

SOLOMON AND THE KINGS OF TYRE

By Rodger C. Young

Since the beginning of modern archaeology, any archaeological material related to David and Solomon has been of great interest. For many years, the lack of such material was cited by critics as evidence that these two kings did not exist; or, if they did exist, then the first was just the leader of a band of brigands and his son the petty “mayor” of a small fiefdom, similar to those known from the Amarna correspondence of the 14th century BC. The inscriptional evidence from the Bible itself was attributed to nationalistic propaganda produced hundreds of years after the largely fictitious events being described.

David’s Name in Israel, Moab, and Egypt

These imaginings were set back in 1993 and 1994 with the finding of fragments of the Tel Dan Stela, which mentioned the “house of David” as the ruling dynasty in Judah. The stela is dated to the second half of the ninth century BC. It mentions a “king of Israel” as well as the “king of the house of David.” The names of the two kings, as found on the tablet, have been reconstructed as Jehoram of Israel (852–841 BC) and Ahaziah of Judah (841 BC). Thus, the stela recognizes a dynasty (“house”) founded by King David that was reigning in Judah about 130 years after David’s death.

Closely following this, in 1994 the noted epigrapher André Lemaire examined the casting of the ninth century BC Moabite Stone that was made before the stone was fractured into pieces. The Moabite Stone is also called the Mesha Stela after King Mesha of Moab who commissioned it. Lemaire recovered the same “house of David” expression as found on the Tel Dan Stela.¹ The phrase “house of David” is used 26 times in the Hebrew Bible, so this terminology was quite customary in the time of the Hebrew kingdoms. 2 Kings 3:4 mentions “Mesha king of Moab” as giving tribute to Israel in the time of Ahab (reigned 874–853 BC), but then rebelling after Ahab’s death. Consistent with this, the Moabite Stone mentions the “house of Omri” in referring to the rival northern kingdom in Israel. Omri was Ahab’s father. The victory of Moab over Israel and the “house of David” is the main theme of the inscription.



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The Tel Dan Stela on display at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.



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Stela of Mesha, king of Moab, recording his victories against the kingdom of Israel. Basalt, ca. 800 BC. From Dhiban, now in Jordan.

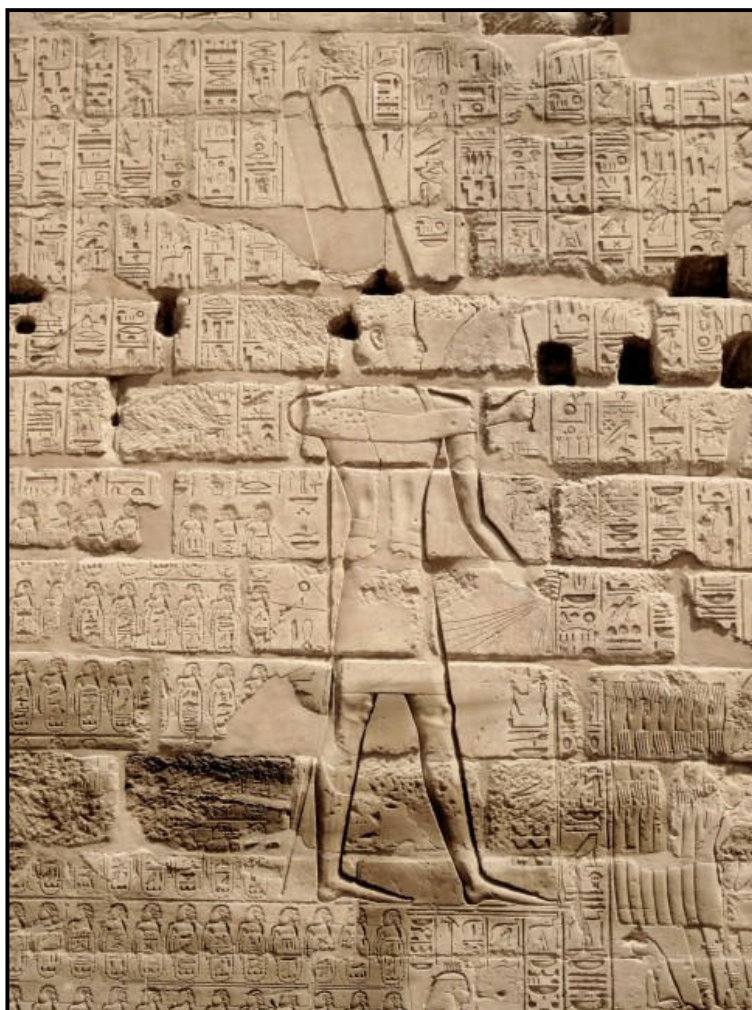
Then, in 1997, Kenneth Kitchen published his finding that the name of David also appears in the Bubastite Portal that Shoshenq I commissioned to celebrate his victorious campaigns.² In the lists of places conquered in Israel and Judah in his last campaign in 926 BC,³ Shoshenq lists, according to Kitchen's reading, "the heights of David." Those who dispute Kitchen's reading have failed to provide any alternative personal or geographical name that is attested in ancient Near Eastern inscriptions.⁴ The inscription was written less than 50 years after the death of David.

In spite of these discoveries, various scholars continued to maintain that, though there may have been a Davidic dynasty, its founder and his famous son Solomon could not have had the power and extensive dominion ascribed to them in the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. Even after publication of the "house of David" texts mentioned above, and in the same year that Kitchen published the "heights of David" reading, Niels Peter Lemche wrote:

Recent scholarship has called into jeopardy the very existence of the united Israelite kingdom in the 10th century BC. The archaeological remains from Judah seem to pre-exclude that a major kingdom could have been established here already in the 10th century, if at all in the Iron Age of Palestine. It goes without saying that should this be the case, then it is just as difficult to retain the biblical picture of Solomon as the great monarch of his time, a king for whose favor even the Pharaohs of once mighty Egypt sued. To present a sociological analysis of the kingdom of Israel in the time of Solomon would in this way be impossible, as there was no kingdom to study.⁵

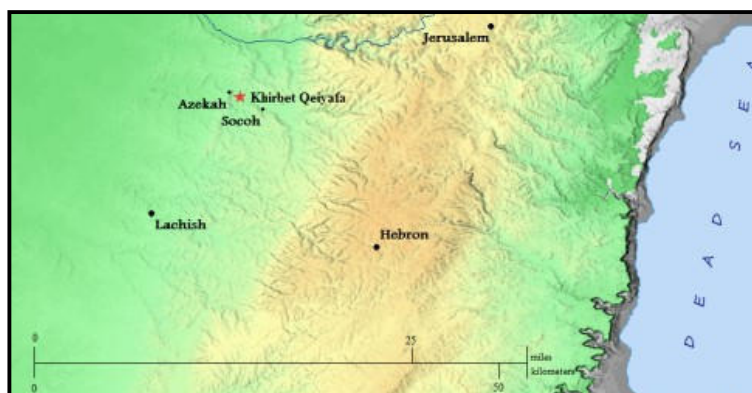
Khirbet Qeiyafa

Then came Khirbet Qeiyafa. The excavations there, from 2004 to 2007, revealed a fortified city with "a casemate city wall...composed of cyclopean stones, some weighing 4–8 tons, while its upper part is built with medium-sized stones."⁶ The amount of stone used for the fortification of the city was estimated at 200,000 tons (others say 100,000 tons). Such a building project, at what appears to have been a frontier military post, could only have been accomplished by a society with a strong central government. Casemate walls have been associated with building projects traditionally attributed to Solomon at Megiddo, Hazor, and Gezer. House floor plans were consistent with Judean, not Philistine, settlements. Although thousands of animal bones were found, none were pig bones, in contrast to the substantial number of pig bones at known Canaanite and Philistine sites, where pork was part of the diet. The abrupt termination of the city ensured that there



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The Bubastite Portal gate, also known as the Shishaq Inscription or Shishaq Relief, is a relief of Shishaq/Shoshenq I's campaign list at the southern exterior walls of the temple of Karnak, north of Luxor, Egypt.



Jennifer Bartlett/Bible Mapper

Khirbet Qeiyafa is a city in Israel's early history, which scholars believe dates from the late 11th to the early 10th century BC. It is associated with the "stronghold" mentioned in 2 Samuel 5:17, from which David initiated one of his campaigns against the Philistines.

was no contamination from later periods of settlement. Radiocarbon dating of olive pits found at the site gave a calibrated value of 1006–961 BC at the 68.3 percent confidence level, or 1011–921 BC at the 95.4 percent confidence level.⁷ The researchers state:

Khirbet Qeiyafa was most likely destroyed somewhere in the first third of the 10th century BC. Allowing a few decades for the existence of the city prior to its destruction, the latest feasible option for its foundation is the late 11th or early 10th century BC.⁸

The anchor point of modern scholarship for setting dates for the united monarchy is the time of the division of the kingdom after the death of Solomon. Edwin Thiele calculated from biblical, Assyrian, and astronomical data that the division occurred sometime in the year beginning in Nisan (roughly April) of 931 BC, and ever since Thiele first published this conclusion in 1944,⁹ subsequent sound scholarship has confirmed its accuracy. Indeed, Thiele's chronology of the entire Hebrew kingdom period has needed only minor adjustments for the southern (Judean) kingdom, and no substantive refinements at all for the northern kingdom, Israel. This remarkable achievement, derived as it is from the abundant and interlocking chronological data found in the historical and prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible, should have served as a warning that any theory of the presumed "late-date" origin of the biblical data was logically indefensible.

This point was not lost on Egyptologists. Beginning with Kenneth Kitchen's seminal study on Egyptian chronology for the 21st through 26th Dynasties,¹⁰ Egyptologists have used Thiele's dates for Rehoboam and the synchronism to Shishak/Shoshenq I in 2 Chronicles 12:2 to refine dates for the earliest two of these dynasties.¹¹ Regarding the Shishak=Shoshenq equation, Christopher Rollston has pointed out that in ancient Hebrew, an "n" before a "q" is often assimilated to the "q" that is the final consonant of the name in Hebrew.¹² Also, in 1 Kings 14:25 the Masoretes supplied the first vowel as *waw*, i.e. "o" or "u"; the point being, that the identification of the pharaoh spoken of in 2 Chronicles 12:2 as Shoshe(n)q I is assured. Egyptologists have generally followed Kitchen in recognizing the importance of this synchronism. They are thus willing to grant credence to complex historical data as derived from the Bible for the Hebrew kingdom period, a point that seems to have been overlooked by biblical "minimalists" such as the one cited above.

The dates for the reigns of David and Solomon are therefore secure, since they are based on Thiele's date for the division of the monarchy at some time in the year beginning in Nisan (March/April) of 931 BC and Solomon's death, at some time before Tishri (Sept/Oct) of 931.¹³ This means that Solomon died in the Judean regnal year starting in Tishri of 932 BC, and his reign began in Tishri of 971 BC, assuming inclusive numbering for his 40 years. If we assume that the David/Solomon coregency (1 Kgs 1:28–53, 1 Chr 23:1) lasted two years, then David's 40-year reign was from 1009 to 969 BC.

The radiocarbon results for Khirbet Qeiyafa, when compared with the times of the Hebrew kings derived from the biblical

data, indicate that the city was built at either the end of the reign of Saul or the beginning of the reign of David. Dating Qeiyafa to the reign of Saul would be even more devastating to minimalist theories than a Davidic provenance, since by all accounts the dominion of Saul was far exceeded by the kingdom under David. Archaeological evidence and radiocarbon dating therefore agree: an Israelite city was built by a strong central government, overlooking Philistine territory, within the time frame that is securely established (thanks to conservative scholarship) as the time of Saul, or, more likely, David. Considering the many archaeological evidences from Khirbet Qeiyafa, along with its topology, Billington and Grabau concluded that this was "almost unquestionably" the "stronghold" mentioned in 2 Samuel 5:17, from which David initiated one of his campaigns against the Philistines.¹⁴ They also hypothesized that the site, on top of a hill with an unobstructed view to the north, west, south, and southeast, was the "heights of David" of Shoshenq's Bubastite Portal inscription, and that Shoshenq was responsible for its Iron Age destruction level.

The Tyrian King Lists

If nothing else, the controversy regarding the Tel Dan and Mesha stelae, the Shoshenq inscription, and the findings at Khirbet Qeiyafa revealed the ingenuity in explaining away archaeological evidence exhibited by those who insist that the historical books of the Bible are not to be trusted, and "only archaeological evidence" should be considered. The controversy over these findings has been reported and argued quite extensively. It has been reviewed here to serve as an introduction to two archaeological discoveries related to the reign of Solomon that have not had such widespread coverage. The thesis of the present article is that these two findings establish precise information that agrees with the biblical texts regarding Solomon and his friend Hiram, king of Tyre. They also agree with writings originating in the ancient Near East that are not derived from the Bible, but which shed light on biblical history. These ancient writings, which are substantiated by the two archaeological discoveries, are contained in the memoirs about Solomon and the kings of Tyre found in Greek translations of records that existed in the state archives of Tyre. Josephus claimed that these archives were still extant in his day (about AD 100):

For very many years past the people of Tyre have kept public records, compiled and very carefully preserved by the state, of the memorable events in their internal history and in their relations with foreign nations. It is there recorded that the Temple at Jerusalem was built by King Solomon 143 years and eight months before the foundation of Carthage by the Tyrians.¹⁵

Regarding one subset of the archives, the correspondence between Hiram and Solomon, Josephus wrote:

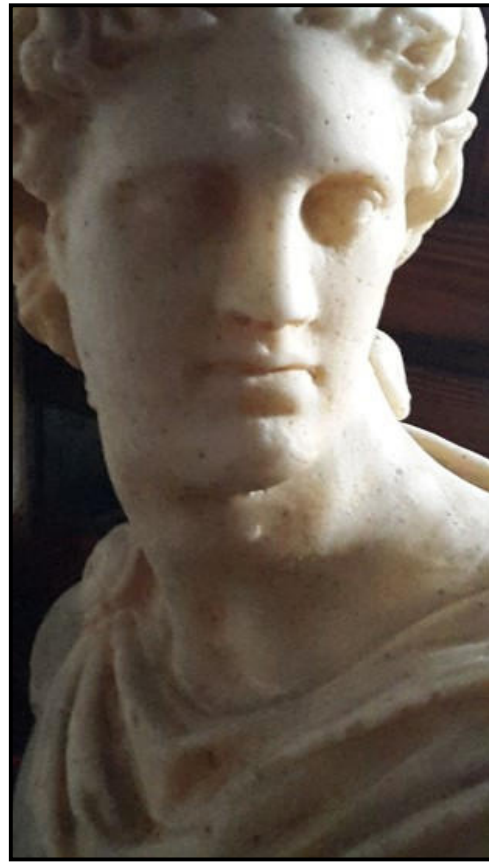
To this day there remain copies of these letters, preserved not only in our books but also by the Tyrians, so that if

anyone wished to learn the exact truth, he would, by inquiring of the public officials in charge of the Tyrian archives, find that their records are in agreement with what we have said.¹⁶

This seems like quite a preposterous claim—that during the first century AD anyone could consult the official archives of Tyre and find annalistic records there from 1000 years earlier, including records of the state correspondence of that time. And further, that these records were maintaining a chronological history that was accurate enough to specify that 143 years had elapsed between the founding of Solomon’s Temple and the flight of Elissa, founder of Carthage, from Tyre.

That Tyre preserved chronological data like this should be no surprise to students of ancient history. The Romans had their *anno urbis conditae* (years from the founding of Rome) and their consular lists to keep track of the years in their history. The Greeks had the Olympiads, and even earlier than that, but not so widely known, the state archives of Athens, from which various chronological selections spanning the 13 centuries from 1582/81 to 264/63 BC have been preserved in the Parian Marble.¹⁷ The Assyrian Eponym Canon, another system of maintaining an exact chronology, was in use from the end of the 20th century BC until the seventh century BC, although at present an unbroken sequence can only be constructed from 911 BC and later. With the possible exception of the largely neglected Parian Marble, these ancient chronological lists are used extensively by historians in reconstructing the chronology of ancient times.

In spite of such evidences that many ancient civilizations were concerned about precise chronological matters, not much attention had been given to the statements of Josephus regarding the Tyrian archives and their relevance to the dating and historicity of Solomon’s reign. This changed, however,



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Statute of Elissa (also called Dido), who fled from her brother Pygmalion, king of Tyre, and subsequently founded Carthage. Records taken from Tyrian archives and cited by Menander, and then by Josephus, state that this was in the seventh year of Pygmalion’s reign and 143 years after material was sent from Tyre for the construction of Solomon’s Temple. These Phoenician records, when used with the year of Dido’s flight taken from a Roman author (825 BC), give a date for the start of Temple construction that is in exact agreement with the date derived from the biblical chronology, 968/67 BC (Solomon’s fourth year, 1 Kgs 6:1).



Michael C. Luddeni

Relief of Jehu’s tribute to Shalmaneser III in 841 BC as it appears on the Black Obelisk, a black limestone Assyrian sculpture from Nimrud (ancient Kalhu) in northern Iraq, now on display in the British Museum.

with the publication in 1951 of an Assyrian inscription that mentioned the tribute of a King Ba’limanzer of Tyre to Shalmaneser III of Assyria. The inscription also mentioned tribute from Jehu of Israel, and was dated to the same time as Jehu’s tribute recorded on the famous Black Obelisk—i.e. Shalmaneser’s 18th year, 841 BC. Following this publication, several scholars identified Ba’limanzer as the Balazeros II in the lists of Tyrian kings preserved in Josephus.

Josephus was extracting his information from two Phoenician authors who would have had access to the state archives of Tyre. These were Menander of Ephesus, “the author of a book of Annals and translator of the Tyrian archives into the Greek language,”¹⁸ and a certain Dius “who is regarded as an accurate historian of Phoenicia.”¹⁹ The information given by Menander and Dius can be grouped into three general categories: 1) the First Tyrian King List,²⁰ which lists kings from Abibaal (died 981 BC), father of Hiram, to Pygmalion

(died 785 BC), with their lengths of reign and ages at death; 2) the Second Tyrian King List,²¹ which recounts the Tyrian kings, with their lengths of reign, from the time of Nebuchadnezzar until Cyrus the Persian; and 3) various other matters, much of it related to transactions between Solomon and Hiram that Josephus said were described in the state archives of Tyre. Josephus made these selections with the purpose of showing that Tyrian records substantiated what was said in the Hebrew sacred writings about the two kings, and that both sources proved the antiquity of the nation of Israel.

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The Founding of Carthage

The focal point of the present article is the First Tyrian King List. The first archaeological finding related to this list has already been mentioned: the publishing of the contact between Balazeros II and Shalmaneser III in 841 BC. From the date of the tribute, it became clear to scholars that the dates usually assigned to the reign of Balazeros's grandson, Pygmalion (820–774 BC), were not consistent with the best textual reconstructions of the years given to Pygmalion's father and grandfather in the First Tyrian King List. These inconsistent dates for Pygmalion had been determined from the date given by Timaeus and most classical authors for the founding of Carthage in 814 BC. Pygmalion's years of rule were consistent, however, with an alternative date for the flight of his sister Elissa, founder of Carthage, given by Pompeius Trogus,²² which placed Elissa's flight (which he or his epitomizer Justin conflated with her founding of Carthage) in the year 825 BC. Several scholars, therefore, gave new credence to Trogus's date, and reconstructed the chronology of Tyrian kings based on that date.²³

Elissa and Pygmalion were made joint heirs by their father, a king of Tyre for whom Josephus/Menander supplies the name Metten (Mattan). Elissa, also called Dido, married her uncle, a priest of Hercules (Melqart), who possessed much of the celebrated wealth of Tyre (cf. Is 23:1–8, Ez 27:1–33). Pygmalion, coveting that wealth, had Elissa's husband murdered. Elissa then feigned a desire to move into the Tyrian palace, but instructed those doing the moving to instead take the wealth into several ships, in which she and her sympathizers fled the city. They first sailed to Cyprus, where some of the men took wives, after which they went to the northern coast of Africa. Initially, the inhabitants would not allow her party to settle on the mainland, so they built a fortress on Cothos, an island off the coast, and lived there for a while. As time went on, they completed negotiations for property on the mainland, where they were able to start building the city of Carthage.

One of the most interesting of the studies that took into account the synchronism between Balazeros II and Shalmaneser III, and therefore accepted Pompeius Trogus's date for the flight of Elissa from Tyre, is that of J.M. Peñuela.²⁴ Peñuela cited Pompeius Trogus,²⁵ and also Greek fragments published by Scaliger, to reconstruct the history of Elissa as

described in the preceding paragraph. He explained that a reasonable interval for all that took place between the flight from Tyre to the foundation of Carthage was 11 years, so that 825 BC (Trogus's date) was when Elissa left Tyre, but 814 BC (Timaeus' date) was the date when she finally started (or possibly, completed) the building of Carthage.

Some classicists believed that the whole story of Elissa/Dido, Pygmalion, and the founding of Carthage was just fable. A reviewer of an early version of an article that correlates the founding of Carthage with the date for the founding of Solomon's Temple²⁶ said the manuscript should be rejected, one major reason being that there never was such a person as Dido/Elissa who was mentioned in the article. If there was no Elissa, then her brother Pygmalion, who always was a lesser figure in the drama, could also have been considered unhistorical. Although this is probably a minority view, any credibility for it was demolished by the second archaeological find that bears on the Tyrian King Lists: an inscription found in Sardinia that names Pygmalion. On epigraphic grounds, Frank Moore Cross, an expert in these matters, dated the inscription to the ninth century BC, and preferably to the latter half of that century.²⁷ This time frame agrees with the time for Pygmalion indicated in the First Tyrian King List of Josephus/Menander. Cross concluded:

One may argue that Pummay/Pygmalion's activities in Sardinia give us additional cause to believe that the tradition of Carthage's foundation in the seventh year of his reign is essentially historical despite the mythological elements in the surviving traditions of its founding.²⁸

Equally important, Cross provided a footnote in which he resolved a problem in the text of Josephus. The received text said there were four brothers who reigned after Abdastratos (fourth in the following table), but there appeared to be only three names. After separating the first name into two names, Cross was able to reconstruct the chronology of the entire list in a way that agreed completely with the 143 years that Josephus/Menander gave for the time between the start of Solomon's Temple and the flight of Elissa in Pygmalion's seventh year. The table displays the results of Cross's brilliant scholarship.

As should be expected from the centuries over which the various texts of Josephus were copied and recopied, the presently available texts vary somewhat in the names of these kings, as well as in the years given for their reigns and lengths of life. A good study of these variants is presented in a monograph of William Barnes,³⁰ a student of F.M. Cross. Despite the variance among the figures for the individual reign lengths, the overall time from when Hiram sent material for the foundation of Solomon's Temple until the seventh year of Pygmalion was protected from errors in transmission. Its preservation is due to Josephus giving this information three times.³¹ On one of these occasions, it is not presented as a single number, but as a difference of two numbers that agrees

King	Reigned (BC)	Comments
Abibaal	ca. 993–981	Father of Hiram I; length of reign not given.
Hiram I	980–947	Contemporary of David and Solomon.
Balbazer I/Baal-Eser I (Ba'l-mazzer)	946–930	Son of Hiram; reigned 17 years.
Abdastratos ('Abd-'Ashtart)	929–921	Reigned nine years. Killed by four sons of his nurse.
Astartos ('Ashtart)	920–901	First of four brothers to reign. 20 yrs (Cross).
Deleastartus (Dalay-'Ashtart)	900–889	Cross's textual study separated this and the previous name, thus explaining why, from copying errors, Josephus seemed to name only three brothers instead of four.
Astharumos ('Ashtar-rom)	888–880	Third of four brothers to reign.
Phelles	879	Killed his brother Astharumos. Reigned eight months.
Ithobaal I/Ethbaal I ('Itto-ba'l)	878–847	Priest of Astarte. Killed predecessor. Father of biblical Jezebel (1 Kgs 16:31).
Balazeros II (Ba'l-mazzer II)	846–841	Paid tribute to Shalmaneser III in 841 BC. Father of Mattan I.
Metten I (Mattan I)	840–832	Father of Pygmalion and Elissa/Dido.
Pygmalion (Pummay)	831–785	In Pygmalion's seventh year, 825 BC, Elissa and friends fled from her brother Pygmalion. They spent time on Cyprus and on an island off the shore of North Africa, founding Carthage in 814 BC.

Kings of Tyre, Abibaal to Pygmalion. Dates are as given by Frank Moore Cross, Jr.²⁹

with the other two figures. This fortuitous circumstance has preserved for us the figure, taken from the Tyrian archives, of an elapsed 155 years from the first year of Hiram to the flight of Elissa, or 143 years, as measured from Hiram's 12th year, in which material was sent for the starting of Solomon's Temple. T

Taking Elissa's flight as occurring in Pygmalion's seventh year (Josephus/Menander), the 143 years from that time, back to the founding of the Temple, dates the latter event to 968 BC.³² This should be regarded as uncertain by a year or two, because we do not know whether Pompeius Trogus was using the older Roman year that started in March or the later Roman year that started in January, and, correspondingly, when Menander started the calendar year in his writing.³³ Within that slight uncertainty, the date of 968 BC is in agreement with the discussion above that indicates from the biblical data that Solomon's fourth year started in the fall of 968 BC, and Temple construction began a few months later, in the spring of 967 (1 Kgs 6:1).

Were These Authentic Tyrian Records?

What should we make of this? Thiele constructed his chronology of the Hebrew kings without any reference to the Tyrian King Lists, and the 1951 announcement of the crucial synchronism between Balazeros II and Shalmaneser III appeared seven years after his first publication. The Tyrian King Lists are, therefore, an independent witness that validates Thiele's method and his overall conclusions. I have presented this argument in detail in an article that also considers the

Jubilee and Sabbatical cycles as showing the basic soundness of Thiele's system.³⁴ But the reasoning works both ways, and in keeping with the theme of the present article, the inference can go in the opposite direction. That is, starting with the date determined from the biblical scholarship of Thiele and those who followed him for the founding of Solomon's Temple, and using that to check the date for the founding as derived from Josephus and Menander, the authenticity of what Josephus was citing is established in a quite remarkable way. The figures used by Josephus *must* have come from the archives of Tyre, and those records were exact in not only their naming of kings, but also in keeping an absolute chronology that apparently began 240 years before the Tyrians helped Solomon build the Temple³⁵ and extended to Josephus's day—a period of 13 centuries.

There are other clues that the citations in Josephus originated in the archives of Tyre and were not his invention, besides the "mathematical" verification just given. In his classic study of the history of Tyre, Jacob Katzenstein noted:

Movers has set the accounts of Dius and Menander side by side and pointed out the similarity not only in Greek words but in whole sentences that appear in both of them. These passages, translated from Phoenician to Greek, certainly passed through the hands of many transmitters and revisers before reaching us. Consequently, it is amazing that these passages display the same distinctive annalistic style known to us from the historical books of the Bible; furthermore, these passages contain no facts that are not paralleled in the



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Ruins at Tyre in modern Lebanon. Tyre was an island fortress in the time of Solomon. King Hiram of Tyre was a friend of both King David of Israel and his son, Solomon, and provided cedar for the building of the Temple in Jerusalem.

biblical accounts of Solomon...Dius calls Solomon “the sovereign of Jerusalem (ὁ τύραννος Ἱεροσολύμων), while Menander refers to him as “the king of Jerusalem” (ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς). This appellation is clear proof of the Tyrian source of these passages, for the kings of the Phoenician coast, who ruled principally over one city, looked upon Solomon as a monarch of a city, like themselves; nor did Josephus correct this “flaw,” even in an account where he endeavors to exalt the greatness of Solomon. Great weight must be attached to the testimony of Dius and Menander as cited by Josephus, for these are the only mentions of Solomon’s name in a foreign source—perhaps a Tyrian source that stems from the time of Solomon himself.³⁶

Katzenstein further observes, “Moreover, Josephus does not digress from listing the kings of Tyre even to comment on Ethbaal (Ithobal), the father-in-law of Ahab, although he is mentioned in the Bible.”³⁷ Literary analysis agrees with archaeological and chronological evidence: the records Josephus was citing came from the state archives of Tyre.³⁸

What must be emphasized, then, is that a chronology may be derived from Tyrian king-lists, as contained in their court records; and if this is done, it will give a date for Temple construction in Israel that agrees quite precisely with the date that is derived from the Hebrew king-lists, as contained in the Bible. It is of some interest that the Belgian scholar Valerius Coucke performed this derivation in the 1920s.³⁹ In order to get a fixed date for his chronology of the kingdom period, Coucke started from the First Tyrian King List of Josephus/Menander, accepting Pompeius Trogus’s 825 BC as the date from which the 143 years back to the laying of the foundation of the Temple should be reckoned. He further refined this date by another reference to Pompeius Trogus, as connected to the



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Valerius (French Valère) Coucke, 1888–1951, was a Belgian professor in the 1920s. He authored two works on biblical chronology, the second and more complete of which was published in the *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible* in 1928. In that article he exclusively used classical writings (Greek, Roman and Tyrian) to establish that Tyre sent cedar and dressed

stones to begin construction of Solomon’s Temple in 986 BC. With this date fixed, he then used 1 Kgs 6:1 to ascertain dates for Solomon. As discussed in the text, the publication of an Assyrian inscription in 1951 established the basic soundness of Coucke’s approach, although the various scholars who followed Coucke in using the Tyrian data showed no knowledge of his earlier work. Coucke had been forgotten, but his scholarship stands as a testimony to the accuracy of the complex chronological data of the Hebrew kingdom period, an outcome that was unanticipated by, and in contradiction to, reductionist biblical scholarship.

Parian Marble’s date for the fall of Troy. Coucke then determined that the division of the kingdom occurred in the year beginning in Nisan of 931 BC, in agreement with what Thiele later calculated, and Solomon’s death occurred in the year beginning in Tishri of 932, in agreement with my one-year correction of Thiele for Solomon. Neither Thiele nor I had read Coucke’s work when we first published our results, nor had the



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Part of the Parian Marble, the oldest surviving example of a Greek chronological table, compiled on the island of Paros in 264/263 BC, and listing important events going back to 1582/81 BC. This is one of three known fragments of the inscription, which was acquired by Oxford University in 1667. A second fragment was lost in London during the Civil War; a third was found on Paros in 1897.

scholars mentioned above who wrote after the publication of the Balazeros/Shalmaneser synchronism. Coucke had been forgotten, but his scholarship stands as a testimony to the central thesis of the present paper: that both the scriptural data and the Tyrian data related to Solomon's reign are accurate.

Since the two systems of record-keeping—the Tyrian and the biblical—are independent and yet agree, they are mutually corroborative. That is, the Tyrian data, verified by archaeology, are an evidence of the correctness of the biblical data for those who accept “only archaeological evidence.” On the other hand, the biblical chronology demonstrates that the Tyrian king-lists presented by Menander and Dios were indeed accurate records preserved in the archives of Tyre.

Josephus could not have manipulated the biblical data to achieve this result. His own reckoning of elapsed time from the foundation of the Temple to its destruction by the Babylonians, 470 years,⁴⁰ places the Temple foundation 90 years too early. Therefore, the accurate figures cited above came from the archives of Tyre, not from any computation from the biblical data by Josephus.

Conclusion

The present article has emphasized the accuracy of the Tyrian king lists and their agreement with the biblical chronology established by Thiele, a chronology that has needed only slight modification by myself and others who have built on Thiele's work. The Tyrian court records, as substantiated by archaeological finds, verify the essential soundness of this inductive approach to understanding the biblical data. Further, the two chronological systems are independent, derived as they are from the court records of different kingdoms. The agreement between the two systems demonstrates that Josephus

accurately cited Phoenician authors, and there is no good reason to doubt his statement that those citations could be confirmed from state records of Tyre that existed in his day. Since the trustworthiness of these extracts in testable matters such as chronology and the succession of kings has been demonstrated, it follows that great weight should be placed on the credibility of the other statements, derived from the same archives, about the relations between Tyre and Israel in the time of David and Solomon. Archaeology has thus combined with literary analysis of ancient records to provide a testimony to the accuracy of the biblical history of the times of David, Solomon, and their friend Hiram, king of Tyre.

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.

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Notes

¹ André Lemaire, "'House of David' Restored in Moabite Inscription," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 20/3 (May/June 1994), pp. 30–37; Bryant G. Wood, "Bible Personages in Archaeology: Jabin, King of Hazor," *Bible and Spade*, Summer 1995, pp. 91–92.

² Kenneth A. Kitchen, "A Possible Mention of David in the Late Tenth Century BCE, and Deity *Dod as Dead as a Dodo?" *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 76 (1997), pp. 29–44; Hershel Shanks, "Has David Been Found in Egypt?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 25 (Jan–Feb 1999), pp. 34–35.

³ Thiele's date for the fifth year of Rehoboam, and thus the invasion of Shoshenq (2 Chr 12:2), was 925 BC. However, his placing Solomon's death after Tishri 1 of 931 BC, instead of before Tishri 1, produced problems in the reigns of Solomon through Athaliah that he apparently recognized but was never able to resolve. See Rodger C. Young, "The Parian Marble and Other Surprises from Chronologist V. Coucke," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 48 (2010), pp. 227–28, including no. 8.

⁴ For an extensive discussion of the credibility of Kitchen's reading, see Clyde E. Billington and Bretta Grabau, "David's Fortress at Khirbet Qeiyafa and Shoshenq's Invasion," *Bible and Spade* 28:3 (Summer 2015), pp. 65–68.

⁵ Niels Peter Lemche, "On Doing Sociology with Solomon," in Lowell K. Handy, ed., *The Age of Solomon: Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 312.

⁶ Michael G. Hasel, "New Excavations at Khirbet Qeiyafa and the Early History of Judah," in James Hoffmeier and Dennis Magary, eds., *Do Historical Matters Matter to Faith?* (Wheaton IL: Crossway, 2012), p. 488.

⁷ Yosef Garfinkel, Katharina Streit, Saar Ganor, and Paula J. Reimer, "King David's City at Khirbet Qeiyafa: Results of the Second Season Radiocarbon Dating Project," *Radiocarbon* 57.5 (2015), p. 887.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Edwin R. Thiele, "The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 3 (1944), pp. 137–86.

¹⁰ Kenneth A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1973), p. 72.

¹¹ In all of his writings on the subject, Kitchen has accepted Thiele's date of 925 BC for the fifth year of Rehoboam. By equating this to the 20th year of Shoshenq's campaign as celebrated on the Bubastite Portal, he refined the dates of Shoshenq I, and consequently all of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties, to a finer degree than was possible from the Egyptian data alone. It is regrettable that in one of his later writings on the subject, "How We Know When Solomon Ruled," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 27:4 (Sept–Oct 2001) pp. 32–37, 58, Kitchen made it appear that the dates of Solomon are secure partly because of their agreement with Egyptian dates. By manipulation of the Egyptian data, Kitchen arrived at 925 BC (Thiele's date) for the synchronism of 2 Chr 12:2. But he wrote that for the Egyptian data "over a span of centuries such variations lead to discrepancies of several years," showing that in reality he regarded the biblical data as secure and precise, while the Egyptian data could not be determined that accurately. Once again, precise Egyptian dates are derived from the biblical chronology, and not vice versa.

¹² Christopher Rollston, "The Equation of Biblical Pharaoh 'Shishaq' with Pharaoh Ramesses II: A Philological and Epigraphic Dismantling of Egyptologist David Rohl's Proposal," in

Alphabets, Texts and Artifacts in the Ancient Near East: Studies Presented to Benjamin Sass, Israel Finkelstein, Christian Robin, and Thomas Römer eds. (Paris: van Dieren, 2016), p. 378, no. 4.

¹³ Rodger C. Young, “When Did Solomon Die?” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 46 (2003), pp. 589–603.

¹⁴ Billington and Grabau, “David’s Fortress,” p. 63.

¹⁵ Josephus, *Against Apion* 1:107–108/1.17.

¹⁶ Josephus, *Antiquities* 8:55/8.2.8.

¹⁷ Young, “The Parian Marble and Other Surprises,” pp. 232–36. Rodger C. Young and Andrew E. Steinmann, “Correlation of Select Classical Sources Related to the Trojan War with Assyrian and Biblical Chronologies,” *Journal for the Evangelical Study of the Old Testament* 1.2 (2012), 226–27; online at <http://jesot.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/JESOT-1.2-Young-Steinmann.pdf>. See especially the argument on pages 231–32 that the records in the Parian Marble were selected from the state archives of Athens.

¹⁸ Josephus, *Antiquities* 9.283/9.14.2.

¹⁹ Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.112/1.17.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.113–126/1.17, 18.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1.156–159/1.21.

²² Pompeius Trogus, 18.6.9.

²³ J. Liver, “The Chronology of Tyre at the Beginning of the First Millennium B.C.,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 3 (1953), pp. 113–20; J.M. Peñuela, “La Inscripción Asiria IM 55644 y la cronología de los reyes de Tiro,” *Sefarad* 14 (1954), pp. 1–39; E. Lipiński, “Ba‘li-ma‘zer II and the Chronology of Tyre,” *Rivista degli studi orientali* 45 (1970), pp. 56–65; Frank M. Cross Jr., “An Interpretation of the Nora Stone,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 208 (1972), pp. 13–19; Alberto R. Green, “David’s Relations with Hiram: Biblical and Josephan Evidence for Tyrian Chronology,” in Carol L. Meyers, ed., *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Philadelphia PA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1983), pp. 373–91. William H. Barnes, *Studies in the Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel* (Atlanta GA: Scholars Press, 1991); Young and Steinmann, “Correlation,” pp. 224–25.

²⁴ Peñuela, “La Inscripción Asiria,” pp. 29–30, no. 167.

²⁵ Pompeius Trogus, 18.6.9.

²⁶ Young and Steinmann, “Correlation.”

²⁷ Cross, “Interpretation of the Nora Stone,” p. 18.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 17 no. 11.

³⁰ Barnes, *Studies*, pp. 38–45.

³¹ Josephus, *Against Apion* 1:108/1.17, 1:126/1.18.

³² Cross, “Interpretation of the Nora Stone,” 17 no. 11; Barnes, *Studies*, p. 31.

³³ Also, the argument is made in Young and Steinmann, “Correlations,” that, as with Zakar-Baal of Byblos (see footnote 38), the date of interest to Tyrian accountants would have been when they shipped the dressed stone and rafts of logs to Israel, not the date on which the customer started using the material. Log rafts would not be launched into the Mediterranean in the winter or early spring, but in the summer previous to the laying of the foundation. 1 Chronicles 28, 29:1–8 and 2 Chronicles 2 relate the extensive gathering of materials before construction began on the Temple.

³⁴ Rodger C. Young, “Three Verifications of Thiele’s Date for the Beginning of the Divided Kingdom,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 45 (2007), pp. 163–89.

³⁵ Josephus, *Antiquities* 8.62/8.3.1.

³⁶ H. Jacob Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre from the Beginning of the Second Millenium [sic] B.C.E. until the Fall of the Neo-Babylonian Empire in 538 B.C.E.* (Jerusalem: Goldberg's Press, 1973), pp. 79–80. A second edition of this book in 1997 had only five changes, four of them related to the naming of a further Tyrian king named Milkiram in a proposal by A. Lemaire.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³⁸ In spite of this evidence that Katzenstein gives for the Tyrian source of Josephus's citations, it is very puzzling that he rejects the historicity of any citation connecting Tyre with the building of Solomon's Temple. On pages 82 and 83, he expresses the opinion that Josephus invented these connections. "We cannot accept Rowton's suggestion that the building of Solomon's Temple was mentioned in the official archives of Tyre...There is no legitimate connection between the founding of Tyre and the building of the temple in Jerusalem." But the interest in keeping such records by Phoenician merchant-princes is well illustrated in the story of the Egyptian Wen-Amon and Zakar-Baal, prince of Byblos, that took place about a century before the time of Hiram (*ANET*, 27a). Zakar-Baal retrieved scrolls from his archives to show to Wen-Amon the business transactions between his (Zakar-Baal's) ancestors and the pharaohs of Egypt. One of the commodities that Zakar-Baal wanted from Egypt was 500 rolls of parchment, for which the main use was probably to record more of the state business. If Tyre had sent great quantities of dressed stone and cedar to aid in the construction of Solomon's temple, then it can be assured that an inventory of what was sent, and what was received in exchange, would have been recorded in the city's archives.

Katzenstein's skepticism in this matter seems strange indeed, since there are several passages in *Antiquities* and *Against Apion* that refer explicitly, and at considerable length, to this subject, all purported to come from Tyrian records. Why then this prejudice against the historicity of these passages? Was it because they substantiate the biblical account, and acceptance by the academy requires that scholars must somewhere demonstrate that they are not to be reckoned among those who seek to verify the Bible?

³⁹ Young, "Parian Marble and Other Surprises," pp. 232–38. See my translation of Coucke's article at <http://www.rcyoung.org/articles/coucke.pdf>.

⁴⁰ Josephus, *Antiquities* 10.146/10.8.4.