

Reflections on the Death of Biblical Archaeology

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.62614/ae0g8b05>

Introduction

I am sometimes accused of killing ‘Biblical archaeology’ with my efforts at reforming our discipline beginning nearly 40 years ago. I’m flattered that anyone might think that I had such influence. The fact of the matter, however, is that I merely observed the death of ‘Biblical archaeology’ and was one of the first to write its obituary (Dever 1972, 1974, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2003b, 2010; cf. also Moorey 1991 and Davis 2004 for overviews).

A Discipline ‘Comes of Age’

There were enormous controversies over Biblical archaeology in the 1970s, but by the mid-1980s traditional American-style Biblical archaeology was dead. It continued as an amateur pursuit, a popular pastime, not only in America but elsewhere.¹ But meanwhile Syro-Palestinian archaeology had ‘come of age’ as a mature discipline. Yet today it seems to me that we face extraordinary disciplinary anxieties. What went wrong?

Victims of Our Own Success?

One can assess a revolution in large part by its slogans and its success. The three ‘watchwords’ of the revolution that began in the early 1970s, and soon gained momentum, were *specialisation*, *professionalisation* and *secularisation*. Let’s see how they fared.



Figure 1: Professor William Albright with William Dever at Gezer 1969. Photo: author

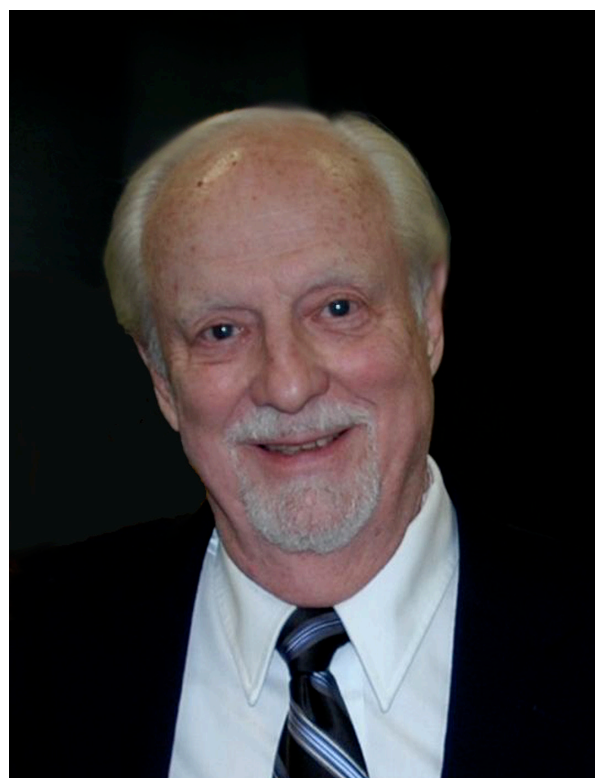


Figure 2: Professor William G. Dever, 2010.

Specialisation

The old archaeology embraced everything, and thus proved competent in nothing. It tried to encompass the whole ‘Biblical World’, and more. As Albright (1969: 1) put it famously: ‘I shall use the term “biblical archaeology” here to refer to all Bible Lands – from India to Spain, and from southern Russia to South Arabia and to the whole history of those lands from about 10,000 B.C., or even earlier, to the present time.’ Such a grand scope was never realistic, not even for a genius like Albright, and today no-one would dream of it. As our field expanded exponentially in the 1980s and 1990s, it became necessary to specialise, both intellectually and practically. Today there is no doubt that we have become highly specialised – some archaeologists make their reputation on a single site, a single topic, even a single pottery style. This concentration may produce impressive expertise, but it makes scholarly consensus and synthesis daunting, if not impossible.



Figure 3: Dame Kathleen Kenyon at Gezer in 1967 with William Dever looking on. Photo: the author

Professionalisation

When I began in the field 50 years ago, we Americans were all amateurs. Even our teachers – all clergymen, no women – had no academic or professional training in archaeology, nor did they teach the subject primarily. Their degrees were in theology or biblical studies. At best, this generation was self-taught in archaeological field methods, such as they were. A few, like Joe Callaway or Larry Toombs, had trained with Kenyon, and in the early 1970s Paul Lapp had begun to rethink digging techniques through his acquaintance with Henk Franken excavating at Deir ‘Allā. But up until about 1980, there was not so much as a single word written by an American on *real* method; that is, archaeological theory. Thus, we were completely isolated from the general world of professional archaeology, which had been undergoing sweeping theoretical revolution ever since the ‘New Archaeology’ burst onto the scene in the late 1960s.² In particular, the positivist scientific orientation, and the depreciation of history and the role of ideology – the ‘vulgar materialism’ – made the New Archaeology unpalatable to most of us (and the Israelis ignored it completely).

In the last 25 years or so, all has changed – and for the better. As for professionalism, today we Americans have at least 30 Ph.D.s in archaeology and anthropology, and perhaps 20–30 more in training (although no jobs).³ As for diversity, take my Arizona doctoral program as an example. Of my 28 Ph.D.s, nearly half are women, one is African-American, one is Hispanic, and only two are ordained clergymen. All are employed, and while they

have to teach related subjects to survive, they are all doing fieldwork as best they can, and they all teach archaeology as a discipline. That is true of the profession overall. No-one working in our field today is an ‘amateur’. Ernest Wright’s (1947: 74) ‘armchair archaeology’ is defunct.⁴ We still need amateurs as volunteers on summer digs, of course, or as enthusiastic supporters. But the field has become professional for us Americans, and others as well, as it had always been in Israel, and was becoming so in Jordan.

Secularisation

The principal reason for the death of American-style ‘Biblical archaeology’ was that its agenda was theological rather than archaeological. And the agenda was not achieved, in retrospect could not have been achieved. Today, all that remains of the ‘house that Albright built’ are its foundations, and they are too ruined to build upon. Consider the ‘historicity of the Patriarchs’; the centrality of ‘Moses and monotheism’; the ‘Exodus and the conquest’ as historical epochs; the ‘Golden Age of Solomon’; the uniqueness and superiority of Israelite religion. These elements of a grand synthesis – at the very heart of the Israelite cultural tradition (and ours?) – have all disappeared. We now understand finally that archaeology cannot answer these questions; it can only pose them.⁵

For better or worse, the marriage of archaeology and theology has been dissolved. It is not a question of whether the Bible should be used as one source of history-writing (the main goal of archaeology), but only a question of how. And, by consensus today, the answer is a secular one. Biblical texts are to be used critically, exactly as



Figure 4: Shechem 1965, from the left, William Dever, Professor George Ernest Wright, Nelson Glueck and H. Darrell Lance. Photo: the author



Figure 5: *Pere Roland De Vaux with William Dever at Gezer 1969. Photo: the author*

any of the other ancient Near Eastern texts. Nevertheless, despite a general methodological consensus, some Israelis have fallen into criticising each other for being either ‘too Biblical’, or ‘not Biblical enough’.⁶ Meanwhile, in wider circles, there is a growing recognition, even among Biblicists, that even at best the biblical texts are now ‘secondary’ sources (with Lester Grabbe, Ernest Axel Knauf and others). In future, it is the archaeological data that will be our primary source for writing any new and better histories of ancient Israel, or for that matter, of Jordan, Syria, or anywhere else in the Levant.⁷

Let me summarise the changes over the past 40 years that I have sketched all too briefly, measuring the results against the aims. The ‘revolution’ succeeded, despite resistance. But we may have become the victims of our own success. We have become specialised – too much so. We have become professional, but we have far too many well-trained young archaeologists for the available jobs. We have become secular – but controversy over the actual use of the Bible still exercises us. In particular, the dialogue between two independent, autonomous professional disciplines – archaeology and biblical studies – which I envisioned in my very first foray into the discussion in 1973, seems further from realisation than ever. Even at the ASOR (American Schools of Oriental Research) and SBL (Society of Biblical Literature) meetings, perhaps the only possible venue, we are mostly talking past each other.

To use a metaphor with which we all are familiar, the ‘revolution’ is not over. The early skirmishes may be past, the initial battles won, some ground gained. But the real war has scarcely begun. Perhaps the hero of my favourite American comedy strip, Pogo, was right: ‘We have met the enemy; and he is us.’

Disciplinary Anxieties

My charting the revolutionary changes that have taken place in our discipline over the past 40 years is unsettling to many. I find myself with some reservations, even a bit of nostalgia for simpler times. But the revolution, such as it was, was inevitable, beyond anyone’s control. And in the end, we have to hope that the present uncertainties are

only further growing pains as we truly come of age. But if I perceive our situation correctly, these are ‘disciplinary anxieties’ that we Americans, and others, must face.

First, there is what I would call the ‘Balkanisation’ of our field. In the 1960s American archaeologists began excavating in Jordan, and in 1968 ACOR opened in Amman. In the 1970s we began working seriously in Cyprus, and in 1978 CAARI opened in Nicosia. All along, ASOR had hoped to open a school in Damascus, and although that was never possible, some American fieldwork did go on in Syria. American archaeologists who had excavated in Israel turned to Egypt. Finally, in the last few years major American projects have been launched in Turkey under ASOR auspices (see Harrison [2009] at Tell Ta’yinat; Schloen & Fink [2009] at Zincirli). Hopkins – Albright’s old school, with a new position in what most of us thought would be ‘Syro-Palestinian’ archaeology – has just hired someone who has been excavating in Yemen. We are all over the map! And the map is changing.

These developments are reflected, as we would expect, in ASOR’s programs and papers at the Annual Meetings, separate now from the SBL meetings, and as well in publications like *BASOR* and *NEA*. It may seem ironic that I have some misgivings about all this expansion; after all, I was one of the first to call for broadening our discipline beyond the confines of ‘Biblical Israel’ nearly 40 years ago. Why not welcome these further developments in scope?

My concern, simply put, is that we may have lost our centre, and we have done so not as a result of a deliberate and well-articulated strategy, but mostly by default. Let us be candid, the fact that so many American excavators have decamped from Israel in the last generation or so is not due to a reasoned argument that the ‘centre’



Figure 6: *Professor Yigael Yadin with William Dever (left) and Darrell Lance and Nelson Glueck at Shechem 1965. Photo: the author.*

lies elsewhere. It is rather because archaeology is less competitive and much cheaper for Americans in these countries. And more recently, as Israelis have come (quite properly) to dominate archaeology in their own country, we Americans have been marginalised. In future, it is clear that excavation licenses will be granted to Americans only as co-directors, and only if they can demonstrate that they have professional backing, personnel, resources and institutes. Few young American or foreign archaeologists will be able to qualify. And none are likely to direct their own excavations. In any case, the continuing recession at home jeopardises all field projects, even most academic positions. These developments may well have been inevitable, beyond our control. I cannot ignore them; but neither do I have to celebrate them. If we are to face our dilemma seriously, we must offer a defensible rationale for a strategy that will otherwise seem only strategic withdrawal.

At worst, I fear that there will be little left of a ‘discipline’, if that word means anything, only a series of loosely related inquiries into the past in the Mediterranean world. And what is left will hardly be ‘ours’ any longer. I have written more than a dozen putative ‘state-of-the-art’ essays in the past 40 years (e.g. Dever 1972, 1974, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2003b, 2010), but today an overview of our field is simply impossible. We cannot even agree on a name for it. Which leads me to the next point.

‘Levantine’ Archaeology and the ‘New Pragmatism’

My uneasiness with all this has only been exacerbated by a close reading of the most recent ‘state-of-the-art’ treatment, a volume edited by Tom Levy (2010) entitled *Historical Biblical Archaeology and the Future: The New Pragmatism*. My problems begin with the title. How can our branch of archaeology be simultaneously ‘historical’, ‘biblical’ and, as it turns out, ‘Levantine’? And how exactly will the ‘new pragmatism’ ensure our future? Does ‘pragmatic’ – if that means ‘doing what works’ – really work? And is there anything really new here?

I offer the following observation with due respect, because I have long been an avid supporter of Levy, a former student and Gezerite (a past site supervisor at Gezer). I know all but one of the contributors to the volume personally and professionally. And the concluding chapter is my own. I also note that part of the problem with this volume is that it originated in a symposium in 2006 marking the inauguration of Levy’s position at UC San Diego, endowed as a chair styled the ‘Archaeology of Ancient Israel and Neighboring Lands’. The volume, and especially the title and the chapters by Levy himself, is clearly an attempt to rationalise a position that looks like Biblical archaeology – held by a self-acclaimed prehistorian. Aaron Burke’s (2010) long essay plays into the California ‘success story’, but ignores much else. Most of the other chapters stand on their own and are

quite useful. I applaud Levy’s attempt, but I doubt its success. The book raises more questions than answers. It does not point the way toward the ‘future’ of the title, but is a step backward.

Levy and several of the other authors advocate redefining our field as ‘Levantine archaeology’. Indeed some, like Burke, think that such a revolution has already occurred. Here the thrust is to replace the term preferred by myself and many other Americans until recently – ‘Syro-Palestinian archaeology’ – as obsolete, even originally ill-conceived. These ‘young Turks’ might have noticed that this ‘old Turk’ abandoned that term some years ago in print, but only because it has now become hopelessly politically compromised, not because it was wrong in principle (Burke 2010; Levy 2010a; cf. Dever 2003a). Here I have serious reservations, which can be summarised as follows.

1. If ‘Biblical archaeology’ was too narrow, ‘Levantine’ is too broad. It suggests a revival of Albright’s old description above, a definition without a distinction. The region might be characterised geographically as ‘Levant’ or ‘Southern Levant’. But practically speaking, no-one can be a ‘Levantine archaeologist’. We risk knowing more and more about less and less, until we know everything about nothing. Some degree of specialisation is required for professional competence.

2. Even if we adopt the term ‘Levant’ for the region, does it include western Turkey; Egypt beyond the Delta; anything of eastern Syria; and, in particular, Cyprus, where ASOR has a great stake? And what about Israel? I don’t know any Israelis who want to be caricatured as ‘Levantine’.

Originally the term ‘Levant’ was used to characterise the eastern provinces of the Turkish Ottoman Empire in the 18th–19th centuries, the heartland of which was Syria-Palestine at the time. (Anyone want to apply for an excavation permit there for next summer?)

3. The term ‘Levant’ scarcely rings a bell for most Americans, and even for those who are well educated, it has negative connotations. It will definitely be a hard sell – not only for the general public, but especially for the academic administrators and institutions that really determine our future. We need jobs, and I doubt that they will be styled ‘Levantine’.

4. Broadening our field to the whole of the Levant, however conceived, will likely mean the depreciation of the centre that has defined American and European archaeology in the Middle East for more than a century: ancient Palestine, or modern Israel, Jordan, and, if possible, the West Bank. Long ago I meant to broaden our intellectual and theoretical horizons – but not at the risk of losing sight of the centre. It is true that we cannot any longer predominate in Israel, but we must maintain a foothold there.

Meanwhile, as we struggle, many Israeli archaeologists are attempting to co-opt the discipline as their style of 'Biblical archaeology'. This is confusing, since for Israelis the term carries none of the theological baggage that it does for us and most Europeans. It is also inaccurate: it does not describe what Israelis actually do overall. Why should prehistory, the archaeology of the Bronze Age, or for that matter Classical archaeology be called 'Biblical archaeology'? (For various views, cf. Bunimovitz & Faust 2010; Burke 2010; Levy 2010a; Joffe 2010.) As for the term 'Biblical archaeology' in Jordan, Syria, Turkey or Cyprus, forget it. In my opinion, the term 'Biblical archaeology' should be retained for the dialogue between two disciplines.

5. Finally, reconstructing our discipline as a pan-Mediterranean 'Levantine archaeology' goes against all the trends in archaeology elsewhere in the region, as well as current Americanist and European theory. Today, the growing emphasis is on local or 'indigenous archaeologies'. A recent book entitled *Mediterranean Crossroads* specifically disavows a 'totalising Mediterranean archaeology', as both impractical and intellectually unjustifiable (Antoniadou & Pace 2007).

That coincides perfectly with my recent call to cut the Gordian Knot of terminology by referring simply to the 'archaeology of Israel', 'of Jordan', 'of Syria', and so on. There is no other rational way out of our terminological impasse. And such neutral terms are now being adopted in other branches of archaeology, in the Mediterranean region and elsewhere. 'Levantine' is a step backward (cf. above and Burke 2010; Levy 2010a; Dever 2003a).

The most recent overview of American theory and practice is entitled *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory: The New Pragmatism* (Preucel & Mzrowski 2010). The essays in this volume are even more pertinent for a critique of the Levy volume. Here the 'new pragmatism' is put forward as a model with much greater sophistication and more suggestions for its application.

The New Pragmatism

The major thrust of Levy's introductory chapter in the volume that we have been discussing is his advocacy of a 'new pragmatism'. He alludes briefly to such founders of this uniquely American philosophy as William James, Charles Sanders Pierce and John Dewey. But he does not discuss these philosophers or cite their works, using only secondary sources. (And by now he is back to describing 'Biblical archaeology'.) As Levy puts it, pragmatism means concentrating on 'what works'. In reading on, however, it becomes clear that for Levy this means almost exclusively the application of recent scientific and quantitative means of gathering on-site data, such as total station mapping and digitised information systems – what we might call 'archaeometrics'. These new technological methods obviously do work. Levy publishes an impressive plan of his gate fortress, showing the exact find-spots of all metallurgical fragments. But

technology cannot tell us what these data mean, nor will it ever do so (Levy 2010a: 17, fig. 6).

Levy overlooks the major literature on pragmatism, which stresses that it is not simply a 'bag of tricks'. It is fundamentally a subjective epistemology, a view of Truth. This philosophy holds that the truth of any particular idea can be verified only by the results of its application in practice, as observed by a community of practitioners. It seems clear to me that this is reductionist – the very opposite of the trends of the last 25 years to seek the 'meaning of things', the essential, inherent truth of material culture remains.

That provocative and widely influential movement is often called 'cognitive' or 'cognitive processual' archaeology. Its theory of knowledge ought to be one that is at least congenial to us in our branch of humanistic archaeology. The movement is usually associated with Michael Shanks, Christopher Tilley, Ian Hodder, Colin Renfrew and others (cf. Shanks & Tilley 1987; Tilley 1989; Renfrew 1994; Hodder 2006: 17). Yet there are no references to any of these stimulating archaeological thinkers in Levy's chapter, and scarcely elsewhere either. Levy's 'new pragmatism' is not only not new, it is not even up to date. To be fair, he does list a number of recent works in our field that have tested some anthropological models. But none of this 'testing' employs any criteria for determining 'what works'.

My real objection to Levy's notion of 'pragmatism', which none of the other authors take up, is that it seems to be a retrenchment, a retreat from theory, to a more attractive, simpler 'results-oriented' archaeology. He denies that. But the point is that without robust theory – an epistemology – there is no way of knowing what 'working' means; no criteria for evaluating anything. In the end, there is no 'truth of things', only a notion of their utility.⁸

At worst, that becomes mere expedience. We may all be weary of 40 years of theoretical discussion that often seemed to go nowhere. But the alternative is not to reject theory, to revert to the 'know-nothing' archaeology of 40 years ago.

We cannot go back in time, relive our so-called 'days of innocence'. We must go forward, finding more appropriate bodies of theory – perhaps even developing for the first time our own indigenous and proper archaeological theories. Science indeed can help us to gather, record, analyse and present our burgeoning data. But science will never be a substitute for the sharp eye in the dirt, the steady hand, the restless and inquiring mind, the intuition that comes from a profound understanding of the human condition.

Science will not save us. And neither will settling for second-best – a vague idea of 'what works'. Works how? For whom? And for how long? Calling for 'relevance' without some point of reference is not only a banality, it is an absurdity, an insult to our intelligence. The history

of archaeology is filled with pseudo-scientific, pragmatic archaeologies that have had monstrous results. We must have a nobler vision – and concrete ways to realise it.

The Goals of a True Pragmatism

The pragmatism of Preucel and Mzrowski and their collaborators has been around in the literature since the mid-1980s, and is far more comprehensive than what we have seen (above). It allows for a great diversity of views, for a ‘moderate relativism’. But it also focuses on two very practical goals: 1) a new postprocessual emphasis on history writing, and on the role of the individual, in contrast to the mechanistic view of culture in the ‘New Archaeology’; and 2) a new insistence on social action – on relevance – that will ensure our survival in a world of diminishing resources.

Speaking of ‘relevance’, Brown University’s Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology headlines its current bulletin called *Inventory* ‘Archaeology Saves the World – or at Least Tries’. That showcases a ‘Cultural Heritage’ project in Turkey, for which only one member of the governing board is an academic. Brown is also administering a 1.5 million dollar heritage project at Apollonia-Arsuf, on the coast of Israel. Will someone tell me how any of this is in America’s vital interests, or helps to support our archaeology in an era of diminishing resources? (The endowed Levy Institute at New York University has not yet contributed to the field.)⁹

Several of the authors in the Levy volume assume the overall goal of history-writing, especially with reference to the possible uses of the biblical texts. But among the archaeologists, I find no discussion whatsoever of historiography; or any awareness of the complexities of contemporary biblical scholarship; or any concrete examples of how archaeology might contribute to writing new and better histories of ancient Israel (forget about the New Testament era). As for the major challenge posed for history today – postmodernism and its denial of any knowledge of the past – Levy (and Tara Carter) can only opine that ‘mutualism’ is the right response. No-one who has read any postmodernist literature over the past 50 years could make such a statement. You cannot reason with postmodernists, because they begin by rejecting reason. There is no ‘dialogue’. (For an introduction to postmodernism and the challenge to both archaeology and biblical studies, see Dever 2001 and extensive literature therein.)

As for my own 2001 book, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It?*, Levy dismisses it as ‘pandering’ to the public. (Carter thinks all this discussion about postmodernism is simply ‘intellectual squabbling’; Levy 2010a: 10; Carter & Levy 2010: 207.) They should have done their homework, read James Barr’s (2001) magisterial *History and Ideology in the Old Testament: Biblical Studies at the End of a Millennium*; or John Collins’ (2005) *The Bible after Babel: Historical Criticism*

in a Postmodern Age. If you anticipate any dialogue, you must know your would-be partner.

It is at this point – dialogue – that I shall be bold enough to suggest some goals for those circles where I think the future of any style of ‘Biblical’ or other Near Eastern archaeology may lie. Here, at least, postmodernism’s nihilism is stoutly resisted; and both the Old and the New Testament are still taken seriously, presuming some history that can still become the ground of faith (see my remarks in Dever 2003b).

For the study of the Old Testament, or Hebrew Bible, the most obvious desideratum is new, more satisfying, histories of ancient Israel, histories that will do full justice to the vast array of new knowledge that we have come into possession of in the last 20–30 years due to the maturation of archaeology as a discipline. The facts are these: all current histories of ancient Israel are obsolete; neither in America, Europe, or Israel, where skepticism reigns in the mainstream, are new histories likely to be undertaken by biblical scholars; and there is a growing recognition that henceforth it is the archaeological data, not the textual data, that will constitute our ‘primary source’. (Grabbe 2007 provides a prolegomenon from the perspective of a leading biblical scholar.)

The last proposition is demonstrable, because the archaeological data are more contemporary, more varied and comprehensive, less subject to bias and much more dynamic, expanding exponentially. In future, it would even be possible to write a ‘secular history’, in effect a history of ancient Israel and Judah without the Bible, or at least using the Bible and other texts as secondary sources.

‘New Testament’ archaeology can scarcely be said to exist thus far as a professional discipline, since from the beginning Biblical archaeology was concerned almost exclusively with Bronze and Iron Ages, and thus the Old Testament or Hebrew Bible. Admittedly, the historical and theological issues here seem less amenable to archaeological investigation. In the Old Testament, such issues as the historicity of the Patriarchs; Moses and the Sinai covenant; the exodus and conquest; the rise of the Monarchy; and the evolution of monotheism – all these had to do with long, complex historical epochs that archaeology might be expected to illuminate.

The fundamental doctrines of the New Testament, by contrast, are not really subject to archaeological and historical confirmation. These would include the virgin birth of Jesus, the miracles of his public ministry, his identification as the Messiah, his bodily resurrection and ascent to heaven, salvation by blood atonement, the descent of the Holy Spirit and the birth of the early church. What could archaeology possibly contribute to these beliefs? The answer is context – what archaeology, and only archaeology, contributes (for my attempt, see Dever forthcoming).

Archaeology in recent years has already begun to excavate early synagogues, churches and monasteries (not the usual ‘holy places’, most of which are bogus). In particular, the Galilean Jewish context of Jesus’ life and early ministry is now much better known than formerly. We also have a vastly better understanding of Herodian Jerusalem, due to recent excavations. What we do not have yet is a concept of the larger world of Syria, Cyprus and Asia Minor, where the crucial missionary journeys of Paul spread Christianity beyond provincial Palestine for the first time. Syria is closed to us, and Turkey poses problems. But the excavations at Kourion in Cyprus, now being undertaken by American scholars and co-sponsored by the Australian Institute of Archaeology, point the way to the future.

Conclusion

I am well aware of the irony that once ‘a prophet of the new archaeology’, as Finkelstein dubbed me, I now appear to have become a defender of tradition, a Lud-dite. Thomas Kuhn may be right after all. These may be primarily generational conflicts, and at my age, I may simply be obsolete. But I have a longer perspective on our field than almost anyone. And I ask you to join me in reflecting further on the death of American-style Biblical archaeology, and what may outlive it. My generation has done its best. It may have failed in some respects. But the revolution must continue. I console myself with the wise words of the Pirke Abot (3rd century C.E. Rabbinic text):

*You are not required to complete the work,
But neither are you free to desist from it.*

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Endnotes

- 1 For the clearest obituary of Biblical archaeology, see Dever 1985, 1993; cf. Bunimovitz 1995. The agenda there prevailed until challenged by some of the essays in Levy 2010, especially those of Burke, Levy, and Bunimovitz and Faust.
- 2 On the New Archaeology in our field, see Dever 1981 and references therein; to update the general discussion, with critiques, see Preucel & Mzrowski 2010.
- 3 Burke (2010: 84–9) is much too optimistic. The job crisis is real, and it is increasing.
- 4 After his field experience at Shechem in the 1960s, Wright's view became much more professional (cf. Davis 2004: 137–40).
- 5 Cf. Krister Stendahl (1962), who first pointed this out with reference to Biblical theology.
- 6 On early Israeli views of archaeological theory see Mazar 1988 and Stern 1988. Bunimovitz 1995 is now more sanguine; cf. also Bunimovitz & Faust 2010.
- 7 For the few biblical scholars who acknowledge that the archaeological data can now be primary sources, see Knauf 2008; Grabbe 2007.
- 8 David Schloen (2001) has attempted to develop a specifically 'archaeological hermeneutic,' but in my judgment with little success. He examines more than 30 theories, only to discard them when it comes to doing archaeology. Most other archaeologists, however, simply ignore epistemology.
- 9 The Levy Institute has announced a position, but has not hired anyone.