesus, and was known in Eusebius' day. Today, the remains of the Basilica of St. John stand over the believed tomb of the apostle. It was once a beautiful church, constructed by the emperor Justinian in the sixth century. Recent excavations have revealed a baptistery and frescoes depicting the saints.³² Whether or not this is the actual resting place of the Beloved Apostle, there is a history of his ministry in Ephesus dating back almost to the first century. This, along with the other inscriptional and archaeological evidence, points to a rich Christian presence in Ephesus beginning at the time the Bible describes and lasting for several centuries.

Bible scholar Ben Witherington III has said, “The Ephesus of the mid-first century A.D. was a thriving place, and religiously pluralistic in character, though certainly the Temple of Artemis dominated the religious landscape.”³³ Indeed, this is the testimony of the New Testament; it is also the testimony of the archaeological record. Not only does the known pluralistic religious situation of first-century Ephesus line up with Scripture, but the biblical descriptions of Ephesian geography, economy, and politics are also shown to be historically accurate. When it comes to ancient Ephesus, the Bible and archaeology do tell the same story.

Endnotes for this article can be found at www.BibleArchaeology.org. Type “Endnotes” in the search box; next, click the “Bible and Spade Bibliographies and Endnotes” link; then page down to the article.

Bryan Windle is a pastor, youth leader and singer/songwriter in Northern Ontario, Canada, where he pastors Island Bible Chapel. He blogs regularly about God's Word (bryanwindle.com), and serves ABR by regularly updating the Current Events section of the website.



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NEW EVIDENCE FOR KAINAN in New Testament and LXX Papyri

By Henry B. Smith Jr.

Introduction

The question of Kainan's inclusion in Luke 3:36, Genesis 10:24, 11:13–14 and 1 Chronicles 1:18, 24 has been the subject of debate for many centuries. This article will survey "new" evidence for Kainan in manuscripts (MSS) of Luke and the Septuagint (LXX). The evidence itself is actually not "new" at all, but has been ignored in modern discussions about Kainan's originality, especially by scholars who reject his inclusion in Luke's Gospel. Moreover, we will present numerous lines of evidence and argumentation for Kainan's original inclusion in Luke, the Septuagint, and yes, even the original Hebrew text of Genesis.

Kainan's Alleged Absence in Papyrus 75 of Luke

It has been repeatedly claimed that Kainan is absent in the (presumed) earliest known manuscript of Luke preserving the genealogy from Jesus back to Adam in chapter three. This manuscript is known as \mathfrak{P}^{75} . The papyrus has been paleographically dated between AD 175 and 225, and is presently housed in the Vatican Library. Overall, it is well preserved and contains significant excerpts from both John and Luke. The section of the papyrus pertinent to our discussion, however, is in extremely poor condition, and is largely illegible. Over fifty years ago in his doctoral

dissertation, Gordon Fee correctly stated that Kainan's absence from \mathfrak{P}^{75} is "not demonstrable from the extant text," and is an unprovable conjecture most likely based on the unreliable fifth century AD manuscript, Codex Bezae.¹ A close examination of the reconstruction of the text by numerous scholars reveals that Kainan's original inclusion in \mathfrak{P}^{75} is also possible. In the end, the presence or absence of Kainan in \mathfrak{P}^{75} is ultimately indeterminable. Since opponents of Kainan's inclusion in Luke 3:36 depend heavily on the age of \mathfrak{P}^{75} for their argument, the uncertainty from \mathfrak{P}^{75} itself negates their position.

Kainan's Inclusion in Papyrus 4 of Luke

\mathfrak{P}^4 is housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Its text is close to that of \mathfrak{P}^{75} , \mathfrak{P}^{64} , \mathfrak{P}^{67} and Codex Vaticanus. Discovered in the 19th century in the wall of a house in Coptos, Egypt, \mathfrak{P}^4 has been dated to ca. AD 150–200. This papyrus was being used as filler for a third century AD codex of Philo of Alexandria, indicating it was already quite old and had already gone out of use by ca. AD 200. To my knowledge, academic discussions about Kainan have completely overlooked this significant textual witness to Luke's Gospel. The standard NT Greek MSS apparatuses, Nestle-Aland 28 and UBS 5, makes no mention of Kainan in Luke 3:36 of \mathfrak{P}^4 . A close look at studies of the manuscript evidence for Luke 3, however, reveals that Kainan is indeed present in \mathfrak{P}^4 . In fact, Papyrus 4 may actually be *the* oldest manuscript of Luke.

Philip Comfort's reconstruction of the visible text from direct observation in 1998 can be confirmed with certainty in the high-resolution photographs published in this article. The bold text here indicates the visible letters, while brackets are conjectured reconstructions. The verse numbers from Luke 3 are superscripted for clarity:

The fragment of \mathfrak{P}^{75} preserving Luke 3:34–35, now housed in the Vatican and assigned the name, "Papyrus Hanna 1 (Mater Verbi)." Note the tiny size and extremely poor condition of the fragment. It is now almost completely illegible. The Vatican's notation at the top of the photograph no longer includes verse 36, further demonstrating that this papyrus cannot be cited as evidence against Kainan's inclusion in Luke. Conjectures excluding Kainan from \mathfrak{P}^{75} simply cannot be supported by the visual evidence, and an alternative text-critical reconstruction of this fragment could have included Kainan originally.



The Vatican Digital Library (www.DigiVatLib.it)

Line 13 ³⁴ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΤΟΥ[ΙΣΑΑΚ]	³⁴ Jacob, the son of [Isaac]
Line 14 ΤΟΥΑΒΡΑΑΜ Τ[ΟΥΘΑ]	the son of Abraham, the [son of Te-]
Line 15 ΡΑ [Τ]ΟΥΝ[ΑΧΩΡ ³⁵ ΤΟΥ]	rah, [the] son of N[ahor ³⁵ the son of]
Line 16 ΣΕΡΟΥ[X ΤΟΥΡΑΓΑΥ]	Seru[g, the son of Reu]
Line 17 ΤΟΥΦΑΛ[ΕΚ ΤΟ]ΥΕΒΕΡ	the son of Pel[eg, the so]n of Eber
Line 18 ΤΟΥΣΑΑ[Α ³⁶ ΤΟ]ΥΚΑ[Ι]Ν[ΑΜ]	the son of Shel[ah, ³⁶ the so]n of Ka[i]n[am]
Line 19 ΤΟΥΑΡΦΑΞΑΔ ΤΟΥ[Σ]Η[Μ]	the son of Arpachshad the son of [Sh]e[m] ²



Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

Papyrus 4, containing Luke 3:20 through 4:2. Dated to the second century AD, this is the oldest known extant manuscript preserving Luke 3:36 and the surrounding text mirroring the genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11. On the middle-right side of the papyrus, the names of the patriarchs from Comfort's reconstruction above can easily be seen. The enlarged section irrefutably reveals Kainan the son of Arpachshad as being extant.

Over 40 other NT manuscripts of Luke 3:36 also contain Kainan. This evidence from \mathfrak{P}^4 , not previously cited in academic discussions on Kainan, nullifies the theory that his name originated as a scribal error in a manuscript of Luke in the mid to late third or early fourth century AD and then was inserted by Christian scribes into all known manuscripts of Luke across the entire Mediterranean world. This theory mitigates against the basic principles of text criticism, are violations of the text itself, and cannot be supported by the total evidence.

Kainan's Necessary Inclusion in Chester Beatty IV: LXX Papyrus 961

Dated to the early fourth century AD, Papyrus 961 contains extensive sections of LXX Genesis 9–44. The papyrus lacks a large section of text where Kainan might have appeared in Genesis 11:13b–14b. At first glance, 961 would seem unhelpful. However, when I began looking more closely at Albert Pietersma's dissertation³ and an image of the folio at

CSNTM containing Genesis 11:8–19,⁴ I soon realized that a relatively simple test could determine if Kainan was originally in Genesis 11 of Papyrus 961.

In the left column (one) of the folio, the text abruptly ends at line 23. Column two consists of 33 lines of text, with just three missing at the end, totaling 36 lines in all.⁵ Thus, approximately 13 lines of text are missing (known as a lacuna) from column one. This lacuna includes part of Genesis 11:11,

all of verse 12, and part of verse 13b. The only way to fill out the text missing from the lacuna is to include Kainan, as follows:

[πεθανεν και εξησεν	(Shem d)ied. And lived	Line 24 Column 1
Αρφαξαδ ετη ρλε και	Arpachshad 135 years and	Line 25 Column 1
εγεννησεν τον Καιν	he fathered Kai-	Line 26 Column 1
αν και εξησεν Αρφα	nan. And lived Arpa-	Line 27 Column 1
ξαδ μετα το γεννησ	chshad after he father-	Line 28 Column 1
αι αυτον τον Καινα	ed Kaina-	Line 29 Column 1
ν ετη υλ και εγεννησ	n 430 years and he fath-	Line 30 Column 1
εν υιους και θυγατερ	ered sons and daughte-	Line 31 Column 1
ας και απεθανεν και	rs and he died. And	Line 32 Column 1
εξησεν Καιναν ετη ρλ	Kainan lived 130 years	Line 33 Column 1
και εγεννησεν τον Σα	and fathered She-	Line 34 Column 1
λα και εξησεν Καιναν	lah and lived Kainan	Line 35 Column 1
μετα το γεννησαι αυ]	after he fathered	Line 36 Column 1
τον τον σαλα ε	Shelah	Extant, Line 1, top of Col. 2

If Kainan is excluded, then the genealogy from Arpachshad directly to Shelah would only be 6 lines long, less than half the length required to fill out the 13-line lacuna. Thus, Kainan must have been included in Papyrus 961 originally, but the relevant section was damaged and lost at some unknown time.

Kainan's Inclusion in the Berlin Fragment of Genesis: LXX Papyrus 911

Dated to the late third century AD, Papyrus 911 (Folio 66) is written in an early cursive Greek script and contains Genesis 1:16–22 and 2:5–35:8. It is mutilated with extensive lacunae. Folio 66I can be seen on the University of Warsaw's website.⁶ Folio 66II, which includes Genesis 10 and 11, can be seen in a facsimile published by Henry Sanders in 1927.⁷ Unfortunately, the original papyrus (66II) was destroyed in Berlin during the Second World War. From Sanders' facsimile, there are three instances of Kainan from Genesis 11:13b–14b indisputably visible in Papyrus 911: the earliest extant LXX manuscript of Genesis.

Kainan's original inclusion in LXX Genesis 11:13b–14b is further supported by the extensive manuscript evidence found in the Göttingen Septuagint critical edition of Genesis, produced by the renowned LXX scholar John Wevers. Along with Papyrus 911, Kainan appears in all known LXX manuscripts of Genesis 11:13b–14b before AD 1100, including Codex Alexandrinus (A), Cottonianus (D), Coislinianus (M), palimpsest Papyrus 833, and numerous additional witnesses. Kainan is missing for the first time in LXX Genesis 11 in the 12th century AD miniscule 82,⁸ so late as to render his absence there virtually meaningless. Add to this Kainan's necessary inclusion in Papyrus 961, and the independent external evidence (see below), and Kainan's originality in LXX Genesis 11:13b–14b can be deemed to be certain.

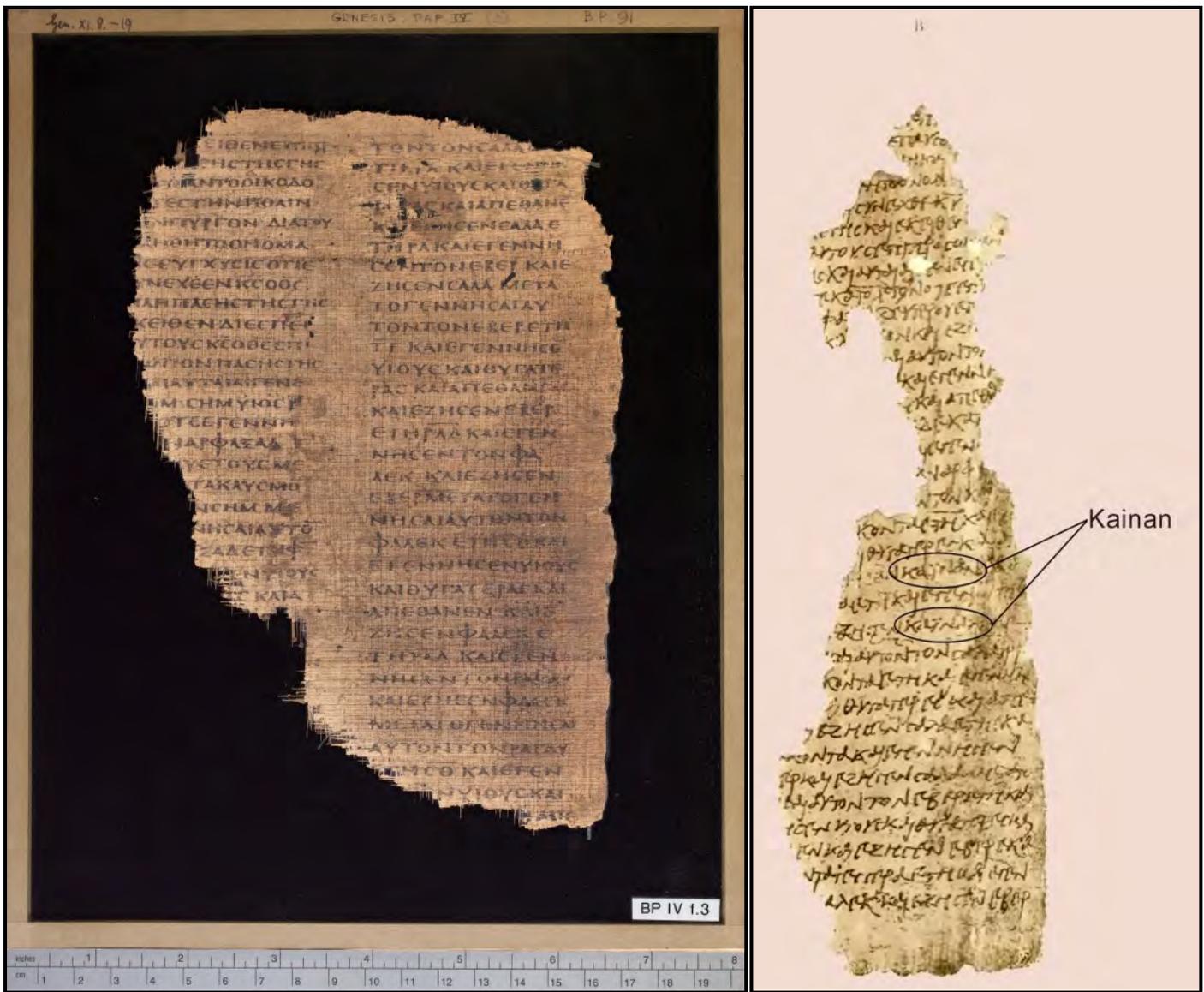
Kainan's Inclusion in Early Witnesses

Hippolytus of Rome (ca. AD 225)

Hippolytus was an influential theologian in the church in Rome in the early third century AD. A contemporary of Julius Africanus, Hippolytus produced the *Chronicon*, a chronology from Adam to his own day, equaling 5738 years.⁹ Not only did Hippolytus's chronology and his LXX text of Genesis 10:24 and 11:13b–14b definitively include Kainan, but so did his second century AD text of Luke's Gospel. He lists "the names of the created," a genealogy which begins with Adam and ends with Jesus Christ. Hippolytus's genealogy mimics Luke 3:31e–38c (but in reverse order), and explicitly includes Kainan from Luke 3:36 (verse 718.13).¹⁰

The Gospel of Luke (ca. AD 60–70)

For his genealogical list of patriarchs from Abraham back to Adam, it is logical to surmise that Luke drew directly from the genealogy in LXX 1 Chronicles chapter one, since it provides a concise list of the patriarchs which Luke could efficiently copy for his particular purposes. Verses 1:1–4 and 24–27 succinctly provide the names from Adam to Abraham. Steyn has also noted the spelling of the patriarchs from Luke 3:34d to 38 closely mirrors the spelling in the LXX of Genesis 5 and 11.¹¹ He concludes that Kainam(n)¹² was found in the LXX Genesis text Luke was using in the mid-first century AD. Since we have established Kainan's original inclusion in Luke's Gospel as virtually certain from 3⁴ and 40 additional NT manuscripts, Luke serves as an inspired and infallible external witness to the presence and authenticity of Kainan in his biblical text of LXX Genesis 11:13b–14b and/or LXX 1 Chronicles in the first century AD.



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Left: Papyrus 961, housed at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, Ireland. This important fourth century AD Septuagint manuscript contains Genesis 9 through 44. The only way to adequately account for the missing section of text on the left side of this folio is to include Kainan between Arpachshad and Shelah in the post-Flood genealogy of Genesis 11:13b–14b.

Right: Genesis 11:8–17 from the Berlin Fragment of Genesis, Papyrus 911. Studied extensively by Carl Schmidt and Henry Sanders in the 1920s, this fragment irrefutably preserves Kainan three times in Genesis 11:13b–14b. Like Φ^4 , Papyrus 911 has been virtually ignored in academic discussions on Kainan’s authenticity. Since it was discovered in Egypt and dates to the late third century AD, Papyrus 911 serves as another powerful witness against the argument that Kainan originated as a scribal error in a manuscript of Luke.

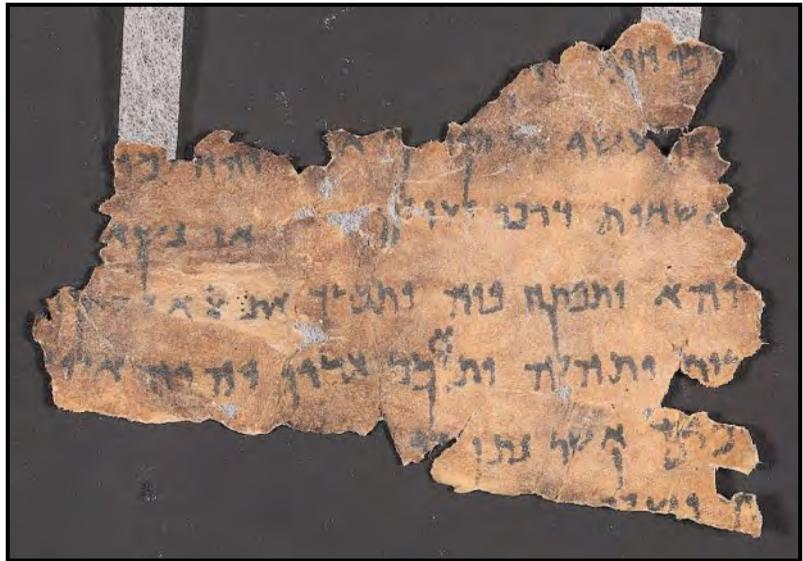
The Book of Jubilees (ca. 160 BC)

Jubilees 8:1–5 includes a biography of the life of Kainam/n between the lives of Arpachshad and Shelah, and is based on a Hebrew text of Genesis 11. *Jubilees* was written originally in Hebrew around 160 BC, and the author used a Hebrew base text of Genesis and Exodus extant in Israel when he was writing this work. Andrew Steinmann claims that Kainan was interpolated into *Jubilees* by Christian scribes centuries after it was originally written:

... there is good reason to suspect that this text has been inserted into Jubilees at a later date. According to *Jub.* 2:23, there were twenty-two leaders of humanity from Adam to Jacob. This is the number of persons in the genealogy *without Cainan* that traces from Adam through Noah to Jacob, and Jubilees compares it to twenty-two works of God during creation (cf. *Jub.* 2:15).¹³

Steinmann’s argument totally depends on the incorrect assumption that the 22 leaders of humanity include Jacob.

A fragment from the *Book of Jubilees*, found in Cave Four at Qumran. In his groundbreaking study of *Jubilees* in the early 1900s, Robert Charles concluded that the pseudepigraphical book was originally written in Hebrew. He was vindicated by the discovery of thirteen fragments of *Jubilees* found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls.



The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library

Once the poetic parallelism used by the author is carefully examined in chapter two, Jacob stands as the 23rd patriarch from Adam, not the 22nd. Jacob and the Sabbath are analogous to one another in the mind of the author. Kainan's inclusion in *Jubilees* 8:1–5 is integral to the 22 leaders prior to Jacob and the parallelism with the 22 works of creation prior to the Sabbath. *To include Jacob in the list of 22 patriarchs is to contradict the entire point that the author of Jubilees is making.*

No extant manuscripts preserving *Jubilees* 8 lack Kainan, and no citations from external witnesses to *Jubilees* in antiquity exclude Kainan, either. Moreover, the false addition of Kainan would disrupt the jubilean chronological scheme created by the author, requiring the modification of the begetting ages to keep the chronological scheme intact. There is no manuscript evidence to support such changes. While complete MSS of *Jubilees* are dated later than scholars would normally prefer (14th century AD), there is no internal or external evidence to support the supposition that Kainan and his life story are artificial interpolations. Thus, Kainan and his life story are original to the text and the chronological scheme of *Jubilees*. Since *Jubilees* definitively originated in Hebrew in Israel in the second century BC and its author used a Hebrew base text of Genesis, Kainan/n appeared in a Hebrew text of Genesis 11 at that time.

Demetrius the Chronographer (ca. 220 BC)

Demetrius was a Hellenistic Jewish historian who wrote in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy IV (221–205 BC), and is "...the earliest datable Alexandrian-Jewish author we know."¹⁴ He used the LXX and his writings demonstrate that he had intimate knowledge of its contents in the third century BC. Demetrius chronologically tethers three events to the time Jacob and his family entered Egypt:

...from Adam until the time when the brothers of Joseph came into Egypt, there were 3624 years; and from the Deluge until Jacob's arrival in Egypt there were 136[2] years; and from the time Abraham was chosen from among the nations and came from Haran into Canaan [at age 75] until the time when those with him [Jacob] came into Egypt, there were 215 years.¹⁵

The period from the Flood to Abraham in Genesis 11:10–32 in the LXX with Kainan included equals exactly 1072 years.

This is the same figure derived from Demetrius' post-Flood chronology (1362 minus 290 [215+75] equals 1072). In order for Demetrius' chronological calculations to work, the Genesis 11 LXX text in his possession had to include Kainan and his 130-year begetting age. The 1072-year calculation is independently affirmed by the post-Flood chronology in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The SP excludes Kainan, but matches the rest of the LXX's begetting ages, yielding a total of 942 years from the Flood to Abraham's birth. Eusebius' calculation from his manuscript(s) of the LXX, sans Kainan, also equals 942 years (*Chronicle* 27). When Kainan's 130 is added to 942 from the SP and Eusebius, we reach the exact same total as the LXX and Demetrius: 1072 years.

Because of Demetrius' chronological precision, we can conclude that Kainan necessarily appeared in his manuscript(s) of LXX Genesis 11:13b–14b in ca. 220 BC. This first external witness to the LXX was written just a few decades after its origin. Demetrius long predates the Gospel of Luke, providing irrefutable external evidence for Kainan's presence in LXX Genesis 11 in the late third century BC, and annulling the theory that Kainan originally arose as a scribal error in Luke.

The Hebrew Text Underlying the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch (ca. 281 BC)

Other unsustainable theories have been proposed to explain away Kainan's inclusion in the original LXX translation of Genesis, which will be examined in more detail in a future article. Septuagint scholars such as Marcos, Hiebert, Scarlata, Wevers and Tov¹⁶ observe a conservative treatment of the Hebrew Genesis text by the Alexandrian translators. There is no textual or historical evidence that they deliberately and nefariously added Kainan to Genesis 11. Instead, Kainan appeared in their Hebrew *Vorlage* of Genesis in the early third century BC. This is consistent with Kainan's appearance in the Hebrew text being used by the author of *Jubilees*.

An Argument for Kainan's Originality in the Hebrew OT Text

The evidence for Kainan's inclusion in Hippolytus, the Gospel of Luke, the Hebrew text of Genesis underlying *Jubilees*, Demetrius, LXX Genesis 11 and its Hebrew *Vorlage*, is certain. However, Kainan is missing from the Masoretic Text (MT), the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), Josephus, Theophilus of Antioch, Julius Africanus, the Aramaic Targums, and Eusebius. How can Kainan's absence in these important and significant witnesses be explained?

I propose that a scribal error in a very ancient and major Hebrew archetypal manuscript caused by a combination of parablepsis (slip of the eye) and mental error set off a chain of events that led to the complex matrix we have presently. This general sequence is the only viable way to explain all of the overall evidence:

1. The deportation to and return from Babylon in the sixth century BC created geographically separated Hebrew texts. Many Jews stayed in Babylon, while others eventually returned to Israel. Egypt also received an influx of Jews as a result of the Exile. Aramaic papyri and the temple built in Elephantine prove that Diaspora Jews lived as far south as Aswan in the fifth century BC. I propose that Kainan accidentally fell out of Genesis 11:13–14 in a major Hebrew archetypal manuscript during this time. Since there were major texts in geographically disparate locations, it would have been possible for one major line of Hebrew text to preserve Kainan (in Egypt), while another major line had accidentally lost his name (in Babylon).

2. When Jewish scribes discovered Kainan was absent from their archetypal Hebrew text of Genesis 11, they harmonized Genesis 10:24 and 1 Chronicles 1:18, 24 with Genesis 11 by removing his name from those verses. Since Genesis 11 already had dropped Kainan completely, removing his name from these other verses would have been fairly easy, as it would have only involved a few words. Harmonization with the (perceived) goal of improving or correcting the text was a common phenomenon in scribal activity.

3. This main archetypal line of Hebrew text excluding Kainan split, eventually leading to the MT and the SP. This probably occurred in the early post-exilic period, perhaps around the time the Samaritan Temple was built on Mount Gerizim in the fifth century BC.

4. A different Hebrew archetype which had not lost Kainan was used by the Alexandrian translators in 281 BC. Kainan/n appeared in their Hebrew *Vorlage* and was included in the original LXX translation of Genesis 10:24 and 11:13b–14b.

5. Demetrius the Chronographer used the LXX in Alexandria around 220 BC, which necessarily included Kainan.

6. A Hebrew text which had descended from an archetype preserving Kainan/n was used by the author of *Jubilees* in Israel around 160 BC.

7. The post-Torah translations (including 1 Chronicles) were completed around 130 BC, perhaps in Israel. The various translators used Hebrew texts that differed in numerous respects from the texts used to translate the law of Moses in Alexandria, Egypt. If the original translator of 1 Chronicles was working with a Hebrew text that had already removed Kainan from 1:18, 24, it is possible that the first Greek translation of 1 Chronicles from the second century BC may not have contained his name. The harmonization of LXX Genesis 11:13b–14b and 10:24 with 1 Chronicles 1:18, 24 either by the removal or addition of Kainan in copies of the LXX by scribes would have occurred. LXX Codex B (Vaticanus) excludes Kainan in 1 Chronicles, while LXX Codex A includes him.

8. During the second century BC, Jewish scribes began to modify circulating LXX translations for the purpose of improving and updating them. This was much like modern attempts to produce more accurate English translations of the Bible from known Hebrew and Greek MSS. The Jewish scribes used proto-Masoretic Hebrew texts for this task, as evidenced by the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever. During this period, Jewish scribes would have encountered Kainan in their LXX of Genesis 10:24 and/or 11:13b–14b, but then found he was missing in their proto-MT Hebrew texts. Undoubtedly, some scribes would have removed Kainan from their updated Greek translations, thinking the name was an error. Jewish scribes who were more conservative in their text-critical decisions and/or held the LXX in high regard would have allowed Kainan to remain in their Greek translation(s).

9. Under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, Luke's Gospel witnesses to a LXX text of 1 Chronicles and/or Genesis 11:13b–14b that included Kainan in the mid-first century AD.

10. Josephus (*ca.* AD 90) used a Hebrew text of Genesis excluding Kainan (*Ant.* 1.150).

11. Theophilus of Antioch (d. AD 183), Julius Africanus (AD 222), and Eusebius of Caesarea (AD 310) possessed LXX MSS that excluded Kainan in LXX Genesis 11.

12. The chronology of Hippolytus of Rome (completed in *ca.* AD 225) explicitly includes Kainan in his listing of Shem's descendants from LXX Genesis 11:13b–14b, in the Table of Nations in Genesis 10:24, and in his reiteration of Luke's genealogy from Jesus back to Adam. The NT and LXX manuscripts used by Hippolytus were likely from the second century AD.

13. Augustine's (AD 354–430) Genesis LXX text included Kainan.

Instead of being definitive evidence against Kainan, the textual and historical complexities outlined above support a larger argument favoring his original inclusion in both the Old and New Testaments. Conversely, the theory that Kainan originated as a scribal error in Luke and then was interpolated back into both the Greek OT and NT by the Church across the entire Mediterranean world is impossible, based on all the

A fragment of the Greek Minor Prophet Scrolls found at Nahal Hever in the Judean Desert. Dated to the first century BC, this translation represents a revision (or recension) of the original LXX, using a Hebrew text very close to the Masoretic. This important discovery shows how Jewish scribes were revising older translations of the LXX to conform them to the MT, the dominant text type in Israel at that time. Such (re)translations during this period best explain how Kainan was absent in some LXX manuscripts, such as those being used by Theophilus, Julius Africanus and Eusebius. By the time of Jerome (AD 347–420), there were three major LXX text types “competing” for primacy in the Church. This textual complexity best explains Kainan’s absence or presence in different sources from antiquity.



The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library

ΤΟΥ	ΙΑΚΩΒ	QUJFUI	JACOB
ΤΟΥ	ΙΣΑΚ	QUJFUI	ISAC
ΤΟΥ	ΑΒΡΑΑΜ	QUJFUI	ABRAHAM
ΤΟΥ	ΘΑΡΑ	QUJFUI	THARA
ΤΟΥ	ΝΑΧΩΡ	QUJFUI	NACHOR
ΤΟΥ	ΣΕΡΟΥΚ	QUJFUI	SERUC
ΤΟΥ	ΡΑΓΑΥ	QUJFUI	RAGAU
ΤΟΥ	ΦΑΛΕΚ	QUJFUI	PHALEC
ΤΟΥ	ΕΒΕΡ	QUJFUI	EBER
ΤΟΥ	ΣΑΛΑ	QUJFUI	SALA
ΤΟΥ	ΑΡΦΑΞΑΔ	QUJFUI	ARPHAXAD
ΤΟΥ	ΣΗΜ	QUJFUI	SEM

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The fifth century AD Codex Bezae (pronounced “bee’s eye”) This is the only extant manuscript of Luke preserving verse 36 that definitively excludes Kainan. It often diverges significantly from the original NT text. In the case of Luke’s genealogy, Bezae is markedly inferior. When the list reaches David, it inserts a reversed version of Matthew 1 into the genealogy. Fascinatingly, Hippolytus of Rome’s Lukan genealogy includes the same insertion after David. Hippolytus’ manuscript of Luke was possibly a predecessor of Bezae, but it included Kainan in the early third century AD. Thus, it appears that Kainan was deliberately removed from Bezae’s textual predecessor by a scribe after the time of Hippolytus. When weighed against Papyrus 4 and the 40 other NT manuscripts that include Kainan, Bezae’s witness simply cannot stand.

known evidence. Other theories positing a counterfeit origin for Kainan in the LXX and/or Luke cannot even remotely account for all of the textual and historical data. The only viable explanation is that Kainan was originally in the Hebrew text of Genesis 10:24, 11:13–14 and 1 Chronicles 1:18, 24 but disappeared from a major Hebrew archetype of Genesis 11, probably in Babylon in the sixth century BC. This was followed by the removal of Kainan by harmonization in a later archetypal Hebrew text of 1 Chronicles and Genesis 10:24. The subsequent chain of events and totality of complex evidence outlined above can only be explained by this scenario.

Editorial note: An extensive and more technical article on the authenticity of Kainan will be submitted to an academic journal for intended publication in 2018 or 2019. The arguments presented here will be documented and defended in detail in that upcoming article. To access the articles published thus far for the Genesis 5 and 11 Research Project, please visit the ABR website and type in “Primeval” into the search box.

Notes

¹Gordon Fee, "The Significance of Papyrus Bodmer II and Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV for Methodology in New Testament Textual Criticism" (PhD Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1966), 295.

²Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 2001), 61. The phrase "son of" in English is shortened in the Greek by use of only the definite article in front of each name, TOY.

³Albert Pietersma, *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri IV and V: A New Critical Edition with Text-Critical Analysis*, vol. 16, American Studies in Papyrology (Toronto: Samuel Stevens Hakkert and Company, 1977).

⁴"Rahlf's 961," The Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts, accessed June 9, 2018, http://www.csntm.org/Manuscript/View/Rahlf_961.

⁵For column two, 33 lines are extant, and when compared to the next page in the manuscript, it is clear that three lines are missing at the end of column two, for a total of 36 lines of text.

⁶"Berlin, Cod. Gr. Fol. 66 I" Papyri in the Department of Papyrology, University of Warsaw, accessed June 9, 2018, <http://www.papyrology.uw.edu.pl/papyri/berlincodgr.htm>.

⁷Henry A. Sanders, *Facsimile of the Washington Manuscript of the Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection and the Berlin Fragment of Genesis* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan, 1927), 16.

⁸John W. Wevers, ed., *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Genesis*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 14–17.

⁹T. C. Schmidt and Nick Nicholas, *Hippolytus of Rome: Commentary on Daniel and 'Chronicon'* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017).

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 278–79.

¹¹Gert J. Steyn, "The Occurrence of 'Kainam' in Luke's Genealogy: Evidence of Septuagint Influence?," *ETL* 65, no. 4 (1989): 409–11.

¹²The manuscripts of *Jubilees*, the LXX and Luke have variant endings for his name: Kainan or Kainam. It is actually possible his name originally ended with the "m." This spelling variation points to originality, not universal interpolation. This will be explored in my upcoming journal article.

¹³Andrew E. Steinmann, "Challenging the Authenticity of Cainan, Son of Arpachshad," *JETS* 60, no. 4 (2017).

¹⁴Jack Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, Revised Edition (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1998), 141.

¹⁵There is a small scribal error of two years in Demetrius. The figure of 2 has dropped off the end of the Greek abbreviation for 1362.

¹⁶Natalio Fernandez Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G.E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 260; Robert J.V. Hiebert, "Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Genesis and Its Implications for the NETS Version," *BIOSCS* 33 (2000): 76–93; Mark W. Scarlata, "Genesis," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (NY: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 13–28; John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 35 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993), 1–161; Emanuel Tov, "The Harmonizing Character of the Septuagint of Genesis 1–11," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint*, vol. 3, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 167 (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2015), 470–89.

Henry B. Smith Jr. is a staff researcher with ABR, the Administrative Director of the Shiloh Archaeological Excavations, Israel, and an archaeological square supervisor. He has published articles in the *Journal of Creation*, *The Journal of Ministry and Theology*, *Answers Magazine*, *The Answers Research Journal*, and *Bible and Spade*. Henry graduated from Westminster Theological Seminary in 2015 with a Master of Arts in Religion.



A graphic with a background of ancient papyrus scrolls. The text is centered and reads: "THE GENESIS 5 AND 11 GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY RESEARCH PROJECT" in large, bold, white and black letters. Below this, in a smaller, italicized font, is the question "When was Noah's Flood?". At the bottom of the graphic, there is a splash of blue water.

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After Nine Seasons at Tel Burna *HAVE WE FOUND BIBLICAL LIBNAH?*

By James “Seth” Adcock

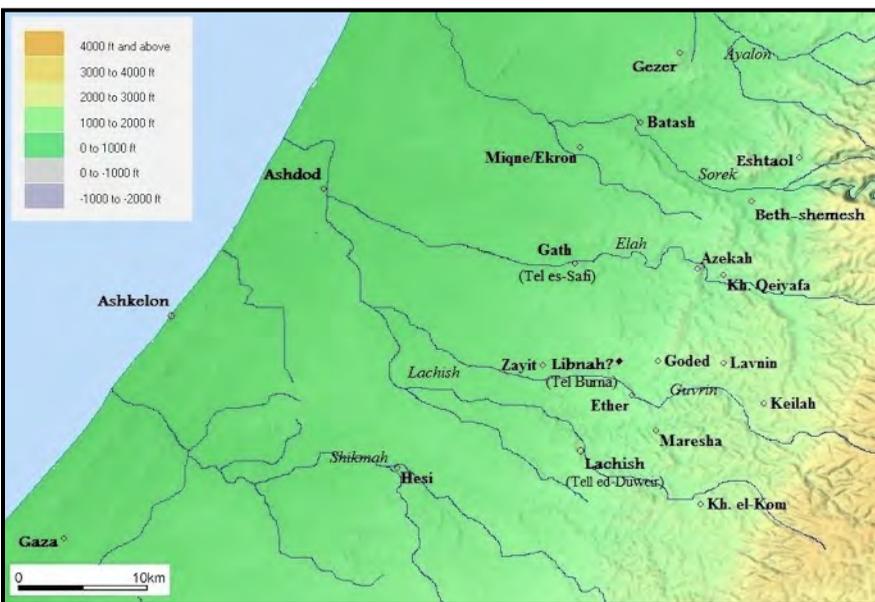
The question of whether archaeology has discovered biblical Libnah still remains, even after nine excavation seasons at Tel Burna. As William Albright originally proposed in 1924,¹ Tel Burna (or “Tel Bornat” in its Arabic form) has long been thought to be biblical Libnah,² yet without corroborating archaeological evidence to substantiate the hypothesis. But now we must ask, have nine seasons of archaeological excavation proved the identification made long ago by Albright and subsequently by Karl Elliger?³ We shall examine below three primary means to determine if Tel Burna is biblical Libnah. These three criteria include: 1) the biblical descriptions of Libnah and if Tel Burna fits them; 2) the observable archaeological evidence in the biblical periods; and finally, 3) other viable options for biblical Libnah. After examining these three criteria, we shall then reach a tentative conclusion. We shall now begin with the first criterion.

Biblical Descriptions of Libnah

The primary biblical passages discussing the city of Libnah in the Shephelah (not Lebonah of Ephraim) are listed as follows: Joshua 10:29–39, 15:42, 21:13; 2 Kings 8:22, 19:8, 23:31, 24:18; 1 Chronicles 6:42 (English 6:57); 2 Chronicles

21:10; and Jeremiah 52:1. We shall examine each passage separately below and see how they inform the discussion on the location of Tel Burna.

To begin, Joshua 10:29–39 indicates that biblical Libnah should be between Lachish and Gezer, roughly speaking (i.e., not as the crow flies). Thus, one of the possible candidates for biblical Libnah, Horvat Lavnin, seems much too far to the east.⁴ Moreover, Tel Burna would be a more central location between Tel Gezer and Tel Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) than that of the high summit of Tel Goded.⁵ Libnah must be somewhere, generally speaking, between Azekah and Makkedah as described in the battle descriptions of Joshua 10:10–39. Although Makkedah is not known with certainty (Khirbet el-Kôm, according to David Dorsey),⁶ no one doubts that Khirbet Tell Zakariyeh represents biblical Azekah, which has close proximity to Tel Burna. In general, Joshua 10:29–37 describes Joshua’s army’s movement after the “Makkedah massacre” as the common military strategy of protecting an army’s vulnerable sides by means of a wide flank (counter-clockwise in this case).⁷ This is to say, the Israelites perform a broad flanking sweep from west to east, from Libnah to Lachish and finally ending at Eglon (or Tell ‘Aitûn),⁸ before moving on to Hebron and Debir (Khirbet Rabûd;⁹ cf. Jos 10:29–37). In summary, Tel Burna could easily represent Libnah as the westerly location of Joshua’s military flank movement.



Tel Burna, considered by many archaeologists to be biblical Libnah, is in the Shephelah region of Israel, near what may have been the Philistine border (cf. 2 Kgs 8:20–23 and 2 Chr 21:9–17).

The third district list of the Shephelah in Joshua 15:42–47 begins in a general westerly orientation, presumably then moving east as the list continues through 15:42 and onwards. Moreover, few (at least in recent scholarship)¹⁰ question the notion of connecting biblical Ether with Khirbet el-Ater, which preserves the Hebrew appellation perfectly in the Arabic toponym “Ater.”¹¹ Ashan is possibly Tel Goded,¹² so it seems that early biblical geographers were correct to assume a westerly or south-westerly position for Libnah (e.g., Charles Warren’s identification with “Yavneh” [i.e., Jamnia] between Jaffa and Ashdod,¹³ E. Wilton’s proposal of “Lebben” about 5 mi (8 km) south of the city of Gaza,¹⁴ or, more realistically, ‘Arak el Menshiyeh [Tel ‘Erani] near Kiryat Gat).¹⁵ Thus, one should look for Libnah in the western border areas of the Shephelah, presumably near Khirbet

el-Ater. Thus, as with modern geographers, we are directed to sites near Khirbet el-Ater, such as Tel Burna, Tel Zayit, or Tel Goded. Many geographers overlook the fact that Joshua 15:45–47’s so-called “Philistine insertion” immediately follows the third Shephelah city collection, or the “Libnah” district list in Joshua 15:42–44, so that the reader would naturally be oriented to the western portions of Judah (i.e., Judah’s border zone with Philistia) when reading the Libnah district’s towns. Unlike the first (Eshtaol) and the second (Zenan) Shephelah districts of Joshua 15, Libnah becomes a prominent Judahite city in the Iron Age (cf. 2 Kgs 19:8 and Jer 52:1).¹⁶ Thus, it is difficult to make certain conclusions about the nature of the Shephelah



Jennifer Bartlett, ESRI

Tel Burna is 1.55 mi. (2.55 km) NW of Beit Guvrin, both of which are near Nahal Guvrin, or the Guvrin River.

city lists from the first towns mentioned in each one¹⁷ (i.e., Eshtaol of Joshua 15:33 or Zenan¹⁸ of 15:37). However, it seems safe to conclude that Libnah has a westerly orientation in its district list and should be relatively close to Khirbet el-Ater.

In Joshua 21:13,¹⁹ Libnah is a Levitical city, which usually implies a certain distance from other Levitical cities. Moreover, one would expect Libnah to be on the western border of its district’s region for the sake of the local population’s relative accessibility to ministering priests. Thus, if the assumption of a westerly orientation proves correct, Libnah, positioned at Tel Burna, would have similarity to the extreme location of Gezer, another Levitical city near assumed borders (Jos 21:21; Tell Jezer), or, perhaps, even like that of Beth Shemesh (Jos 21:16; Tell er-Rumeileh).

Both 2 Kings 8:20–23 and its parallel in 2 Chronicles 21:9–17 suggest that Libnah could have proximity to the Philistine border of Judah (e.g., near Tell es-Safi). Biblical Libnah need not be near Edom *per se*, since 2 Kings 8:22 implies that Libnah independently rebels as a free city-state entity that is not bound inextricably to Edom. The safest conclusion from the data is that Libnah should be located near the border (i.e., western border) of the Libnah district list of cities (Jos 15:42–44). With a westerly position of Libnah at Tel Burna, the city would be in an ideal location for rebellion against Judah along with other independent nations such as Philistia to the west (Gath almost directly north at Tell es-Safi), or more remotely distant to the south, Edom.²⁰

Contrary to popular opinion, 2 Kings 19:8 presents no clear historical evidence that Libnah was destroyed by Sennacherib. However, 2 Kings 19:8 does provide textual data that Sennacherib attacked the city. Correspondingly, after nine seasons of excavations, Tel Burna has not yet revealed clear evidence of a Sennacherib destruction layer.²¹

Three biblical passages mention “Queen”²² Hamutal (cf. 2 Kgs 23:31; 2 Kgs 24:18; and Jer 52:1), who was the mother of

two Judean kings (King Jehoahaz and King Zedekiah). Most pertinent to this discussion is the fact that Hamutal was from the city of Libnah, which seems most likely to be the Shephelah city of Joshua 15:42.²³ There are many possible conclusions to be drawn from the fact that King Josiah takes his wife from Libnah. Without a doubt, Libnah must have been an important city for its region (the Guvrin valley) during the seventh century BC. Our logical conclusion comes from the fact that Jerusalem’s royal family desired to marry into Libnah’s “royal” kinship,²⁴ aside from other possible reasons. Simply put, Libnah was not just a small backwater village with little importance to King Josiah. The final chapter of Jeremiah, just before Nebuchadnezzar’s armies come conquering, mentions the city of Libnah as Hamutal’s home town (Jer 52:1) in an aside manner. Yet, the key observation to be made from Jeremiah 52:1 is that Libnah existed at the final stage of the Judean kingdom. Thus, one would expect to find at Libnah a substantial inhabitation and wide settlement from the time frames presented in the book of Kings, most particularly in the Iron IIB and IIC periods of Judah’s kingdom.

Archaeological excavations at Tel Burna have indeed confirmed Iron IIB and IIC period remains that correspond to what is expected of biblical Libnah. However, such findings were to be anticipated before actual digging in 2010, since 2009’s preliminary survey of Tel Burna demonstrated surface



indications of Iron IIB and IIC.²⁵ Moreover, after nine seasons of archaeological excavations, the data’s results have matched the

King Zedekiah (597–587 BC), whose mother, Hamutal, was from Libnah (cf. 2 Kgs 23:31; 2 Kgs 24:18; and Jer 52:1), was the last king of Israel before the Babylonian captivity.

The Archaeological Ages and Old Testament History

Period	Date, B.C.	Significant Events	Biblical Periods
Early Bronze I ¹	ca. 3100–2900		} Period of the Patriarchs
Early Bronze II	ca. 2900–2600		
Early Bronze III	ca. 2600–2300		
Early Bronze IV	ca. 2300–1900		
Destruction of Sodom & Gomorrah in 2067 during the EB IV period			
Middle Bronze I (IIA) ¹	ca. 1900–1750		} Egyptian Sojourn, 1876–1446
Middle Bronze II (IIB)	ca. 1750–1650	Second Intermediate (Hyksos) Period 1668–1560 ³	
Middle Bronze III (IIC) ²	ca. 1650–1485		
Subjugation of Canaan by Thutmose III in his 22nd year, ca. 1485			
Late Bronze IA ¹	ca. 1485–1446	Exodus Spring 1446	} Conquest 1406–1400
Late Bronze IB	ca. 1446–1400	Wilderness Wanderings 1446–1406	
Late Bronze II (IIA)	ca. 1400–1305	Campaign of Seti I, ca. 1305	} Period of the Judges, ca. 1400–1051
Late Bronze III (IIB) ⁵	ca. 1305–1187		
Philistine invasion in the 8th year of Ramses III, ca. 1187			
Iron IA ⁶	ca. 1187–1140/30		} United Monarchy, 1051–932
Iron IB	ca. 1140/30–980	Saul 1051–1009, David 1009–969, Solomon 971–932, Campaign of Shishak 925	
Iron IIA ⁷	ca. 980–841		
Jehu coup 841			
Iron IIB	ca. 841–701	Fall of Samaria 723.	} Divided Monarchy, 932–587
Campaign of Sennacherib 701			
Iron IIC	ca. 701–587		
Fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians June/July 587			
Babylonian Period	587–539		Exile
Persian Period	539–332		Return

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¹Dates for the Early and Middle Bronze Ages are those of Douglas Petrovich (https://www.academia.edu/4167872/Archaeological_Ages_in_the_Levant).

²The end of the Middle Bronze Age is correlated with the campaign of Thutmose III in ca. 1485 (Qashish [2003]: 327).

³Egyptian dates are those of Douglas Petrovich in *The World's Oldest Alphabet: Hebrew as the ProtoConsonantal Script*.

⁴For general agreement for LB IA, see Yoqne'am III (2005): 243, and for general agreement for late MB and LB, see Tel Beth-Shean II (2007): 12.

⁵The end of Late Bronze Age is correlated with the invasion of the Philistines in ca. 1173.

⁶Iron Age I dates are those of Amihai Mazar in *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors from the Iron Age through the Hellenistic Period I*, ed. S. Gitin (2015): 7.

⁷Iron Age II dates are based on Amihai Mazar, *The Debate over the Chronology of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant: Its History, the Current Situation and a Suggested Resolution*, in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating—Archaeology, Text and Science*, eds. T.E. Levy and T. Higham (2005): 14.

expectations of the staff who conducted a preliminary survey in 2009. The sole exception remains the Iron I period,²⁶ which, at least as of 2017's results, has only found indications of its settlement floating among the dig squares of the excavation areas. The 2009 survey found two hectares of Iron I surface scatter,²⁷ thus the lack of excavated evidence for Iron I is unexpected. We shall now discuss the Iron Age levels so far uncovered at Tel Burna.

Observable Archaeological Evidence in the Biblical Periods at Tel Burna

Itzick Shai's excavations at Tel Burna have uncovered remains from the Late Bronze IIB, the Iron IIA, Iron IIB, and Iron IIC periods. Moreover, the Late Bronze IIB has

substantial evidence of inhabitation which preserves a large public building for ritual and cultic practices.²⁸ We shall skip over further discussion of the abundant Late Bronze Age remains, such as those coming from the squares of Area B. Instead, our analysis now concentrates on the Iron Age strata for consideration of Tel Burna's archaeological evidence to be Libnah. We begin with the earliest period of the Iron Age and work our way to the seventh and sixth century BC's Iron IIC period.

Iron Age I

A surface survey of 2009 conducted by Itzick Shai and Joe Uziel predicted archaeological inhabitations with sherd evidence from many time periods. The list of archaeological

periods included every major Bronze age (i.e., EB, MB, and LB), as well as all the Iron Age periods. For our immediate purposes, however, the 2009 survey foresaw some Iron Age I settlement—at least two hectares in area, but not on the western slope facing Philistia.²⁹ However, as of nine seasons of excavations, the archaeological evidence so far discovered has not yet confirmed the survey outlook. But the 2009 survey was correct to predict small percentages of Philistine pottery.³⁰ Moreover, excavations have found Iron Age I sherds, only without a stratified context.³¹

Iron Age IIA

The Iron Age II had the largest area of surface scatter in the 2009 survey,³² which has proven to accurately predict the state of affairs under the ground. At the summit of Tel Burna, excavations have revealed a large fortified area measuring 70 x 70 m (230 x 230 ft). The casemate wall, or casemate fortification system, currently dates from the ninth to the eighth centuries BC, with a seventh century BC silo that cuts the inner wall to provide a *terminus ante quem* dating for the earlier construction phases (at least for the inner section of the wall). Sennacherib’s eighth century BC conquest, contrary to previous thinking,³³ does not seem to be evident in any destructive manner from the archaeological evidence so far collected.³⁴ Furthermore, the dating of the original construction of the 70 x 70 m fortifications still cannot be conclusively determined, since the foundation of the wall has not yet been clearly reached. Yet, Shai can confidently state that the 70 x 70 m casemate wall must have been in defensive use for at least 200 years.³⁵

Iron Age IIB

According to Shai,³⁶ Tel Burna’s inhabitation or population settlement reached its greatest extent in the Iron IIB, extending about eight hectares—far beyond the 70 x 70 casemate wall

fortification area. Areas A1 and A2 gave the most substantial evidence for the Iron Age IIB, with Area A2 (apparently) producing a typical Israelite “four-room house” dated securely to the eighth century BC.³⁷ In summary, it is of utmost importance that Tel Burna’s substantial settlement remains are from the Iron Age IIB, when one would expect such to be case, especially given the biblical historiography as, for example, in the book of Kings.

Iron Age IIC

Tel Burna’s Areas A1 and A2 produced silos with rich pottery assemblages that run from the eighth century BC to the seventh century BC.³⁸ Perhaps most importantly, Tel Burna’s Iron Age IIC pottery provides extensive enough evidence to fit the picture provided in the book of Kings (cf. 2 Kgs 23:31; 2 Kgs 24:18; and Jer 52:1) of Hamutal being married into the Judean royal family. This fact alone gives Tel Burna the edge over the choice of Tel Zayit, which lacks any indication of Iron IIC stratification layers. Thus, assuming Tel Burna to be Libnah, we see that in the seventh century BC, Libnah was not an obscure or backwater village of the Shephelah. Itzick Shai writes that Tel Burna “continued to be settled in the last century of the Kingdom of Judah, as attested by the series of silos and some other architectural elements. This supports the suggested identification of the site with biblical Libnah, because, according to the biblical testimony, Josiah’s wife came from Libnah (e.g., 2 Kgs 23:31–32; 24:17–18; Jer 22:11).”³⁹

Therefore, the Iron Age IIC continues, at least to some degree, the material culture of the previous Iron Age IIB. Clearly Tel Burna’s material culture is Judahite, due to the nature of its pottery assemblage, presence of Judean pillar figurines found throughout the site, typical Judean-style stamped handles (e.g. Rosette types and LMLK types), and, perhaps most interestingly, “private or official seal” impressions bearing the names of “Ezer” and “Haggi” (or Haggai?).⁴⁰ Shai writes:

The ceramic repertoire reflects the three main Iron Age strata: Iron Age IIA, IIB, and IIC. It should be noted that these three assemblages include the whole range of classes—storage, cooking, and serving vessels. The assemblage is typical of Iron Age II Judah, as implied by the LMLK and Rosette seal types, the cooking vessels, a lamp with raised disc-base, the decanter, the Judean folded-rim bowl, and so on.⁴¹



Wikimedia Commons

Tel Zayit, Israel.

Therefore, there is no reason to doubt that Tel Burna was Judahite/Judean in all the Iron Age II periods (IIA,⁴² IIB, and IIC).

Now that we have gone through the Iron Age remains at Tel Burna, what about the other commonly claimed “contenders” for biblical Libnah? Are there any other modern Arabic toponyms that would have comparable archaeological periods to Tel Burna and, thus, contend for the right to be labelled biblical “Libnah?” In other words, are there better alternatives for biblical Libnah preserved in Arabic toponyms besides Tel Burna (or Tel Bornat)? Let’s discuss the three most logical alternative options at the present state of scholarship.

Other Viable Options for Biblical Libnah

Tel Zayit

Ron Tappy has recently proposed Tel Zayit (Arabic “Khirbet Zeitah el-Kharab”) to be Libnah.⁴³ However, Tel Zayit seems too small⁴⁴ in size to be a substantial defensive or fortified city on the western border with the Philistines, since one would expect a border city to be prepared for attacks from foreign kingdoms like Philistia. Although the site does not appear to be Philistine from the pottery discovered in Tappy’s excavations, it does miss a key biblical period in its stratification, namely that of Iron Age IIC. Iron Age IIC is a necessary archaeological period for any candidate to be Libnah, as is evident from biblical passages like Jeremiah 52:1’s description of Hamutal’s marriage into the Judean royal family. Nadav Na’aman has recently argued that the evidence uncovered at Tel Zayit matches biblical period requirements for the site to be “Morashti” of the Late Bronze Age and Micah 1:14’s Moresbeth Gath.⁴⁵ Na’aman’s proposal seems more likely for Tel Zayit than that Tel Zayit represents biblical Libnah, at least from the view of the archaeology.

Tel Goded

Zecharia Kallai,⁴⁶ following Benjamin Mazar,⁴⁷ proposed Tel Goded, or Tel Judeideh, to be biblical Libnah.⁴⁸ However, Kallai often expressed doubt about the biblical identity of Tell es-Safi⁴⁹ (now known to be Philistine “Gath”), which would help demarcate the Philistine cultural extent into the Libnah district’s region (Jos 15:42–44). In contrast, Yohanan Aharoni, following Jeremias’ proposal⁵⁰ through Elliger’s later argumentation,⁵¹ considered Tel Goded to be Micah 1:14’s Moresbeth Gath,⁵² which Kallai placed much further south at Tel ‘Etun.⁵³ Kallai, to provide an alternative to Albright’s identification of Tel Burna with Libnah, proposed that Tel Burna was biblical Makkedah.⁵⁴ However, in the author’s opinion, if Tel Burna is not Libnah, then it must be Tel Goded, which looms so majestically between Lachish and Azekah at nearly 400 m (almost 1300 ft) above sea level.⁵⁵ Having said that, however, the site has not been excavated with precise modern methods, despite Bliss and Macalister’s⁵⁶ six “clearance pits” of 9 x 12 m (about 30 x 40 ft) dug at the turn of the 20th century.⁵⁷ Furthermore, perhaps Tel Goded’s extreme elevation high above Nahal Guvrin’s nearby routes disqualifies the site as

being Libnah, which must have been a defensive city fortified upon westerly roads leading to Maresha.

Contrary to Shmuel Vargon’s claims, the toponym “Judeideh” is a relatively common Arabic name that simply means “new,” utilized by (at least) six other ancient ruins in the Holy Land according to Vargon himself.⁵⁸ Moreover, Peterson wonders how the city got its regular source of water, since Bliss and Macalister did not report much evidence of water reservoirs.⁵⁹ Tel Goded’s apparent lack of water would then make Tel Burna’s ancient site an easier city to settle and sustain from the nearby Nahal Guvrin. Even without excavated results besides Shimon Gibson’s⁶⁰ re-evaluation of Bliss and Macalister’s work, however, it is doubtful that Tel Goded will prove to be Libnah, since it still lacks needed archaeological periods, such as those of the Iron Age I, IIC, and the Late Bronze Age.⁶¹ Yet, Dagan’s recent survey work perhaps renews possibilities of linking Tel Goded with Libnah (i.e. Late Bronze tomb remains).⁶²

Although Tel Goded lacks some comparable archaeological periods to those of Tel Burna, biblical geography ultimately must be the deciding factor on whether Tel Goded could be Libnah. However, Tel Goded seems a much better candidate for either biblical Ashan⁶³ or, more popularly, Moresbeth Gath.⁶⁴ McKinny argues persuasively from Lachish Letter number 4 that Tel Goded, as biblical Ashan and not Moresbeth Gath, is the city which the ostrakon epistle mentions in its descriptive missive.⁶⁵

Tel Goded, to be perfectly honest, seems a little too far to the east to be an important defensive city for the kingdom of Judah’s regional needs for protection, especially in light of the work of Tappy⁶⁶ and of Blakely (et al.)⁶⁷ on the borders and regional extremities of Judah’s “liminal”⁶⁸ zones. Thus, Tel Burna’s position further west in the Nahal Guvrin would make a better geographical option for a western border defensive city against the Philistines’ Pentapolis. Tel Burna, moreover, in contrast to Tel Goded, has the advantage also of possessing a toponym that could possibly be thought to preserve the biblical name “Libnah” in the Arabic designation “Bornat” by a linguistic metathesis from toponymic evidence left by 19th century cartographers like C.W.M. Van de Velde, as A. Tavger and C. McKinny elaborate thoroughly.⁶⁹ Thus, Tel Burna has the better claim to toponymic preservation in comparison to any other modern candidates for Libnah. However, Tavger and McKinny indicate that their arguments for Tel Burna’s metathesis from its earlier name Libnah cannot ultimately decide the issue of Libnah’s location, which is a question settled in the end by biblical geography.⁷⁰

Horvat Lavnin

Horvat Lavnin (or Khirbet Tell el-Beida) represents another possible location of biblical Libnah, as proposed by Yehuda Dagan.⁷¹ However, the same problems that one might raise with Tel Goded are doubled at Horvat Lavnin, since it is twice as far to the east as Tel Goded’s location. Horvat Lavnin, in past surveys, has evidenced Late Bronze, Iron Age, Hellenistic, Early Roman, Late Roman, and Byzantine periods.⁷² However, Joshua 10:29–33 indicates that Libnah



Aerial View of Tel Burna.

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should be between Lachish and Gezer, so that Horvat Lavnin seems much too far east to be a viable possibility. Dagan, arguing from Gustav Beyer's scholarship,⁷³ wishes to extend Eusebius' description of the "district of Eleutheropolis" (modern Beit Guvrin) further north into the regions around Nahal Hakhilil, at the (approximately) 55 dunam⁷⁴ site of Horvat Lavnin (assumed to be both Byzantine "Lobana" and biblical Libnah), just to the north of the modern municipality of Nehusha.⁷⁵

The Hebrew "Lavnin" is not an ancient name, rather, it is a Hebrew translation of Arabic "Beida," which means "white," although the name "Beida" also occurs closer (only 0.5 km) to Beit Guvrin at Khirbet el-Beida.⁷⁶ Thus, it is unfortunate that the modern Hebrew place name of Horvat Lavnin gives a false impression of sounding like biblical "Libnah," since the phenomenon of toponymic translation is relatively rare in Palestinian Arabic (but, note Tel Dan's former name Tell el-Qadi meaning "Tel of the judge"). Moreover, the conjecture that the name "Beida" derives from the "white" chalk of the region⁷⁷ is an assumption which is never given any systematic scholarly argumentation.⁷⁸ In a discussion concerning the similarity of Arabic "Beida" to Hebrew "Libnah," as both having the sense of "white," R. Zadok writes: "The resemblance in meaning... is a weak argument, as many mounds in the Shephelah are white due to the limestones."⁷⁹ Moreover, as McKinny argues, Khirbet Tell el-Beida could represent other Libnah district towns in Joshua 15:42–44, such as ancient Chezib or Achzib of Joshua 15:44.⁸⁰

Dagan⁸¹ could be correct to connect biblical Ashan with Tel Burna.⁸² Dagan's postulation would then allow Sennacherib a more direct route from Lachish into Libnah at Horvat Lavnin in his Judean campaign that eventually terminated at Jerusalem, even though Horvat Lavnin is not on a direct route to Jerusalem.⁸³ However, Sennacherib does not elaborate the sequential order of his 46-city conquest of Judah.⁸⁴ Moreover, even the assumption that Sennacherib immediately left Libnah for his siege of Jerusalem is an unnecessary logical leap that must be inferred from evidence that is not explicit in the biblical narrative. Thus, it is not logically necessary to look for Libnah at Horvat Lavnin in hopes of satisfying an imagined itinerary in Sennacherib's Judean campaign. Moreover, with the newest scholarship from the work of Tappy at Tel Zayit,⁸⁵ and of Blakely (et al.) at Khirbet Summeily⁸⁶ (probably biblical Zenan), there seems to be greater evidence now for understanding Libnah to be placed in the western (and more southern) sections of the Libnah district of Joshua 15:42–47. Thus, Horvat Lavnin strikes one as much too far to the east and north in the general region presumed to be the Libnah district. Joshua 15:44–47's popularly termed "Philistine insertion," therefore, would require the Libnah district list to have some sort of westerly border zone that must have been guarded by the city of Libnah itself at some strategic point along the Nahal Guvrin. Moreover, it is difficult to escape the logic that biblical Libnah should be sought in close proximity to the town of Ether, which must be at Khirbet el-Ater. Thus,



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William Foxwell Albright (1891–1971)

Albright, pictured at the Ceremony of Conferment of Honorary Doctorates by Hebrew University in 1957, first proposed that Tel es-Safi was biblical Libnah. He later changed his mind in preference for Tel Burna, as also proposed later by the biblical geographer Karl Elliger. Time and excavations of other ancient sites will either confirm or refute Albright's identification of Tel Burna with biblical Libnah, yet it remains the best current option. Despite the fact that modern scientific standards in archaeology sometimes negatively appraise Albright's work and his conclusions, the man should be honored for the sake of his scientific intentions and, especially, for the sake of his ground-breaking influence upon various scholarly disciplines like biblical archaeology. Although Albright sometimes made mistakes in his biblical geography and in his archaeological conclusions, he remains a great inspiration to those who wish to connect the biblical text to the ancient Near Eastern world and to the data of biblical archaeology. Whether one agrees with him or not, Albright truly inspired and presently inspires all biblical archaeologists working today, and rightly so!

Tel Burna still seems to be the top geographical candidate that best fits the picture presented by all the biblical descriptions of Libnah. Furthermore, McKinny and Dagan could be correct to postulate that Eusebius' Byzantine city of "Lobana" is located 0.5 km north of the Eleutheropolis metropolis at Khirbet el-Beida. The name transfer of Libnah from Tel Burna to Khirbet el-Beida would then represent the "well-known phenomenon" of toponymic shift by "Greco-Roman populations moving away from the top of the tells to nearby plains."⁸⁷

Conclusions

The toponymic geography of the biblical period's Shephelah region provides the academic world with a constant puzzle that is something akin to musical chairs.⁸⁸ This game of musical chairs still presents a plurality of sites that cannot be ruled out at the present moment of our archaeological knowledge. In other words, to use the musical chair analogy, the various contenders for Libnah still have not yet been left standing when the music has ended, or all possibilities have been excavated sufficiently. Among the viable sites indicated above, Tel Burna is the most likely candidate to remain seated after the music stops playing.⁸⁹ However, Tel Burna's archaeology still awaits the results of how early the 70 x 70 m casemate wall fortification dates in its initial construction. Scholarship would also benefit with further knowledge on how Tel Burna transitioned from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age II periods. In other words, how did Tel Burna's settlement in the Iron Age I cope with the coming Philistine migration of that same time frame?⁹⁰

Aside from the archaeological work at Tel Burna itself, other upcoming excavations in the Shephelah could change the conclusions of this article, with the most likely alternative candidate, Tel Goded, yet to be excavated sufficiently to demonstrate its stratification sequence. Perhaps, sometime in the unforeseeable future, scholarship will be fortunate enough to have an inscription to settle the matter of Libnah's

geographical location. Nevertheless, Tel Burna will likely remain the best geographical choice for Libnah in the upcoming years, even if it does prove to be a different town of Joshua 15:42–44's city district list. Tel Burna, notwithstanding, clearly is a Judahite⁹¹ border town that is interesting in its own right as an ancient settlement most likely mentioned in biblical texts. The excavations at Tel Burna will continue to provide modern scholarship with a better understanding of the western boundary or "liminal zone"⁹² of Judah (or Israel) during the biblical periods, especially in the Iron Age time frames.

Endnotes for this article can be found at www.BibleArchaeology.org. Type "Endnotes" in the search box; next, click the "Bible and Spade Bibliographies and Endnotes" link; then page down to the article.

Dr. James "Seth" Adcock studies Archaeology and Biblical Geography in the land of Israel. He has a PhD in Hebrew Bible from the University of St. Andrews in Scotland. Seth wishes to connect the biblical world to both archaeology and the history of the ancient Near East, just as William Albright did throughout his career. The Institute of Archaeology, Ariel University has provided the author the necessary time and funds to research and write this article. Special thanks to Prof. Itzick Shai and Dr. Chris McKinny for their kind help with this article.



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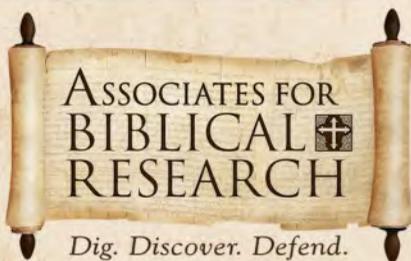
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