

Professor
Alan D. Crown
(1932 – 2010)

Awarded the Order of Australia (AM) for services to education

Biblical scholar, expert on the Samaritans

Mandelbaum House

The First Diasporas: Egypt and Babylonia

Gary A. Rendsburg
Rutgers University

The Alan Crown Lecture

Mandelbaum House
28 March 2019

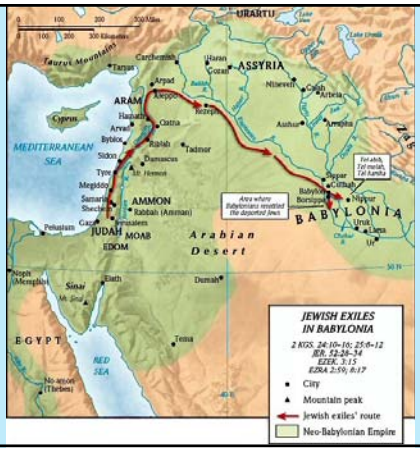


2 Kings 24:10-16 – 597 B.C.E.

10 At that time, the troops of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon marched against Jerusalem, and the city came under siege.

12 Thereupon King Jehoiachin of Judah, along with his mother, and his courtiers, commanders, and officers, surrendered to the king of Babylon.

14 He exiled all of Jerusalem: all the commanders and all the warriors – ten thousand exiles – as well as all the craftsmen and smiths; only the poorest people in the land were left.





Ishtar Gate – Babylon (Berlin Museum)





Ishtar Gate – detail of brick work



Ishtar Gate – detail of brick work

Jeremiah 29

1 This is the text of the letter which the prophet Jeremiah sent from Jerusalem to the priests, the prophets, the rest of the elders of the exile community, and to all the people whom Nebuchadnezzar had exiled from Jerusalem to Babylon.

4 Thus says the LORD of Hosts, the God of Israel, to the whole community which I exiled from Jerusalem to Babylon:

5 Build houses and live in them, plant gardens and eat their fruit.

6 Take wives and beget sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters. Multiply there, do not decrease.

7 And seek the welfare of the city to which I have exiled you and pray to the LORD in its behalf; for in its prosperity you shall prosper.

Prophets in Exile:



Ezekiel

Second Isaiah
(chs. 40-66)



plus the final editor/redactor/compiler of the book of Kings



Scrolls into Exile



Scrolls into Exile
(stock photo)

Isaiah 65:25

The wolf and the lamb will graze together,
And the lion, like the ox, will eat straw,
And the snake, dust will be his food;
They shall not hurt and they shall not destroy
in all my holy mountain, says the LORD.

Isaiah 65:25

The wolf and the lamb will graze together,
And the lion, like the ox, will eat straw,
And the snake, dust will be his food;
They shall not hurt and they shall not destroy
in all my holy mountain, says the LORD.

Isaiah 11:6-9

6 And the wolf will dwell with the sheep . . .
7 . . . and the lion, like the ox, will eat straw.
9 They shall not hurt and they shall not destroy
in all my holy mountain . . .

Jeremiah 29

5 Build houses and live in them, plant gardens and eat their fruit.

6 Take wives and beget sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters. Multiply there, do not decrease.

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The Murashu Archive



Nippur
(Southern Iraq)



c. 750 Tablets
written between 455-403 B.C.E.

University of Pennsylvania Museum
(Philadelphia)

The Murashu Archive

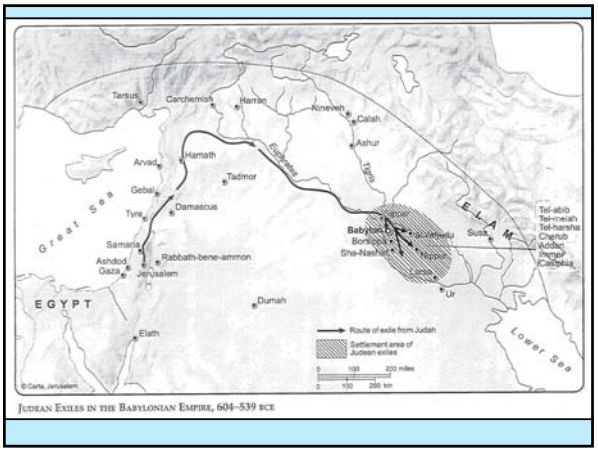


Nippur
(Southern Iraq)

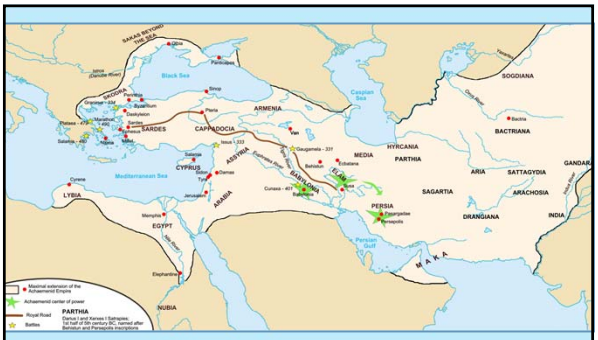


c. 750 Tablets
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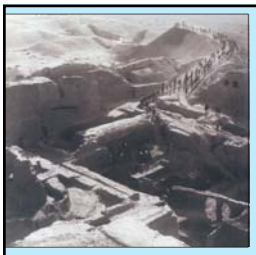
Reigns of Artaxerxes I (465-424 B.C.E.)
and Darius II (423-405 B.C.E.)



JUDEAN EXILES IN THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE, 604–539 BCE



Map of the Persian (Achaemenid) Empire
538 – 333 B.C.E.

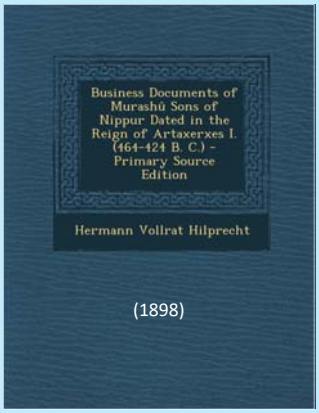




University of Pennsylvania (c. 1890)

University of Chicago (1961)

Nippur excavations

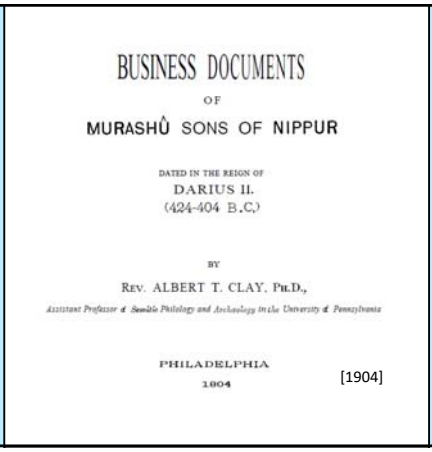




Sample Murashu Tablet

(Penn Museum B5304)

Akkadian text
with
Aramaic summary


BUSINESS DOCUMENTS
OF
MURASHÛ SONS OF NIPPUR
DATED IN THE REIGN OF
DARIUS II.
(424-404 B.C.)
BY
REV. ALBERT T. CLAY, PH.D.,
Assistant Professor of Semitic Philology and Archaeology in the University of Pennsylvania
PHILADELPHIA
1904
[1904]

Jewish Personal Names
in the Murashu Archive

Aḫi-yama	Ḫanan-yama
Azzi-yama	Iuše-yama
Banu-yama	Mattan-yama
Gadul-yama	Pada-yama
Gamar-yama	Tub-yama

Yaḫu-natan Šama'on Šabbatay

Jewish Personal Names
in the Murashu Archive

Aḫi-yaw	Ḫanan-yaw
Azzi-yaw	Iuše-yaw
Banu-yaw	Mattan-yaw
Gadul-yaw	Pada-yaw
Gamar-yaw	Tub-yaw

Yaḫu-natan Šama'on Šabbatay



Murashu Tablet X.65 (Penn Museum)

mentions Yishrib-yaw son of Pilli-yaw as chief officer (*šaknu*) of the serfs of the royal treasury

Murashu Archive – a sample text (IX.45)

Yadi'-yaw, the son of Bana-'el; Yaḫu-natan, Šama'on and Aḫi-yaw, the sons of Yadi'-yaw; Satur, the son of Šabbatay; Baniya, the son of Amel-nana; Yigdal-yaw, the son of Nana-iddin; Abda, the son of Apla; Nattun, the son of Šillim; and all their partners in Bit-gira; spoke freely to Ellil-shun-iddin, the son of Murašu, as follows:

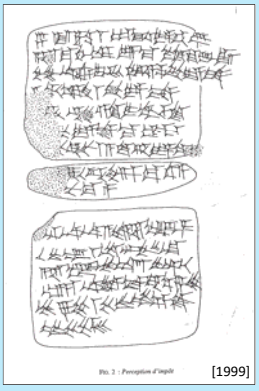
"Rent to us for three years the Mares Canal, from its inlet up to its outlet, and the tithed field which is on this canal, and the field which is to the left of the Milidu Canal, and the three marshes which are to the right of the Milidu Canal, except the field which drinks (its) waters from the Ellil Canal; and we will give you annually 700 kur of barley according to the standard measure of Ellil-shum-iddin, and, as an annual gift, 2 grazing bulls and 20 grazing rams."

Bana-'el

Yadi'-yaw

Aḫi-yaw Yaḫu-natan Pada-yaw Šama'on

Three generations of a Jewish family in Nippur, based on Murashu Archive IX.25 and IX.45

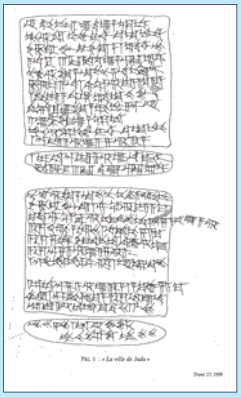


[1999]

Private collection of Shlomo Moussaieff

Abda-yahu
son of Barak-yahu,
the summoner,
received 5 shekels of
silver from . . . with
respect to Aḫiqar,
the governor, for
the *ilku*-tax of Aḫiqar.

Witnesses
Scribe
Date: 5 Elul,
year 7 of Cyrus
(532 B.C.E.)



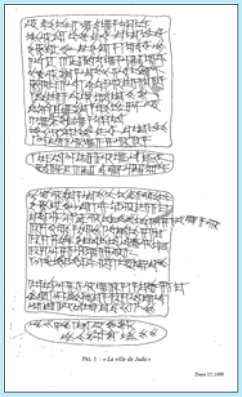
Private collection of Shlomo Moussaieff

Sale of a calf from Ḫara'a
daughter of Talimmu to
Neri-yahu son of Aḫiyaqam

Yaḫu-azari son
of Abdu-Yahu
insures the calf

In Al-Yahuda
"city of the Judahites"

Witnesses / Scribe
Date: 19 Tammuz,
year 24 of Darius I
(498 B.C.E.)

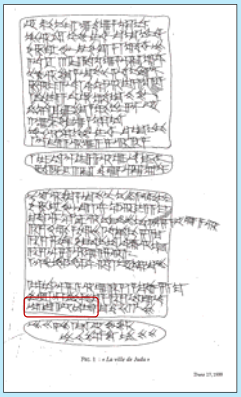


Private collection of Shlomo Moussaieff

First reference to:

Al-Yahuda
"city of the Judahites"

Francis Joannès
and André Lemaire,
"Trois tablettes cunéiformes
à l'onomastique
ouest-sémitique
(Collection Sh. Moussaieff),"
Transeuphratène
17 (1999), 17–34.



Private collection of Shlomo Moussaieff

Sale of a calf from Ḫara'a daughter of Talimmu to Neri-yahu son of Aḥiyaqam

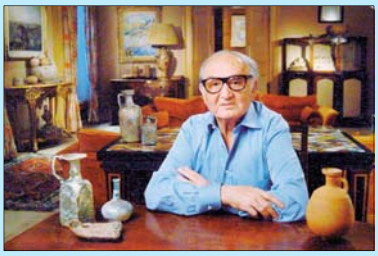
Yaḫu-azari son of Abdu-Yahu insures the calf

In Al-Yahuda "city of the Judahites"

Witnesses / Scribe
Date: 19 Tammuz, year 24 of Darius I (498 B.C.E.)

Shlomo Moussaieff

(1925-2015)



- Born in Jerusalem
- Bukharian Jewish background
- Lived in London since 1963
- Jewelry business, selling to wealthy Arabs

- Private antiquities collection – 60,000 items
- Daughter Dorrit married to Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson (President of Iceland, 1996-2016)

A new cuneiform archive

Tell Al Yahuda

Southern Iraq

103 Tablets

Private Collection of David Sofer (London)

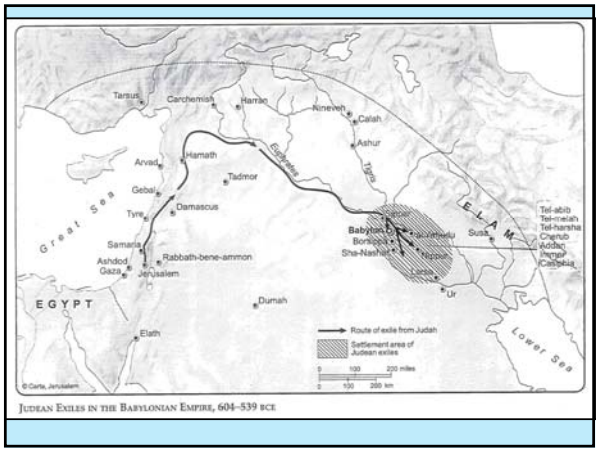
A new cuneiform archive

Tell Al Yahuda

Southern Iraq

103 Tablets

Dated from 572 B.C.E. through 478 B.C.E.
More than half from the reign of Darius I (522-486)



JUDEAN EXILES IN THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE, 604–539 BCE









Clay tablet dated to year 33 of Nebuchadnezzar II (= 572 BCE), the earliest known text documenting the Judean exile in Babylonia



Clay tablet dated to year 33 of Nebuchadnezzar II (= 572 BCE), the earliest known text documenting the Judean exile in Babylonia

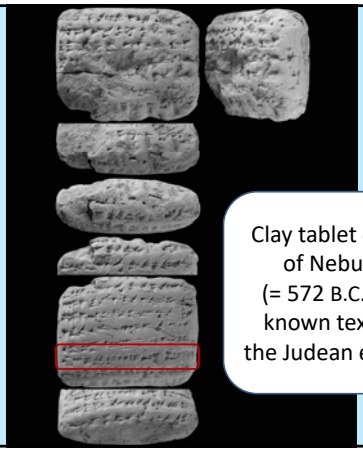
Al Yahuda 'city of the Judeans'

In Simanu, Mu[…], son of Gidda, the messenger, the alphabetic scribe, [will pro]vide 6[0 (and)] 40 […t]o [Nergal]-iddin and Nabu-zer-[ukin].

If in Simanu, he does not provide (it), he [will provide] two *kor* of barley […] to Nergal-iddin and Nabu-zer-ukin.

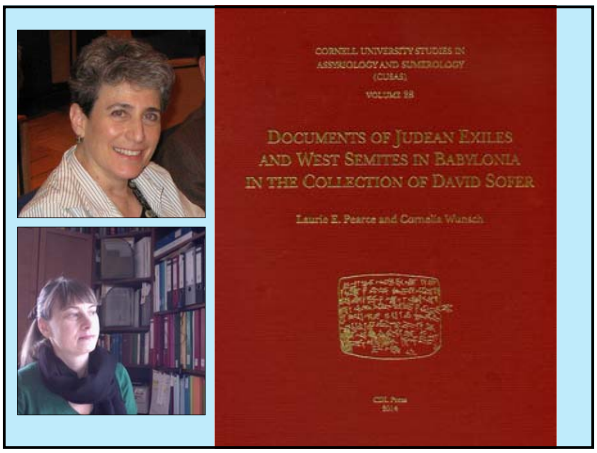
Witnesses: Ṭab-šalam son of Aḫu-abi; Azar-yama son of Yaḫu-kullu; Aḫ-lumur son of Balassu, and the scribe Nabu-na'id son of Nabu-zer-iqiša.

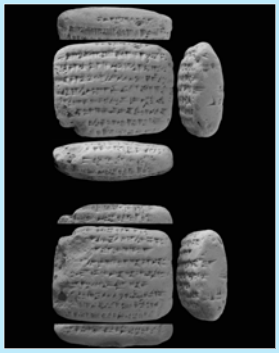
(Written in) Al Yahuda, on the 20th day of Nisannu, 33rd year of Nebuchadnezzar (II), king of Babylon.



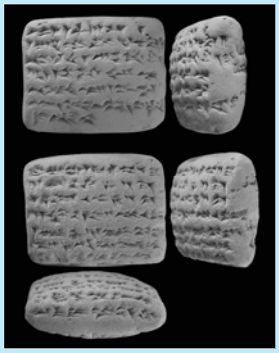
Text no. 1

Clay tablet dated to year 33 of Nebuchadnezzar II (= 572 B.C.E.), the earliest known text documenting the Judean exile in Babylonia





Text no. 2



Text no. 3

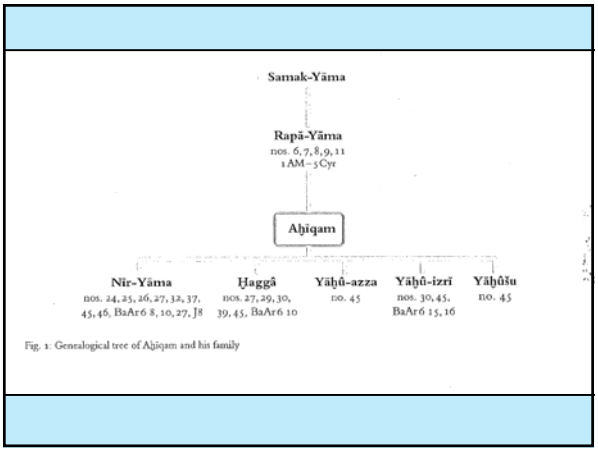
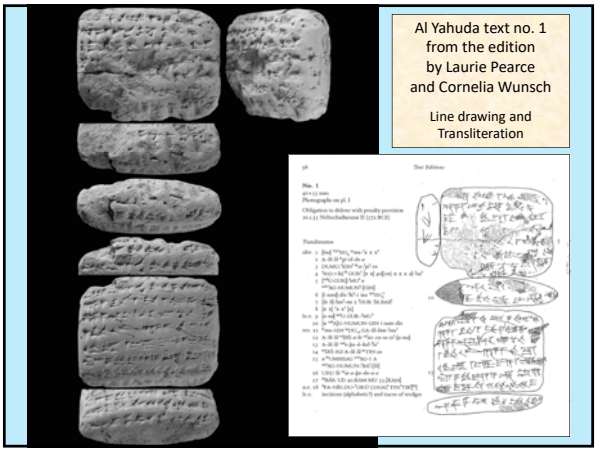


Fig. 1: Genealogical tree of Aḫīqam and his family

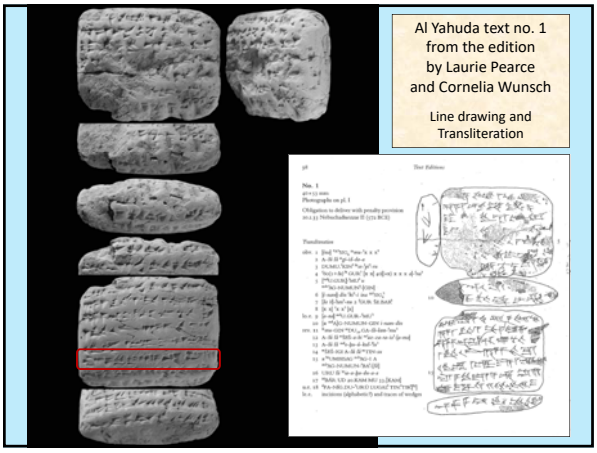
103 tablets from the
Al Yahuda tablets
(Sofer collection)

c. 75 Yahwistic names
identifying c. 120 individuals



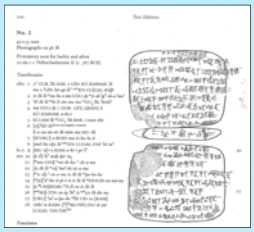
Al Yahuda text no. 1
from the edition
by Laurie Pearce
and Cornelia Wunsch

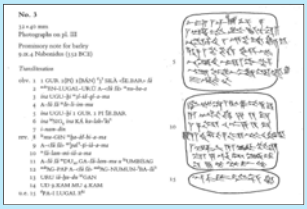
Line drawing and
Transliteration



Al Yahuda text no. 1
from the edition
by Laurie Pearce
and Cornelia Wunsch

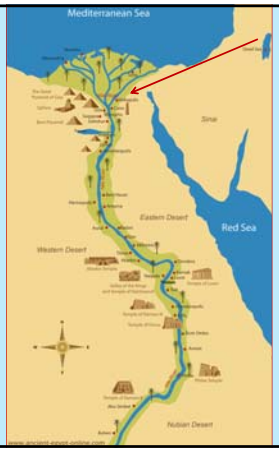
Line drawing and
Transliteration





Al Yahuda text no. 2 and text no. 3 from the edition by Laurie Pearce and Cornelia Wunsch

Line drawing and Transliteration



Judahites to Egypt

600 – 585 B.C.E.

2 Kings 25:26

And all the people, young and old, and the officers of the soldiers arose, and they came to Egypt, because they were afraid of the Chaldeans.

Jeremiah 44:1

The word which was to Jeremiah, for all the Judahites who were living in the land of Egypt, living in Migdol, Tahpanhes, and Noph, and in the land of Pathros, saying.

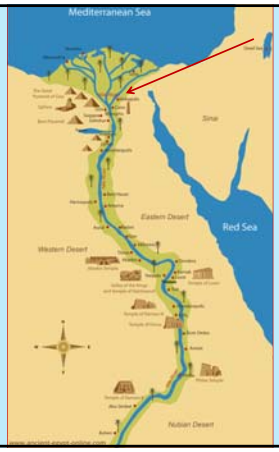
Jeremiah 43:5-8

5 And Johanan the son of Kareah and all the officers of the soldiers took all the remnant of Judah, who had returned from all the nations to which they had been driven, to live in the land of Judah –

6 the men, the women, the children, the princesses, and every person whom Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard had left with Gedaliah son of Ahikam son of Shaphan; and Jeremiah the prophet and Baruch son of Neriah.

7 And they came to the land of Egypt, for they did not obey the voice of the LORD. And they came unto Tahpanhes.

8 And the word of the LORD was to Jeremiah in Tahpanhes, saying:



Judahites to Egypt

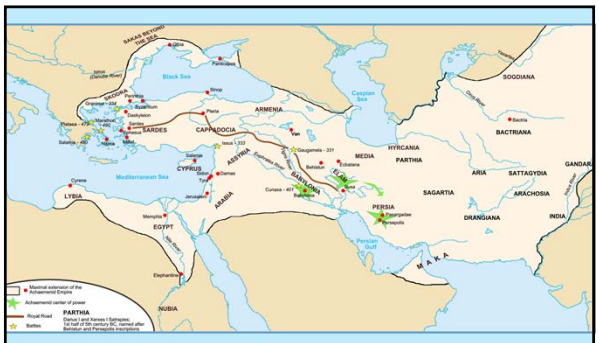
600 – 585 B.C.E.



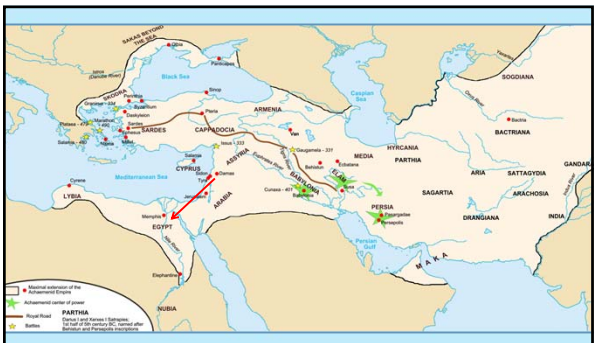
Judahites to Egypt

600 – 585 B.C.E.

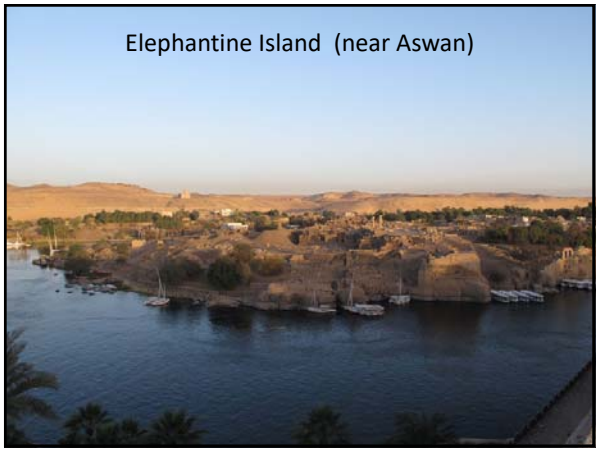
Pathros

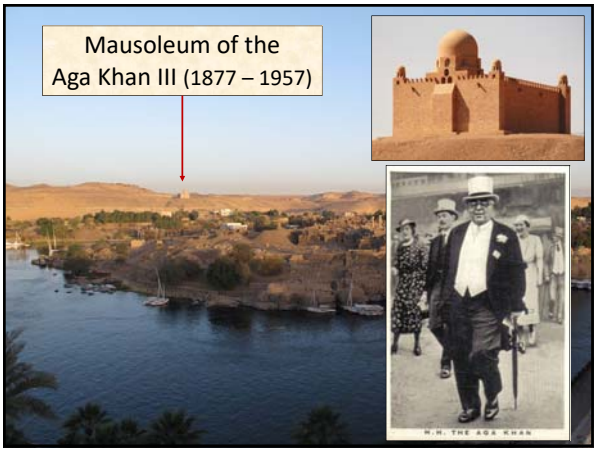


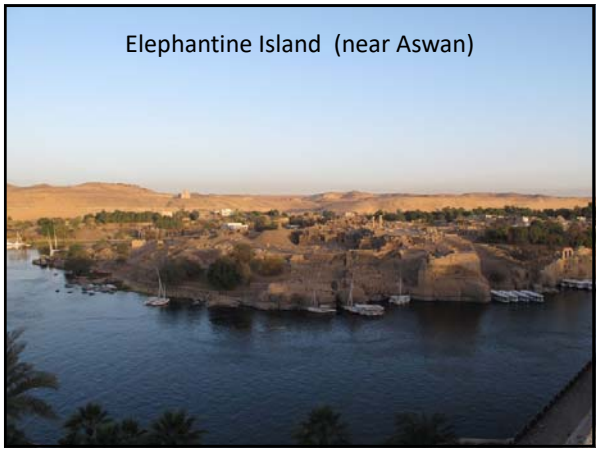
Map of the Persian (Achaemenid) Empire
538 – 333 B.C.E.

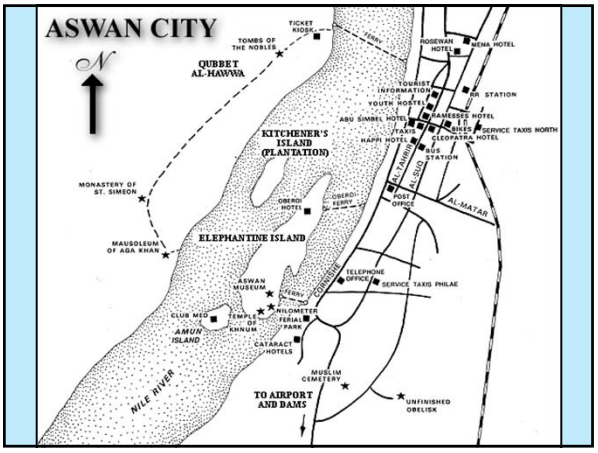


Cambyses II incorporates Egypt
into the Empire – 525 B.C.E.







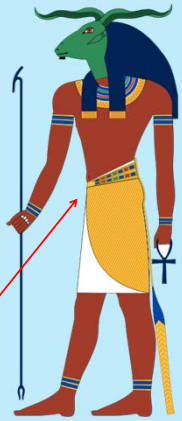




The Jewish Temple at Elephantine



Southern end of Elephantine Island



Egyptian god Khnum
(ram-headed creator god)



Khnum, accompanied by Heqet, forming a human on the potter's wheel (Dendera)

Elephantine papyri

c. 200 Aramaic documents

dated to c. 450-410 B.C.E.

discovered 1893 – 1903

now housed in:
Cairo – Berlin – Brooklyn
Oxford – Florence – Padua

Marriage document of Ananiah and Tamut – 449 B.C.E.



Brooklyn Museum 47.218.89



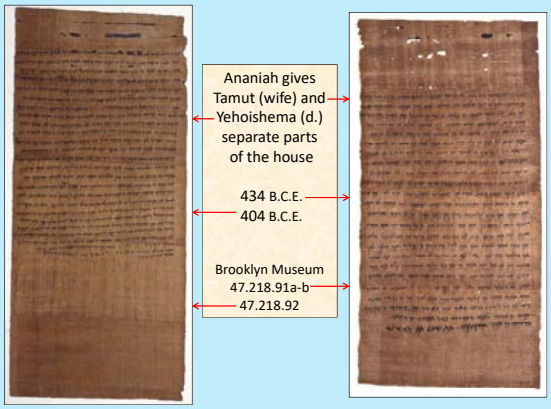
Property Sale Document:

Sale of House by Bagazust and Ubil to Ananiah

437 B.C.E.

לחן 'temple functionary'

Brooklyn Museum 47.218.95a-b



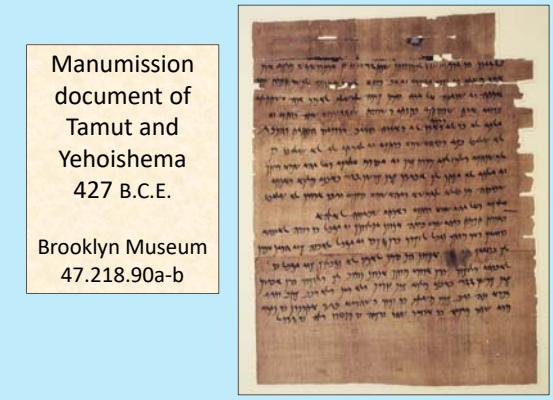
Ananiah gives Tamut (wife) and Yehoishema (d.) separate parts of the house

434 B.C.E.
404 B.C.E.

Brooklyn Museum
47.218.91a-b
47.218.92

Manumission document of Tamut and Yehoishema
427 B.C.E.

Brooklyn Museum
47.218.90a-b



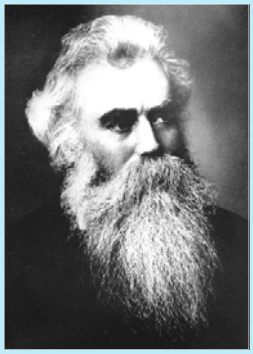


Receipt of a grain loan

402 B.C.E.

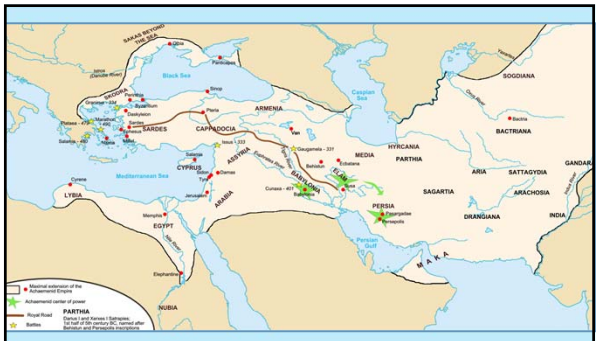
Brooklyn Museum
47.218.93a-b

Charles Edwin Wilbour (1833 – 1896)

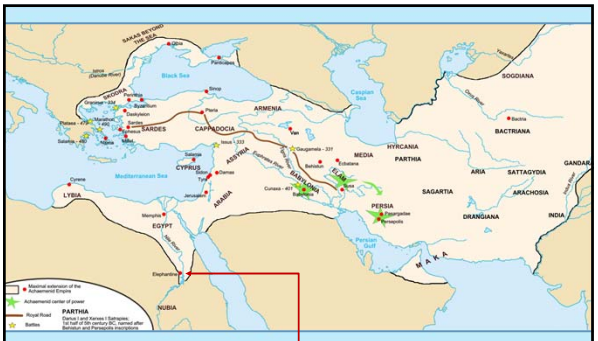


- Obtained eight papyrus rolls at Elephantine in 1893.
- Placed them in a large biscuit tin for storage.
- Placed the box in the bottom of his trunk.
- Died in Paris in 1896.

- 1947 – Theodora Wilbour, Charles's daughter, found the trunk and donated its contents to the Brooklyn Museum of Art.



Map of the Persian (Achaemenid) Empire
538 – 333 B.C.E.



Jewish garrison at Elephantine





Berlin Museum P. 13464

Cowley, no. 21

Passover Papyrus

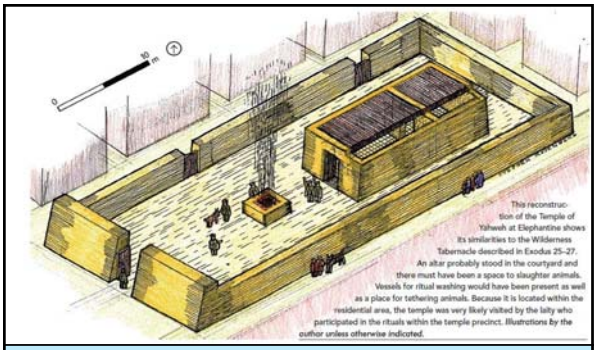
Darius II, year 5 = 419 B.C.E.

Passover Papyrus – 419 B.C.E.

1 To my brothers,
2 Yedaniah and his colleagues of the Judahite garrison, (from) your brother Hananiah. May the gods seek the welfare of my brothers.
3 Now this year, the 5th year of King Darius, word was sent from the king to Arsames, saying:
4 In the month of Nisan, let there be a Passover for the Judahite garrison. Now accordingly count fourteen
5 days of the month Nisan and keep the Passover, and from the 15th day to the 21st day of Nisan
6 are seven days of Unleavend Bread. Be clean and take heed. Do not work
7 on the 15th day and on the 21st day. Also, drink no intoxicants; and anything in which there is leaven,
8 do not eat, from the 15th day from sunset until the 21st day of Nisan, seven
9 days, let it not be seen among you; do not bring it into your houses, but seal it up during those days.
10 Let this be done as King Darius commanded.
11 To my brethren, Yedaniah and his colleagues of the Judahite garrison, (from) your brother Hananiah.



The Jewish Temple at Elephantine



Temple to YHWH at Elephantine

Drawing by Stephen G. Rosenberg,
Near Eastern Archaeology 67:1 (2004), p. 4.

Syncretism at Elephantine

(Berlin Museum P. 13485) (Cowley, no. 44)

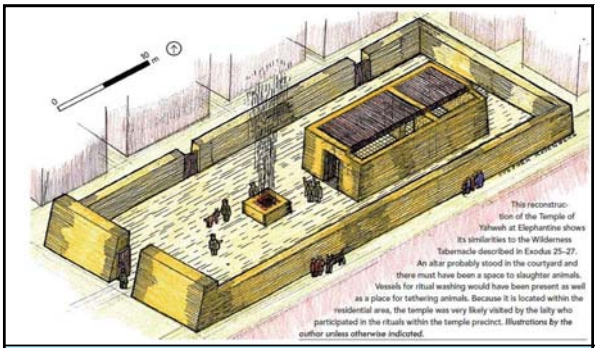
1 Oa[th of] Menaḥem bar Šallum
2 bar Ho[daviah which] he swore to Mešullam bar Nathan
3 by Y[HW] the [God], by the temple, and by ʿAnat-yahu,
4 and [he spoke to him] saying: The she-ass which is in the possession of . . .

Syncretism at Elephantine

(Berlin Museum P. 13488) (Cowley, no. 22)

List of donors to the Temple

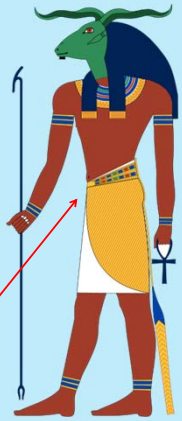
120 The money which was paid on that day into the hand of
121 Yedoniah bar Gemariah in the month of Phamenoth:
122 the sum of 31 kerashin 8 shekels
123 of which 12 k 6 sh. for YHW,
124 7 kerashin for Ishum-bethel
125 the sum of 12 kerashin for ʿAnat-bethel.



Temple to YHWH at Elephantine
Drawing by Stephen G. Rosenberg,
Near Eastern Archaeology 67:1 (2004), p. 4.



Southern end of Elephantine Island



Egyptian god Khnum
(ram-headed creator god)



Petition to the Governor of Judaea
Berlin Museum P. 13495 recto = Cowley, no. 30



Petition to the Governor of Judaea
Berlin Museum P. 13495 verso = Cowley, no. 30

Petition to the Governor of Judea
(Cowley, no. 30) 408 B.C.E.

To our lord Bigvai, governor of Judaea, your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues, the priests, who are in Yeb the fortress. . . .

They came to the fortress of Yeb, with their weapons, they entered that temple, they destroyed it to the ground, and the pillars of stone which were there they broke. . . .

Already in the days of the kings of Egypt our father had built that temple in the fortress of Yeb, and when Cambyses came into Egypt, he found that temple built, and the temples of the gods of Egypt all [of them] they overthrew, but no one did any harm to that temple.

Petition to the Governor of Judea
(Cowley, no. 30) 408 B.C.E.

Let a letter be sent from you to them concerning the temple of the God YHW, to built it in the fortress of Yeb, as it was built before, and they shall offer the meal-offering and incense and sacrifice on the altar of the God YHW on your behalf, and we will pray for you at all times . . . all who are here, if they do so that that temple be rebuilt, and it shall be a merit to you before YHW the God of Heaven. . . .

As to gold, about this we have sent and given instructions. . . .

Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria.

On the 20th of Marheshvan, the 17th year of Darius the king.

Petition to the Governor of Judea
(Cowley, no. 30) 408 B.C.E.

Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria.

Sanballat, governor of Samaria, mentioned in the book of Nehemiah, c. 450 B.C.E., as an opponent of Nehemiah and his efforts to rebuild Jerusalem and reconstitute Jewish life there.

Petition to the Governor of Judea
(Cowley, no. 30) 408 B.C.E.

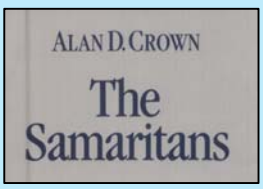
Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah the sons of Sanballat governor of Samaria.

Judaea[13]. Sanballat was a Samaritan who served as the Persian governor of Samaria[13]. What bound this strange assortment of people

There is additional information about the Samaritans which sheds light on their history and beliefs. For example, in the papyri from Elephantine in the petition written by Jedaniah, we find two theophoric names with a Yahwistic component, Delaiah and Shelemiah, who were the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria. They had received a letter from the people of Elephantine, seeking help to rebuild their temple which had been destroyed by Egyptian priests[20]. This request, written in 407 B. C. E., mentioned that three years earlier they had written to Jeohanan, high priest in Jerusalem, asking him to help restore their temple. As one who professed the separatist ideology, Jeohanan considered the Yeb temple to be illegal. The Elephantine Jews who had applied for help were not part of the "holy seed" and he ignored their request. But the Jewish people of Yeb considered the Samaritans to be their brethren and asked them for help in rebuilding the temple[21].

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The Samaritans

edited by
Alan D. Crown

1989

J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen



Alan D. Crown
(1932 – 2010)



Petition to the Governor of Judaea
Berlin Museum P. 13495 verso = Cowley, no. 30



The Jewish Temple at Elephantine

The First Diasporas:
Egypt and Babylonia

Gary A. Rendsburg
Rutgers University

The Alan Crown Lecture

Mandelbaum House
28 March 2019

