Contents

Abbreviations — XIX

1 Introduction — 1
1.1 Problem and Hypotheses — 1
1.1.1 Excursus: The Distance between Elephantine and Jerusalem — 6
1.2 "Religion," "Dimensions of Religion," and "Religion Here, There, and Anywhere" — 9
1.3 The Present Study in the Context of Positions in the History of Research — 18
1.3.1 A Relic from the Preexilic Period? — 18
1.3.2 Typical or Contemporary Judaean Religion? — 20
1.3.3 Elephantine As an Archive Challenging the Canon — 21
1.4 Outline of the Book — 23

2 The Social Dimension — 24
2.1 "The Judaean Garrison" — 24
2.2 Judaean Identity in Elephantine — 29
2.3 The Leaders of the Judaean Community — 32
2.3.1 Jedaniah and the Priests of YHW — 33
2.3.2 Hananiah — 34
2.3.3 The Group of Five Syenians Who Were "Hereditary Property Holders" (*mhḥsnn*) in Elephantine — 38
2.3.4 The Political and Religious Leaders of Judah and Samaria — 41
2.4 Law — 45
2.4.1 Oath Procedures, Courts, and Judges — 45
2.4.2 Marriage and Inheritance — 49
2.5 Judaean and Non-Judaean Religious Specialists — 51
2.5.1 "Priest" (*khn*) and "Priest" (*kmr*) — 51
2.5.1.1 Who Became Priests of YHW in Elephantine, and How? — 54
2.5.2 "Servitor" (*lḥn*), "Servant" (*ʿbd*), and "Gardener" (*gnn*) — 57
2.6 The Economy of the Temple of YHW — 58
2.6.1 Direct and Indirect Economic Support of Cults: A Survey — 59
2.6.1.1 Concession Lands — 59
2.6.1.2 Direct Payments from the Royal/Satrapal Treasuries — 62
2.6.1.2.1 The Persepolis Tablets and the Persepolis Pantheon — 62
2.6.1.2.2 Ezra–Nehemiah and the Jerusalem Temple — 63

Bibliografische Informationen
http://d-nb.info/1091079455

digitalisiert durch DEUTSCHE NATIONAL BIBLIOTHEK

2.6.1.3 Indirect Economic Support — **63**
2.6.1.3.1 Tax Exemption — **63**
2.6.1.3.2 Privilege to Levy Taxes and the Exemption from Corvée Labour — **64**
2.6.2 Aspects of the Economic Structures in Achaemenid Egypt — **65**
2.6.3 The Temple of YHW — **67**
2.6.3.1 Arguments from (Loud) Silence — **67**
2.6.3.2 Positive Arguments — **69**
2.6.4 The Economy: Conclusion — **73**
2.6.5 Where Did the Elephantine Judaeans Get Their Means? — **74**
2.7 The Organisation of Time — **75**
2.8 Chapter Summary — **79**

3 The Material Dimension — 81
3.1 The Temple of YHW in the Textual Sources — **81**
3.1.1 Legal Documents — **82**
3.1.2 Private Correspondence — **83**
3.1.3 Official Correspondence — **85**
3.1.3.1 A4.5 — **86**
3.1.3.2 A4.7 and A4.8 — **86**
3.1.3.3 A4.9 and A4.10 — **87**
3.1.4 Milestones in the History of the Temple — **88**
3.1.4.1 The Origin: Before 525 BCE — **88**
3.1.4.2 The Destruction: Ca. 410 BCE — **89**
3.1.4.3 Still in Ruins: 407 BCE — **90**
3.1.4.4 Rebuilt around 402 BCE? — **90**
3.1.5 The Textual Evidence for the Inventory and the Architecture — **92**
3.2 The Temple of YHW and the Archaeology of Elephantine — **95**
3.2.1 The Continuity of the Urban Fabric — **95**
3.2.2 The Second Temple of YHW — **98**
3.2.3 The First Temple of YHW — **101**
3.2.4 Stephen G. Rosenberg's Reconstruction — **102**
3.3 Aspects of a "Elephantine Temple Theology" in Light of the Material Dimension — **104**
3.3.1 A Real Temple? — **104**
3.3.2 "The Pillars of Stone" (*ʿmwdyʾ zy ʾbnʾ*): *maṣṣəbôt* or Entry Pillars? — **109**
3.3.3 Concentric Circles of Sanctity — **113**
3.3.4 "The Five Great Gateways," the Proximity to the Residential Areas and the Possible Participation of the Laity in the Cult — **114**

3.3.5 (Sacred) Orientation toward Jerusalem? — 116
3.3.5.1 The Concept of Sacred Direction in Yahwistic Textual Sources — 119
3.3.5.2 The Longitudinal Orientation of the Temple in the Light of the General Orientation of the Ancient Town — 122
3.3.5.3 Conclusion — 123
3.3.6 Rival, Succeeding, or Complementary? — 124
3.4 Chapter Summary — 126

4 The Ritual Dimension — 128
4.1 Rituals: Repeatable, Interpersonal and Purpose-Driven — 128
4.2 Sacrifices — 129
4.2.1 The Agents and Beneficiaries of the Sacrifices — 132
4.2.1.1 Excursus: Sacrifice as Atonement? — 134
4.2.2 Sacrifices as Measurable and Assessable Commodities — 136
4.2.3 Resumption of Cereal Offerings, Cessation of Burnt Offerings — 140
4.2.3.1 A Veto Out of Consideration for Persian Theological Concepts? — 142
4.2.3.2 A Veto out of Consideration for the Priests of Khnum? — 142
4.2.3.3 A Veto out of Consideration for the Privileges of the Jerusalem Temple? — 143
4.2.3.4 Suggestion: A Veto out of Consideration for the Satrap Arshama — 145
4.2.4 Why and How Could the Elephantine Community Theologically Legitimate the Veto on Burnt Offerings? — 147
4.3 Communal Rites of Mourning — 150
4.4 Communal and Individual Prayers — 154
4.4.1 A Communal Prayer of Intercession — 154
4.4.2 A Communal Prayer of Curse — 155
4.4.3 Individual Prayers — 160
4.4.3.1 Epistolary Salutations — 161
4.4.3.2 Proper Names — 162
4.4.3.3 Profane Swearing — 164
4.4.4 Summary — 165
4.5 The Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread — 165
4.5.1 A Potential Terminological Pitfall — 165
4.5.2 D7.24 "On the Passover" and D7.6 "Inform Me When You Will Make the Passover!" — 166

4.5.3 The Festival(s) According to A4.1 (the So-Called Passover Letter) — **168**
4.5.3.1 Rather a Letter on the Festival of Unleavened Bread? — **170**
4.5.3.2 Should a Restoration Be Made on the Basis of the Bible? — **172**
4.5.3.3 Any References to the Passover and the Passover Sacrifice? — **175**
4.5.3.4 Did the Letter Signal a Change of the Social Sphere of the Festival(s)? — **176**
4.5.3.5 The Purpose of Hananiah's Letter: Not to Introduce but to Fix the Date — **177**
4.5.3.6 The Purpose of Hananiah's Letter: To Regulate out of Consideration for the Economy and the Stability? — **178**
4.6 The Sabbath in Elephantine — **182**
4.6.1 The Sabbath as an Identity Marker in the Last Half of the First Millennium BCE in Biblical and Intertestamental Literature — **182**
4.6.2 What Kind of Sabbath: A Lunar Sabbath or the Seventh Day of a Seven-Day Week? — **185**
4.6.3 The Terminology: Hebrew *šabbāt* and Egyptian Aramaic *šbh* — **187**
4.6.4 *šbh:* The Sources — **191**
4.6.4.1 The Fragmentary Reference to *šbh* in D7.10; D7.12; D7.28; D7.35; and D7.48 — **192**
4.6.4.2 D7.16 — **193**
4.6.4.3 D7.8 and Clermont-Ganneau 204 — **195**
4.6.5 The Personal Names *šbty* and *šbtyt* — **196**
4.6.5.1 A2.1 (Late Sixth/Early Fifth Century BCE): "Greetings (to) Shabbethai Son of Shug" — **196**
4.6.5.2 B4.4 (483 BCE): The Witness Shabbethai son of Kibda/Kibra — **197**
4.6.5.3 B3.9 (416 BCE): The Witness Sinkishir Son of Shabbethai — **198**
4.6.5.4 D18.18 (Elephantine Museum 2605): A Sarcophagus from Aswan with Aramaic Inscription — **198**
4.6.5.5 The Remaining Occurrences — **200**
4.6.5.6 Is the Name Shabbethai a Relevant Source? — **200**
4.6.6 The Sabbath: Summary and Conclusion — **204**
4.7 Chapter Summary — **206**

5 The Mythic and Narrative Dimension — 209
5.1 Introduction — **209**
5.2 Judaean Myths of Creation in Elephantine? — **212**

5.3 The Elephantine Judaean Temple Foundation Narrative — 214
5.3.1 Outline of the History of the Temple — 216
5.3.2 *Traditum* in the Petition to the Governor of the Persian Province of Judah — 217
5.3.3 *Traditio* and *Tradentes* According to the Petition to Bahavahya and the Subsequent Correspondence — 219
5.3.4 Alteration of the *Traditum* (A4.9 and A4.10) — 220
5.3.5 Summary and Perspectives — 223
5.4 Myths about Sacral Kingship — 227
5.4.1 The Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Context — 228
5.4.1.1 Egyptian Royal Myths — 228
5.4.1.2 Israelite–Judaean Royal Myths — 229
5.4.1.3 Mesopotamian Legendary Tales about Ancient Kings — 230
5.4.2 Sacral Kingship and the Official Royal Achaemenid Ideology — 233
5.4.3 Achaemenid Propaganda and Judaean Myths about Sacral Kingship — 240
5.5 Traces of Judaean and Other Pantheons — 244
5.5.1 The Egyptian Pantheon — 245
5.5.2 The Pantheons of the Garrisons in Syene and Elephantine — 245
5.5.3 The Relationship between YHW and the Other Gods — 252
5.5.3.1 YHW and Ahuramazda — 253
5.5.3.2 YHW and the Other Gods — 255
5.5.3.3 An Operational Theology of Religion — 256
5.6 Chapter Summary — 256

6 The Ethical Dimension — 259
6.1 Introduction — 259
6.1.1 The Relevant Sources — 259
6.1.1.1 The Native Judaean Sources from Elephantine — 260
6.1.1.2 The Non-Native Sources — 260
6.1.2 The Taxonomy — 262
6.2 The Human and the Deities in the Native Sources — 263
6.2.1 The Ethical Aspects of the Oath Practice — 264
6.2.2 Ethical Aspects of the So-Called Vidranga Section — 268
6.3 The Human and the Humans in the Native Sources — 270
6.3.1 The View on Animals as Backdrop of the Anthropology — 270
6.3.2 The View on Work — 272
6.3.3 The View on Slaves — 279
6.3.3.1 The Status of Children Borne by a Slave — 282

6.3.3.2 Manumission and Adoption — **286**
6.3.3.3 The Background of the Emancipation Formularies — **288**
6.3.3.4 The Function of the Emancipation Formularies — **290**
6.3.4 The View on Gender and Family Matters — **292**
6.3.4.1 The Marriage — **292**
6.3.4.1.1 Some Observations Concerning the Marriage — **300**
6.3.4.2 More on Women's Legal Status — **301**
6.3.4.3 The Household as the Basic Unit of Society — **303**
6.4 The Human and the Authorities of Society in the Native Sources — **304**
6.5 The Ethical Instruction of the Non-Native Sources (DB Aram and *Aḥiqar*) — **307**
6.5.1 The *Words of Aḥiqar* (C1.1) — **308**
6.5.1.1 Outline — **308**
6.5.1.2 Provenance — **309**
6.5.1.3 The Human and the Deities — **311**
6.5.1.3.1 The Gods and Wisdom — **311**
6.5.1.3.2 The Gods and Determinism — **313**
6.5.1.3.3 The Gods and Retribution — **315**
6.5.1.4 The Human and the Other Humans — **317**
6.5.1.5 The Human and the Authorities of Society — **318**
6.5.2 The Aramaic Version of the Bisitun Inscription (C2.1) — **320**
6.5.3 The Relevance of the Non-Native Sources — **321**
6.6 Chapter Summary — **322**

7 Conclusion and Outlook — 324
7.1 The Dimensions of Yahwism in General and in Elephantine in Particular — **324**
7.2 Contributions and Findings — **325**
7.2.1 Yahwistic Diversity — **325**
7.2.2 The Ordinariness of the Yahwism in Elephantine — **326**
7.2.3 The Suitability (and Limitations) of Smart's Multi-Dimensional Model of Religion — **327**
7.2.4 Selected Original Particular Findings — **330**
7.2.5 YHWH, a God Also Dwelling in Africa: Yahwism in Elephantine as a Challenge for Biblical Scholarship — **331**
7.3 Recommendations for Future Research: Elephantine in a Comparative Perspective — **333**
7.3.1 The Judaean Diaspora in Babylonia in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods — **334**

7.3.2 The Israelite ("Samaritan") Diaspora in the Aegean in the Second Century BCE — **336**
7.3.3 Preliminary Outcomes and Prospects of a Comparison — **337**
7.4 End: Elephantine As an Archive Challenging the Canon — **339**

Bibliography — 341

Index of Ancient Sources — 356

Index of Aramaic, Hebrew, Old Persian and Greek Words — 369

Index of Ancient Names, Deities and Epithets — 373

Index of Modern Authors — 379