


**Professor
Alan D. Crown
(1932 – 2010)**

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

Biblical scholar,
expert on the
Samaritans



The First Diasporas: Egypt and Babylonia

Gary A. Rendsburg
Rutgers University

The Alan Crown Lecture

Mandelbaum House
28 March 2019

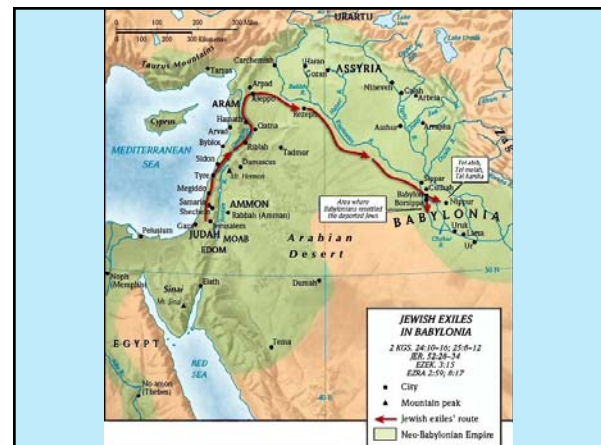


2 Kings 24:10-16 – 597 B.C.E.

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

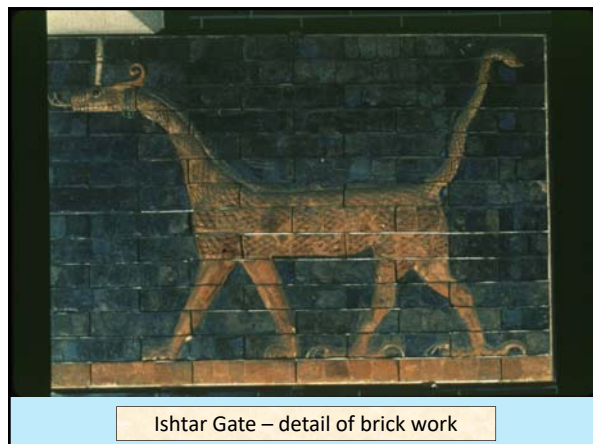
12 Thereupon King Jehoiachin of Judah, along with his mother, and his courtiers, commanders, and officers, surrendered to the king of Babylon.

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 – 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.
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.

The Murashu Archive

Nippur
(Southern Iraq)

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

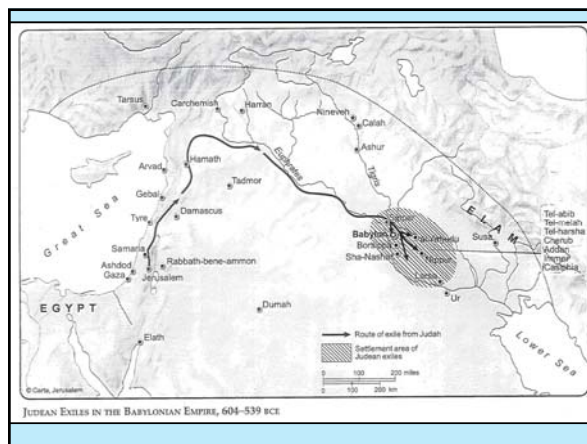
University of Pennsylvania Museum
(Philadelphia)

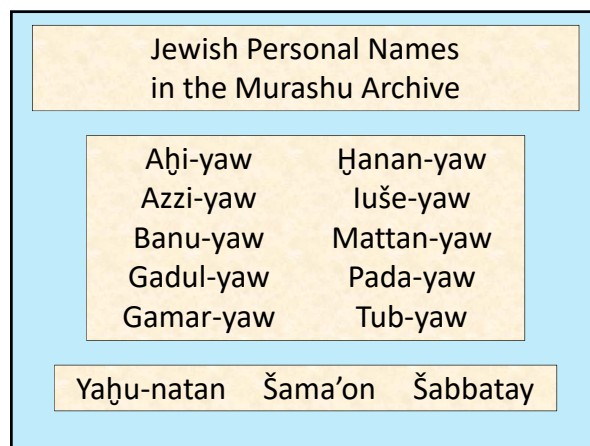
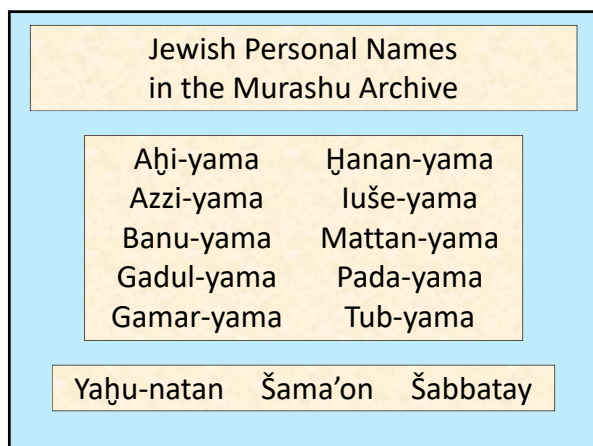
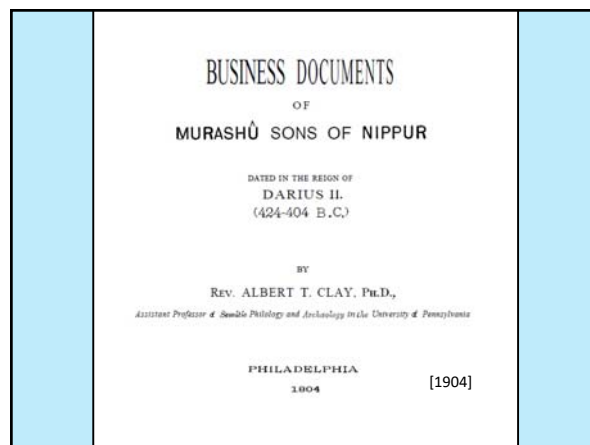
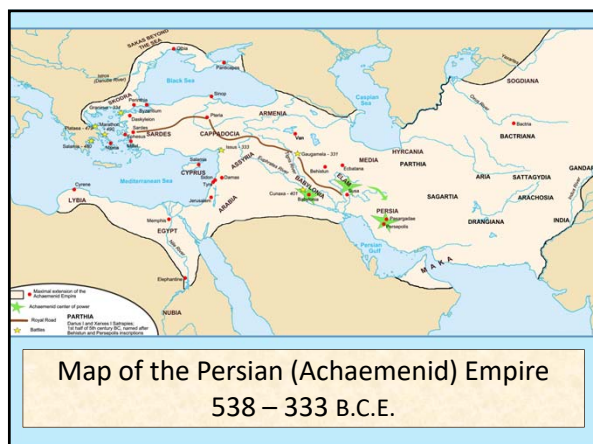
The Murashu Archive

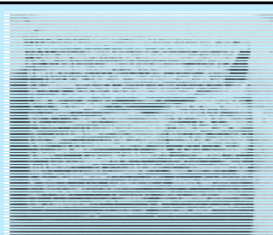
Nippur
(Southern Iraq)

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

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







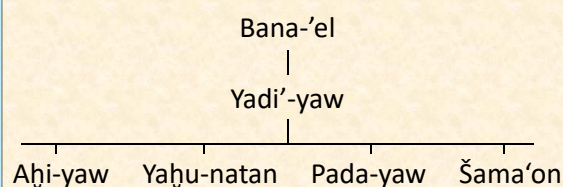
Murashu Tablet X.65 (Penn Museum)

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; Yaḥu-natan, Šama'on and Aḥi-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-shun-iddin, and, as an annual gift, 2 grazing bulls and 20
grazing rams."



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

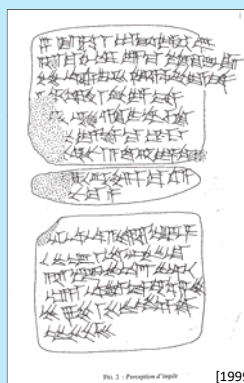


Fig. 2 : Perception d'origine [1999]

Private collection of Shlomo Moussaieff

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

Witnesses

Scribe

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

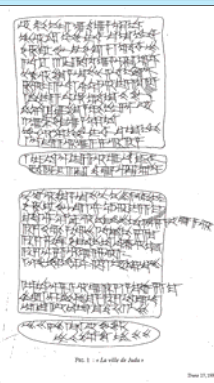


Fig. 1 : La ville de Juda
Date 17.1999

Private collection of Shlomo Moussaieff

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

Yaḥu-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.)

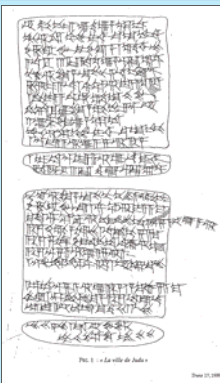


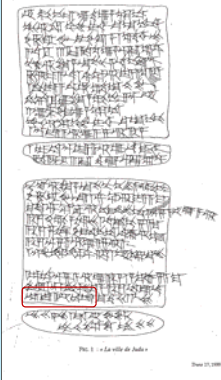
Fig. 1 : La ville de Juda
Date 17.1999

Private collection of Shlomo Moussaieff

First reference to:

Al-Yahuda
"city of the Judahites"

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



Sale of a calf from Hara'a daughter of Talimmu to Neri-yahu son of Ahiyaqam

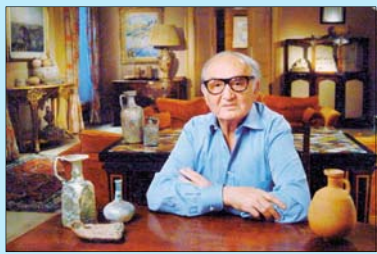
Yahu-azari son of Abdu-Yahu insures the calf

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

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)

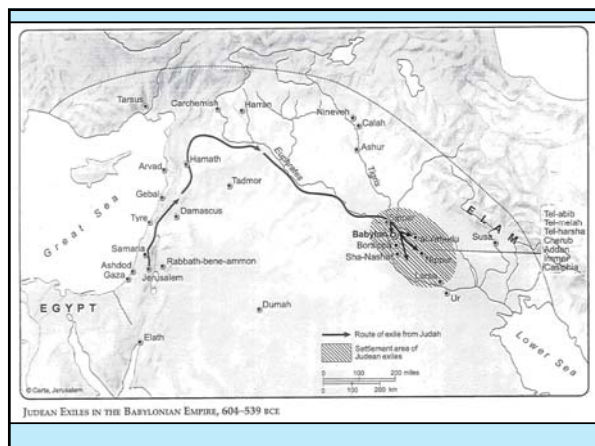
A new cuneiform archive

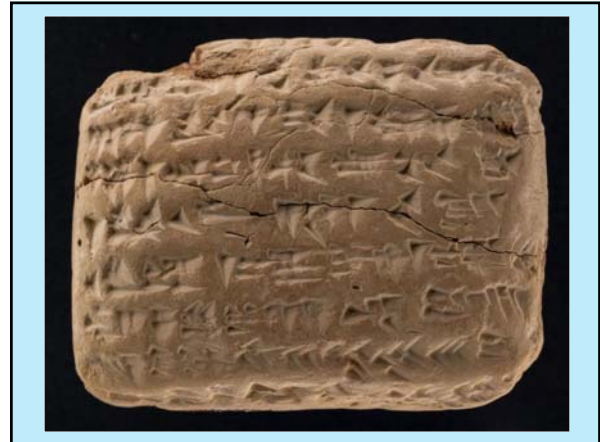
Tell Al Yahuda

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)





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

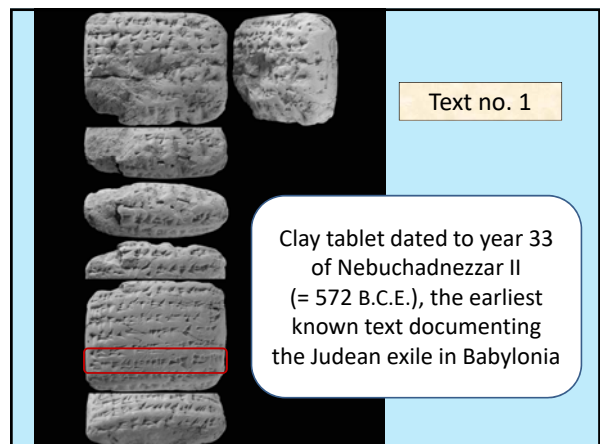
Al Yahuda 'city of the Judeans'

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.

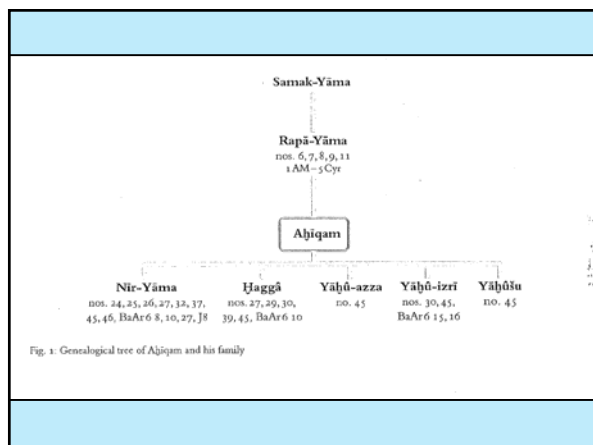
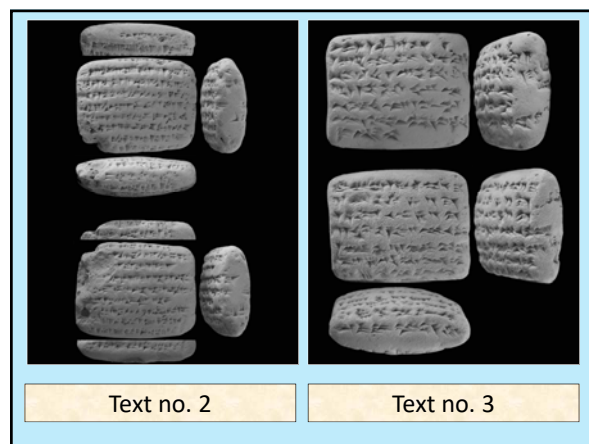
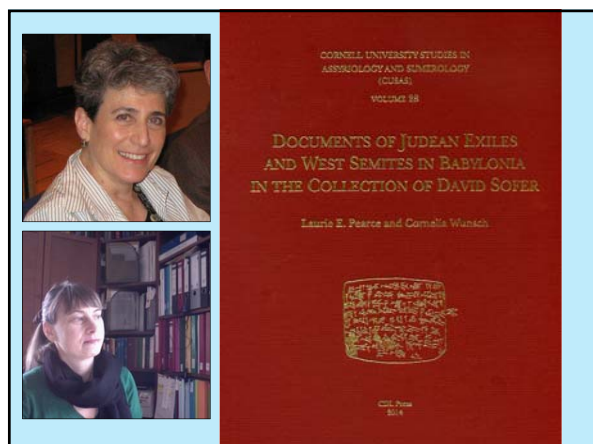
Witnesses: ʾab-šalam son of Aḥu-abī; Azar-yama son of Yaḥu-kullu; Aḥ-lumur son of Balassu, and the scribe Nabu-naʾid son of Nabu-zer-iqiša.

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



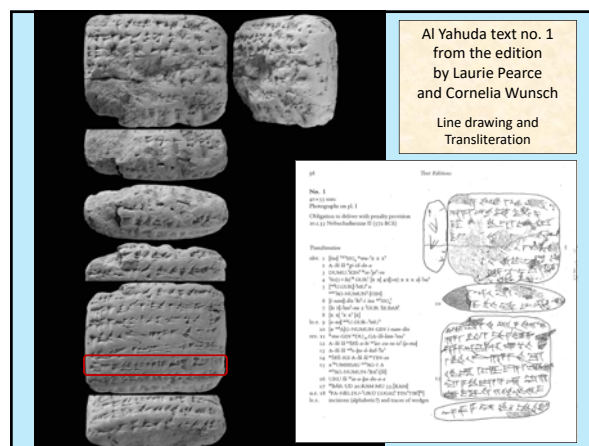
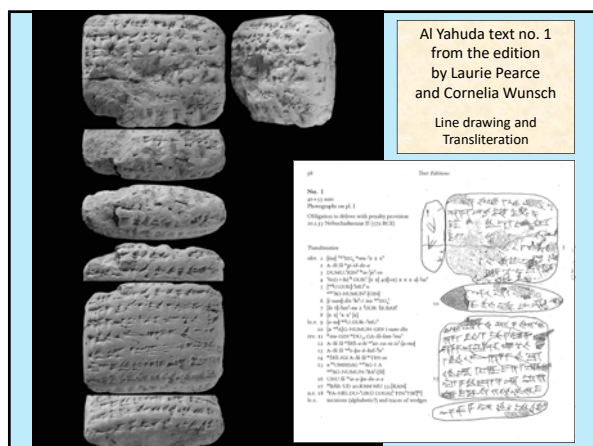
Text no. 1

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



103 tablets from the
Al Yahuda tablets
(Sofer collection)

c. 75 Yahwistic names
identifying c. 120 individuals



No. 2
 11x4 cm
 Fragmentary text of 10
 fragments, some for the body and some
 for the title (11x4 cm)

Text

1. ...
 2. ...
 3. ...
 4. ...
 5. ...
 6. ...
 7. ...
 8. ...
 9. ...
 10. ...
 11. ...

No. 3
 11x4 cm
 Fragmentary text of 10
 fragments, some for the body and some
 for the title (11x4 cm)

Text

1. ...
 2. ...
 3. ...
 4. ...
 5. ...
 6. ...
 7. ...
 8. ...
 9. ...
 10. ...
 11. ...

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**

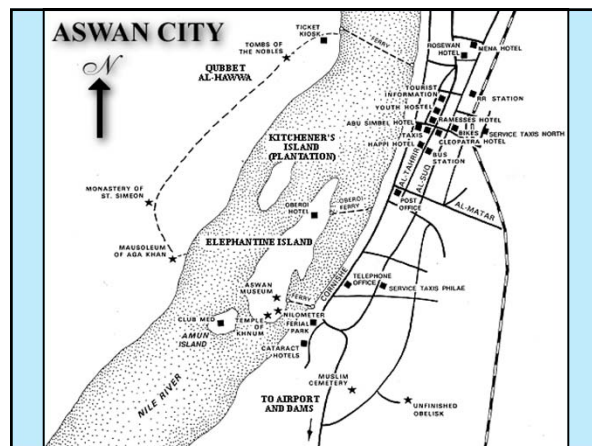
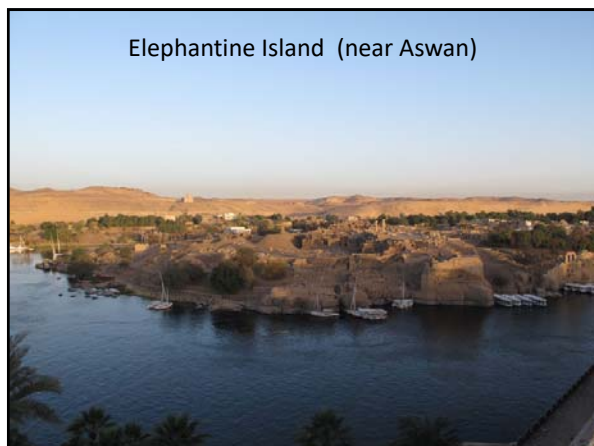
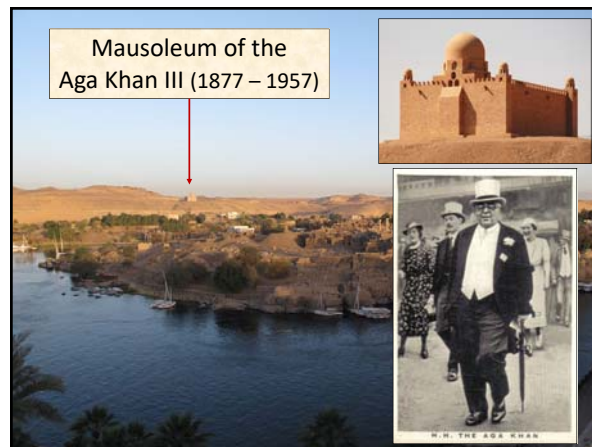
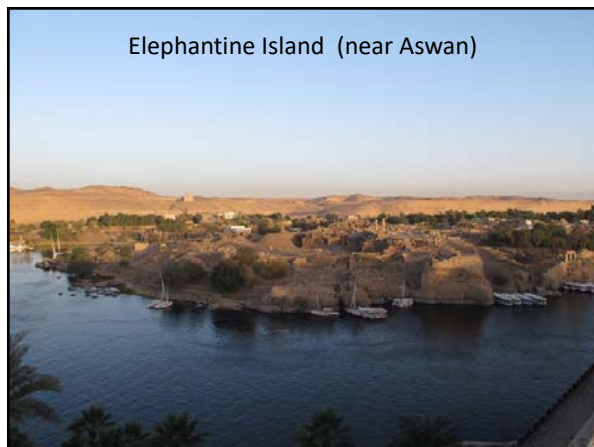
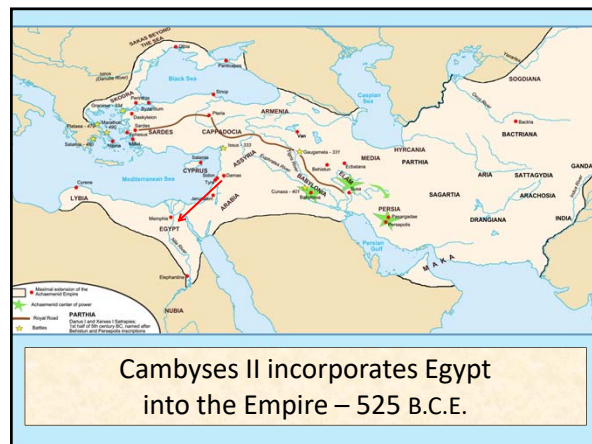
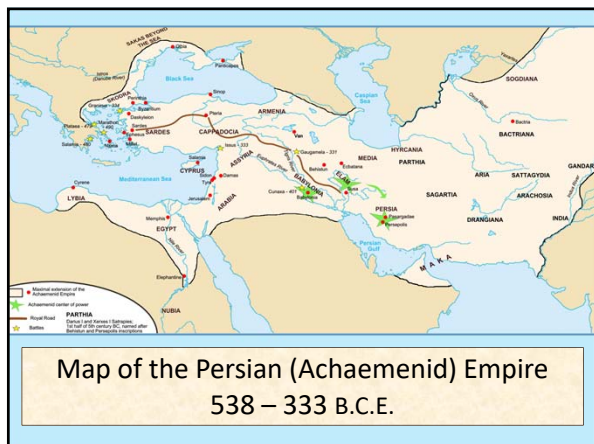
600 – 585 B.C.E.

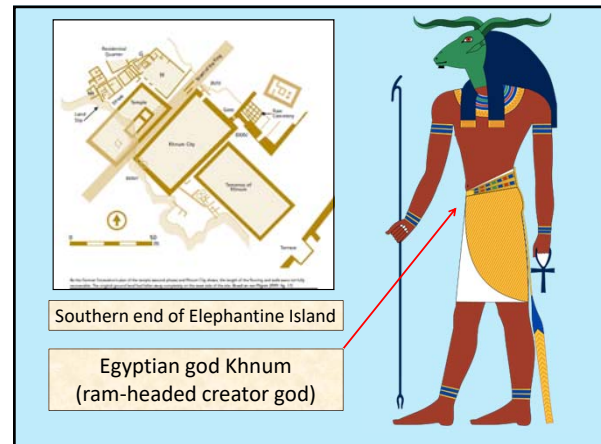


**Judahites
to Egypt**

600 – 585 B.C.E.

Pathros





Elephantine papyri

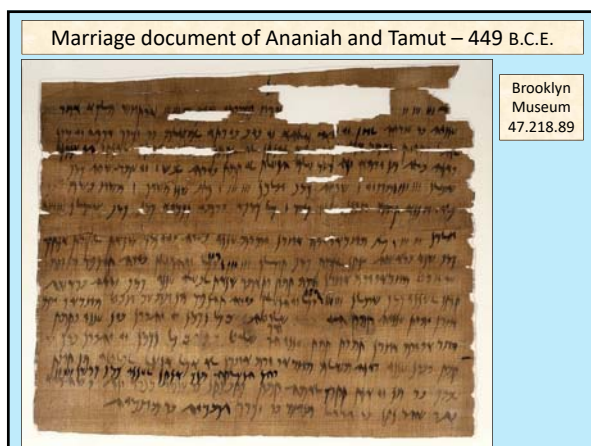
c. 200 Aramaic documents

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

discovered 1893 – 1903

now housed in:

Cairo – Berlin – Brooklyn
Oxford – Florence – Padua



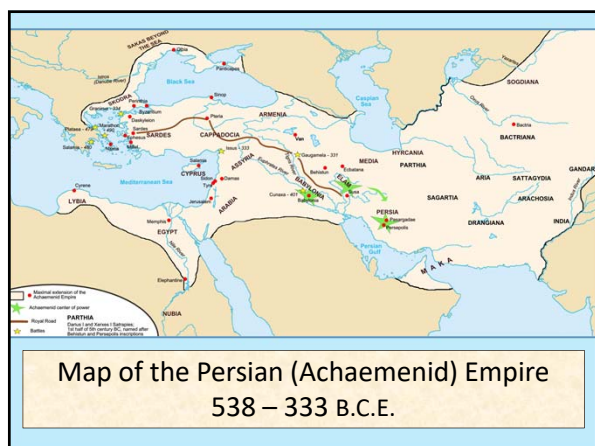
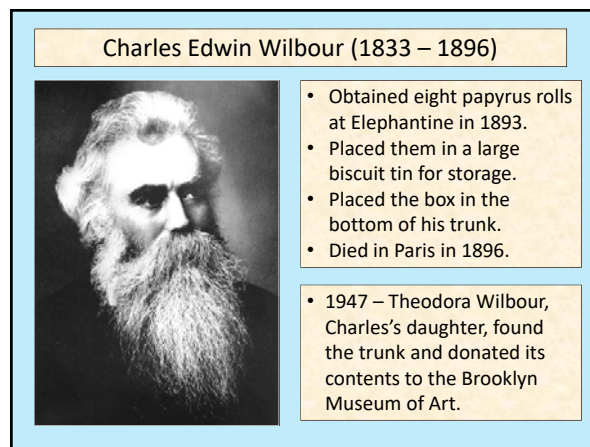
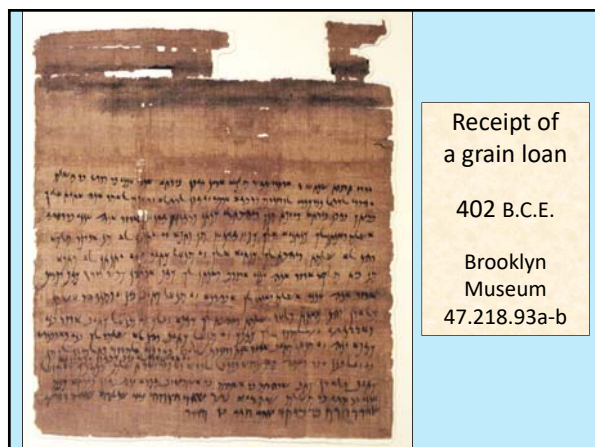
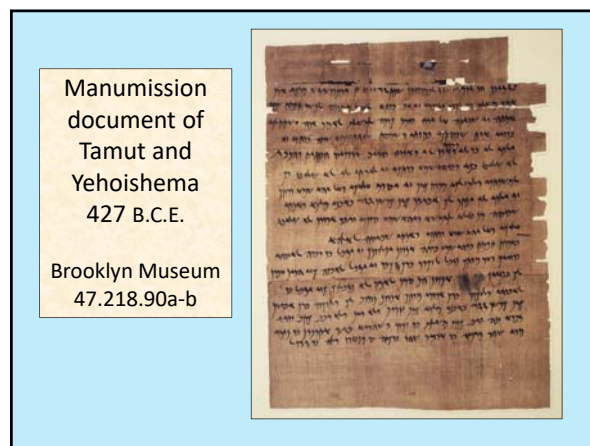
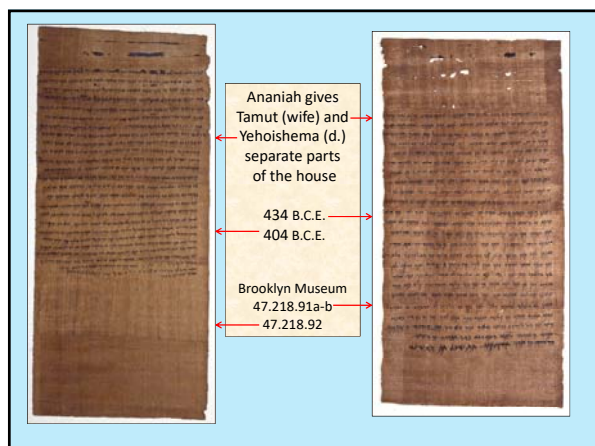
Property Sale Document:

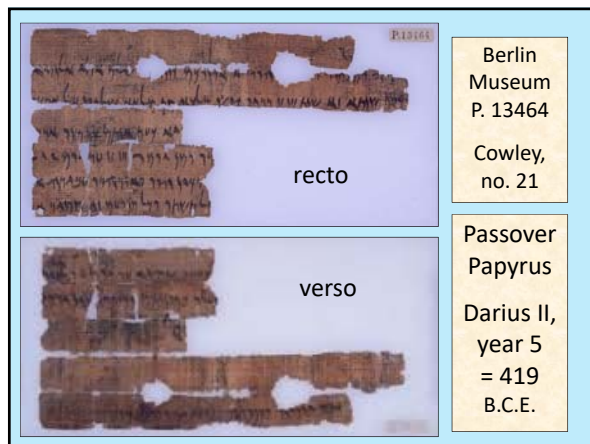
Sale of House by Bagazust and Ubil to Ananiah

437 B.C.E.

לח 'temple functionary'

Brooklyn Museum
47.218.95a-b



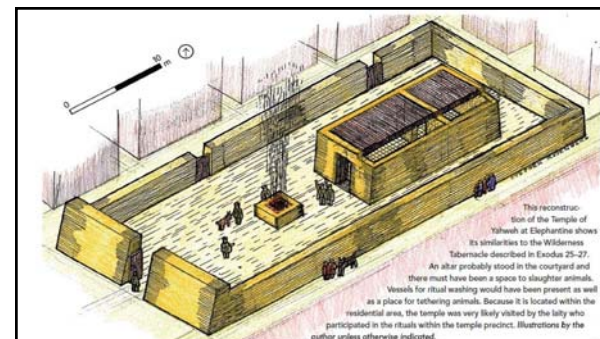


Passover Papyrus – 419 B.C.E.

- 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 Unleavened 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)

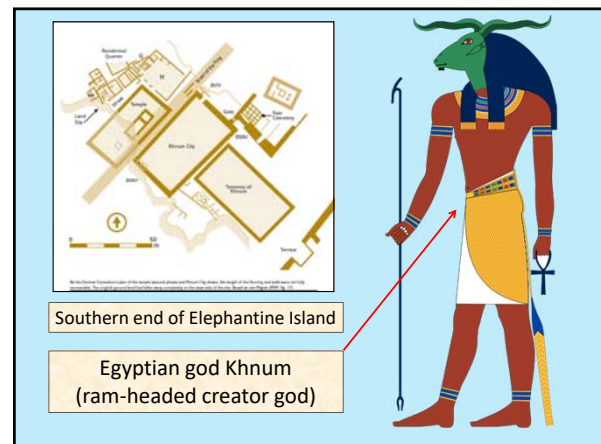
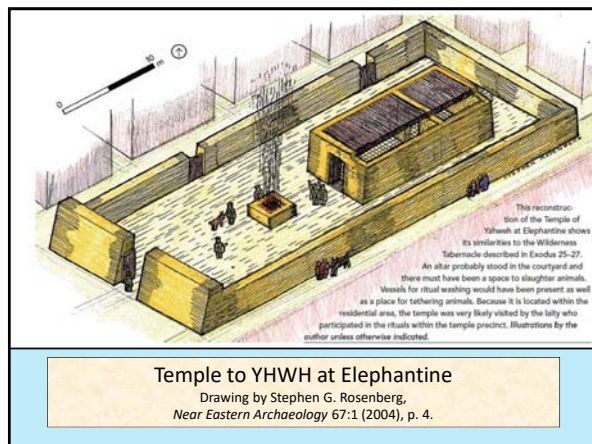
- ¹ Oa[th of] Menaḥem bar Šallum
- ² bar Ho[daviah which] he swore to Mešullam bar Nathan
- ³ by Y[HW] the [God], by the temple, and by 'Anat-yahu,
- ⁴ and [he spoke to him] saying: The she-ass which is in the possession of . . .

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 'Anat-bethel.



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.

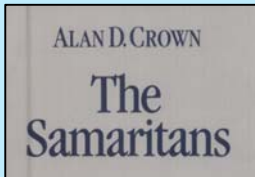
Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah the sons of Sanballat governor of Samaria.

Judaea¹³. Sanballat was a Samaritan who served as the Persian governor of Samaria¹³. 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 Delaiah, 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 priests¹⁹. This request, written in 407 B. C. E., mentioned that three years earlier they had written to Jechanan, high priest in Jerusalem, asking him to help restore their temple. As one who professed the separatist ideology, Jechanan 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 temple²¹.

Judaea¹³. Sanballat was a Samaritan who served as the Persian governor of Samaria¹³. What bound this strange assortment of people

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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 Judea
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

